

ASPECTS OF HOLIDAYMAKING AND RESORT DEVELOPMENT
WITHIN THE ISLE OF THANET, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MARGATE,
CIRCA 1736 TO CIRCA 1840.

Thesis submitted to the University of Kent
for a postgraduate degree (Doctor of Philosophy).

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CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LEADING COMMERCIAL SECTORS

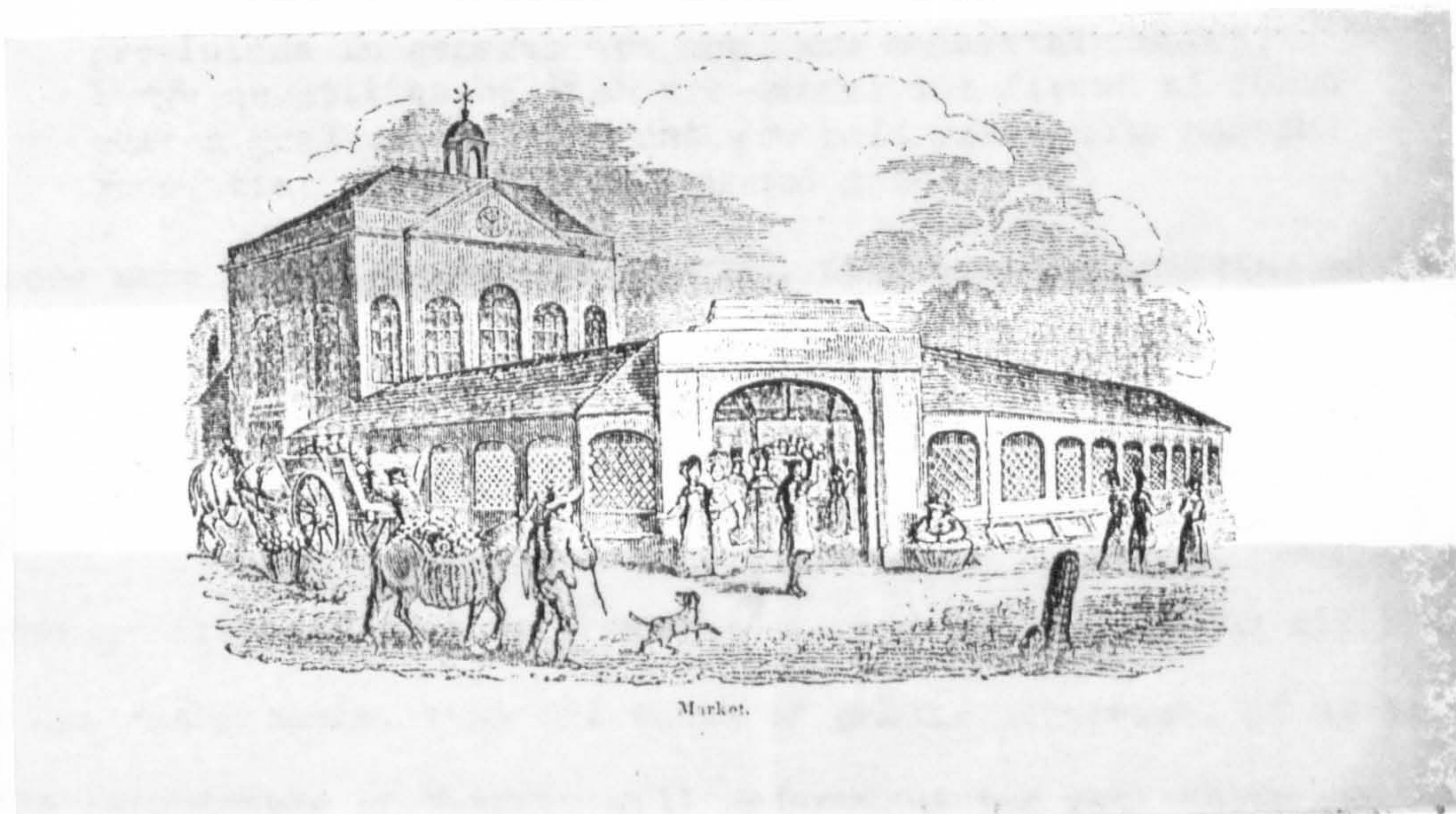
Associated with the physical growth of the Thanet resorts was an expansion and development of leading commercial sectors, which attracted custom and business from an increasing number of holiday makers to Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate. Regular markets were established in Margate in 1777¹, and in Ramsgate in 1785.² Food and other goods in the markets and shops, local farming, the supply of goods by hoy, stabling, postal arrangements, the expansion of Cobb's brewery, banking services and medical facilities were of prime concern to innkeepers, hoteliers, boarding houses, the Sea Bathing Infirmary, circulating library proprietors, pleasure gardens, coffee rooms, assembly rooms, visiting holiday makers and permanent residents. All these sectors experienced varying degrees of expansion from the 1760's onwards. The extent to which markets, food supplies, local farming and fishing, shops and shopping, trading by hoy and other inward coastal shipments, postal arrangements, Cobb's brewery, and banking services were affected by the impact of sea bathing and holiday makers is the concern of this Chapter. The expansion of stabling, private schooling and medical facilities has been examined elsewhere in this thesis.³

Markets, Food Supplies and Local Farming and Fishing.

In 1816 it was noted how "Margate, at first, from this great increase of inhabitants, was ... illsupplied with provisions from the neighbouring country, and what they did supply was very precarious"; but "to obviate this, a grant for [a] public market was obtained in 1777, to be held weekly on Wednesday and Saturday". The right to hold this market was granted by charter "to

1. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), 120; Edward Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 324; The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide; or An Historical Epitome of the Ancient and Present State of the Isle of Thanet (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), 50.
2. Hasted, op. cit., Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 387.
3. See above, Chapters II and III.

THE MARKET AT MARGATE AS IT APPEARED AROUND 1830 .



G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), p. 64.

Francis Cobb and John Baker, gents., wardens of the pier and their successors: to be holden in the town of Margate for buying and selling corn, grain, flour, flesh, fish, poultry, butter, eggs, fruit, vegetables and other provisions, so that this place is now [1816] well supplied".¹ Edward Hasted claimed that Margate's market was "exceedingly well supplied".² It was "free of toll".³ As a fishing and trading town Margate had possessed an earlier market in 1631, "of which a return was made to Dover every month", but it "did not continue long, nor does it appear by what authority it was kept".⁴ Ramsgate too by 1816 was "well supplied with meat, poultry, fish and vegetables".⁵

From Margate in 1770 it was claimed that

"provisions in general are good and moderately cheap. Large quantities of fish are taken, the finest of which bear a good price, the rest are sold reasonably enough. Wine, brandy, etc., is cheap and good". (6)

Provisions were "very plentiful" in 1776, and "great quantities of fish are daily caught",⁷ while "the hanging and drying of herrings is of the greatest use to the poor of this town".⁸ Charles Seymour found Margate's provisions in general to be good, and "cheaper than at other bathing places", with "the best sort of fish and poultry [bearing] a good price", but "as all bathing-places are fashionable, like all those of public diversion, it is to be hoped that the inhabitants of Margate will understand too well their own interest, to give disgust to the company, by that spirit of extortion and rapaciousness, too often stimulated by the concourse of the profuse and the opulent".⁹ He

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1. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 50.
 2. Hasted, op. cit., Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 324.
 3. The Kentish Gazette, 28 May 1777.
 4. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 47; Hasted, op. cit., Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 321.
 5. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 91; Hasted, op. cit., Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 387.
 6. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), 21.
 7. A New Display of the Beauties of England, Volume 1 (3rd Ed., 1776), 207.
 8. C. Seymour, A New Topographical, Historical and Commercial Survey of the Cities, Towns and Villages of the County of Kent (Canterbury, 1776), 556.
 9. Ibid., 559.

offered no comment on the position at Ramsgate. Among the first of Margate's visitors to patronize the newly established market was Mrs. Woodington on 13 September 1777, no doubt to purchase the lamb chops and the fine lobster which were served to John Baker later that day.¹

During the 1780's Margate continued to be "very well supplied with Shamble Meat, Poultry, Vegetables and very fine Fish".² When, however, Hardwicke Lewis undertook an excursion to Margate in June 1786 he felt obliged to raise the subject of extortion in as discreet a manner as possible.

"It was not difficult for a quiet man to fix upon a house; in about an hour I was as much at home as if my residence had been here for a century.- Rent may be high, but the seasons are short Provisions in general are not unreasonable; and I should have been quite contented but for two circumstances, that loudly spoke the genius of the place to be Extortion. The milk being tolerable, when compared with the chalk and water of the metropolis, induced me to enquire into the price; and on exclaiming at 3d. per quart, was informed, that not having the luck to be born on the spot 1d. was levied upon me as a foreigner.- And Oh! tell it not on Tower-Hill, proclaim it not through the streets at Whitehall, the shoe black made an additional charge of 100%". (3)

Margate's markets circa 1804 were "good, and in general moderate, although, no doubt, advantage is occasionally taken of the crowd of company in the height of the season".⁴ The twice weekly markets in 1808 were "well stocked with butcher's meat, poultry, fish and vegetables".⁵ By 1811 there were two weekly markets on Wednesdays and Saturdays, a corn market on Thursdays at the Fountain Inn, and a daily fish market.⁶ Mrs. Pilkington in 1812 confronted "a fish market every day, and different stalls for fruit and vegetables adjoining it", while "Wednesdays and Saturdays are those appointed for the sale of meat, poultry and other necessary articles".⁷ She discovered that the

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1. Ed: Philip C. Yorke, The Diary of John Baker (1931), 418.
 2. The Margate Guide (1780), 18.
 3. Hardwicke Lewis, An Excursion to Margate in the Month of June 1786 (2nd Ed., 1787), 22-3.
 4. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), 31.
 5. Edward Wedlake Brayley, The Beauties of England and Wales; or Delineations Topographical, Historical and Descriptive, Volume VIII: Kent (1808), 965.
 6. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811).
 7. Mrs. Pilkington, Margate!!! or Sketches amply descriptive of that celebrated Place of Resort, with Its Environs, etc. (1813), 120.

prices of "butter and butchers' meat differed very little from London markets, except rump steaks, which were 16d. a pound". Poultry was cheaper in the market "but not equal to that at the poulterer's". Butchers' and poulterers' prices varied "little from those in town".¹

Food was an important element in holiday expenditure. Its price varied within seasons and from one season to the next. Supplies varied from year to year and total demand was affected by a fluctuating population. Bearing in mind these influences, Zechariah Cozens found that the market in Margate was "usually well stored with provisions on the market days, Wednesday and Saturday, at a tolerable reasonable price, considering the great demand during the summer months", while Ramsgate's market was "well supplied with the necessaries of life".² Visitors' demands for food and accommodation³ cannot be measured only in numerical terms, for wealthy holiday makers were out to enjoy themselves, with money in their pockets, seeking higher standards of living for at least the duration of their holidays. Resident holiday makers exerted a much greater effective demand in total and per capita than any calculations of potential demand might suggest.

As every season reached its peak, and as the numbers of holiday makers increased over the years, market pressures affected prices according to the supply of provisions, or the availability of accommodation. Prices were pushed up during the summer months, because of the extra demands which arose from visiting holiday makers at the height of the season. It is a well-known complaint of seaside town residents to-day that higher price levels prevail during the summer months, compared to the rest of the year. It was lamented from Ramsgate during 1800 that the inhabitants as much as the visitors had suffered from rising prices in the season.⁴ Catherine Hutton when visiting

1. Pilkington, op. cit., 128.

2. Z. Cozens, A Tour through the Isle of Thanet, and Some Other Parts of East Kent (1793), 28, 49.

3. Some indication of the demands of a fluctuating population for lodgings and accommodation have been considered in Chapter III above.

4. The Times, 27 September 1800, 3a.

Aberystwith during August 1787 noted how "the common people complain that the sea bathers have raised the provisions to an enormous price".¹

Much the same complaint was expressed by a Northamptonshire country gentleman following a holiday in Margate during 1796.

"As to the settled inhabitants of the place, all who do not get by us, view us with dislike, because we raise the price of provisions; and those who do, which, in one way or other, comprehends all the lower class, have lost every trace of rural simplicity, and are versed in all the arts of low cunning and chicane ... In the country ... $\frac{1}{4}$ hour in the week settled the bills and few tradesmen wished, and none dared, to practice any imposition where all were known ... But here the continual fluctuation of company takes away all regard to character; the most respectable and ancient families have no influence any farther than as they scatter their ready cash". (2)

Inland watering places were no less astute, the cost difference between the gaiety of Tunbridge Wells in the summer and its dullness out of season early in the eighteenth century being well known by the common saying:

"Where are you going to?
To Tunbridge Wells, where did you think?
Change me a guinea";

contrasting with the reply:

"To Tunbridge Wells ... Give me change for a shilling". (3)

George Roberts, looking back on the growth of watering places, observed how "in the course of a few years great changes took place", and "there were two prices for articles, one for inhabitants, another for visitors".⁴

Both local and short term factors operated to increase or reduce food prices. The way provisions were snapped up from the market early in the day at the height of the season was a constantly recurring complaint among Margate's

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1. Ed: Mrs. Catherine Hutton Beale, Reminiscences of a Gentlewoman of the Last Century: Letters of Catherine Hutton (Birmingham, 1891), 50-1.
 2. 'Henry Homelove', "On Watering Places", The Annual Register (1796), 481.
 3. William Durrant Cooper, "Tunbridge Wells at the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century", Notes and Queries, 2nd. Series, Volume VI, No. 131, 3 July 1858, 8.
 4. George Roberts, The Social History of the People of the Southern Counties of England in Past Centuries (1856), 552.

visitors as noted by The Times during September 1804.¹ Five years previously George Saville Carey accepted that Margate had "a tolerable market" but, despite its 22 years of existence, it was "not so well supplied as might be wished; and, if you are desirous to furnish your table with the necessary comforts of the day, you must get up by 6 o'clock in the morning, and scramble for them, otherwise you may chance to go without your dinner".² At Yarmouth, on the other hand, "provisions of every kind are to be had at a much cheaper rate, at any time of the day, without being obliged to scramble for them".³

Information on the food prices charged to holiday makers is sparse, and data on household budgets are extremely rare.⁴ Merely to quote indices of national food prices has little relevance in an age when prices varied regionally and locally. Economic historians point to the difficulty of generalising about prices, particularly for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,⁵ until railways effected a greater national uniformity in price levels. There are many variables and influences to consider. Grain prices were influenced by "visible stocks in the granaries", and the prices of imported products varied with harvests abroad and with seasonal changes in shipping and trade.⁶ Professors Chambers and Mingay have shown that short-term seasonal and year-to-year price movements were extremely uncertain. They differed from one district to another, according to weather and soil conditions, availability of transport and the means of getting crops and beasts to market.⁷

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1. The Times, 13 September 1804, 2d.
 2. George Saville Carey, The Balnae: or, An Impartial Description of all the Popular Watering Places in England (1799), 8.
 3. Ibid., 217.
 4. See Chapter IX below.
 5. Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1959 (1964), 12.
 6. T.S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959), 11-12.
 7. J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880 (1966), 38, 106-8.

Kentish farmers were commercially influenced by proximity to an ever expanding London food market, to which they were linked by good coastal and river communications. Mr. Chalklin demonstrates how London demands before 1700 raised the prices of foodstuffs in the Home Counties,¹ and this was no less true after 1700. Certainly in 1721 Kentish estate owners and farmers were seen to be doing well because of good markets for their products.²

Prices paid for bread fluctuated according to the state of harvests and the country's ability to import foreign grains. Margate acted as the Thanet outport for an extensive wheat and barley producing region, and for centuries arable cash farming was the mainstay of farmers who prospered by supplying cereals directly on hoys to an expanding London food market.³

Supplies and prices of certain provisions in Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate were strongly influenced by the pattern of local farming and especially by the fact that Thanet farmers were commercially attracted to the pull of the London market. Although in 1770 there was some initial response to visitors' summer demands, whereby "various Articles, which are the Produce of their Farms bear almost a double price, from the great Resort of Gentry to this Place, [so] that they will be glad to do everything in their Power to oblige them even for their own Sakes"⁴, there was little diversification away from corn cultivation. Sixteen years previously Dr. Richard Pococke had noted how

"this Island, with the help of sea-weed and other manure, is very fruitful. They plough and manure and sow barley, then wheat and then beans and lastly oats, and then let the ground lie still a year". (5)

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1. C. W. Chalklin, Seventeenth Century Kent: A Social and Economic History (1965), 87-8.
 2. Mr. Senex, A New General Atlas Containing a Geographical and Historical Account of all the Empires, Kingdoms and other Dominions of the World (1721), 200.
 3. See Chapter I above.
 4. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 4.
 5. Ed: James Joel Cartwright, The Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke, during 1750, 1751 and Later Years, Camden Society, Volume II, (1889), 88.

Thanet's agriculture had no need to be opened up or perfected through the growth of Margate or Ramsgate as resorts. It was already well developed and in a high state of cultivation, responding profitably to London demands, before sea bathing developed during the second half of the eighteenth century.¹

The agrarian scene as it existed in 1770 was described in The Margate Guide of that year. The lower southern and south-western sides of the Isle of Thanet abounded in pasturage, but this was an area which was "low and marshy", where the inhabitants were "much subject to Agues". Whatever woodland had once existed elsewhere on the higher lands had been "cut down long since to make room for the Plough", so that "the Surface of the Country is almost as open and as level as a Platform", and "in this Part of the Island is great Plenty of all kinds of Corn and Grain".

"Agriculture is carried on here to a Degree of Perfection hardly to be found elsewhere. The Land which, in most Places, is laid in Ridge and Furrow, is here (comparatively speaking) almost as level as a Bowling-green. No Labour or Expense is spared to keep the Corn clean, so that (with the Exception only to the Fields of a few slothful People) there is hardly a Weed to be seen, in the Compass of some Miles".

A relative absence of animal manure, did not impede soil fertility, yields or productivity, since "on the Parts near the Coast, the Soil is manured by a Mixture of Sea-waur, Chalk and other Dung, by the Assistance of which good Crops of Corn are obtained from Land which does not appear to be worth anything!" Furthermore, "Great Profit has been made of late years by sowing Clover, Saint Foin, Lucerne Grass and Canary Seeds".²

Thanet's farms varied in size. The occupiers of large farms near Minster and St. Nicholas were "wealthy and hospitable",³ and even in other places, "where they are smaller, the Tenants make a comfortable Livelihood", since

1. As noted in Chapter I above.

2. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 2-6.

3. Also compare Chapter I above.

"their Corn (except what is expended at home) is shipped at Margate, and sold for Ready-money in London".

"Also the Wages of Servants and Labourers are high: In time of War so many men go into the Navy, on the Certainty of better Pay, or in the Hopes of Prize-money or Preferment, that it is no easy Matter to procure Hands sufficient for carrying on the common Business of Agriculture at any Price. But even under these Inconveniences, the Value of Land seems to have increased very fast of late Years, as well from the improved State of Agriculture, as other contingent Circumstances; but whether the Farms will bear the great advances which have been made on the old Rents, must be left to Time to determine ... They work hard, and live hard, and are truly industrious. Their Houses are kept remarkably neat". (1)

Directories of 1796 and 1811² provide the following details.

TABLE 19: THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST IN THANET IN 1796 AND 1811.

	<u>1796</u>	<u>1811</u>
Cow Keeper	1	1
Farmers	16	18
Gardeners	3	2
Hop Seller		1
Maltster	1	1
Millers	1	2
Milkman		1

In 1799 it was observed that "the Isle of Thanet possesses a number of industrious ... Farmers, who from an indefatigable attention to the land, have made the soil uncommonly prolific, ... as to yield as much grain in one season, as to furnish the inhabitants with bread for three".³ The soil abutting the cliffs was manured "by a compost, or mixture of sand, seaweed and dung", with "large crops being obtained from land thus dressed". Corn not sold "for ready money at Mark Lane" was "disposed of to millers in the island". Inland a "want of natural pasture" was overcome "by the culture of clover, sainfoin, lucerne, trefoil and other artificial grasses".⁴

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1. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 6-8.
 2. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), and Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 3. Carey, op. cit., 16.
 4. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet: Being Chiefly Intended as a Directory for the Company Resorting to Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs (Margate, 1796), 7-8.

The high state of Thanet's arable farming was acclaimed throughout the eighteenth century. In 1771 The Gentleman's Magazine reported that

"the soil of the island is of the purest and whitest chalk, covered with a surface from 2-4 and 5 feet thick of mould as fine as that of a garden; and so fruitful in corn, that no waste or common, and but little of fallow land are to be seen. In short, this island is generally allowed by travellers who have visited it, to be the very garden spot of England, ... being an open champaign country". (1)

Failure to radically alter local farming patterns allowed a national newspaper thirty years later to remark on "the most pleasing and charming spectacle in the Isle of Thanet is the beautiful and extensive wheat fields, abounding with the finest grain".² This arable emphasis persisted. During August 1814 The Morning Post noted that "the oat harvest has commenced in the Isle of Thanet, where [also] wheat will be fit to cut in a fortnight, should the weather continue fine".³ By 11 August harvesting was well under way: "oats and peas are housing very fast; our wheat and barley are very luxuriant, and ... will be cut by next week; turnips and clover promise full crops; our potatoes are excellent and plentiful".⁴

Thanet's concentration on arable farming produced periodical shortages of other food products, especially as the coastal towns expanded in size and attracted increasing numbers of holiday makers, whose incomes enabled them to purchase meat, dairy products, fruit and vegetables. Distress overcame a Northamptonshire country gentleman at Margate in 1796, for "I am paying for tasteless, unripe fruit, while my own choice wall-fruit is rotting by bushels under the trees".⁵ Napoleonic trade embargoes, combined with Thanet's concentration on corn farming, produced during 1799 a shortage of butter in

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1. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 41 (April 1771), 167.
 2. The Times, 11 August 1801, 2d.
 3. The Morning Post, 5 August 1814, 3b.
 4. Ibid., 13 August 1814, 3d.
 5. The Annual Register, (1796), op. cit., 482.

Ramsgate, where during August it was selling when it was to be had for 20d. to 2s. per lb., and yet "almost the entire of the adjacent country is under corn, pease, beans, clover or canary, there is but little pasture, and there are scarcely cows enough in the island to furnish the necessary consumption of milk".¹

During the previous year, 1798, William Marshall had cast a particularly critical eye over the state of animal husbandry in the Isle of Thanet:

"Upon the Island, a few milking cows, teddered on the leys, and seldom more than two or three together, were the only cattle. The breeds chiefly mongrel; with some Welch. In the Marshes, the same motley collection was observable. In a country where arable crops are the principal object, live-stock are generally seen in a state of neglect and degeneracy ... THE SPIRIT OF BREEDING has not yet reached the Isle of Thanet ... With respect to LIVESTOCK, whether as to quantity or quality, the Isle of Thanet appears, in a general view of these kingdoms, at a distance, in the background of modern husbandry". (2)

The higher living standards expected from a holiday included a more varied and plentiful diet, but fruit, vegetables, milk or butter were frequently in short supply. It was one of the complaints of Mrs. Pilkington in 1812 that visitors to Thanet were denied the benefit of enjoying fruit "by the dearness of the price; in short, fruit at Margate may merely be considered as a regale for the affluent, as a very small portion of it can be purchased by those who fill the middle station of life, [but] a slight deprivation on the part of those who possess the power of gratifying their appetites would be the means of bringing this wholesome article of consumption down to a moderate price; for if the rich were to refuse paying a sum which is really exorbitant, it would necessarily be brought down to a fair price".³ This observation on the ostentatious consumption of the wealthy certainly applied in September 1786:

"Lord Cholmondley has lately left Kingsgate [occupying one of the bays lying between Margate and Broadstairs] where he had been

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1. The Observer, 18 August 1799, 3c.
 2. W. Marshall, The Rural Economy of the Southern Counties: Comprising Kent, Surrey, Sussex: the Isle of Wight: the Chalk Hills of Wiltshire, Hampshire, etc. (1798), Volume II, 35, 38.
 3. Pilkington, op. cit., 16-17.

for some time; his stile of living was equal to his high rank, his deserts, upon an average, amounting to 15 guineas a week, which was furnished by the fruitress on the Parade at Margate". (1)

An influential customer could make his presence felt in inflated prices but the Prince of Wales, on a visit to Brighton in 1800, was wise to this effect: "probably to escape the shameful extortion too generally practised there, [he] receives [even] the most trivial article of consumption throughout his establishment from London" and "were [this] practice more general the prices of many necessaries would find their level - Butter is 2s. 6d. per lb.; Eggs, 4s. a dozen; Bacon 14d. or 15d. per lb.; and many other articles equally exorbitant".² One way of avoiding inflated prices was for holiday makers to bring some of their own provisions with them, as at Herne Bay during the 1850's, when the London husbands' boat arrived on a Saturday night with "an assortment of fathers, and brothers, and sons, from shops and counting houses, with parcels of groceries and hampers of provisions - more cheaply purchasable in the metropolis than ... in the Bay".³ Herne Bay was reckoned to be a fairly moderately priced resort, being "a cheap place" for "families who wish to be salt waterized in an economical way".⁴ The husbands' boat was no less a familiar scene on Saturdays in Margate.

Thanet's exposure to cold north-easterly winds, which could so easily damage fruit and market gardens, coupled with its heavy concentration on arable farming accounted for local shortages of fruit about which visitors complained so bitterly. Edward Hasted noted "very few orchards in the island; and hops have been tried in it, but without success", even though "the lands on the southernmost side of the island are defended by those above them from the strong north and east winds, which come from the sea".⁵

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1. The General Advertiser, 29 September 1786, 3c.
 2. The Observer, 17 August 1800, 2c.
 3. "The Seaside Resorts of the Londoners", Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 12 November 1853, 306.
 4. Ibid., 306. Moderation in charges at Herne Bay also caught the eye of The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser, 7 August 1841, 8a.
 5. E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Volume IV (1st. Ed., Canterbury, 1799), 292.

It is possible that local fruit supplies and demands were more evenly matched earlier in the eighteenth century, even though the climate was seen to be a hindrance to successful fruit farming:

"the situation is very bleak and open, especially toward the sea side, where there are very few hedges or trees. Those that are growing thereabouts, are, for the most part, shrubby and unthriving, being so much exposed to the Sea Winds, which often blow very strong and blast almost everything in their way ... The Soil on the lower part or South and West sides of the Island from Cliff-end to Sarre is naturally deeper and richer than that on the Hilly or upper-part, and is cultivated by the Inhabitants with great care and industry, so that it produces very great crops ... Here likewise fruit trees thrive very well, the land being rich and deep, and they being defended by the land above it from the strong Northerly and Easterly Winds which come from the Sea". (1)

One way to remedy local shortages was to increase and protect fruit and vegetable cultivation within the Isle of Thanet but, if anything, the reverse was the case during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mrs. Pilkington observed few orchards around Margate in 1812: "very few, indeed, when compared to those you have seen in Herefordshire", and "if the high price of fruit was occasioned by the scarcity of it, the vendor would be justified in selling it at a dear rate; but it is a well-known fact, that it is brought from Canterbury and the adjacent places, and that the southern part of Thanet is peculiarly favourable to fruit trees of every kind".² She perceived cornfields "interspersed with those of clover, saintfoin, lucerne, canary seed, trefoil and turnips", the farmers in the Isle of Thanet forming "a very opulent set of people", their lands being kept "in the most perfect order".³ Thanet seed cultivation for the London market expanded appreciably before 1816, especially radish, spinach, mustard and cabbage.⁴

The Thanet Magazine in August 1817 referred to

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1. John Lewis, The History and Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Isle of Tenet (1723), 7, 14.
 2. Pilkington, op. cit., 17-18.
 3. Ibid., 16, 25-6.
 4. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 10.

"the failure of the apple tree in Thanet [which] has long been a subject of complaint and regret. All that part of the island which lies between Ramsgate road and the marsh possesses a soil in the highest degree favourable to the growth of orchards ... The inclination which is nearly south is also exactly what could be desired. Though the apple was never cultivated for purposes of gain in Thanet, yet we are assured, that every farmhouse, particularly in this track, had its orchard. In the remembrance of the older inhabitants, these plantations were in a most thriving state, and much more than supplied the wants of the neighbourhood. Many hundred sacks of apples were beaten down with care, sold for 2s. 6d., the sack, and sent into the northern parts of the kingdom by returning colliers. Several of these orchards are now grubbed up and converted into cornfields; in other instances they exhibit the wrecks of their former beauty, and display here and there old straggling trees tottering in decay ... This is a subject of considerable interest, and has occasioned much speculation". (1)

Because Thanet farmers responded to the increasing opportunities offered by an expanding London market, they showed little interest in the more immediate demands on their own door-step, and potatoes were another crop which served to further this commercial end. A county agricultural report early in July 1817 noted how

"we have an unexampled number of acres of Potatoes planted this year; the soil of Thanet is proved to produce perhaps the best quality of any, and the London market is greatly supplied from thence, particularly as the conveyance by water is so very reasonable; this causes the London potato merchants to contract for large quantities, particularly from Margate and Ramsgate". (2)

In a somewhat sarcastic frame of mind, Mrs. Pilkington recalled how in 1812 she "certainly [had] as delicious potatoes as can be eaten in Ireland".³

As a domestically minded lady she appreciated that fruit and vegetables cultivated in Thanet had to be protected "from the keen blasts, either by rising hills; or erected walls: from this circumstance a garden is much more beneficial than an orchard", particularly for sheltering fruit trees and for training "against the walls" peaches, apricots, or greengages,⁴ but even this safeguard did not offer complete protection as was apparent at the end of June 1817.

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1. The Thanet Magazine (August 1817), 123.
 2. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 8 July 1817, 4c.
 3. Pilkington, op. cit., 16.
 4. Ibid., 18.

"In the orchard and fruit garden, as far as the Isle of Thanet is concerned, ... we have to report a very general failure of crops. The cold nights of May and June not only destroyed the bloom, but also in many instances the whole of the spring shoots, even of the hardiest of trees. Wall fruit has very generally suffered, and we looked in vain this day, over one of the best walls in the Island, for a single dozen of peaches. Apple trees made repeated attempts to blossom, but being as often assailed by their nightly enemy the frost, all their endeavours were frustrated. Even the hardiest trees, plums and damsons, have no produce, except only in very sheltered situations, and where they receive protection from close plantations. Gooseberries and currants in some places have their usual quantity of fruit; in others they ... have suffered in a similar manner ...

In the kitchen garden also much injury has been received from the late frosts. Cauliflowers and winter lettuce have been scarce ... Spring sown seed has very generally failed ... Asparagus has produced a very bad crop ... On the whole, the present season has been most unpropitious to the labours of the horticulturist". (1)

Only onions sown in August and deep rooted vegetables, notably early potatoes, offered any prospect of good crops.² The overall position for that year improved somewhat during July and August. July's weather proved to be favourable to the fruit garden, "thus in a degree making amends for the mischief occasioned by the cold and dry weather of spring",³ and August rains favoured the labours of the horticulturist.⁴

Another way to overcome local shortages was to draw on supplies from elsewhere in Kent, from other English counties or from the Continent by taking advantage of East Kent's proximity to Europe. France is visible from Broadstairs and Ramsgate which with Margate are as near to Belgium as they are to London.⁵ Fruit growing was a relatively unimportant farming sector in Kent at the beginning of the nineteenth century and even in 1870 it was still not of vital importance to the Kentish economy, despite an expansion in the acreage under fruit.⁶ Fruit from orchards around Faversham, Rainham or Maidstone was shipped

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1. Report dated 29 June, The Thanet Magazine (June 1817), 22-4.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid. (July 1817), 78.
 4. Ibid. (August 1817), 122.
 5. F. W. Jessup, Kent History Illustrated (2nd. Ed., Maidstone, 1973), 5.
 6. David Harvey, "Fruit Growing in Kent in the Nineteenth Century", Archaeologia Cantiana, Volume LXXIX (1964), 95, 96-8; reprinted also in Ed: M. Roake and J. Whyman, Essays in Kentish History (1973).

to the London market. The Thanet towns were in competition with other powerful markets, most of all London. In 1800 the main fruit producing region in Kent embraced the area around Maidstone, where there was a long tradition of fruit cultivation, Edward Hasted noting that "in the neighbourhood of Maidstone the plantations of apples are very large"¹, but in the county as a whole fruit was losing ground to the more profitable cultivation of hops, for which there were extensive demands in Kent and from the larger brewers of London. Hasted was aware of this trend only too clearly in 1797.

"As to orchards of apples, pears, plumbs, and cherries, there are great numbers of them everywhere, but not so much as formerly, especially of the latter; many of them having been destroyed and converted into hop grounds ... The hop-grounds have increased greatly of late years, and about Maidstone, Faversham and Canterbury especially, hops are the principal commodity of the country ... These plantations, amounting to many thousand acres [are] of the greatest advantage to the county, they employ great numbers of the neighbouring poor, not only in their cultivation, but in the making of the bagging for them; they greatly increase the value of the woodlands [for hop poles], and are the cause of much money being circulated within the county every year". (2)

From Faversham during the 1770's six hoys sailed alternately every week to London "with corn of all sorts, amounting, in very plentiful years, to 40,000 quarters per annum, ... [and there] are also some other vessels employed in carrying wool, apples, pears, and cherries, to London and other parts, in the season".³ Whether "other parts" included Thanet is simply not known, but during August 1810 so insatiable were London's demands for fruit that "the garden robbers have begun their annual plunder of wall fruit, and the produce of the hothouses, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, which are generally conveyed to town in gigs, and market carts".⁴

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1. Hasted, op. cit., Volume I (2nd. Ed., Canterbury, 1797), 267.
 2. Ibid., 267-8.
 3. Edward Jacob, The History of the Town and Port of Faversham, in the County of Kent (1774), 66-7; also J. Whyman, Introduction to the reprint of Jacob's History of Faversham (Sheerness, 1974), 24.
 4. The Morning Chronicle, 7 August 1810, 3a.

The movement of fruit to London was paralleled by the shipment of market garden produce; "there are ... acres of rich garden ground, in the western part of this county, and in the environs of London, mostly used for the supply of the metropolis".¹ Although Sandwich was surrounded by market gardens, their produce was attracted to London or was conveyed to Deal for provisioning shipping at anchor in the Downs, including East and West Indiamen and naval vessels. During the Napoleonic Wars Deal enjoyed national significance as a naval station.²

The Thanet resorts and their visitors suffered from scarcities of fruit and vegetables during the early decades of the nineteenth century which were caused by adverse climatic circumstances, by a local enthusiasm for the London market, and by the shipment of fruit and vegetables cultivated elsewhere in Kent mainly to London. In December 1802 Mr. Peacock submitted a report to the Court of Directors of the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary for turning its land "to account":

"Could anything better be done than appropriating the greatest part of it to the purposes of Horticulture? The consumption of Vegetables [is] considerable in the House at present, and will be far more so when our family is enlarged, and what might be spared would find a most ready market in Margate". (3)

The directors learned during January 1805 that "the Grounds ... were completely laid down and cultivated, that the Potatoes were likely to produce the sum of 30 guineas, exclusively of 10 sacks reserved for the use of the Infirmary".⁴

Meat and dairy products were often plentifully supplied from imports. During August 1814 it was reported from Margate that "the packet boats from Ostend bring ... plenty of provisions of all kinds, which are sold at a very

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1. Hasted, op. cit., Volume I (2nd. Ed., Canterbury, 1797), 268.
 2. J. Whyman, "Rise and Decline: Dover and Deal in the Nineteenth Century", Archaeologia Cantiana, Volume LXXXIV (1969), 126-8.
 3. The Court of Directors' Meeting, 16 December 1802, General Sea Bathing Infirmary, London Committee Minute Book, 1801-11, 33.
 4. Ibid., 15 January 1805, 108.

cheap rate".¹ During September 1814 the importation of butter and eggs into Margate was "immense", but "of the best great quantities are sent from hence to the London markets", and the rest "are sold here at 14 for 1s. and the butter at 1s. per lb."² Also shipped into Margate from Ostend during September 1814 were sheep and oxen.³ From all accounts this import trade cannot have been large, though it may have grown by 1814 compared to 1808, when it was stated that

"the whole number of packets, hoys [or] boats, ... which now belong to this port, is about 70: the hoys are chiefly employed in the conveyance of corn, and other produce of the farms in the Isle of Thanet, to the London markets. The average quantity of corn annually shipped from this port for the last four or five years has amounted to about 24,000 quarters". (4)

In 1811 Margate's trade was largely "confined to the shipment of grain, the produce of the country adjacent, for the London market".⁵

Local fishing to some extent guaranteed fish supplies, in quantities which were often plentiful and fresher than would have been the case inland. The Thanet coastal towns were by tradition fishing communities.⁶ In Margate

"the improvement of the harbour, and the great resort of company to this coast, have occasioned a considerable increase in the number of fishing and other craft belonging to this port; so that the town is not only sufficiently supplied with fish for its own consumption, but considerable quantities are likewise sent to the Metropolis". (7)

Holidaymaking revived Margate's fishing industry.⁸

According to the time of the year residents or holiday makers had a choice

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1. The Morning Post, 27 August 1814, 3a.
 2. Ibid., 14 September 1814, 3d.
 3. Ibid., 23 September 1814, 3c.
 4. Wedlake Brayley, op. cit., 959.
 5. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 6. This fact was established in 1586 by William Camden in his Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland; also see Chapter I for some consideration of the history of the Thanet towns as early fishing communities.
 7. Wedlake Brayley, op. cit., 958-9.
 8. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 42; also see Chapter III above.

of skate, small cod, haddock, whittings, soles, mackerel and herrings "in their seasons", eels, lobsters, purges, oysters and other shellfish.¹ Margate had by 1811 a daily fish market and two fishmongers.² Because fishing seasons, like agricultural seasons, were unpredictable, there were variations in the quantities of fish caught and fluctuations in prices. Mrs. Pilkington recalled a visit to Margate's fish market in 1812, where she met some friends who had just bought a large dish of crimped skate:

"I have bought as much fish for one shilling, as I would have given five for in London. We are fortunate ... in not having been here last summer, as the fisherman informs me the generality of fish forsook the coast, and that for days together the poor men returned with empty boats". (3)

Mackerel were in such abundance in 1812 that boats were engaged to carry them to London.⁴ Salmon was so costly a treat that Mrs. Pilkington could not recollect ever having seen any during her stay at Margate, but turbot were brought in now and then, and lobsters, crabs and shrimps could be had "in great quantities, at certain periods". Small eels were sold "at a low price, but the larger kind are nearly as dear as those sold in the metropolis". As for the local oysters, "I do not admire [those] which are collected upon this coast".⁵ For three pairs of soles, which measured about 10 inches, 6d. only was given, and "for six pairs rather inferior, the same sum".⁶ She went also to Pegwell to purchase shrimps, where at the Belle Vue tavern, overlooking Pegwell Bay, she enjoyed shrimps, rolls and coffee.⁷

Shops and Shopping.

Up to the 1760's Margate was reckoned to be a village and was less well

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1. Wedlake Brayley, op. cit., 959; The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 42-3.
 2. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 3. Pilkington, op. cit., 125-6.
 4. Ibid., 127.
 5. Ibid., 127-8.
 6. Ibid., 128.
 7. Ibid., 161-2.

endowed with shops than a market town.¹ By 1770 this situation had changed very considerably: "Margate is now as well supplied with shops, as most other publick places, and there are many very reputable tradesmen, in all branches of business".² Ten years later Margate's shops were "well furnished, with the various Articles of Trade in all Branches".³ "A line of fashionable shops" shared the new and spacious Cecil Square of the 1770's with the assembly rooms and "some good houses erected by persons of fortune for their own use", all of which was "paved in imitation of the streets of London".⁴

Not all of Margate's shops were considered to be elegant or fashionable in 1799:

"The lower order of the natives are cunning, avaricious, disrespectful, ... though their bread of life is for ever sweetened by the industrious honey bees from London, who yearly distribute the essence of their winter labour among them ... Church-field and Cecil-square form the principal part of the new town, and there would have been a tolerable opening from thence toward the London and Ramsgate roads, but the intervening ground, in different patches, [has] been unfortunately purchased by several of the low shopkeepers of Margate, who have conjunctively built upon it a few paltry huts, forming an insignificant row, which they call Cranbourn-alley". (5)

Initially it was Margate which forged ahead in the provision of shopping facilities but by 1812 the ever-observant female eye of Mrs. Pilkington noticed that shops were prominent among the more recent improvements of Ramsgate: "the company who resorted to this place were formerly under the necessity of going to Margate to make what purchases they required, but they have now a very good market, with shops of every description".⁶ In support of this observation The Times had noted how in September 1804 "several fashionable visitors from Ramsgate drove about [Margate] ... and lounged in the principal

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1. J. Lyons, A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and Particularly of the Town of Margate (1763), 14.
 2. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 21.
 3. The Margate Guide (1780), op. cit., 18.
 4. Seymour, op. cit., 557; also see Chapter IV above.
 5. Carey, op. cit., 13-4.
 6. Pilkington, op. cit., 153.

shops".¹ Some leading London shopkeepers established seasonal businesses at the seaside. During July 1806 Collins, Jones and Co., who were Milliners and Dressmakers to H.R.H. the Duchess of York, of 155 New Bond Street, advertised that they had moved for the season part of their business to No. 6, Hawley Square, Margate.²

Margate thus acquired markets from 1777 onwards, increasing shopping facilities from the 1760's onwards, and was also the venue for two summer fairs, which were held annually on 24 June and 24 August.³ The growth of shopping facilities in Margate between 1796 and 1811 is shown in the table which follows.

TABLE 20: SHOPPING FACILITIES IN MARGATE IN 1796 AND 1811. (4)

<u>Food and Drink</u>	<u>1796</u>	<u>1811</u>
Bakers	11	15
Pastry Cooks		2
Gingerbread Baker	1	
Butchers	5	8
Porkman		1
Poulterers	2	1
Fishmongers		2
Grocers	10	16
Tea Dealer	1	
Greengrocers	7	5
Fruiterers	1	2
Cowkeeper, Dairyman or Milkman	1	
Beer Merchant	1	
Wine and Spirit Merchants	2	6
<u>Clothes and Apparel</u>		
Shoemakers	5	15
Tailors	6	6
Cloth Warehouse		1
Hatters	2	1
Milliners	3	6
Straw Hat Maker		1
Staymakers	2	
Linen Drapers	4	7
Watchmakers	2	4
Perfumer	1	

1. The Times, 7 September 1804, 3e.

2. Ibid., 19 July 1806.

3. Seymour, op. cit., 553.

4. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit., and Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.

<u>Miscellaneous</u>	<u>1796</u>	<u>1811</u>
Booksellers and Stationers	2	2
Libraries	3	3
Hairdressers	8	7
Toy Dealers		2
Chemists and Druggists		3
China and Glass Dealer		1
Earthenwareman		1
Laundresses		2
Mangler		1
Gunsmith	1	1
Saddlers	1	4
Ironmongers	1	2
Music Factory		1
Silversmith	1	
Tallow Chandler	1	1
Basket Maker		1
Manteau Makers	2	

These figures reveal an appreciable expansion in the number and a slight increase overall in the range of shops in Margate between 1796 and 1811:

TABLE 21: DITTO SUMMARY TABLE

<u>Category</u>	<u>Total No. of Outlets</u>		<u>No. of Trades Listed</u>	
	<u>1796</u>	<u>1811</u>	<u>1796</u>	<u>1811</u>
Food and Drink	42	58	11	10
Clothes and Apparel	25	41	8	8
Miscellaneous	20	32	9	15
Total	87	131	28	33

The expansion in the food and drink and clothes and apparel categories was not one of variety so much as outlets which increased by 38% and 60% respectively. Miscellaneous outlets rose also by 60% and widened their range by two thirds from nine different trades in 1796 to fifteen by 1811. Between 1796 and 1811 the total number of known shopping outlets in Margate rose by 44 units. Further increases in number and variety occurred during the next three decades.

The shopkeepers of Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs catered for two sorts of demand. All the year round demands from permanent residents or schools and academies were supplemented by heavy seasonal demands during the summer months

from visitors who resided in lodging houses or apartments and from hotels, inns, taverns, dining-rooms, restaurants, coffee-rooms, or the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary (from the 1790's), who required foodstuffs, beers, wines and spirits, etc. In 1801 Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs and St. Peters constituted a significant potential market of 9,444 inhabitants compared to the following populations: 8,027 for the County Town of Maidstone; 9,642 for Canterbury, as the premier Cathedral City and the focal point of East Kent; 6,195 for Deal and Walmer, as respectively a provisioning or naval centre and a sea-side resort; and 7,084 for Dover, as Kent's main cross-channel port. When full of summer visitors the Thanet resorts comfortably exceeded the potential markets of Maidstone or Canterbury.

The distributive trades have always played an important part in supplying the needs of holiday makers. Demands for basic goods, such as food or candles, were supplemented by the more fleeting fancies of the holiday-making public. There was a more varied and higher retail demand per capita in holiday centres than in the country as a whole, which was reflected in the employment offered by retail shops of many kinds, from the sale of cakes and confectionery to all food and provision shops, haberdashery, millinery, boots and shoes, medicinal sundries, books, stationery, and souvenirs. The structure of the retail trade as it evolved locally mirrored the characteristics of a town and the social background of its inhabitants.¹ Visitors who took furnished rooms where they did their own catering, and this was the major type of seaside accommodation in eighteenth and nineteenth century resorts,² created a large demand for food and other basic necessities, as did a minority of very wealthy visitors, who stayed in their own marine villas or estates, and boarding schools and

1. For instance, Alison Adburgham, Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914 (1964), 205; also T. C. Barker and Michael Robbins, A History of London Transport, Volume I: The Nineteenth Century (1963), 201-2.

2. See Chapter III above.

academies, which were drawn to the seaside by current vogues for sea-bathing and sea air.¹

Thanet's urban shopkeepers, including the general dealer in the meaner streets, or nine unspecified shopkeepers known to exist in 1796,² relied on the bustle of the summer months to swell their annual takings. Their gross earnings varied from year to year according to the buoyancy and prosperity of each season. Their well-being, like that of the holiday and entertainment trades generally, depended on the observation from Margate in 1804 that "being a fashionable bathing place, a good deal of loose money is scattered in it every summer", while in neighbouring Deal "the resort ... of summer visitors makes for a brisk circulation of money".³ The greater the number of visitors, and the more loose money they possessed, the more the prosperity of everybody in a resort was assured.

Information on the turnover and profitability of these early shops is non-existent. Title deeds throw some limited light on changes of ownership and the purposes to which premises were put. For Margate forty title deeds relate to one shop in the Market Place. In 1707 it was sold as a herring house by William Norwood, a mariner, to John Bennett, a butcher. Attached to the herring house was a well and a salt bin. During the eighteenth century, as the hanging and drying of herrings declined, so the buildings which had been used for such purposes were converted to other commercial and even residential uses.⁴ What had once been a herring house became a butcher's shop which in 1779 was leased to John Packer, a butcher. Ten years later the premises, comprising a slaughter house, herring house and stable, were sold by Thomas Bennett to Thomas Tournay, a butcher from Sarre, and to John Drayton Sawkins,

1. See Chapter II above.

2. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.

3. David Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation, 4 Volumes (1805), Appendix 4: A Commercial and Manufactural Gazetteer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

4. As noted, for instance, in The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem, with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), 23; also see Chapter III above.

Gent. This particular deed was drawn up by Jacob Sawkins who was a practising attorney at No. 2., Hawley Street, and was witnessed by his clerk, Michael Mascall. In 1797 Thomas Tournay, having by now two slaughter houses, sold out to William Hall of Wingham. Thereafter in 1801 and 1811 John Truig was in business as a butcher, with a slaughter house and stable in the Market Place.¹

Although the business that holiday making brought to local tradesmen created incomes in the immediate vicinity of the Thanet resorts, their demands for goods to stock their shops and business premises benefited in turn suppliers and manufacturers from further afield, including the Margate hoys trading corn during the eighteenth century to London and returning with shop goods. There was a sequence of economic linkages and business opportunities. Goods from London and elsewhere came into the Thanet towns during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to the material benefit of their manufacturers, suppliers, carriers and the pier authorities, before passing over shop counters to be consumed by the resident populations and visitors of Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate. The same was true of imported foodstuffs or of goods supplied locally by Canterbury and other wholesalers. The latter derived some proportion of their business profits from commercial demands originating in the Thanet resorts.

The next section, which explores Thanet's economic dependence upon the hoy and inward coastal shipments, shows how food, raw materials and other commodities arrived from London, from the North-East and from other English and European ports. In addition, Canterbury assumed some importance in manufacturing and supplying goods to retail and other businesses along the coast of Kent. Canterbury was a more significant market than is suggested by its resident population of 9,642 in 1801, which any how exceeded that of the County Town of Maidstone at 8,027. Canterbury sustained manufacturers, wholesalers and high-

1. Included in the White Hart Hotel Deeds, Margate Public Library, Y060. 608.

class retail shops, as a residential cathedral city, as a major coaching centre on the London to Dover Road and between London and Thanet,¹ and as the natural capital, shopping, commercial and social centre for a wide area of East Kent. Canterbury, like the Thanet coastal towns, relied on certain outside supplies. Daniel Defoe showed how its citizens were

"oblig'd to fetch all their heavy goods, either from Fordwich, three miles off [the Stour gave small vessels access up river to Fordwich as Canterbury's river port], or from Whitstable seven miles off; the latter they chuse for such heavy goods as come from London; as oyl, wine, grocery, etc., because 'tis the less hazard by sea; but as for coals, deals, etc., they come by way of Sandwich, and are brought up the river to Fordwich". (2)

Canterbury exhibited wealth and variety in its trading interests from its geographical situation and economic and social importance. In 1776 the Kentish historian, Charles Seymour, was residing in apartments in Canterbury, where he was a "Teacher of the Classics", presumably at the King's School. He was impressed by the "several elegant and shewy Shops" of the City.³

Canterbury's manufacturers, merchants, wholesalers and shopkeepers prospered from the money spent by local residents and tourists to the City, some of whom were holidaymakers travelling to and from the Thanet resorts. The coach journey from London to Thanet involved initially a break of journey to change coaches at Canterbury.⁴ This often meant an overnight stay, or at least a need to take refreshments at one of the city's many inns. George Keate during the 1770's broke his journey at the Fountain Inn,⁵ while John Baker spent the night of 10 September 1777 at the Red Lion and the night of 14 October on his return at the King's Head.⁶ Day trips which were taken by holiday makers staying in

1. See Chapter VI below.

2. Daniel Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain [1724-6] (Everyman's Library, Revised Ed., 1962), Letter II, 119; also J. Whyman, "The Decay of Fordwich as a Port", in Ed: K. H. McIntosh, Fordwich the Lost Port (1975), 201-3.

3. Seymour, op. cit., Title Page and 220.

4. See Chapter VI below.

5. George Keate, Sketches from Nature, Taken, and Coloured, in a Journey to Margate (5th. Ed., 1802), 9, 18-24.

6. Yorke, op. cit., 417, 421.

the Thanet resorts to such historical places as Canterbury or Dover meant that money was spent to the benefit of their tradespeople. As early as 1763 visitors were recommended to undertake an extensive tour taking in Richborough, Sandwich, Deal and Dover, before returning to Margate via Canterbury.¹ Pre-railway Canterbury also prospered to some extent from the expenditure of tourists of all nationalities passing through the city.

Canterbury wholesalers appeared in local newspapers before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 19-22 March 1728-9, advertised the business operations of two Canterbury mercers.

"JOHN CASTLE, Silk Weaver from London, who has taken the Shop where Mrs. Hunt lately liv'd in Mercery Street, Canterbury, Makes and Sells all sorts of Mercer's Goods, as Brocades, Damasks, etc, ...

N.B. The Shop is now stock'd with choice, fresh and fashionable Goods, which will be Sold, by Wholesale and Retail, as Cheap as in London; the Goods being all New.

GEORGE FRENDE, Mercer, in Christ Church Yard, Canterbury, Sells all Sorts of Brocades, Damasks, etc, ...

NOTE, Mrs. HUNT who lived in Mercery Lane, being obliged to leave off Trade, the abovesaid has bought a Part of her Stock; where all Centlewomen may depend upon kind usage with the best of Goods, and at a very low Price". (2)

Early in April 1729 the same advertisements were joined by a third:

"DAVID KETCHERELL in Castle Street, Canterbury, Imports and Sells all Sorts of Hollands and Flanders Linnen, ... Threads, Tapes, and many other Sorts of Holland and Flanders Goods, ... All Sorts of Tobacco, Imported, Cut and Dryed, by Him: and Sold at Cheap Rates". (3)

Half a century later The Kentish Gazette, of 9-12 May 1781, contained the advertisement of

"CALLAWAY, Silk Weaver and Mercer, No. 5, St. Alphege Lane, Wholesale and Retail - Spring and Summer Silks - Orders punctually executed on the shortest Notice - As good Workmanship is the principal Cause of Smoothness, Brightness of Colours, and every other Perfection in Silk - the Ladies will find, that this Manufactory is equal to the best in England". (4)

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1. Lyons, op. cit., 34-5; also see Chapter III above.
 2. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 19-22 March 1728-9, 4.
 3. Ibid., 2-5 April 1729, 4.
 4. The Kentish Gazette, 9-12 May 1781, 1.

Here was a long advertisement which occupied one third of a column in a sixteen column, four page newspaper; also "DE LASAUX, Silk Manufacturer and Mercer, Hawkes Lane, Canterbury - Spring and Summer Silks",¹ which, too, was a lengthy advertisement.

Canterbury thereafter continued to be a centre for wholesale trading which over a twenty mile radius included the Thanet towns, Herne Bay, Deal, Dover and Folkestone.

Thanet's Economic Dependence upon the Hoy and Inward Coastal Shipments.

The authors of guidebooks, beginning with John Lyons in 1763,² stressed how important hoys were to the everyday life and provisioning of Margate as a rapidly expanding resort:

"the various articles of trade are mostly furnished by a ready and quick communication with London, by the Hoys. Was it not for the assistance of these Vessels, it would be almost impossible for Margate and the country round it to furnish entertainment for the vast numbers of people, who resort thither. They are Sloops of 80 or 100 tons burthen. There are five of them, which sail in alternate weeks. Their Station in the River is at Wool Key near the Custom-House. They usually leave London on Wednesday or Thursday, and Margate on Friday or Saturday". (3)

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1. The Kentish Gazette, 9 - 12 May 1781, 1.
French Protestant refugees, the descendants of one of whom is suggested in the name of De Lasaux, had been primarily responsible for introducing silk production into Canterbury, of which Seymour, op. cit., 218, mentions that there were formerly in the city 3,000 French Protestants. The Canterbury silk industry developed a considerable fame; according to A New General Atlas containing a Geographical and Historical Account of All the Empires, Kingdoms and Other Dominions of the World (1721), 201, "the Silks wove at Canterbury equal if not exceed any foreign Silks; and being much esteem'd by our Merchants great Quantities of 'em are sent to London". By the 1770's, however, Seymour, op. cit., 219, noted that the industry was in decline, for "notwithstanding the Silk Weavers, in respect of such colours, as are tarnished by the smoke of London, have an advantage over those of Spitalfields, this manufacture is now upon the decline", and "the chief support of this City is, at the present time, its great Thoroughfare and the Hop Trade".
 2. Lyons, op. cit., 15; also see Chapter VI below.
 3. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 21-2.

Hoys in 1776 conveyed "great quantities of goods from London, for the town and country"¹ and, by virtue of "having a quick and easy Communication with the Metropolis by Water", Margate's shops were well-stocked with varied articles.² During the 1790's Margate's shops continued to be "well-stocked up from the London Hoys",³ which "not only bring a great part of the company, but such necessaries, for their accommodation, as cannot be supplied by Margate and the surrounding villages".⁴ What was true of Margate and its vicinity applied equally to Herne Bay in 1793, with its single bathing machine and "good accommodation" at two inns; it was "the station for two hoys which bring goods from London for the convenience of Canterbury and this part of the country", and "several colliers with coals [also] visit this place for the purpose above specified".⁵

The Maritime Guide (circa 1804) noticed how "the hoys and yachts, which go regularly between London and Margate, carry conveniently, and at a moderate rate, the various necessities and luxuries required by so great a concourse of visitors".⁶ Eight years later Mrs. Pilkington witnessed "different articles which are brought for the use of the numerous inhabitants of this place, and its environs, [being] landed upon the Pier from the packets and other trading vessels".⁷

Apart from large quantities of coal, timber and building materials were imported into the Thanet resorts, which were outside the province of the hoys. Inward shipments of groceries, wines, clothing, millinery, guide books, stationery or books were the means whereby the shops of Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate were able to meet the varied demands of residents and summer

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1. A New Display of the Beauties of England, Volume I (3rd. Ed., 1776), op. cit., 207.
 2. The Margate Guide (1780), op. cit., 18.
 3. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 23.
 4. The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 75.
 5. Cozens, op. cit., 451-2.
 6. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), op. cit., 31-2.
 7. Pilkington, op. cit., 65.

visitors.

Until fairly recently historians have concentrated too much attention on roads, canals and railways as means to internal trading to the neglect of rivers or coastal routes. Vessels sailing from the Thanet ports enjoyed direct access to London and to other ports in the British Isles. After all, "the sea ... was the equivalent of a great and most important river stretching right round Great Britain", which was most "used on the east and south".¹

Thanet's own mariners, accustomed to sea voyages, were employed in carrying the exports and imports of the locality. Margate had 20 mariners in 1796,² and 21 master mariners and five mariners in 1811.³ Schedules of rates and duties attached to the Margate Improvement and Harbour Acts of 1787, 1799 and 1809 show how varied trading to and from the port was, proceeding in 1787 from "every Quarter of Wheat, Meal, Rye, Barley, Beans, Pease, Tares, Mustard Seed, Canary Seed, and Seeds of every Denomination", to malt, oats, beer, ale, wine, wool, yarn, cotton, fish oil, brass, copper, lead, coal, salt, cod, lime, timber, trunks, chests, boxes, bricks, tiles, paving stones, marble, cheese, potatoes, apples, pears, herrings, carriages, horses, sedan chairs, and "Hares, Pheasants, and all other Game per Head".⁴ Added to the above in 1799 were spirits, "Wine in Bottles per Dozen", or in casks, sugar, tallow, crates of glassware and earthenware, stoves, ranges or grates, furniture, billiard tables, harpsichords, spinets, pianofortes and salmon,⁵ while straw, oilcake, spirits in bottles, porter, cider, hams, bacon, tongues, "every Hundred Weight of Pork or Beef, contained in any Cask", tea, coffee, treacle, wrought pewter, window

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1. T. C. Barker and C. I. Savage, An Economic History of Transport in Britain (1974), 17.
 2. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.
 3. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 4. An Act for rebuilding the Pier of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, etc. (1787), 27 Geo. III c. 45.
 5. An Act to amend and render More effectual an Act, Passed in the 27th Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, for rebuilding the Pier of Margate, etc. (1799), 39 Geo. III c.2.

MARGATE HARBOUR AS IT APPEARED IN 1820



Light House & Pier

W. C. Oulton, Picture of Margate, and Its Vicinity (1820), p. 43.

glass, violins and "every Turtle" were included in the 1809 schedule of rates.¹

Guide books and printed sources refer to this traffic only in a general sort of way. The Gentleman's Magazine during 1771 noted the origins of building materials for a new crescent at Margate. Obtained locally were bricks made close to the town for 19s. per thousand, plus sand and for "chalk to make lime, a sufficient quantity will be dug out of the foundations of the houses":

"timber may be imported directly from Norway, and landed in Margate Pier. Portland, Purbeck and other stones may be brought directly from the quarries to Margate. Tiles, very good, [are] made at Folkestone, and are brought at a trifling expense by water". (2)

The author concluded his article by "wishing success to the crescent, to the town of Margate, and to the bathers".³

In 1793 Margate harbour admitted "vessels of near 300 tons, which carry on a considerable commerce in coals, deals, corn and timber, besides the ... trade by the hoys and packets during the season, when there are usually eight or nine employed".⁴ As it had only "a small depth of water", it was frequented "only by coal ships, yachts, hoys and a few small vessels which carry large quantities of corn to the London market".⁵ Among the imported articles of 1808 and 1816 were "coals from Newcastle and Sunderland, and deals, hemp, tar [or] iron ... from Memel and Riga".⁶

By 1816 it was confidently claimed that Margate harbour was handling a higher volume of trade, compared to previous centuries, quite apart from 24,000 qtrs. of corn and other products shipped annually from the farms of the Island, "for the supply of the London market":

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1. An Act to amend and render More effectual Two Acts for the Maintenance and Support of the Pier and Harbour, and paving and lighting the Town of Margate in the County of Kent (1809), 49 Geo. III c. 117.
 2. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 41 (April 1771), 167-8.
 3. Ibid., 168.
 4. Cozens, op. cit., 27-8.
 5. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), op. cit., 29.
 6. Wedlake Brayley, op. cit., 959; The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 44.

"the lands in the island were not in such a state of cultivation as they have been of late years, therefore the droits [duties] paid for corn shipped must have been trifling to what they are at present; not to mention the immense quantity of baggage and goods brought from London for the visitors, and the supply of the shops in the town and neighbourhood, as well as the duties or pierage now paid for coals and all other merchandize imported". (1)

The shipping trade of Ramsgate had also "considerably improved" by 1816, where two or three ships were "constantly employed in importing coals from Newcastle and Sunderland".²

Demands for perishables, raw materials and manufactured goods were satisfied from shipments into the Thanet ports. The most immediate suppliers were hoys and other small craft. Small vessels handled small cargoes and several families or people were fully employed in merely carrying things about. Distribution was a labour intensive occupation and hoys as universal providers played a crucial role in the coastal trade from London and elsewhere to Thanet and vice versa, both before and after the arrival of the South Eastern Railway in the 1840's.

Directories list the number of hoymen and land carriers operating from and to the Thanet ports and their mode of operation, as shown in the following tables.

TABLE 22: THANET HOYMEN AND OTHER VESSELS, 1792-1816.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>
<u>1792</u> (3)	<u>2 Hoys</u>	<u>1 Hoy</u>	<u>4 Icelandic Fishing Vessels</u> (4)
	The Isle of Thanet (R.S. Covell) and The Margate (J. Sackett) sail alternately every week to London.	The Sally (Wm. Ansell) sails every week in summer, to Dice's Quay, Billingsgate.	The Susannah (R. Sandwell). The Neptune (T. Castle). The Trial (J. Oldfield).

1. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 34, 44.
2. Ibid., 98.
3. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), op. cit., 160, 161, 162.
4. For other references to the Broadstairs Icelandic cod fishery see Chapter I above.

TABLE 22: THANET HOYMEN AND OTHER VESSELS, 1792-1816.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>
	<u>Stranack's Yawl</u> , sails occasionally to Chatham with malt during the winter. (1)	<u>2 Vessels in the Coal Trade</u> , belonging to Hutchinson and Co.	The Providence (T. Elgar). <u>4 Trading Vessels</u> The Friendship (J. Hurst), The Delight (R. Churn), The Thomas & John (H. Wall), The George & Mary (R. Norwood), generally trade to Poole for stone and clear at the Custom House in Sandwich. (2)
<u>1796-99</u> (3)	<u>3 Corn Hoys</u> sail alternately between Margate and Chester's Quay, near the Custom House, on Saturday, and carry goods and passengers: The Margate - Captain Goodburne. The Isle of Thanet - Captain Minter. The Endeavour - Captain Watler. There were two hoy proprietors in 1796 - Latham Osborn and John Sackett. (4)		"There are also vessels from Ramsgate and Broadstairs to London" (1797).
<u>1807</u> (5)	<u>3 Corn Hoys</u> : The Margate - Captain Larkin. The Isle of Thanet - Captain Gibbs. The Endeavour - Captain Jones.		

1. Margate had at least one maltster in 1796 according to The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit. In addition malt was produced by Cobbs, the brewers, Peter Mathias, The Brewing Industry in England, 1700-1830 (C.U.P., 1959), 255, noting that the Cobbs combined brewing with malting for sale, added to which strategically placed firms such as Cobb of Margate became contract brewers for nearby naval ports such as Chatham, ibid., 28.
2. There were notable building developments in Broadstairs during the 1790's.
3. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 98; The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 107; Robert Edward Hunter, A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet; being Chiefly Intended as a Directory for the Company Resorting to Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs (1799), 110.
4. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.
5. Hunter (3rd. Ed., Ramsgate, 1807), op. cit., 118.

TABLE 22: THANET HOYMEN AND OTHER VESSELS, 1792-1816.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>
<u>1811</u> (1)	<u>3 Corn Hoys</u> owned by two proprietors: - The Isle of Thanet - L. Osborn, owner; J. Miller, master. The Francis - L. Osborn, owner; W. Adams, master. The Governor - D. Swinford, owner; Thomas Dean, master, sailing to Chester's Quay every Saturday.		
<u>1816</u> (2)	<u>3 Corn Hoys</u> sail alternately from Chester's and Ralph's Quays, near the Custom House, on Saturday, and carry goods and passengers.		

Thus there was a consistent commercial link between Margate and London by two hoys in 1792 which increased to three during the twenty years between the mid-1790's and 1816. Of the Margate hoy proprietors, Latham Osborn enjoyed at least a fifteen year tenure (1796-1811), John Sackett was well-established in 1792 and 1796 and David Swinford appeared as a rival to Latham Osborn in 1809.³ As for the vessels, The Isle of Thanet was operational from 1792 to 1811, but The Margate and The Endeavour of the 1790's and 1807 gave way to two new vessels, The Governor, owned by David Swinford, and The Francis, owned by Latham Osborn.

TABLE 23: CARRIERS OPERATING FROM THANET, 1792-1811.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>
<u>1792</u> (4)	<u>2 Caravans:</u> Constabell (or Constable) goes to Canterbury every morning at 8 during the season and returns in the evening, and in winter he goes three times a week, and returns the next day.	<u>1 Caravan:</u> belonging to N. Hills, sets out every Wednesday and Saturday in the summer to the Sun, Canterbury, and returns the same evening. In winter he goes on Friday and returns on Saturday.	

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1. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 2. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 60.
 3. Picture of Margate being a Complete Guide to all persons visiting Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs (1809), 49.
 4. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), op. cit., 160, 161-2.

TABLE 23: CARRIERS OPERATING FROM THANET, 1792-1811.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>
<u>1792</u>	Thornton sets out on Monday and Friday for Deal and returns the same day.		
<u>1796</u> (1)	<u>3 Carriers and several Caravans</u> during the season go between Margate and Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Canterbury, Deal and Dover, with goods and passengers.		
<u>1797</u> (2)	<u>2 Caravans:</u> one from Margate to Canterbury every Monday, Thursday and Saturday morning (returning the same day) during the summer; and for two months in the winter, every Monday and Friday, and returns every Tuesday and Saturday - Jezzard, Market Street. The other to Sandwich, Deal and Dover, every Monday, Thursday and Saturday morning; and after December 10 on Thursdays only - Thornton, Neptune Square. <u>A Light Cart:</u> from Margate to Ramsgate twice every day during the summer, and once in the winter - Constable, Quality Court.		<u>A Cart:</u> from Broadstairs to Margate every day during the summer, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays during the winter season - Knox.
<u>1811</u> (3)	<u>Carriers:</u> to Ramsgate twice a day, to Dover daily and to Canterbury twice a week, including Isaac Franklin from Mill Lane to Canterbury.		

From the Thanet towns carriers operated scheduled services between 1792 and 1811 to Canterbury, Sandwich, Deal and Dover, which were notably more frequent during the summer months. Because daylight hours were shorter during

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1. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.; A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 96.
 2. The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 108.
 3. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.

the winter months and demands were fewer, services were often half what they were during the summer season. The commodities which were conveyed back to Thanet from these different places included shop goods from Canterbury and market garden produce from Sandwich. Constable and Thornton as Margate carriers had at least a five year tenure between 1792 and 1797.

Local and regional trading brought prosperity and wealth to some of Margate's hoymen and land carriers. The Osborns were successful hoy proprietors for at least 43 years from 1796 to 1839.¹ Latham Osborn's son must have prospered very considerably as a hoyman to be listed as a "Gentleman" living in 1833-4 in Cecil Square,² which was one of the fashionable parts of Margate. The Swinfords chalked up 30 years as hoy proprietors between 1809 and 1839.³ As a land carrier, Isaac Franklin operated from Margate for sixteen years between 1811 and 1827.⁴

Hoymen and land carriers functioned as essential intermediaries in the business links which extended from commodity suppliers in London, the provinces or Europe through to the shops, hotels or inns of Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate, but what of the volumes and types of goods brought into the locality? The commodities which arrived from areas outside Thanet fell into four broad categories: coal, from the North East; shop goods, from London and elsewhere; building materials and timber; and food imports. Fortunately some indication of this traffic during the 1790's and 1800's can be gleaned from The Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1792-1807. From records of dues paid it is possible to obtain some idea of the goods shipped into and out of the port. The following dues were provided for under the Broadstairs Harbour Acts of

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1. Pigot & Co.'s Royal, National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839), 343.
 2. Pigot & Co.'s National, London and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1832-3-4 (5th. Ed.), 853.
 3. Pigot & Co.'s Royal, National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839), 343.
 4. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7 (3rd. Ed.), 639.

1792¹ and 1805.²

TABLE 24: SOME OF THE DUES PAYABLE ON IMPORTED COMMODITIES TO THE BROADSTAIRS PIER COMMISSIONERS UNDER ACTS, 1792 AND 1805.

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>1805</u>
	s. d.	s. d.
For every Barrel of Beer, the Property of a <u>British</u> Subject.	2	6
do. of an Alien or Merchant Stranger.	4	1. 6
do. Ton of Wine.	1. 4	6. 0
do. Ton or Chaldron of Coals, the Property of a Portsman (3)	2	2. 2
of a Shireman (4)	3	2. 3
do. Load of Lime, loose or in Packages.	2	4
do. small Trunk, Chest or Box.	1	2
do. large ditto.	3	4
do. One Thousand of Bricks or plain Tiles.	4	1. 0
do. ditto large Paving Stones.	1. 4	} no equivalent (5)
do. ditto small.	8	
do. Ton of <u>Portland</u> , <u>Purbeck</u> or other Stones.	8	1. 0
do. Thousand of Slate.	4	8
do. Ton of Oak, Elm, or other Timber.	6	1. 6
do. Load of Oak or Elm Boards.	1. 0	2. 0
do. Horse.	1. 6	2. 6
do. 4 - wheeled carriage.	2. 6	5. 0
do. 2 - wheeled ditto.	1. 6	2. 0
do. Stove.	2	4
do. Double Chest of Drawers.	6	9
do. Dining Table.	3	4
do. Bedstead.	2	3
do. Sofa.	6	9
do. Harpsichord, Spinnet or Forte Piano.	1. 6	2. 0
do. Harpsichord.		3. 0
do. Hundred of Deal Boards	1. 0	1. 6

1. An Act for repairing or rebuilding the Pier adjoining to the Harbour of Broadstairs, in the Isle of Thanet, in the County of Kent; and for the better preserving the said Harbour; and for removing and preventing Obstructions, Nuisances, and Annoyances, and regulating the Mooring of Ships and Vessels within the said Harbour, 32 Geo. III c.86. This Act of 1792 re-styled the Pier Wardens as Pier Commissioners and authorized them to raise £5,000 for repairs, Clauses I, X and XXVI.
2. An Act for amending an Act passed in the Thirty-second year of His present Majesty, for repairing or rebuilding the Pier adjoining to the Harbour of Broad Stairs in the Isle of Thanet in the County of Kent, 45 Geo. III c.102. This Act authorized the borrowing of a further £5,000. Also see Chapter I above.
3. Under 32 Geo. III c.86, Clause XII, a Portsman was "a Native of Great Britain, and an Inhabitant of any of the Cinque Ports, Two Ancient Towns or their Members".
4. Under ibid., a Shireman was "an Inhabitant of any other Port of Great Britain".
5. Under 45 Geo. III c.102, 2 s. "for every Thousand of Paving Tiles"; 6d. "For every Hundred Feet superficial of York, Newcastle, or other Paving Stones".

The Pier Commissioners' revenue depended on dues levied and collected, which were raised between 1792 and 1805. Their revenue fluctuated according to the volume of trade handled. Inward shipments for 1793-4 were as follows.

TABLE 25: THE REVENUE TO BROADSTAIRS PIER FROM THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS IN THE ACCOUNTING YEAR 1793-4. (1)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Particular Items</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>			
			£	s.	d.	
<u>1793</u>	May	9 68½ Chaldrons of Coals landed from the Thatis.	4	5	6	
		13 Sundrys of furnitures landed from the Boat Hobby Horse.		6	10	
		20 Sundrys landed from the Hobby Horse.		3	8	
		27 Ditto.		4	4	
	June	5 66 Chaldrons of Coals landed from the Brig Thatis.	4	2	6	
		7 Poundage on timber landed from a barge.		3	0	
		11 Sundrys landed from the Hobby Horse.		3	6	
		12 30 double deals landed for Messrs. Colles and Turner.		1	0	
		21 68 Chaldrons of Coals landed.	4	5	0	
		25 16 Loads of timber landed by a barge. 200 of single deals by ditto.		8	0	
		July	5 Sundrys landed by Hobby Horse. Ditto for Wm. Smart.		9	6
			6 Sundrys landed by ditto.		7	4
			14 Sundrys landed by the Hobby Horse.		4	3
			15 Poundage by freight of timber and chalk on y Richard.		7	0
	18 67 Chaldrons of Coals landed from the brig Thatis.		4	3	9	
	29 Sundrys landed from the Hobby Horse.			3	6	
	August	30 112 Chaldrons of Coals Landed by y brig Sisters.	7	0	0	
		3 68 Chaldrons of Coals landed by the brig Thatis.	4	5	0	
		11 Timber landed by Mr. Mussered.		3	9	
		18 Sundrys landed by the Hobby.		3	1	
20 66 Chaldrons of Coals Landed by the brig Encouragement.		4	2	6		
29 Sundrys landed by the Hobby Horse.			3	11		
September		2 Ditto.		3	4	
		10 66 Chaldrons of Coals landed by C. Johnson.	4	2	6	
	11 66 ditto by Capt. Edmunds.	4	2	6		
	20 Sundry small landed from the Neptune for Mr. Elgar.			6		
October	6 Sundrys landed from a Packet.		2	9		
November	8 Poundage by Bricks Landed.		1	6		
	65 Chaldrons of Coals Landed.	4	1	3		
December	8 Bricks, etc., landed.		3	11		
<u>1794</u>	January	5 Sundrys Landed by the Hobby.		1	6	
		6 Dues on timber landed.		2	0	
March	11 Dues on 12,000 Bricks.		4	0		
	10 35 Chaldrons of Coals Landed.	2	0	10		
April	10 13½ ditto.		15	9		
<u>TOTAL:</u>			£52	1s.	9d.	

Coastal trading to and from Broadstairs attained significant levels before 1815. As the local population expanded in numbers and wealth so goods were shipped into the town in larger quantities. Incoming cargoes were greater in volume and more varied than those leaving the port.¹ Coal paid more dues than any other commodity. The quantities handled and the dues paid were often quite staggering. The frequency of imports can be seen in two examples selected from 1792-3.

TABLE 26: COAL SHIPMENTS INTO BROADSTAIRS BY MR. SANDWELL AND FROM THE BRIG THATIS, 1792-3. (2)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Chaldrons</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
		£	s.	d.
<u>Mr. Sandwell</u>				
6 July 1792	64	3	14	8
18 September 1792	60	3	10	0
7 November 1792	54	3	3	0
	<u>Total:</u>	£10	7s.	8d.
<u>The Brig Thatis (3)</u>				
9 May 1793	68½	4	5	6
5 June 1793	66	4	2	6
18 July 1793	67	4	3	9
3 August 1793	68	4	5	0
	<u>Total:</u>	£16	16s.	9d.

Coal importing was a specialised trade. Specifically named boats arrived at regular intervals. The Thatis, for instance, discharged coal about once a month during the summer of 1793. Captain George Hurst during the summer of

1. In the 1790's there are frequent entries relating to the outward shipment of flints, chalk and boulders, but unfortunately next to nothing is known about the destination of these cargoes, which in many cases were ballast on vessels returning from Broadstairs or other nearby ports. This is suggested by three shipments outwards in three consecutive months, 5 July, 10 August and 21 September 1797 of boulders and flints on "y Ann of Hull". 23 tons of chalk destined for New Romney, 29 April 1797, were possibly for road building or to assist in land drainage. Although provision was made in the scale of duties for corn and other agricultural produce the quantities recorded were very small.
2. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1792-3, 1793-4.
3. Also set out in the previous table showing "The Revenue to Broadstairs Pier from the Importation of Goods in the Accounting Year, 1793-4".

1795 arrived with coal at monthly intervals¹; likewise Captain Thomas Edmunds in 1797.² Some of the brigs carried weighty cargoes. The Sisters entered the harbour on 30 July 1793 with 112 chaldrons on which the duty payable was £7.³

Annual coal shipments into Broadstairs between 1792 and 1798 are shown in the next table.

TABLE 27: CHALDRONS OF COAL ARRIVING IN BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR, 1792-8, AND THE TOTAL DUES PAID THEREON. (4)

<u>Accounting Year</u>	<u>No. of Chaldrons</u>	<u>Total Dues Paid</u>		
		£	s.	d.
1792-3	545	33	1	4
1793-4	761	47	7	1
1794-5	572½	35	3	6½
1795-6	784	46	16	3
1796-7	690	42	1	6
1797-8	674	41	2	2
Total, 1792-8	4,026½	£245	11s.	10½d.
Average per annum	671	£ 40	18s.	8d.

In 1797-8 of 674 chaldrons brought into Broadstairs, 609 or 90% were handled by two coal carriers; 314 chaldrons by Captain Thomas Edmunds after five voyages, and 295 by Captain George Hurst after three voyages.⁵ The former was importing coal from 1793 onwards⁶ and the latter from 1795 onwards. Some of the vessels used were foreign to Broadstairs, but others were native to the port and were manned by local people. Captain Robert Sandwell, who was shipping coal into the town in 1792, was a native of Broadstairs, and was among the Pier Commissioners appointed by the Broadstairs Harbour Act of 1792.⁷ He donated two guineas and Messrs. P. & J. Sandwell a guinea apiece towards the cost of obtaining that Act. He was present at a public meeting of the inhabitants which was held at the Rose Inn in Broadstairs on 15 December 1792.⁸ He attached his

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1. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1795-6 records him as entering on 28 May, 24 June, 16 July, 21 August, 12 September, and 23 November.
 2. Ibid., 1797-8, on 20 May, 17 June, 13 July, 12 August, and 8 September.
 3. Ibid., 1793-4, also noted above in the table for that year.
 4. Ibid., 1792-8.
 5. Ibid., 1797-8.
 6. Listed above in the table for 1793-4.
 7. 32 Geo. III c.86, Clause I.
 8. As reported in The Star, 17 January 1793.

signature to the Harbour Accounts at Annual Meetings of the Commissioners on 10 April 1793, 25 April 1795, 3 April 1797 and 2 April 1798. He was also in 1792 the owner or master of one of four Broadstairs vessels which participated in the Icelandic cod fishery.¹ Possibly he apportioned his time between coal carrying during the summer months and cod fishing during the winter months. The coastwise coal trade was seasonal, apart from one or two exceptions noted in the accounts.² Coal supplies arrived between April and the end of October or early November. Thereafter not only did storms and heavy seas blow up in the North Sea, but colliers which had been constantly employed during the summer months required repairs and maintenance. Between the middle of November and the end of March the Newcastle to Broadstairs coal trade was practically dormant.

Unfortunately the coal imports of Margate and Ramsgate cannot be calculated but they must have increased substantially and they would have exceeded those of Broadstairs. The Preamble to Margate's Harbour Act of 1787 noted how "the ancient town of Margate, in the County of Kent, hath from Time immemorial had a Pier and Harbour very convenient for and advantageous to the Trade and Navigation of the Nation at large". They had proved useful for "exporting and importing ... many Sorts of Commodities" and for "the Welfare not only of the said Town of Margate but of the adjacent Country".³ An improved harbour was considered necessary "by reason of the great Resort of Nobility and Gentry to the Town of Margate, for the Benefit of Bathing in the Sea", whereby "the said Town hath very much increased, and is yet continually increasing, both in Extent of Buildings and in Number of Inhabitants: [also] the Trade of the said Town hath increased and is increasing, in the like Proportion".⁴

Dues on coal, coke and cinder of 2d. or 3d., per "Chaldron or Ton, as

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1. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), op. cit., 162; also see this section above.
 2. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 4 February 1793, 72 chaldrons; 10 March 1794, 35 chaldrons; 17 December 1794, 39 chaldrons; and 7 March 1796, 50 chaldrons, the quantities tending to be small out of the normal season.
 3. The Preamble to 27 Geo. III c.45.
 4. Ibid.

usually sold" became one way of increasing the harbour revenues¹; likewise in 1799 an additional duty "for further increasing the Fund" on every chaldron or ton "imported or brought into, landed, or delivered within or carried through the said Town of Margate, or any other Part of the said Parish of St. John the Baptist, or the said Harbour of Margate, or the Bay thereunto adjoining".² This provision included land carriage.

Surviving Margate Pier Accounts from 1800 to 1807 fail to show the receipts earned by specific commodities, such as coal imports or corn exports. Total harbour revenues were on an upward but fluctuating trend at totals which were much higher than the £52 1s. 9d. accruing to the Broadstairs Pier Commissioners in 1793-4.

TABLE 28: MARGATE HARBOUR RECEIPTS, 1800-7.(3)

<u>Year</u>	<u>£</u>
1800	1,970
1801	1,822
1802	1,760
1803	3,906
1804	2,209
1805	2,340
1806	2,221
1807	2,515

Building materials were a second major import into the Thanet ports. From the records of dues paid to the Broadstairs Pier Commissioners,⁴ they included stone, timber, paving stones, bricks and slate as in 1796.

TABLE 29: BUILDING MATERIALS IMPORTED INTO BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR IN 1796. (5)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Particular Items</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
		<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
April 28	Capt. James Robertson of y Friends Adventurer, 1800 of deals landed.		18	0
	55 loads of timber at 6d. per Load.	1	7	6
	A parcel of paving stones		1	4

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1. The Preamble to 27 Geo. III c.45, op. cit., Clause XXXVI.
 2. 39 Geo. III c.2, Clause XVIII.
 3. Evidence submitted by Mr. Francis Cobb as Treasurer and one of the Commissioners to Margate Pier: Petition and Report from the Committee to Whom the Petition was Referred, 46/ (1808), 3.
 4. The rates of duty on building materials laid down by 32 Geo. III c.86 were quoted earlier in the table "Some of the Dues Payable on Imported Commodities to the Broadstairs Pier Commissioners under Acts 1792 and 1805".
 5. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1796-7.

TABLE 29: BUILDING MATERIALS IMPORTED INTO BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR IN 1796.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Particular Items</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
		£	s.	d.
June	12 Capt. Thomas Hawswell for 18 tons of Sand and 5,000 Bricks.		5	0
August	9 Mr. Forsithe for 20,000 Bricks		9	8
	26 Mr. Jn ^o Gray 51,000 Slate		17	0
	27 Mr. Forsithe 8 Load of Timber		8	0
	do. 15 tons of Sand		1	5
	do. 14,000 Bricks		4	8
December	15 Mr. Collard for Bricks		2	8
	30 Mr. Hope 2,000 Bricks			8

Inward shipments for 1796 included 63 loads of timber, 1,800 deals, 41,000 bricks, 51,000 slates, 33 tons of sand and some paving stones. Building was proceeding apace in Broadstairs at this time. Pierremont House, which in 1829 served as a marine residence for Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent,¹ and in the present century has housed the Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban and Thanet District Council Offices, was built by Thomas Forsyth Esq., about this time as his summer residence,² known as "Forsyth's Villa on the road to Margate".³ Entries in the harbour accounts for Mr. Forsyth, variously spelt Forsithe or Foresithe, for 34,000 bricks, 15 tons

1. C. Greenwood, An Epitome of County History, Volume 1: The County of Kent (1838), 334; also The Marquis of Lorne, V.R.I. Her Life and Empire (1901), 50; also see Chapter VII below.
2. G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs and The Parts Adjacent (1831), 189-90, notes that the estate passed from Thomas Forsyth to T.W. Payler Esq., of Canterbury, whose executors sold it to Edward Fletcher Esq., "and soon after this estate became the property of Mr. Fletcher that gentleman very much enlarged the residence, which is now so well arranged and convenient as to leave nothing to desire - the gardens are extensive ... and altogether this seat may very properly be considered by far the most beautiful in the island: and the individual who can obtain permission to view the residence and grounds will find a summer's evening very delightfully employed in the investigation". It was still the seat of Edward Fletcher in 1838, Greenwood, op. cit., 334. Melville & Co.'s Directory and Gazetteer of Kent (1858), 120, lists Edward Grimshaw Esq., Pier Mount Lodge, and The Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1874), Volume II, 1161, lists Edmund Grimshaw, Piermont. P.W. Barlow, Broadstairs Past and Present (Broadstairs, 1882), 28, wrote of Pierremont House being surrounded by extensive grounds while the Marquis of Lorne, op. cit., 50, in 1901, recorded that a few years ago the fine park was cut up for building purposes, the house being used as a high-class school for boys. Pierremont College, Head Master, L.W. Posnett, M.A., B.Sc., offering a "thorough education in the most healthy surroundings", with chemical laboratory and "Illustrated Prospectus and List of Honours on application", was advertised in Broadstairs: The Official Publication of the District Council (1905), 1. Also see Chapter III above.
3. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op.cit., 51.

of sand and 8 loads of timber,¹ were related to the erection and completion of this marine estate, followed by the accounts for 1797-8 which refer to him residing there; 9d. paid on 29 April for "1½ loads of Port landed for Mr. Forsyth"² or on 18 November for "Sundrys landed and shipt on the Pitt for Mr. Forsyth", £1 10s.³

It was noted of an expanding Broadstairs in 1804 how "the principal buildings that have been lately erected here for the accommodation of its visitors are ranged in beautiful lines along the edge of the shore".⁴ By 1809 there were "many other good houses in this place, the principal part of which are situated on the cliff towards the pier".⁵ Much of the cliff frontage of Broadstairs dates from the 1790's, when there was a considerable increase in the number of houses "for the accommodation of strangers in the bathing season".⁶ A minor building boom was responsible for the building material imports arriving in Broadstairs harbour, as shown in the next table.

TABLE 30: BUILDING MATERIALS ARRIVING IN BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR, 1792-8. (7)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Approximate Quantity</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>					
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bricks	53,000 including 18 tons of sand. 3 cargoes 1 freight	1	4	0			
			8	1			
			1	6	1	13	7
Sand	15 tons					1	5
Gravel	50 tons					8	4
Stone	59 tons				1	19	4
Paving Stones	Parcel					1	4
Slates	51,000					17	0
Tiles	Freight					1	3
Lime	50 loads					8	4

1. In the table of "Building Materials Imported into Broadstairs Harbour, 1796", as noted in this section above.
2. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1797-8.
3. Ibid.
4. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), op. cit., 37.
5. The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (5th. Ed., Margate, 1809); op. cit., 100 and ibid (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), 109.
6. The Kentish Traveller's Companion (3rd. Ed., Canterbury, 1790), 255 and ibid (4th. Ed., Canterbury, 1794), 271.
7. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1792-8.

TABLE 30: BUILDING MATERIALS ARRIVING IN BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR, 1792-8.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Approximate Quantity</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>					
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Timber	81 loads	2	5	6			
	1 freight		7	0			
	1 cargo		3	9			
	1 cargo with plank	1	1	0			
	1 barge cargo		3	0	4	0	3
Deals	2,000 single				1	0	0
Tar and Pitch	88 barrels at 6d per barrel				2	4	0
		<u>TOTAL:</u>		£12 14s.10d.			

The dues collected on this category of incoming cargo were minute compared to £245 11s. 10½d. collected on coal during the same period.

Considerable activity and some revenue for the Broadstairs Pier Commissioners resulted from hoys arriving with shop goods, baggage¹ and miscellaneous wares. They voyaged back and forth to and from London. The frequency of their operations and their contribution to harbour revenues can be measured by one single vessel, The Hobby Horse, over the two years 1793-4 and 1794-5, beginning with the entry, 12s. 6d. for a half-year's dues paid on "y Boat Hobby Horse" on 6 April 1793.²

TABLE 31: THE SUNDRY AND OTHER SHIPMENTS OF THE HOBBY HORSE TO AND FROM BROADSTAIRS, 1793-4 AND 1794-5. (3)

Note: Sundry is taken to mean groceries and shop goods, unless otherwise indicated in brackets.

1793-4

<u>Dates: Goods Landed</u>	<u>Shipped</u>	<u>Landed & Shipped</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
			£	s.	d.
13 May (Sundrys of Furniture)				6	10
20 May				3	8
	21 May			1	9
27 May				4	4
	5 June (Parcel)				5
11 June				3	6

1. In the Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1797-8, there are numerous entries relating to baggage, some of which are inserted into the table "The Sundry and Other Shipments of The Pitt to and from Broadstairs, 1797-8", see this section below.
2. Ibid., 1792-3.
3. Ibid., 1793-4, 1794-5.

TABLE 31: THE SUNDRY AND OTHER SHIPMENTS OF THE HOBBY HORSE TO AND FROM BROADSTAIRS, 1793-4 AND 1794-5.

1793-4

<u>Dates: Goods Landed</u>	<u>Shipped</u>	<u>Landed & Shipped</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
			£	s.	d.
5 July				9	6
14 July				4	3
	16 July			1	2
		20 July		2	8
29 July				3	6
	30 July				4
		6 August		5	8
		11 August		4	5
18 August				3	1
29 August				3	11
	30 August			1	10
2 September				3	4
	4 September			3	0
		6 September		3	4
	20 September (Trunk)				4
	4-5 October				9
	7-8 October			1	7
	12 October			2	8
	28 October			4	2
	8-9 November			7	3
5 January 1794				1	6
	14 April (Trifles)				5
<u>Total: 1793-4</u>	28 Entries in the Accounts			£4	9s. 2d.

1794-5

5 May				2	6
	6 May			3	1
12 May					10
24 May for Mr. Barfield for Others				2	6
				5	9
30 May				2	10
7 June				4	8
	8 June			1	0
14 June				5	11
21 June				1	2
28 June				4	2
	30 June			8	0
	12 July			6	5
		18 July		9	6
		27 July		3	2
	2 August			3	3
		8 August		6	3
		16 August		10	4
23 August (Baggage)				3	5

TABLE 31: THE SUNDRY AND OTHER SHIPMENTS OF THE HOBBY HORSE TO AND FROM BROADSTAIRS, 1793-4 AND 1794-5.

1794-5

<u>Dates: Goods Landed</u>	<u>Shipped</u>	<u>Landed & Shipped</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
			£	s.	d.
30 August				7	6
6 September				5	1
	8 September			1	3
12 September				10	2
		15 September		7	6
	22 September			2	6
		30 September		5	6
	6 October			1	6
<u>Total: 1794-5</u>	27 Entries in the Accounts			£6	5s. 9d.

During 1793-4 The Hobby Horse achieved 15 landings and 17 shipments at Broadstairs, compared to 18 landings and 14 shipments for 1794-5. Most of the landings occurred during the bathing season between June and the end of September, which accounted for 73% in 1793-4 and almost 78% in 1794-5. Of the revenue collected on goods which were landed 66% was taken between June and September 1793 and 74% between the same months of 1794. The rôle of hoys in supplying a watering place such as Broadstairs was largely seasonal, just as visitors' demands for provisions and shop goods were seasonal. However, in both years The Hobby Horse arrived almost weekly during May when shopkeepers were acquiring stocks ahead of the coming season. The entries dated 24 May 1794 for "sundrys" landed for Messrs. Barfield, the librarian, and Parks, Norwood and Parish provide a good illustration. As Mr. Barfield owned the second circulating library of Broadstairs in 1796, here is a good instance of what must have been shop goods.¹

Incoming and outgoing baggage entries inevitably displayed a marked seasonal trend.² They clearly indicate the beginnings of the holiday industry in Broadstairs. The accounts also list other ships which completed numerous

1. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 50.
 2. Indicated in the table immediately below.

voyages: 7 March 1796, "Recd. of Capt. John Hiller for 17 voiges to London", £1 14s.,¹ or 4 July 1797, "22 Voyages by y Pitt at 2s. per Voyage by Mr. James Cummings", £2 4s.,² exclusive of 10 guineas in dues incurred by this vessel during 1797, as set out below.

TABLE 32: THE SUNDRY AND OTHER SHIPMENTS OF THE PITT TO AND FROM BROADSTAIRS IN 1797. (3)

Note: Sundry unless otherwise indicated in brackets; B in brackets denotes Baggage.

<u>Down Freight</u>	<u>Up Freight</u>	<u>Down and Up</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
			£	s.	d.
13 July (B)			6	0	
17 July (B)			5	6	
24 July (B)			1	3	6
	25 July (B)				8
1 August (B)			10	0	
	2 August (B)				5
8 August (B)			6	6	
	10 August (B)		2	6	
14 August (B)			8	6	
	16 August (B)		3	10	
21 August (B)			9	9	
	23 August (B)		1	8	
		30 August	9	4	
2 September			3	0	
	6 September (B)		4	3	
		12 September	16	7	
		20 September	15	0	
	25 September		4	6	
		6 October	15	0	
		12 October	13	0	
		19 October	7	0	
		26 October	14	0	
		18 November (Mr. Forsyth's sundrys)	1	10	0
23 Entries in the Accounts			£10	10s.	6d.

The commercial orders of local tradesmen and the high-class demands of wealthy residents, who moved to the seaside, were partly satisfied from a whole host of miscellaneous incoming cargoes, including household furniture, earthenware, brandy or port. The table which follows gives some examples

1. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1795-6.
2. Ibid., 1797-8.
3. Ibid., 1797-8.

of these shipments into Broadstairs harbour.

TABLE 33: MISCELLANEOUS INCOMING CARGOES ARRIVING IN BROADSTAIRS HARBOUR, 1792-3, 1793-4, 1794-5, 1796-7, AND 1797-8. (1)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Dues Paid</u>		
			<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1792-3	September 4	Small package for Mr. Bayly			1
	November 1	4 beds landed from Boat Lord Hood			6
		Earthenware and dues for Bottles			7
1793-4	March 19	Stove landed, etc.,	1	2	0½
	May 13	Sundrys of Furnitures landed from the Boat Hobby Horse.		6	10
1794-5	April 12	Recd. of Mrs. Night for Sundry Parcels landed.		1	0
1796-7	August 9	Wharfage of 8 Cask of Beer			8
	December 30	Mr. Hindley's household furniture	11		0
1797-8	July 4	Wharfage of 3 parcels			5
	July 17	Mrs. Night's 3 Pigs and 1 trunk		9	0

Thanet's dependence upon the hoy was both economic and social. Socially hoys and packets conveyed growing numbers of visitors to Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate.² Economically hoys and other vessels transported commodities which were being demanded by residents and holiday-makers. There were several major categories of commercial traffic, which employed water transport by river or sea, as being eminently suited to the carriage of bulky goods of low value. They included provisions, shop goods and other commodities from London; coal from the North East; English and foreign building materials and timber; food imports from the Continent, including meat and dairy produce; corn, meat, vegetables and small amounts of fruit and dairy produce from the immediately surrounding countryside, especially from around Sandwich; passengers' baggage, crates and small parcels; and personal inward shipments of great variety.

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1. Broadstairs Pier Treasurer's Account Book, 1792-3, 1793-4, 1794-5, 1796-7 and 1797-8.
 2. See below, Chapter VI.

Postal Services and Arrangements.

As early as 1763 there were postal deliveries and collections at Margate almost daily during the season,¹ which had become daily by 1770: "the post comes in from and returns to London, every day, during the season, by an order from the General Post Office, without any additional expense to the Company".² A daily postal service between Margate and London was maintained in 1780.³ A local postmaster was appointed by the General Post Office and Joseph Hall occupied this position in 1792: "the London Post comes in during the season (it is not determined whether it will continue the whole year) about 8 in the morning and goes out at 5 in the afternoon".⁴ Regular postal services were seasonal, but if Margate had not attracted summer visitors it would have been less fortunate in this respect.

Joseph Hall in 1766 embarked on a varied career as a famous Margate librarian, bookseller, stationer, wine merchant and postmaster, before being declared bankrupt early in 1795.⁵ The Halls are mentioned in official Postmaster Generals' Reports of the 1790's. On 8 February, 1793, Mr. Bartlett was sent to Margate to take charge of the Post Office there and five days later remitted £517 to London, together with a recommendation that the Margate appointment should be given to one of Mr. Hall's sons, since Mr. Hall Senior was suffering from "a temporary derangement of mind", due to the death of a favourite son and "the apprehension of the loss of a daughter".⁶ Family bereavements announced in The Kentish Gazette during the 1780's and 1790's must have affected Joseph Hall's business acumen, leading ultimately to his bankruptcy in 1795, beginning in 1784 with the death of his wife, Elizabeth,

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1. Lyons, op. cit., 16; also see Chapter III above.
 2. The Margate Guide ... In a Letter to a Friend (1770), op. cit., 20.
 3. The Margate Guide (1780), op. cit., 18.
 4. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), op. cit., 159.
 5. See Chapter IV above.
 6. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 2/226 (75 A) and 2/252 (96 A).

at the age of 44,¹ followed seven years later by the death of his elder son, George, aged 23.²

During February 1793 the appointment of postmaster in Margate was given to one of Mr. Hall's sons.³ The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796) listed James Hall as postmaster, operating from Charlotte Place, with the post arriving from London "during the summer every morning at 8, except Monday", and returning "every evening at 5, except Saturday".⁴ In 1807 deliveries became daily throughout the year.⁵ Visitors found the absence of a Saturday collection and a Monday delivery an inconvenience, which they readily referred to in correspondence and diaries. Mary Berry, when writing to Horace Walpole from Prospect House, near Broadstairs, on 28 September 1794, lamented that "we can have no letters from you now till Tuesday".⁶ Four years later the Countess of Bessborough, writing from Margate on a Sunday night during August 1798 to Granville Leveson-Gower, confessed to feeling "very nervous to-night for many reasons, and want you to cheer me, instead of which to-morrow is blank Monday without a post".⁷

A pronounced rise in the value of letters received at Margate and Ramsgate is revealed in the following table, together with a notable percentage increase during the months of July to September when the populations of these resort towns were full of summer visitors.

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1. The Kentish Gazette, 7 August 1784.
 2. Ibid., 1 July 1791.
 3. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 2/279 (116A).
 4. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.
 5. Dr. Arthur Walton Rowe MS, Summary of Local Trades, Old Names and the Civil Life of The Town, Margate Public Library, Local Collection, Y060. 52., Rowe Bequest, 1894.
 6. Ed. W. S. Lewis and A. D. Wallace, Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry, Volume XII (New Haven, 1961), 114.
 7. Ed. Castalia Countess Granville, Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (First Earl Granville) Private Correspondence, 1781-1821, Volume 1 (1916), 217.

TABLE 34: VALUE OF LETTERS RECEIVED AT MARGATE AND RAMSGATE WINTER AND SUMMER MONTHS DURING 1750 AND 1800. (1)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Resort</u>	<u>Average monthly value of letters received.</u>						<u>% increase of summer months over a month in the rest of the year.</u>
		October - June			July - September			
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	%
1750	Margate (including Sandwich)	22	9	9	27	2	2	20.9
	Ramsgate - not a postal town at this period.							
1800	Margate	83	12	1	266	19	7	220
	Ramsgate	84	3	10	231	6	11	175

The value of letters received in Margate between July and September multiplied almost ten-fold over the half century 1750 to 1800. This provides a marvellous indicator of Margate's tremendous growth as a seaside resort during the second half of the eighteenth century. The difference which summer visitors made to the everyday life and activity of Margate and Ramsgate in and out of season is shown by the respective increases of 220% and 175% in the values of letters received between July and September 1800, compared to their monthly winter averages falling between October and June. A similar picture emerges for other years. For 1796 the Ramsgate mail amounted to between £6 and £9 a week during the season, but fell away to between 20s. and 30s. a week at other times.² In 1812 letters in the London bag from Margate in winter did not average more than £3 9s. per day, but in the summer months they were three or four times that amount.³

When the Post Office realised the value of the additional summer postal traffic due to Margate's expansion as a major seaside resort, special provision was made for deliveries by a mail coach during the season, and for the local appointment of additional letter carriers, so as to satisfy the extra demands

1. B. Austen, The Postal History of Kent, 1633-1840, Kent, M.A. Thesis (1970), 255.
 2. Ibid., 253.
 3. Ibid., 253.

of the summer months. The Post Office Surveyor for the district repeatedly emphasised the value of the extra postal traffic generated during the summer months, both in Margate and Ramsgate as well as in other smaller coastal communities which received a seasonal influx of visitors.¹ In July 1792 the Margate to Sandwich postal route was altered to serve Broadstairs, "for the accommodation of [that] neighbourhood and [the] company resorting thither".²

Arrival and departure times were altered from time to time as in 1796 when Margate's Post Office was under "the direction of Mr. J. HALL, who [also] supplies the company with some of the best old wine that can be imported".³ The post then arrived at 10 a.m., and departed at 3.30 p.m.⁴ Official records and complaints helped to explain what was in effect a later arrival time than previously. On 21 May 1796 the Rt. Hon. Thomas Steele, armed with a letter from Messrs. Cobb & Co., who by that time had branched out from brewing into banking,⁵ made representations regarding the possibility of a direct mail coach from Canterbury to Margate via Ramsgate, whereby letters would arrive earlier by 7.30 a.m. He argued that "the convenience resulting therefrom to the inhabitants and people resorting to that place would be so great as ... to justify the expense attending it".⁶ Lord Chesterfield was unconvinced by this argument, fearing that "we shall find the expenses of a Mail Coach to Margate from Canterbury for five or six months very high, considering the alterations lately made in the Ramsgate post", which had replaced "the necessity of a Mail Coach to Margate".⁷

Following further representation from the Rt. Hon. Thomas Steele, which acknowledged "the establishment of a Post Office at Ramsgate", the mail coach

1. Austen, op. cit., 253-4.

2. Ibid., 254.

3. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 22-3.

4. Ibid., 23.

5. See the two sections which follow.

6. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 12/414 (43K).

7. Ibid.

was authorised to run on to Margate for the season on 27 May 1796,¹ only to be followed on 28 July by renewed complaints regarding the late arrival of mail.² An official investigation revealed firstly, that the London mail coach had been arriving late in Canterbury which had "prevented the Margate mail [from] being sent out from Canterbury quite so soon as it used to be"; secondly, the Margate coach proceeded via Sandwich, where any letters for Deal were taken out, and thirdly, that from there the ride to Margate had "been done very indifferently".³ Subsequently it was further revealed that at Ramsgate "letters were sorted for St. Peter's and Broadstairs which are afterwards fetched by a messenger".⁴ Despite several complaints during July and August 1796, it was maintained that "if the mail arrives at Margate at nine and the delivery can commence at ten, that ... is all the inhabitants and company require".⁵ Further correspondence from Margate's residents sought an improved and direct mail coach service, whereupon an offer from Mr. Benson, "who keeps the Royal Hotel [and] who it seems is ready to commence [a] coach on the 30th inst., and to finish three months from that time", was finally accepted.⁶

During 1797 a mail coach for the summer season departed from Benson's Royal Hotel every evening at 5 o'clock to the George and Blue Boar at Holborn, and a second mail coach arrived in Margate at 8 o'clock in the morning, but "during the winter ... the Post comes in about 10 o'clock, and returns at half-past three in the afternoon".⁷ In 1809 Margate's postal arrangements were as follows:

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1. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 12/431 (48K).
 2. Ibid., 12/616 (25L).
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., 13/4 (42L).
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid., 13/34 (55L).
 7. The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 108.

"In Charlotte Place, near the church, [The Post Office] is under the management of Mr. James Hall. The Post comes in and goes out every day, arriving in the morning about ten o'clock, and returning in the afternoon about half-past three. [But] in the summer season Wright has a mail coach, which then brings the letters, direct from Canterbury; it arrives about half-past eight o'clock in the morning, and leaves Margate about five the same evening". (1)

James Hall's tenure of almost twenty years, 1793-1812, did not pass without official complaints being made concerning the way in which he operated the postal services of Margate. It was alleged in July 1796 that the ride from Sandwich was being conducted "very indifferently owing ... to the Postmaster of Margate keeping back a part of the office allowance from the man he employs to perform that duty".² He was ordered to pay the full allowance to the rider, but the authorities doubted whether their instructions would be complied with, since Mr. Hall had "already shown improper conduct in sending the Mail three quarters of an hour before the stated period".³

1811 produced several complaints regarding Mr. Hall's conduct. He displayed an "uncivil demeanour towards the public" and failed to observe official rules. On two occasions letters sent from London had been returned in the Margate bag, because he had not complied with instructions to turn every bag inside out.⁴ Mr. Hall, who was said to be "incorrigible", was threatened with dismissal, but was given "a further chance" on 28 December 1811 to effect "a right performance of the service".⁵ During that year there had been renewed complaints about the late arrival of the mails at both Margate and Ramsgate.⁶

During August 1812 Mr. Clementson complained that he had been charged an extra halfpenny for the delivery of each letter to No. 12, Cecil Square,

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1. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (5th. Ed., Margate, 1809), 69.
 2. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 12/616 (25L).
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., 30/409 (278).
 5. Ibid., 30/409 (278) and 30/424 (293).
 6. Ibid., 30/424 (293).

because the postmaster had unofficially appointed a second letter carrier. Mr. Hall was instructed to deliver letters without any extra charge. Mr. Clementson had a further complaint. Mr. Hall had behaved "injuriously to him" and this was confirmed by "Mr. Nugent and other inhabitants boarding in the same house with Mr. Clementson". Although the Post Office Surveyor for the district felt that a second letter carrier was necessary in the season, he disapproved of Mr. Hall's behaviour, "and as if he wishes to make the thing as offensive as possible and likely to produce the greatest number of complaints, he so manages that the Extra Letter Carrier shall deliver on each side of No. 12, Cecil Square about two hours sooner than at that house". It was agreed in London that Mr. Hall should be asked to resign.¹

Early in November 1812 Sir Edward Knatchbull requested a mail coach direct from Canterbury to Margate all through the winter, which the authorities could not accept on grounds of expense. It was pointed out that "the ordinary Mail by Rider goes via Sandwich and Ramsgate to Margate, and connects it with all the Towns on the Isle of Thanet" and "no part of that communication can be dispensed with". The Margate/London bag in the winter did not average above £3 9s. per day, "tho' it is very proper in the Margate Season to give an earlier arrival and late departure to a correspondence that is three or four times the amount".² The appointment of a second letter carrier for Margate during the season was approved on 18 November 1812 for the period falling between 1 May and 31 October at 12s. per week. With only one carrier deliveries were not being completed by 5 p.m., even though the mail had arrived at 8.30 a.m.³

By 1816 the Post Office had moved to the High Street "opposite the bathing rooms" and was managed by Mr. Daniel Valder. The out of season post

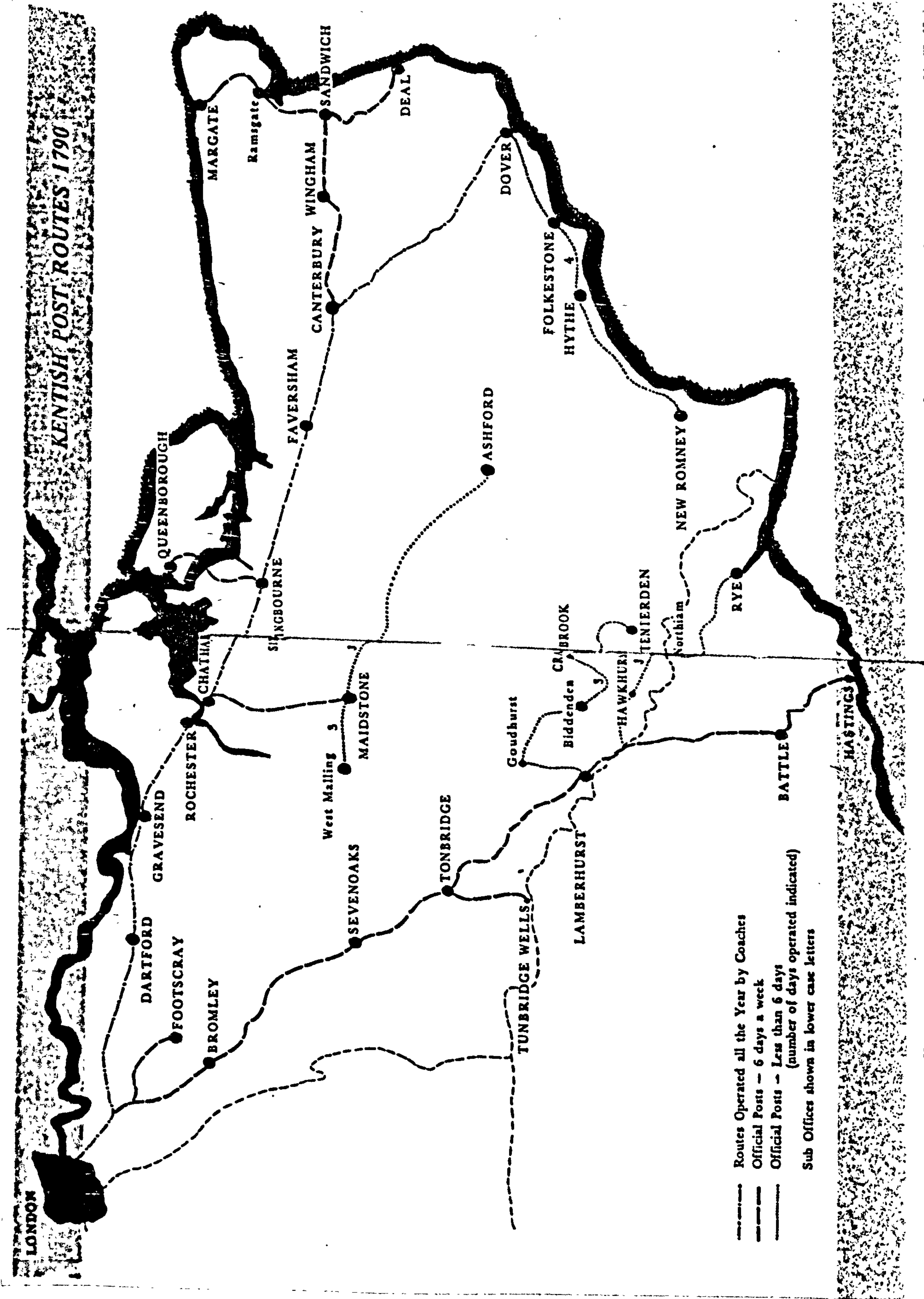
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1. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 30/624 (204).
 2. Ibid., 2 November 1812, 31/12 (274).
 3. Ibid., 31/27 (292).

arrived every morning about 10 o'clock and was despatched every afternoon about 3.30 p.m., but "in the summer season WRIGHT has a mail coach, which then brings the letters direct from Canterbury: it arrives about half-past 8 o'clock in the morning, and leaves Margate about five the same evening".¹ On 16 April 1816 it was recorded officially that "the present Contractor for the guarded Ride 13 miles from Sandwich to Ramsgate and Margate will continue at £95 per annum, ... which are the best terms the Surveyor can obtain".² By 1816 Broadstairs had acquired a post office as part of Nuckell's library and toy shop.³ In 1819 Margate's Post Office in the High Street remained under the direction of Mr. Valder, the winter and summer postal arrangements being as follows:

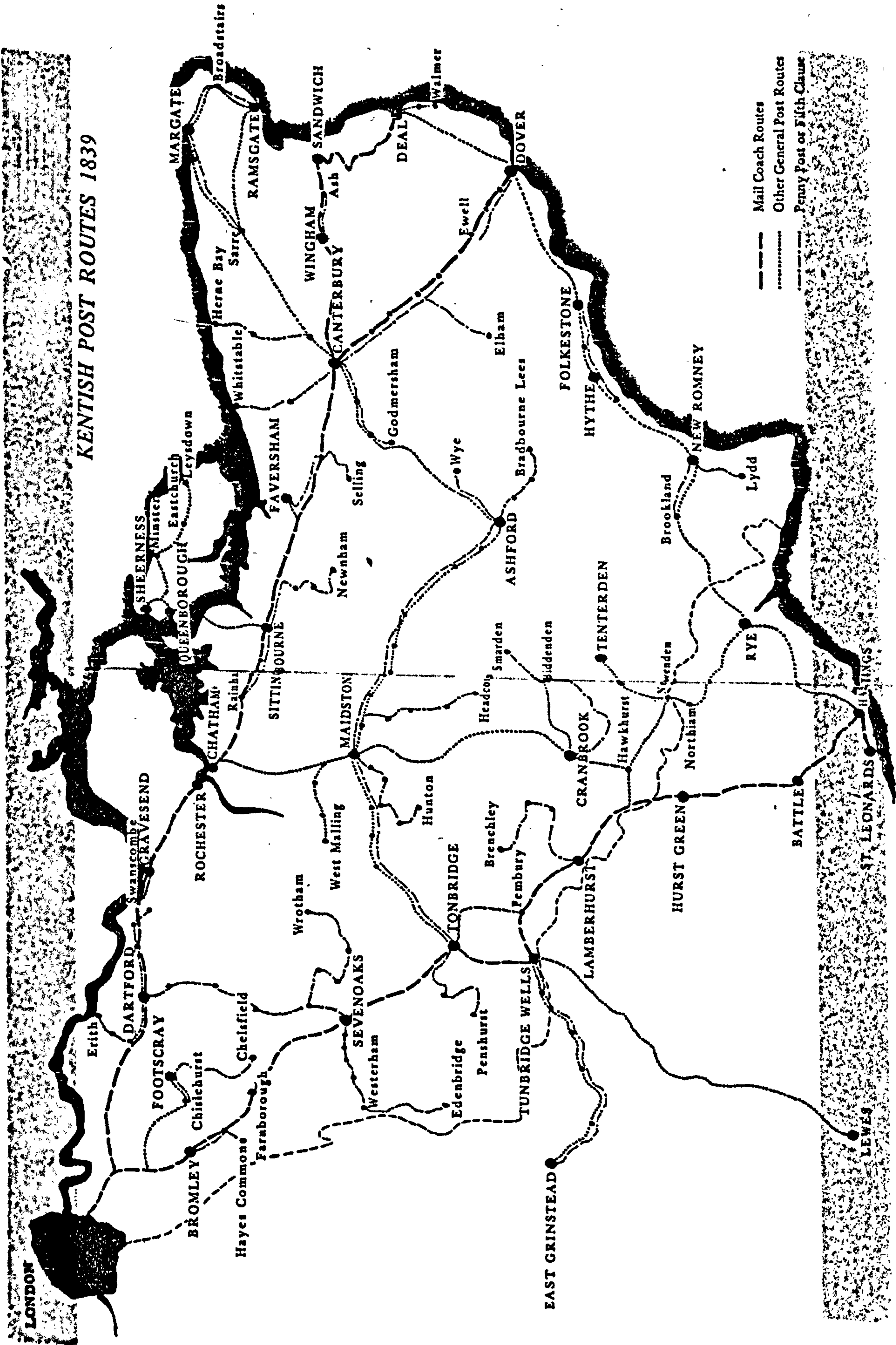
<u>Season</u>	<u>Post Arrives</u>	<u>Departs</u>
Winter	10 a.m.	3.30 p.m.
Summer	8.30 a.m.	5 p.m.

The more favourable summer arrangements relied upon a mail coach which conveyed letters directly from and to Canterbury.⁴ The overall pattern and improvement of postal routes as between 1790 and 1839 is shown on two maps which appear in Brian Austen's study of English Provincial Posts, 1633-1840: A Study based on Kent Examples (1978).⁵ Thanet's mail services were improved by diverting the Sandwich to Margate route to serve Broadstairs, followed by direct Canterbury to Margate and Canterbury to Ramsgate routes operated in the summer months by coaches.⁶ Such improvements were not undertaken without an increased cost to the consumer. The General Post rate for a letter from London to Margate rose from 3d. in 1784 to 8d. in 1835, a rise of 166%.⁷

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1. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 75-6.
 2. Post Office Records Office, Postmaster Generals' Reports, 32/239 (112).
 3. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 109.
 4. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), 46.
 5. B. Austen, English Provincial Posts, 1633-1840: A Study based on Kent Examples (1978), 64-5, 68-9. This book is based on Mr. Austen's thesis referred to above.
 6. Ibid., Appendix 7: "Main Post Routes and their Improvements, 1784-1840", 158.
 7. Ibid., 61.



B. Austen, English Provincial Posts, 1633-1840: A Study based on Kent Examples (1978), pp. 64-5.



B. Austen, *English Provincial Posts, 1633-1840: A Study based on Kent Examples* (1978), pp. 68-9.

The Dominance within Margate of the Cobb Family and the Foundation and Expansion of their Brewery.

The most important commercial family in Margate during the second half of the eighteenth century was the Cobb family. In 1875 it was claimed that Margate's rise had been "exactly contemporaneous with that of Cobb's brewery", and the Cobb family "has so identified itself with the history of Margate, that the one cannot be separated from the other".¹ The fortunes of the family were laid by the first Francis Cobb (1726-1802) who while holding the office of Town Deputy for thirty three years did much to promote the prosperity and expansion of the town.² In those days Dover exercised jurisdiction over Margate as a non-corporate limb of the Cinque Port of Dover whose mayor appointed a Deputy to look after the affairs of the subsidiary town.³

The Cobbs were an old East Kent family and lived in Margate from the sixteenth century.⁴ With the Gores they are one of the oldest surviving Margate families.⁵ Cobb's brewery was founded by Francis Cobb in 1760.⁶ Occupying an original site in King Street, on which subsequently two successive brewhouses were erected, the brewery offices were constructed from two cottages which dated back to Stuart times, the year 1683 being discovered on one of them early in the present century.⁷

The Cobbs proceeded to brewing via malting,⁸ in an area renowned for its barley cultivation,⁹ and in a town which had been famous for its ale and

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1. "Messrs. Cobb & Co.'s Brewery at Margate", The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette and Hotel Courier, 4 December 1875, 395.
 2. Ibid., 395.
 3. Hasted, op. cit., Volume X (2nd. Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 236; G. E. Clarke, Historic Margate (2nd. Ed., Margate, 1961), 3; also see Chapters I and IV above.
 4. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 5. Interview conducted with Mr. David Cobb, 21 October 1965.
 6. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; R.S. Sayers, Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking (Oxford, 1957), 2; Clarke, op. cit., 68; Lecture by Mr. David Cobb, on "Cobb's Brewery" to the Margate Civic Society, 4 January 1972.
 7. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 8. Mathias, op. cit., 255.
 9. See Chapter I above or The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.

maltsters.¹ They developed brewing out of malting², just when Margate was growing as a seaside resort. Malting was continued by the Cobbs until the 1870's.³ In producing malt for sale,⁴ they competed with at least one other firm in 1796.⁵ From the 1760's onwards the Cobbs combined malting during the autumn and winter months with an increasing brewing and innkeeping trade.

Cobb's brewery began its history as a very small concern in King Street,⁶ which from the outset "appears to have been a distinct success",⁷ being "conducted with great energy and skill by its founder, the first Mr. Francis Cobb".⁸ He was "a man of remarkable energy and integrity".⁹ The business prospered and Francis Cobb in 1783 built himself a fine Georgian house, known as Bank House, in King Street.¹⁰ Two years later he branched out into banking,¹¹ next door to Bank House.¹² Beer was brewed well ahead of consumption, being stored in large vats in extensive cellars.¹³ Because it was vatted for two, three or four years before being drunk, there was a large capital lying idle.¹⁴

Extensive documentation on the Cobbs as brewers and bankers has recently come to light and exists in the Kent Record Office. Its quantity is such that a Ph.D. thesis could be compiled on the business history of the Cobbs. The

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1. See Chapter I above.
 2. Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 3. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.
 4. Mathias, op. cit., 255.
 5. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.
 6. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 7. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 8. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 9. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 10. Ibid.
 11. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; Sayers, op. cit., 2; Mathias, op. cit., 327-8.
 12. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 13. Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 14. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.

author of this thesis has attempted no more than a few dips into a vast collection of business papers. One of the Beer Cash Books, running from 4 January 1781 to 30 April 1804, shows that during the late 1780's and early 1790's beer sales attained notable peaks between July and October, which was consistent with a higher summer consumption in an expanding seaside resort. Between 1788 and 1793 Cobb's total beer sales rose to successive peaks in 1790 and 1793. Annual totals never fell below £6,800. The figure for 1793 was almost £1,000 higher than for 1788. Sales over the period grossed £43,287 13s., which produced an average of £7,214 per annum. (See Table 35).

The outbreak of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars produced extra demands for beer. Some of the beer which Francis Cobb brewed at Margate during the second half of the eighteenth century was supplied to the naval fleets stationed off Deal.¹ Strategically placed firms like Cobbs of Margate became contract brewers for nearby naval ports and towns, such as Chatham and Deal.² The maintenance of a large naval presence in the English Channel,³ and especially in the Downs off Deal,⁴ increased the business of the Margate brewery, which dispatched large quantities of beer for naval consumption.⁵ In consequence of this expanding trade the Cobbs established a branch brewery in Deal,⁶ and "so great was the demand that the resources of both breweries were taxed to the uttermost",⁷ followed during the 1800's by a decision to construct a completely new and larger brewery at Margate.⁸

The history of the Cobbs before the 1800's, including their banking

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1. Mathias, op. cit., 199; also G. E. Clarke, The Isle of Thanet Gazette, 18 April 1957.
 2. Mathias, op. cit., 28.
 3. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 4. Ibid., 68 and The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 5. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 6. Ibid., 68; The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; Mathias, op. cit., 199; also Whyman, Archaeologia Cantiana (1969), op. cit., 125-6.
 7. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 8. Ibid., 395; Clarke, op. cit., 70.

TABLE 35: COBB'S CASH BEER SALES, 1788 - 93.

	<u>1788</u>	<u>1789</u>	<u>1790</u>	<u>1791</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>1793</u>
January	£ 373.17. 9.	£ 451. 0. 3.	£ 459. 3. 9.	£ 497.14. 3.	£ 586.18.11.	£ 399. 7. 3.
February	372.18. 6.	448. 8. 0.	325. 1. 9.	276. 3. 6.	281.14. 6.	445. 5. 6.
March	448.13. 6.	403.12. 3.	560.19. 0.	492. 0. 0.	349.19. 0.	549. 7. 6.
April	432.19. 9.	377. 1. 3.	431. 1. 6.	397. 0. 6.	479. 3. 0.	499.16. 9.
May	283. 7. 9.	563.14. 0.	541.13. 6.	479.17. 0.	414.19. 0.	556. 7. 4.
June	476. 1. 9.	573.17. 0.	671.19. 6.	478.12. 0.	473. 3. 0.	650.15. 0.
July	1,039.10. 9.	725.11. 9.	804.15. 0.	796.15. 1.	779. 0. 6.	959. 6. 9.
August	604.15.11.	852.10. 0.	988. 4. 6.	890.10. 0.	999.11. 1.	880. 0.10.
September	727. 1. 6.	701. 5. 6.	601. 3. 3.	872.13. 5.	824. 7. 3.	855. 9. 8.
October	795.11.10.	926. 0. 0.	1,163.11. 3.	1,056.16. 9.	813. 0. 0.	1,073. 8. 7.
November	942. 5. 6.	476.18. 9.	463. 5. 6.	482.10. 0.	477.11. 8.	465.14. 2.
December	375. 9. 3.	569. 9. 9.	560.14. 7.	379.10. 6.	391.19. 2.	467. 8. 3.
<u>Total for the year</u>	<u>6,872.13. 9.</u>	<u>7,069. 8. 6.</u>	<u>7,571.13. 1.</u>	<u>7,100. 3. 0.</u>	<u>6,871. 7. 1.</u>	<u>7,802. 7. 7.</u>
Grand Total for 1788 - 93 =	£43,287. 13. 0.					

Source: Kent Record Office,
Cobb MSS,
Beer Cash Book, 4 January 1781 - 30 April 1804.

activities, their shipping interests,¹ and their rôle as Lloyds agents or as Consuls to several foreign courts,² illustrates the following argument of Professor Mathias:

"the scale of enterprise in brewing was in the last resort limited by the extent of the local marketing area which could be exploited. Once the business had expanded to this limit, further increase was largely dependent upon the growth in the size of the local community or some innovation in local transport. This often meant that profits accrued faster than they could be invested with advantage in the business, tempting the brewer and his family to set up another brewery at a distance as did Cobb of Margate at Deal, ... or invest their profits in some other enterprise, if they did not pull them out of business altogether for investment in land, the Funds, turnpike trusts, canal shares and so forth". (3)

In the meantime, Francis Cobb Senior had shared the partnership with his son and namesake, Francis Cobb (1759-1831).⁴ The only son of Francis and Elizabeth Cobb, he was born on 14 February 1759, and was educated at Ashford grammar school, before being sent to Holland in 1775 for a mercantile education.⁵ At sixteen he entered the Amsterdam counting house of Messrs. Pye, Rich & Wilkieson.⁶ There he created a favourable impression. On 16 January 1778 Mr. Rich decided to "acquaint the parents of young Mr. COBB, that his application and behaviour in every respect gave us the most entire satisfaction".⁷

In 1780 the second Francis Cobb became a partner in his father's firm, after having acquired useful commercial experience in Amsterdam.⁸ From 1775 to 1781 he casually maintained a Journal which was resumed from 1802 onwards, as "monthly records of passing events, private, domestic, local and public".⁹

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1. Cited by L. S. Pressnell, Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution (Oxford, 1956), 50.
 2. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; Ed: Rev. W. F. Cobb, Memoir of the Late Francis Cobb Esq., of Margate, Compiled from his Journals and Letters (Maidstone, 1835), 33.
 3. Mathias, op. cit., 322.
 4. Clarke, op. cit., 68; The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 5. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 1; also Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 6. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 7-8.
 7. Ibid., 8-9.
 8. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 9. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., ii.

During 1779 he had expressed concern about his father and how hard he was working for the family business and the reputation of Margate:

"about my dear good father I cannot help being anxious, having been eye-witness to his continual hurry and fatigue. Often do I wish to be with him to render his burden lighter". (1)

Following a tour of the Netherlands, during the summer of 1780, he returned home and applied himself to the family business for the next fifty years.²

Not until after the Cobb papers have been thoroughly researched will it be possible to know more about the second Francis Cobb's business expertise than about his private, civic and religious life. He was married three times,³ firstly on 4 April 1786 to Miss Elizabeth Chippendale, the eldest daughter of one of his father's oldest friends, Mr. Chippendale of London.⁴ The Chippendales were coopers and became partners in the Margate brewery from 1842 onwards.⁵ Resulting from this marriage Francis William Cobb was born on 31 January 1787.⁶ He likewise joined the family business on his 21st birthday, being fated to succeed his grandfather and father in all their public offices.⁷ Three generations of the Cobb family, the first Francis Cobb (1726-1802), the second Francis Cobb (1759-1831) and Francis William Cobb (1787-1871) governed Margate until the town became a corporate borough in 1857.⁸

It was a tragic personal loss to Francis Cobb Junior when his wife Elizabeth suffered a stroke during childbirth and died on 6 February 1787.⁹

1. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 11.

2. Ibid., 12.

3. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.

4. Ibid., 395; Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 12; Clarke, op. cit., 70.

5. Mathias, op. cit., 57, quoting from The Brewers' Guardian, July 1958; Clarke, op. cit., 70; and The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.

6. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 12; The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; Clarke, op. cit., 70.

7. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.

8. Ibid., 395.

9. Clarke, op. cit., 70; Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 12.

From then on religion assumed a prominent rôle in his daily life:

"in his lonely evening rides after the business of the day, he was never without his pocket Bible ... At the same time he began gradually to find comfort in the society of one or two friends eminent for their Christian worth". (1)

He renounced, as contrary to Christian principles, such material pleasures as "the amusements of the stage, the race-course, the ball-room and the card table".² His Journals and Letters, edited shortly after his death in 1831, indicate the importance which he attached to religion in everyday life. Two examples illustrate the point:

1 November 1802. "On Saturday last, agreed with the brewhouse men for an advance of wages, and at the same time took the opportunity of particularly pressing their attendance at some place of worship on the Lord's day". (3)

6 December 1809. "My hands, feet, and head, are all so deeply engaged in my temporal concerns. Amen, and Amen". (4)

From the time he succeeded his father during 1802, moral and religious considerations conflicted with the pressures of business and public life. Against intense controversy surrounding the affairs of Margate pier and harbour he frankly admitted during June 1812 that "I never went willingly into public business and now it becomes more irksome than ever".⁵

Francis Cobb's second marriage occurred on 18 December 1794 to Mary, the only daughter of Thomas Blackburn Esq., of St. Peter's in the Isle of Thanet,⁶ where she was born on 22 November 1773. She received a strictly moral education.⁷ As a dissenting Baptist she attended the preachings of a Baptist minister, eminent for his piety.⁸ For ten years, from 22 September 1792 to

1. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 13.

2. Ibid., 7.

3. Ibid., 45.

4. Ibid., 55.

5. Ibid., 60.

6. Ibid., 28.

7. Extracts from the Diary and Letters of Mrs. Mary Cobb (1805), i.

8. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 28.

7 July 1802, she compiled a MS. diary in five books, which is full of religious and spiritual observations on marriage and child-bearing.¹ Francis Cobb suffered a double bereavement during 1802. On 12 May his father died at Bank House in his 75th year,² followed shortly afterwards by Mary's death on 4 September.³ Since November 1798 he had shouldered the main responsibility for the business.⁴

The second Francis Cobb had much to thank his father for:

"though of humble parentage, ... [he] had risen to considerable wealth and influence, as a brewer and banker and in his successful efforts to promote the prosperity of his native place, had enjoyed for many years the respect and goodwill of his fellow townsmen, ... in his office of Deputy to the Mayor of Dover". (5)

This position he had occupied for 33 years.⁶ The first Francis Cobb would have been proud of the subsequent achievements of his son:

"the reputation acquired by the founder of the brewery was thoroughly maintained by his son and namesake, who succeeded him, not only in business, but also in his offices of Deputy ... to the Cinque Port of Dover, Pier Warden, Commissioner, Lloyd's agent, Consul to several foreign courts, etc." (7)

Francis Cobb on 18 June 1802 recorded how "[I] went to DOVER, and was sworn into the office of Deputy, under GEORGE STRINGER, Esq., the Mayor, in the room of my dear and honoured father, who held the same about 33 years".⁸

In running an expanding business he was soon joined by his son, Francis William Cobb, whereupon the original firm of Francis Cobb became known as Cobb & Son.⁹

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1. Extracts from the Diary and Letters of Mrs. Mary Cobb (1805), op. cit., v; Mary Cobb (1773-1802) MS Diary in Five Books, Margate Public Library, Local Collection, Y060.41.
 2. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 34.
 3. Ibid., 34-5; Extracts from the Diary and Letters of Mrs. Mary Cobb (1805), op. cit., v; Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 4. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 5. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 1.
 6. Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 7. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 8. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 45.
 9. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396; Clarke, op. cit., 70.

In 1796 there were two brewers in Margate; Cobbs and William Hunter, supplying beer and ale to eight principal inns or hotels, sixteen victuallers,¹ boarding and lodging houses, wine merchants and private households. Three brewers existed by 1811² which suggests a growing competition since the number of hotels, inns or taverns remained constant at 24,³ but total demands for beer and ale were rising from an increasing resident and visiting population. An expanding local demand for Margate ales⁴ was topped up still further by extra demands resulting from naval wartime requirements.⁵ It was against this background that the second Francis Cobb extended and rebuilt his Margate brewery during the 1800's. The result was a new, spacious and extensive brewhouse which took two years, 1806-8, to construct, at a cost of £60,000.⁶ He recorded the beginning and end of this process.

"July the 6th., [1806]. This morning, about ten o'clock, the first stone was laid by myself at the east corner ... My dear wife and children, various friends, and many of the labourers were present". (7)

Exactly two years later on 6 July 1808 Francis Cobb laid the top stone, and celebrated the completion of the work by entertaining over 200 of the workmen and their families to a dinner.⁸

Evidence suggests that good industrial relations, or at least some benevolence, existed in the brewery. Wages were increased in November 1802.⁹

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1. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.
 2. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 5. As noted in this section above.
 6. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; Clarke, op. cit., 67; Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 7. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 51-2.
 8. Clarke, op. cit., 70.
 9. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 45.

At the celebration on 6 July 1808 the men were given "strong beer without reserve", in the hope that there would be no drunkenness and that everything would pass off happily.¹ Francis Cobb recorded the event as follows:

"July 6. I have now to commemorate the anniversary of the day on which the foundation of the new brewery was laid ... The building being sufficiently completed for brewing in, ... preparation was made for dining all who had, at any time, had a hand in the work. Before we sat down, I addressed them in a few words to remind them of the LORD's great goodness to us, in that one and all of us had been preserved from harm and accident. The number at table exceeded two hundred ... I cautioned them against intemperance, and we used all possible means to prevent it. At the appointed hour, every man took himself off without hesitation". (2)

A royal Silver Jubilee presented another occasion for a celebration. 25 November 1809 "was kept as a jubilee, being the 50th anniversary of the accession of his Majesty [George III]", whereupon "we dined between 70 and 80 of our men, wives and children".³

Investing £60,000 in a new brewery is proof of the considerable wealth which had accrued to the Cobb family by the 1800's. Several factors contributed to this large outlay, including the substantial character of the brewery and "the high duty on timber, with its unsparing use throughout the structure".⁴ To guidebooks it was one of the outstanding buildings and landmarks of Margate, and certainly its recent demolition has altered the face of old Margate and has left a glaring space which has still to be filled.

In 1831 it was noted how "the beauty and appearance of Margate have of late years been much increased by Messrs. COBB & SON, who have erected an extensive brewery, which is an imposing object".⁵ The attention of steamboat passengers on approaching Margate was drawn to "the cliffs rising boldly from the beach, [with] Cobb's extensive brewery [and] that elegant structure

1. Clarke, op. cit., 70.

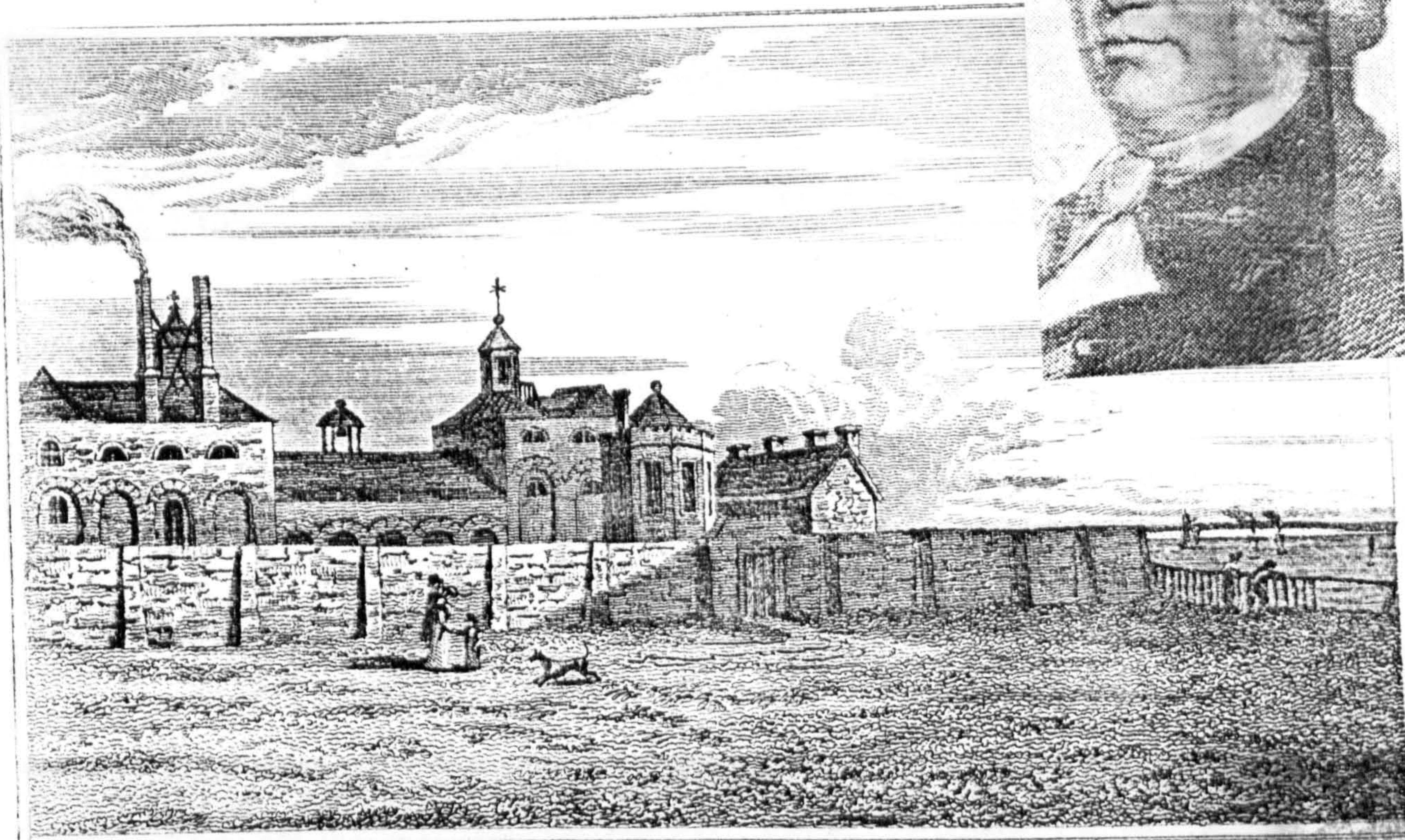
2. Rev. Cobb; op. cit., 53-4.

3. Ibid., 55.

4. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.

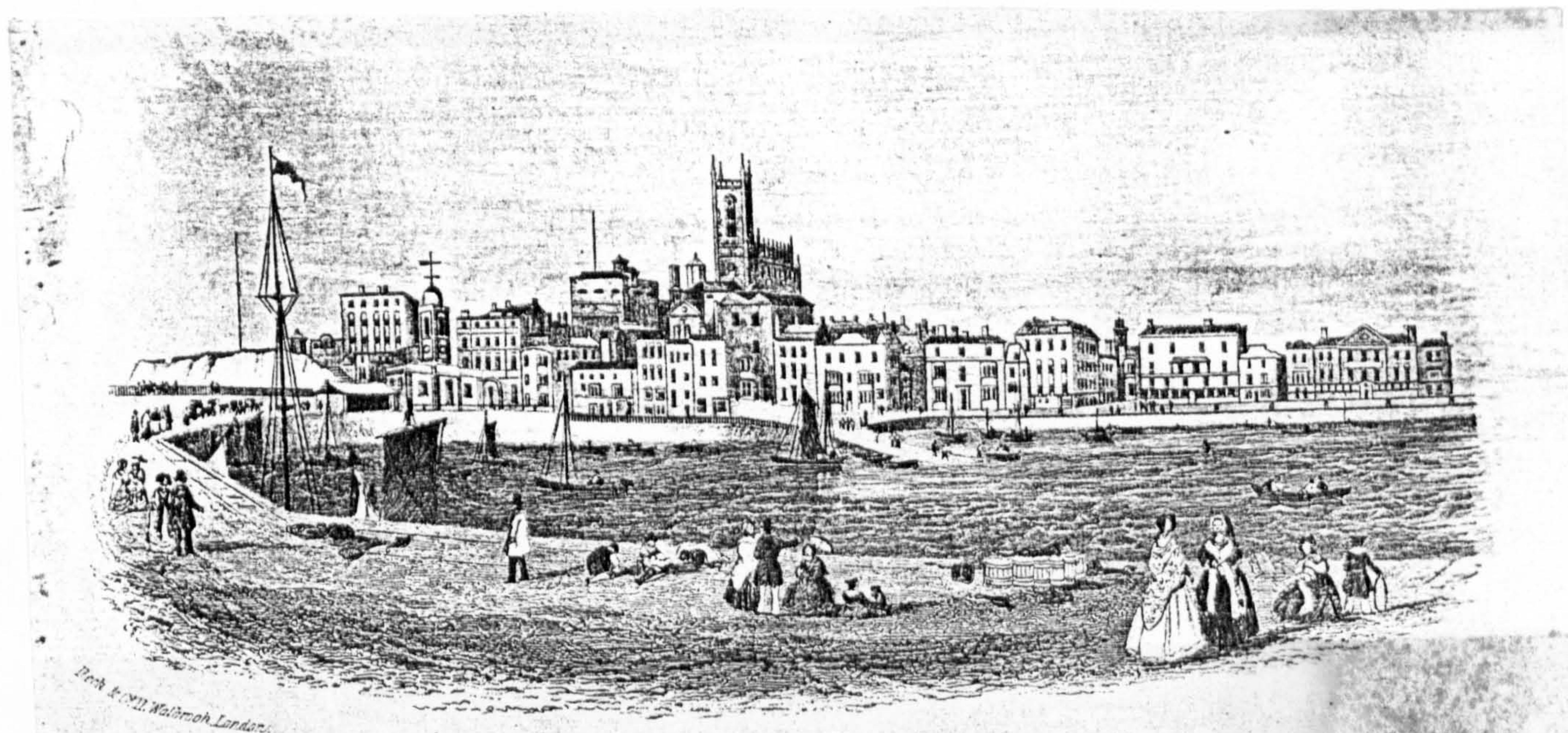
5. G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs and the Parts Adjacent (1831), 65.

THE FIRST FRANCIS COBB (1726-1802) AND TWO
VIEWS OF COBB'S 1808 BREWERY.



COBB'S BREWERY.
taken near the Fort,

G.E. Clarke, Historic Margate (2nd Ed., Margate, 1961), p.59 and
W.C. Oulton, Picture of Margate, and Its Vicinity (1820), p.68.



Margate from the Pier.

Margate Public Library Local Collection, Parker Bequest.
Also to be seen in the distance is Cobb's Brewery.

Trinity Church", consecrated on 11 June 1828,¹ forming together "a very beautiful picture".² Cobb's brewhouse was

"very large, and fitted up with every convenience for carrying on the manufacture of our truly national beverage. It is 179 feet long, 43 feet broad, (3) its centre to the pediment is 43 feet high, having wings which are respectively 57 feet, from each of which rises a turret 11 feet in diameter and 10½ feet high, upon which is a vane of 7 feet; making the total height of this part of the building 75 feet from the pavement". (4)

Its main frontage extended for 179 feet as a central brewhouse, with two wings on either side. A turret on the north wing came to accommodate a Trinity House observatory.⁵

The new brewery by 1830 contained one large copper, holding 157 barrels, and a smaller copper, holding 54 barrels.⁶ A vat room 146 feet long, 40 feet broad and 24 feet deep could store 7,000 barrels of beer.⁷ At the west end of the brewhouse were "extensive and convenient stables, with dray and cart lodges", while "in the centre of the yard is a tank which will hold 1,000 barrels of water, which is forced into this reservoir by pumps, from the valley below".⁸ Standing on either side of the entrance to the yard was a yeast room and a counting house.⁹ The premises stood "on a considerable eminence" [on the Fort]¹⁰ and could be viewed from most parts of the island.¹¹ Many of these

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1. Bonner, op. cit., 58; built "in consequence of the rapidly increasing population of this town and neighbourhood, and of the great influx of visitors", to accommodate 2,000 people, at a cost of £28,000, ibid., 58, 60.
 2. Ibid., 36.
 3. Also The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395-6; Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 4. Bonner, op. cit., 65.
 5. Cobb Lecture, op. cit.
 6. Bonner, op. cit., 65-6.
 7. Ibid.; 66.
 8. Ibid., 66.
 9. Ibid., 66.
 10. Picture of Ramsgate, or a Guide to the Various Amusements, Public Libraries, Building Improvements, etc., of that Celebrated Watering Place (Ramsgate, 1833), 66.
 11. Bonner, op. cit., 66.

details were noted in 1819¹ and in a description of "Messrs. Cobb & Co.'s Brewery at Margate", which appeared in The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette and Hotel Courier on 4 December 1875², when it was introduced as "a handsome structure of solid brickwork, darkened by nearly 70 years' service".³

In 1826 Cobbs purchased one of the first Boulton and Watt condensing engines ever fitted in Kent, prior to which motive power for the brewery was derived from four horses working gearing.⁴ This engine was one of eight constructed for a West India Sugar Company, which had failed before it was ready for shipment. In those early days of steam, it was thought advisable to connect the engine with the old gearing, so that in the event of a breakdown horse power would still be available.⁵ The old gearing, and the subsequent steam engine, pumped water for brewing, while from a second deep well water was pumped for grinding malt and for washing down.⁶

Apart from good quality water, "the ever-blowing Margate breeze" was utilised during the different stages of fermentation.⁷ Other essential ingredients were also obtained locally, from a county and locality which were famed for hops and barley. The best East Kent hops were used, while the barley used by the firm was grown in the Isle of Thanet, "almost, it may be said, within sight of the brewery".⁸ Malt was made on the premises. From 1808 onwards Cobbs possessed marvellous and extensive cellars, "literally hewn out of the solid chalk", which were "capable of indefinite extension by the mere process

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1. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), op. cit., 47.
 2. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., particularly 396 onwards.
 3. Ibid., 395.
 4. Ibid., 396.
 5. Ibid., 396.
 6. Ibid., 396.
 7. Ibid., 396.
 8. Ibid., 396.

of carting away the chalk".¹ During the 1820's strong ales became a speciality of the Margate brewery. They were introduced from London by Mr. Paul who had been employed by a well-known firm of West End brewers by the name of Ball. Besides being famous for their ales they and Charringtons were the only ale brewers in London.² The public, whether resident or visiting, soon acquired a liking for this article, and one great London house became "especially anxious to find out details of the process of brewing".³ The Cobbs during the nineteenth century developed a large trade with London,⁴ and advertised their products in the London press. The City Press during July and August 1858 contained several front-page advertisements recommending

"COBB'S MARGATE ALE in high condition, always on draught at Sanders's 'Lion and Lamb', Margaret-street, Wilmington-square. Sent out in bottles of 1 and 2 gallons, at 2s. 6d. per gallon; or in 1 dozen bottles, at 6s. per dozen; carriage free within two miles". (5)

Cobb's Margate ale enjoyed the approval of the medical profession and visitors to the town came to regard it as "Cobb's ale par excellence". There were even exports to Sydney and to New Zealand circa 1850 which then diminished "owing to difficulties with the customs".⁶ Brewing strong ale was undertaken during the winter months, following which the cellars of public houses were filled up first, and by March the large vat room was "quite full in readiness for the Margate season".⁷

Other departments of the brewery included a cooperage, a carpenter's shop over the cellars, and "well-fitted and excellently arranged" stables.⁸ It was considered prudent to have in hand some spare land surplus to current

1. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.

2. Ibid., 396.

3. Ibid., 396.

4. Ibid., 396.

5. The City Press, 10 July, 17 July, 24 July and 7 August 1858, 1.

6. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.

7. Ibid., 396.

8. Ibid., 396.

TABLE 36: COBB'S CASH BEER SALES, 1823-8.

	1823								
	Table, etc.			Strong			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
January	230.	14.	5.	665.	0.	6.	895.	14.	11.
February	158.	13.	9.	785.	12.	4.	944.	6.	1.
March	109.	17.	1.	959.	17.	0.	1,069.	14.	1.
April	89.	4.	0.	676.	8.	0.	765.	12.	0.
May	145.	17.	7.	1,265.	6.	6.	1,411.	4.	1.
June	138.	3.	6.	1,329.	6.	6.	1,476.	10.	0.
July	121.	12.	1.	1,109.	10.	8.	1,231.	2.	9.
August	180.	0.	7.	1,973.	10.	6.	2,153.	11.	1.
September	404.	6.	0.	1,808.	7.	5.	2,212.	7.	11.
October	142.	13.	8.	1,004.	3.	6.	1,146.	17.	2.
November	96.	16.	11.	1,194.	14.	4.	1,291.	11.	3.
December	73.	13.	1.	1,101.	12.	2.	1,175.	5.	3.
<u>Total for the year</u>	<u>1,891.</u>	<u>12.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>13,873.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>15,773.</u>	<u>16.</u>	<u>7.</u>

	1824								
	Table, etc.			Strong			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
January	241.	10.	9.	645.	6.	6.	886.	17.	3.
February	123.	15.	1.	961.	19.	0.	1,085.	14.	1.
March	126.	4.	10.	1,085.	2.	0.	1,211.	6.	10.
April	98.	5.	8.	674.	15.	10.	773.	1.	6.
May	77.	4.	5.	1,421.	13.	2.	1,498.	17.	7.
June	89.	15.	5.	1,515.	4.	1.	1,604.	19.	6.
July	146.	8.	7.	1,270.	4.	8.	1,416.	13.	3.
August	183.	16.	10.	2,393.	2.	11.	2,576.	19.	9.
September	159.	8.	11.	2,113.	16.	4.	2,273.	5.	3.
October	200.	17.	2.	1,290.	9.	2.	1,491.	6.	4.
November	109.	11.	2.	1,371.	19.	6.	1,481.	10.	8.
December	115.	14.	11.	1,257.	18.	1.	1,373.	13.	0.
<u>Total for the year</u>	<u>1,672.</u>	<u>13.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>16,001.</u>	<u>11.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>17,674.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>0.</u>

	1825								
	Table, etc.			Strong			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
January	182.	1.	8.	1,059.	10.	0.	1,241.	11.	2.
February	114.	16.	0.	1,142.	0.	4.	1,256.	16.	4.
March	108.	3.	9.	1,383.	17.	6.	1,492.	1.	3.
April	122.	19.	0.	754.	0.	6.	876.	19.	6.
May	93.	15.	7.	1,484.	16.	8.	1,578.	12.	1.
June	92.	4.	8.	1,646.	4.	2.	1,738.	8.	10.
July	184.	11.	1.	1,416.	16.	1.	1,601.	7.	2.
August	119.	10.	10.	2,085.	11.	3.	2,205.	2.	1.
September	145.	17.	3.	2,085.	11.	8.	2,231.	8.	11.
October	90.	3.	4.	1,641.	10.	3.	1,731.	13.	7.
November	116.	6.	7.	987.	15.	8.	1,104.	2.	3.
December	106.	11.	0.	1,307.	11.	6.	1,414.	2.	6.
<u>Total for the year</u>	<u>1,477.</u>	<u>0.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>16,995.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>7.</u>	<u>18,472.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>8.</u>

Source: Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, Beer Cash Book, 3 February 1818 - 30 September 1829.

N.B. Total sales exceed the totals of table and strong beers added together.

TABLE 36: COBB'S CASH BEER SALES, 1823-8.

	1826			1827			1828		
	Table, etc.	Strong	Total	Table, etc.	Strong	Total	Table, etc.	Strong	Total
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
January	203.10. 2.	816. 3. 6.	1,019.13. 8.	185.17. 9.	887.10. 4.	1,073. 8. 1.	286. 4. 6.	882. 9.10.	1,168.14. 4.
February	236. 6. 1.	1,195. 1. 4.	1,431. 7. 5.	152. 9. 2.	978. 7. 9.	1,130.16.11.	93.14. 5.	1,073.13. 0.	1,167. 7. 5.
March	109.15. 8.	1,211. 7. 3.	1,321. 2.11.	192. 6. 9.	1,075. 7. 0.	1,267.13. 9.	117.10. 6.	1,120. 3. 6.	1,237.14. 0.
April	111. 5. 1.	937.15. 8.	1,049. 0. 9.	139.16. 7.	1,017.17. 3.	1,157.13.10.	132. 8. 3.	1,008. 1. 0.	1,140. 9. 3.
May	98. 2. 3.	1,498.10. 6.	1,596.12. 9.	102. 0. 0.	1,318. 1. 8.	1,420. 1. 8.	103.17. 6.	1,105.13. 9.	1,209.11. 3.
June	141.16.11.	1,779.12. 5.	1,921. 9. 4.	136. 6. 0.	1,428. 2.10.	1,564. 8.10.	84.19. 7.	1,417.10. 3.	1,502. 9.10.
July	127.13. 0.	1,656.13.10.	1,784. 6.10.	126. 6. 0.	1,687. 7. 3.	1,813.13. 3.	94.14.10.	1,761.13. 4.	1,856. 8. 2.
August	147. 3.10.	2,331.10. 1.	2,478. 3.11.	166. 1. 6.	2,332. 0. 4.	2,498. 2. 5.	132. 1. 1.	1,491. 5. 1.	1,623. 6. 2.
September	155. 6. 1.	2,302.16. 4.	2,458. 2. 5.	104. 7. 1.	2,315.18. 3.	2,420. 5. 4.	176.19. 6.	2,143. 7. 2.	2,320. 6. 8.
October	135.13. 9.	1,421.16. 4.	1,557. 9.11.	111. 2. 8.	1,311. 3. 2.	1,422. 5.10.	145.16. 7.	1,297. 1. 8.	1,442.18. 3.
November	106. 7. 2.	1,587. 4. 8.	1,693.11.10.	101. 4. 6.	1,371. 2. 2.	1,492. 6. 8.	84. 7.10.	1,329. 5.11.	1,413.13. 9.
December	167. 2. 9.	1,277. 4. 7.	1,444. 7. 4.	70. 8. 7.	1,133.18. 6.	1,204. 7. 1.	65. 8. 1.	1,021.18.10.	1,087. 6.11.
<u>Total for the year</u>	<u>1,740. 2. 9.</u>	<u>18,015. 6. 6.</u>	<u>19,755. 9. 1.</u>	<u>1,588. 6. 7.</u>	<u>16,856.16. 6.</u>	<u>18,465. 3. 8.</u>	<u>1,518. 2. 8.</u>	<u>15,652. 3. 4.</u>	<u>17,170. 6. 0.</u>

Source: Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, Beer Cash Book, 3 February 1818 - 30 September 1829.

N.B. Total sales exceed the totals of table and strong beers added together.

requirements:

"behind the Brewery is a large plot of ground at present unoccupied and extending from the brewery buildings to the Britannia, a beerhouse, which was formerly used as a summer house by the [devoutly religious](1) second Francis Cobb. On this ground it will be possible, if it be thought desirable, to erect on some future day a secondary brewhouse, for which there is abundance of space". (2)

Cobbs did not brew independently of rivals, for in 1822 John Tuck, "late of Croydon, Brewer", listed among thirteen "Kent Gentleman Brewers" three firms in Margate:

"Messrs. BEER & Co.,
Messrs. COBB & Co.,
and Mr. HUNTER". (3)

The pattern whereby beer sales fluctuated from year to year and according to the season remained as characteristic of the 1820's as it had been in the late 1780's and early 1790's, as shown in Table 36.

Cobbs earned most of their revenue from strong beers, which were selling on an upward trend and, as in the earlier period, sales were noticeably up during the summer months between June and September. Over the six years, 1823-8, gross and annual average sales were as follows:

TABLE 37: DITTO SUMMARY TABLE.

	<u>Gross Totals</u>			<u>Average per annum</u>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Table, etc.,	9,887	19	2	1,647	19	10
Strong	<u>97,394</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>16,232</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>Total (4)</u>	107,311	6	0	17,885	4	4

Sales of strong beers were roughly ten times those of table beers. Cobb's gross sales over these six years at £107,311 6s. were about 2½ times those of the six years, 1788-93, at £43,287 13s. The rebuilding and extension of the

1. See this section above.
2. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 396.
3. John Tuck, The Private Brewer's Guide to the Art of Brewing Ale and Porter (1822).
4. Note the point made in the above table.

Margate brewery during the 1800's, followed in the 1820's by the brewing of strong Margate ales, were wise decisions, but also underlying the whole expansion of this firm, from its foundation in 1760, through sixty or more years to the 1820's and beyond, was the rise and expansion of Margate as a popular seaside resort. This fact was recognised in 1819 by The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion: "we have been the more particular in our description of this extensive Brewery, because we think that the erection of so considerable a building, for such a purpose, affords the surest proof of the great increase which has lately taken place in the number of houses and inhabitants in Margate".¹ Subsequently it was pointed out in 1875 that "as the town grew and prospered, so naturally did the Bank and Brewery".² Cobb's brewery expanded with the growth and development of Margate as a seaside resort and what had been the original firm of Francis Cobb for at least forty years, subsequently for another forty years Cobb & Son, changed its name yet again in 1842 to Cobb & Co., when Henry and William Chippendale became partners.³ The Chippendales were well-known London coopers who from Bunhill Row manufactured and supplied barrels to several brewing firms, including Messrs. Whitbread and Messrs. Cobbs.⁴

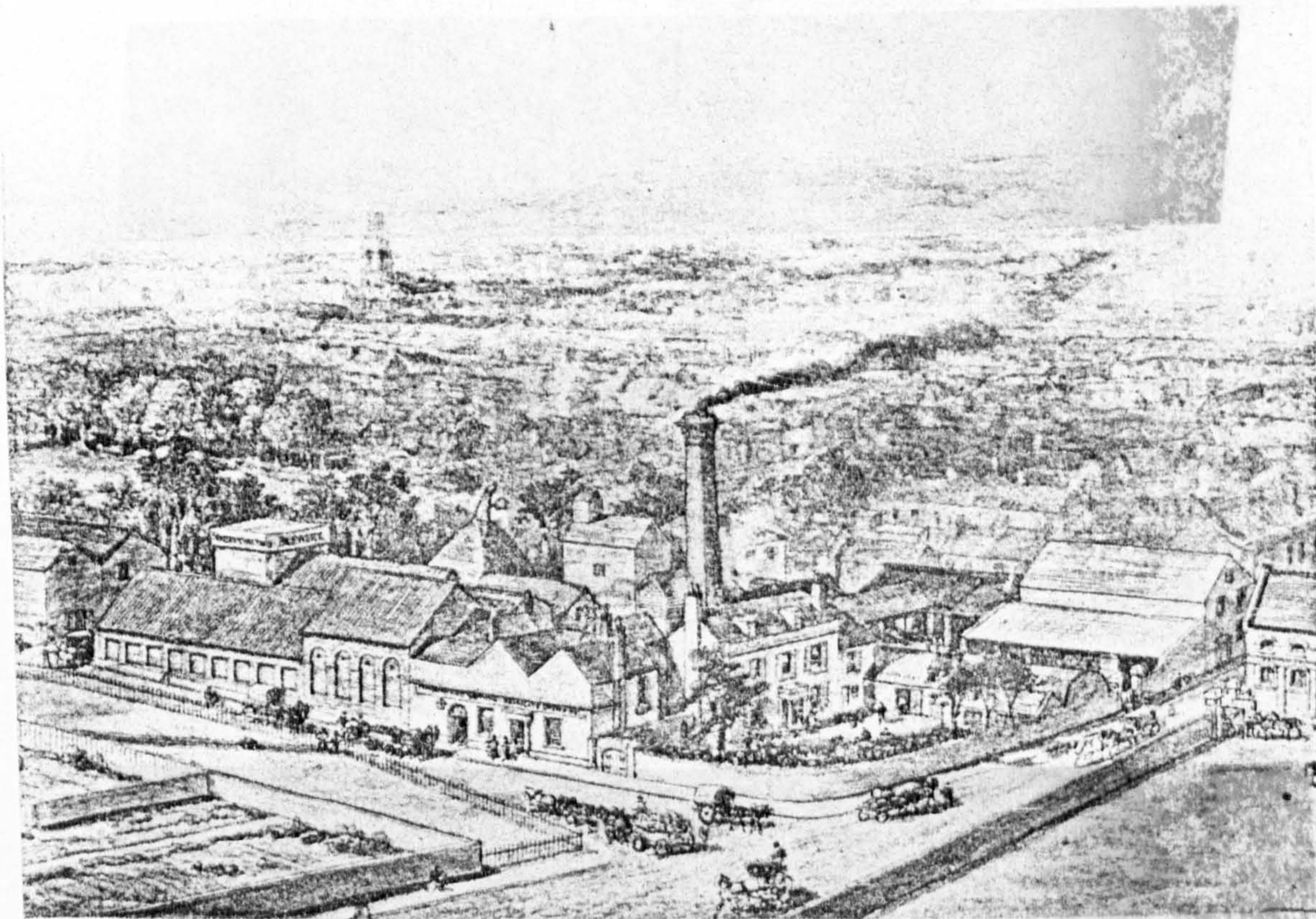
After 115 years the fame of Messrs. Cobb & Co.'s Margate brewery was assessed thus:

"apart from the few world-famous firms of London and Burton, it is probable that no brewery in England is familiarly known to so many thousands of persons living away from its immediate locality as is Cobb's at Margate. Nor is this at all a matter to excite surprise, [since] for more than a hundred years Margate has been emphatically the favourite watering place of Londoners of all classes ... It is by no means surprising that the name of the firm should be a familiar word in the mouths of visitors ... There is something in the salubrious salt air

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1. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), op. cit., 48.
 2. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 3. Ibid., 396.
 4. Ibid., 396; also Mathias, op. cit., 57n.

Britain's Oldest Brewery

The story of Tomson and Wotton's Brewery,
Ramsgate, with which Whitbread's
became associated in 1957.



*The Tomson & Wotton Brewery, Ramsgate, as it appeared to a water-colour artist in 1885.
Offices and bottling stores now occupy the near corner of the site.*

of Margate, in the deep draughts of Ozone we inhale on the Jetty or the Fort, peculiarly provocative of thirst, and for generations it has seemed the proper thing for visitors to slacken this thirst with 'a deep draught' of Cobb's ale, ... drawn at a very large majority of the hotels and taverns in the town. [In 1874 Margate counted 56 hotels, inns and taverns along with 699 lodging houses (1)]. Nor is this reputation by any means a thing of yesterday. In the early years of the [nineteenth] century when Margate was fully as fashionable a resort as are Brighton and Scarborough to-day ... it was almost as much derigueur for the Lady Betty's and Sir Harry's to quaff their glass of Cobb at Margate as it was at Bath, under Nash, to drink the waters ... It is therefore clear that the Margate Brewery is fairly entitled to rank among the representative breweries of England". (2)

It is Ramsgate, however, which claims to have the oldest brewery in England in the firm of Tomson & Wotton³, the exact foundation date of which is not known except that a brewhouse existed as early as 1634,⁴ which has long been commemorated by the brewery's 1634 tankard trade mark, advertising "Britain's Oldest Brewery".⁵ Thomas Tomson purchased the brewery circa 1680, and until the 1950's nine generations of the family were involved in its management.⁶ The Wottons only appeared when Thomas Wotton entered Tomson's Brewery in 1854 as a brewer. Coming subsequently into an inheritance he was taken into the partnership in 1867.⁷ Although Tomson and Wotton competed against Cobb's Margate brewery, they operated on a smaller and more local scale, and did not attract the publicity shown to Cobbs in local guidebooks, newspaper advertisements or trade journals. In 1867 Tomson & Wotton owned only 21 public houses, 15 of which were in Ramsgate. The others were in Broadstairs and Sandwich.⁸

The brewery's growth was promoted by several developments, associated with

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1. The Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties, Volume II (1874), 1390-8.
 2. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395-6.
 3. "Britain's Oldest Brewery: The Story of Tomson & Wotton's Brewery, Ramsgate", re-printed from The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), and "New Kegging Plant for Britain's Oldest Brewery", re-printed from The International Bottler and Packer and International Beverage News (August 1965).
 4. The International Bottler (August 1965); op. cit.
 5. Ibid.; also The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid.,
 8. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.

improvements to Ramsgate harbour as a port of refuge, and with Ramsgate's rise as a seaside resort. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars there were major troop embarkations from Ramsgate, which were reported in The Times or The Kentish Gazette,¹ A military camp and training ground were established on the East Cliff and just before the Battle of Waterloo 10,000 cavalry on their way to Belgium embarked in various transports at Ramsgate.² Ramsgate public houses dating from this period included The Lord Nelson, The Admiral Napier and The Iron Duke.³

Tomson & Wotton developed a large family or private trade as it was called.⁴ It was the nineteenth century which saw the acquisition of most of the firm's tied houses,⁵ and the second half of the century witnessed the firm's greatest expansion. In 1876 a dozen public houses were acquired through the purchase of the Ramsgate Cannon Brewery.⁶ It was after Thomas Wotton was made managing partner in 1882 that the brewery's greatest expansion occurred.⁷ The brewery and plant were largely rebuilt in 1892,⁸ one year after the concern was registered as a limited company.⁹

As between Cobb of Margate and Tomson & Wotton of Ramsgate there were parallels in their history, even though the Cobbs experienced the greatest expansion, both in brewing and into other fields. Both firms could claim histories of enterprise and sound planning. Both benefited from the growth of seaside resorts and from the French and Napoleonic Wars. Both ventured into

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1. For instance, the 11th., 12th., and 18th. Light Dragoons at the end of March 1815, The Kentish Gazette, 28 March 1815; another like report in ibid., 31 March 1815.
 2. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.; also The International Bottler (August 1965), op. cit.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 5. The International Bottler (August 1965), op. cit.
 6. Ibid.; also The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 7. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 8. The International Bottler (August 1965), op. cit.
 9. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.

owning tied houses within their respective localities. By 1909 seventy public houses had been acquired by Tomson and Wotton, in days when The Shipwrights' Arms used to cellar 60 hogsheads of Stock Bitter Ale in the spring for a summer sale.¹ Both families traced their Thanet ancestry back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Richard Tomson being a sixteenth century London shipper and wholesale grocer importer, whose great grandson, a sailor, eventually decided to live in Ramsgate after calling there during his travels.² The Tomsons, like the Cobbs, commanded a local civic importance. During the first half of the eighteenth century Thomas Tomson was Ramsgate's Deputy responsible to the mayor of Sandwich which, as a Cinque Port, had Ramsgate as a limb, whereupon the brewery came to house the Deputy's lock-up cells.³ Early in the nineteenth century Richard Tomson was Ramsgate's Deputy for nearly thirty years and when, in 1884, Ramsgate was incorporated as a Borough, it was the firm of Tomson & Wotton who presented a gold mace.⁴ Perhaps there is some truth in the suggestion that "an insular patriotism ... may explain the long history of both Tomson & Wotton and their local rivals Cobb's of Margate."⁵

The Development of Banking Facilities.

Banking facilities developed in Margate during the later eighteenth century. They owed their origins to the first Francis Cobb (1726-1802), who had established a brewery in Margate in 1760.⁶ According to Professor Sayers the Cobbs were regular bankers from 1785.⁷ Possibly they were embryonic bankers after 1780. Professor Pressnell favours 1783 as a foundation date.⁸ Which ever date is chosen the second Francis Cobb (1759-1831) had already

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1. The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 2. Ibid; also The International Bottler (August 1965), op. cit.
 3. The International Bottler (August 1965), op. cit.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid; also The House of Whitbread (Winter 1959-60), op. cit.
 6. As noted in the previous section.
 7. Sayers, op. cit., 2; also Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 8. Pressnell, op. cit., 50.

joined his father in the family partnership by 1780, following five years of fruitful mercantile instruction in Holland.¹

The Margate bank of Cobb & Co. enjoyed an independent existence for more than a century, until it was absorbed in 1891 by Lloyds Bank.² For 106 years it functioned and prospered without changes in title or amalgamation.³ Francis Cobb established his bank next door to Bank House, a fine Georgian property which he had built for himself in 1783.⁴ There it remained for 97 years until an expanding business made it necessary to acquire larger premises. In July 1882 the bank moved to the corner of King Street and Fort Road, occupying what had been the site of the Fountain Inn.⁵

Original records of the bank show that its first transaction was to change a five pound note.⁶ Ninety years later it was recalled that

"the first Mr. Francis Cobb ... became prosperous. In 1785 he opened his bank ... It is noteworthy, as a somewhat exceptional circumstance, that Bank and Brewery, founded by one man, have ever since remained one firm". (7)

The Margate bank of Cobb & Co. soon attracted attention which was not always favourable. Hardwicke Lewis complained that "it is a custom here to impose a discount of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ on bank notes by the deputy, who, in this respect, keeps a sort of usurious banking house".⁸ Later observations were more favourable and saw the bank as a useful business enterprise. To Zechariah Cozens in 1793 it had been established "on the firm foundation of honesty, fidelity, and punctuality; and is found of real benefit to the trading

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1. As noted in the previous section.
 2. Sayers, op. cit., 279.
 3. Ibid., 279.
 4. As noted in the previous section.
 5. Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 6. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395; also Clarke, op. cit., 68.
 7. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 8. Hardwicke Lewis, op. cit., 23.

inhabitants of this town especially".¹ Almost the same sentiments were expressed in 1797: "Messrs. Cobb's Bank ... [is] of real benefit to the visitors and inhabitants of this town".² Within eleven years of its foundation a rival had appeared on the scene, there being two bankers in Margate by 1796, namely Cobb & Son, King Street, and Sawkins, Grubb & Brooman. Sawkins was a local solicitor and John Brooman was a linen draper.³ Both establishments, given "the increased population of this town particularly in the summer season", were proving "to be very convenient to the public".⁴ Grubb in 1797 was one of the proprietors of the Margate Theatre Royal.⁵

The two banks were depicted in poetry in 1797:

"Our Banks their great utility do show;
They're kept by Cobb and Grubb and Brooman too;
Firm is their basis, whence success and fame
Have sprung, and fix'd their well-established name;
May all their efforts constantly succeed,
While public weal and private gain's the meed". (6)

A guidebook of that year specifically mentioned Cobb's bank: "a bank has been opened here some years, under the firm of Messrs. Cobb & Son, in King-street, where notes may be had from £5 5s. to £20 and bank notes exchanged, or converted into cash, for the convenience of persons coming to this place during the season".⁷ Sawkins & Co., who operated the second bank in Cecil Square,⁸ proved to be less successful and experienced frequent changes of ownership.

By 1809 the latter bank had changed hands and was managed by Garrett, Boys, Garrett, Sacket & Burgess, which together with "the firm of Cobb & Son, in King-street, ... are found most convenient and useful public establishments".⁹

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1. Cozens, op. cit., 28.
 2. The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 85.
 3. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op. cit.; on Mr. Jacob Sawkins as a Margate attorney see Chapter III above.
 4. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op. cit., 17.
 5. The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem, with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), op. cit., 83.
 6. Ibid., 84.
 7. The Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend (1797), 39.
 8. Ibid., 39.
 9. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (5th. Ed., Margate, 1809), op. cit., 68.

Two banks transacted business in Margate in 1811,¹ but during August 1812 the second Francis Cobb recorded how he had been

"deeply exercised during the last month ... About the 22nd., the banking houses of -- -- and --, in London stopped; and such was the shock to public confidence, that bills of the best description could hardly be discounted. I went to town". (2)

Perhaps there was a local banking failure, since by 1816 Margate had only one bank, "under the firm of COBB & Son, in King street, which, from the increased population, is found a most convenient and useful public establishment".³

In 1819 this bank, "which stands nearly in the centre of King Street", was managed "by Messrs. COBB & Son, who are likewise the principal Brewers of the Town".⁴ However by now Margate had also "a Bank for Savings", which opened "for the reception of deposits every Saturday evening".⁵

As private country bankers Messrs. Cobb & Co. issued their own notes for 55 years until October 1844.⁶ During the 1780's, when there were commercial and passenger links between Ostend and Margate, travellers preferred Cobb's bank notes to those of the Bank of England.⁷ Certainly in May 1785 "Francis Cobb & Son" advised "the Public that the passage boats commanded by Captains Henry Kerwin and Jethro Sandwell will sail constantly to Ostend during the summer season".⁸ Following the disruptions of the Napoleonic Wars, Francis Cobb recorded on 25 July 1814 that

"peace was proclaimed here. One of our packets goes weekly to Ostend ... We hope a trade may be established to that port". (9)

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1. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811), op. cit.
 2. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 60.
 3. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 74.
 4. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), op. cit., 46.
 5. Ibid., 44.
 6. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS.
 7. The Licensed Victuallers' Gazette, 4 December 1875, op. cit., 395.
 8. The Kentish Gazette, 11 May 1785; other references to the Margate/Ostend packet service appear in Chapters I and IV.
 9. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 64.

A few weeks later his son departed for Ostend

"with the hope of establishing our connection there, and I allowed T-- to accompany him. They were absent about a month". (1)

Having survived the banking crisis of 1812 and the Napoleonic Wars, Francis Cobb confronted bank forgeries during 1816 and 1817 against a background of economic hardship and social unrest. These difficulties greatly worried a man of strong religious and moral convictions.

1815^o March. - "The times are alarming, owing to sad divisions on the alteration of the corn laws, threatening much confusion and mischief". (2)

April - "There have been great riots about the corn bill. A disposition was manifested among the populous, even in our little place, to be troublesome; but blessed be God, it was nipped in the bud". (3)

1816 March - "A young man, R. ARMSTRONG, has been committed through our means, for circulating forged Bank of England Notes, but on account of his proper behaviour since, ... being the only son of a poor pious widow, and well-known to the Rev. BASIL WOOD, a lively interest is excited among Christian friends on his behalf". (4)

April - "ARMSTRONG has been sentenced to 14 years' transportation the Bank having acted with the greatest lenity, by only indicting him for having the notes in his possession. We are endeavouring to obtain a mitigation of this sentence". (5)

September - "Serious apprehensions are entertained respecting the harvest ... Our place is suffering much, and the prospects for the winter are very gloomy". (6)

December- "Distress prevails throughout the country". (7)

1817 January - "Much distress certainly prevails; but all means are using among ourselves as a parish, and, I believe, generally elsewhere, to relieve the real wants of the poor". (8)

Favourable summer weather meant that in July 1817 "the fruits of the earth appear very promising, and our house, too, wears its summer aspect", but "already the longest day is gone, and we begin again to go downhill".⁹ Winter

1. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 65.

2. Ibid., 65.

3. Ibid., 66.

4. Ibid., 67.

5. Ibid., 67.

6. Ibid., 67-8.

7. Ibid., 68.

8. Ibid., 68.

9. Ibid., 68-9.

pessimism was creeping in by October:

"again we have passed the equinox, and are hastening into winter. The past is irrecoverable, the future uncertain". (1)

On 16 October

"we were lead to the discovery of a forgery on our bank of some of our £5 notes. In a most providential way my son Francis William Cobb succeeded in taking the two persons issuing them within a few miles of London, and they are now in Dover Gaol". (2)

At their trial on 4 November these "two unhappy men" were found guilty and were sentenced to be hanged on 27 December, but

"we have left no stone unturned to save their lives. My son was in town a fortnight trying every means, petitioning at Lord SIDMOUTH's office and elsewhere ... They had attempted to make their escape by sawing through the iron bars of a window, and had nearly succeeded. They were of respectable connections, and had been engravers. We returned home on the fatal day, and though it was not the Lord's will to spare their forfeited lives, we had the satisfaction of having spared no pains to save them. ... Our consciences do not condemn us for bringing them to justice, conformably to the laws of the land". (3)

The Margate bank of Cobb & Co. survived further economic difficulties, both locally and nationally. During August 1819 Francis Cobb observed how that season was passing away, but

"there are sad complaints of being short of company. The steam packets bring many; but they do not stay. In my opinion it is not so much the weather as the times, especially in the mercantile world, that are against us; but must we not look to sin as the cause of all? As a place we are sadly dissipated and corrupt; and may we not expect that GOD will deal with towns as with nations?" (4)

However, "with respect to myself, I feel in many instances that the infirmities of age are creeping upon me".⁵ Four years later he undertook an excursion to Holland to recruit "health and spirits, ... and to gratify the strong desire he felt to revisit a land in which his youthful days had been so happily spent".⁶

1. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 69.

2. Ibid., 69.

3. Ibid., 69-70.

4. Ibid., 74.

5. Ibid., 74.

6. Ibid., 78.

Departing from Dover, on 14 July 1823, he proceeded, with members of his family, from Calais, via Dunkirk, Ghent, Antwerp, Rotterdam, The Hague and Haarlem to Amsterdam, where "I was much gratified by visiting my old counting-house".¹ February 1826 produced further financial and mercantile distress, which "extended to all classes of merchants and trades people", whereby "the last list of bankrupts, not less than 60, exceeds, I believe, any remembered".²

In 1830, one year before Francis Cobb's death, three Thanet firms were listed among the bankers of Kent.³

TABLE 38: THANET BANKERS IN 1830.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Firm</u>	<u>On Whom they drew in London</u>
Margate	Cobb & Son	Esdaille & Co.
Ramsgate Old Bank	Austen & Co.	Curtis & Co., 15, Lombard St.
Ramsgate	Burgess & Co.	Barnard & Co., 50, Cornhill.

The name Austen appears in the Cobb banking records of the 1790's, which show how the Margate bank provided various banking services during the 1790's and 1800's. As with the brewing side of the business, what follows is only a few dips into a vast collection of business papers.

At the end of December 1796 Austen and Blackburn of Ramsgate invited Messrs. Cobb & Co. to handle some surplus cash which they possessed.

"Gentlemen,
We have just now a great deal of cash, and no opportunity of sending any to London, and as you have frequent conveyances, would it be inconvenient to you to receive cash from us, instead of our ordering the money to be paid in London, which would at present be inconvenient to us?
Your reply will oblige.

AUSTEN & BLACKBURN,
Ramsgate, 26 December 1796". (4)

Rumours of new banking rivalry in Thanet were confirmed in a letter, which was written on 7 June 1808 to F. W. Cobb, Esq., by the manager of the Ramsgate bank.

1. Rev. Cobb, op. cit., 78-9.

2. Ibid., 83.

3. G. A. Cooke, A Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Kent (New Ed., 1830), 5.

4. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.

"Dear Sir,

I am now enabled in some measure to confirm what you were mentioning to me regarding a New Bank at this place and Margate, and shall be very happy the first time you come hither to talk the matter over with you, as I should hope to find your House, and that for which I act resist a thing of the kind conjointly.

Fred. PONTIN". (1)

Visitors to Margate in the 1800's who required to draw money during their stay were introduced to Messrs. Cobb & Son by letters from their respective banks, which enclosed their specimen signatures. Procedures adopted then remain almost the same to-day when people wish to have banking arrangements at banks other than where their main accounts are kept. Several introductions from London bankers can be cited involving considerable sums of money.

"London, 12-6-1802.

Messrs. Cobb & Sons,
Margate,

Gentlemen,

We beg leave to enclose to you the signature of Mrs. Ann Wilson, to whom we have taken the liberty of giving a Letter of Credit on you for £120, which we beg the favour of you to honor against her Drafts on us.

RANSOM, MORLAND & CO." (2)

This bank performed the same service for another customer on 1 July 1802.

"Our Friend the Rev. Lewis Guerry intending to pass a few weeks in your Town, will have occasion for some supplies of Money, which we request the favour of you to furnish him with, to the extent of £200 (two hundred Pounds) against his Drafts on us, which will meet due Honour". (3)

A second letter, also dated 1 July 1802, enclosing "the Signature of the Rev. Lewis Guerry, to whom we have taken the liberty of giving a Letter of Credit on your House for £200", promised to meet any charges made by Messrs. Cobb & Son for undertaking this business.⁴ Among the clients of Thomas Coutts & Co. requiring £500 in Margate during the 1804 season was Francis Alexander Grant Esq. Coutts's letter of introduction requesting "your usual attention"⁵

1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Mr Alexander Grant

Sir

Stard. London 25 Sept. 1804.

Below is the signature of Francis Alexander

Grant Esq. to whom we have this day given a *Book of Credits* in
your favor for five Hundred Pounds to which we request your
usual attention -

We are
Sirs

James Grant
James Grant

is reproduced as an illustration.

Early in September 1802 Miss Vansittart of Blackheath instructed her London bankers, Ransom, Morland & Co., to forward ten guineas as a Life Subscription to the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary whereupon, by letter, dated 4 September 1802, Messrs. Cobb & Co. were informed that "our Check will pay that sum to your account at Sir James Esdaile & Co., on Monday, and we beg you to enter Miss Vansittart's name in the Subscription Book accordingly".¹

During August 1807 Messrs. Cobb & Co. were invited to collect some house rents in Margate.

"Peterhead, 1 August 1807.

Sir,

Having a share of some houses in Margate, together with my son who is a minor, and finding some difficulty in getting the Rents submitted to me, I take the liberty of applying to you and to beg to know whether you would take the trouble of receiving them half-yearly for me, and remitting them to me. As the concern is small, it would not admit of great expense.

E. STRANACK" (2)

Cobbs agreed to this request on 11 August 1807.³

Local demands included applications for loans for which there were two instances in 1814 and 1815. Cobbs advanced small sums to trustworthy local traders, mariners or fishermen as the following humble and partially literate request indicates.

"Sir,

i hope you will not be ofended at my taking this Liberty in writing to you on this Subject, as i have been informed by a friend that you have obliged men in my Situation that is to say i have a payment that is Due in London, for my Salt Fish and i am not able to discharge the Debt without the Assistance of a Friend to advance the Money and have no other Security to give but on my Furniture which is worth more than double the Sum that is required wich is £20, and to sell my goods i am very unwilling. Hope i shall be able to pay the half in the Summer ... i will make my Goods over to you and pay the remainder next Summer 12 months with the Interest. Consider me and let me have it on that condition. Will ever be thankfull to you.

Wm. ROWE". (4)

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

TABLE 39: WEEKLY AND MONTHLY CIRCULATIONS OF MARGATE BANK NOTES, 1834 AND 1843.

<u>1834</u>				<u>1843</u>			
Week	£	Month £	Weekly average for the month £	Week	£	Month £	Weekly average for the month £
4 January	5,805			7 January	10,480		
11 January	5,305			14 January	10,570		
18 January	5,600			21 January	9,825		
25 January	6,000	22,710	5,677½	28 January	9,270	40,145	10,036¼
1 February	5,695			4 February	9,105		
8 February	5,950			11 February	8,840		
15 February	5,820			18 February	8,550		
22 February	5,495	22,960	5,740	25 February	8,420	34,915	8,728¾
1 March	5,465			4 March	8,075		
8 March	5,390			11 March	8,450		
15 March	5,620			18 March	8,460		
22 March	5,475			25 March	8,155	33,140	8,285
29 March	5,400	27,350	5,470				
5 April	5,485			1 April	8,500		
12 April	5,350			8 April	8,430		
19 April	5,180			15 April	8,920		
26 April	5,000	21,015	5,253¾	22 April	8,730		
				29 April	8,925	43,505	8,701
3 May	5,300			6 May	8,300		
10 May	5,290			13 May	7,535		
17 May	5,310			20 May	7,900		
24 May	5,600			27 May	7,650	31,385	7,846¼
31 May	5,610	27,110	5,422				
7 June	5,400			3 June	7,570		
14 June	4,925			10 June	7,520		
21 June	4,235			17 June	6,935		
28 June	5,290	19,850	4,962½	24 June	7,395		
				1 July	7,615	37,035	7,407
5 July	5,345			8 July	7,900		
12 July	5,565			15 July	8,210		
19 July	5,835			22 July	8,460		
26 July	6,140	22,885	5,721¼	29 July	7,850	32,420	8,105

TABLE 39: WEEKLY AND MONTHLY CIRCULATIONS OF MARGATE BANK NOTES, 1834 AND 1843.

1834				1843			
Week	£	Month £	Weekly average for the month £	Week	£	Month £	Weekly average for the month £
2 August	6,210			5 August	8,035		
9 August	6,060			12 August	8,105		
16 August	5,310			19 August	8,020		
23 August	5,330			26 August	8,170	32,330	8,082½
30 August	5,140	28,050	5,610				
6 September	5,360			2 September	7,860		
13 September	5,505			9 September	7,505		
20 September	5,125			16 September	7,860		
27 September	5,490	21,480	5,370	23 September	8,015		
				30 September	8,595	39,835	7,967
4 October	5,835			7 October	9,795		
11 October	5,930			14 October	9,915		
18 October	5,650			21 October	9,510		
25 October	6,590	24,005	6,001¼	28 October	8,950	38,170	9,542½
1 November	6,625			4 November	9,060		
8 November	6,145			11 November	8,400		
15 November	6,275			18 November	8,845		
22 November	6,275			25 November	9,135	35,440	8,860
29 November	6,145	31,465	6,293				
6 December	6,355			2 December	8,740		
13 December	5,850			9 December	8,430		
20 December	6,025			16 December	8,740		
27 December	6,365	24,595	6,148¾	23 December	8,350		
				30 December	9,115	43,375	8,675
4 January - 28 June		140,995	5,423	7 January - 1 July		220,125	8,466
5 July - 27 December		152,480	5,865	8 July - 30 December		221,570	8,522
1834		293,475	5,644	1843		441,695	8,494

Source: Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 "Sworn by Francis William Cobb of Margate, Banker, 8 July 1834, before Mr. Nethersole, J.P., for the Cinque Ports", and "9 January 1835, before Francis Barrow, J.P., for Kent". "Before Thomas Blackburn, Jn. J.P., for the Cinque Ports, 10 July 1843", and "Before George Hannam J.P., for the Cinque Ports, 10 January 1844".

A much higher loan commitment was contained in a "Memorandum of Agreement, 13 May 1815, between Henry Covell, formerly of Margate, and Francis and Francis William Cobb, trading under the firm of Cobb & Son, of Margate, Bankers and Brewers", whereby

"Henry Covell being sole owner of a sloop or vessel called the Princess of Wales and being also owner of a Mortgage or Security for £300 upon the Margate Pier Funds, and being indebted to the Cobbs for £1,854 9s. 3d., did in the month of July last deposit the Bill of Sale of the sloop and the Pier Security with the Cobbs as security for payment of £1,760, part of the said debt. [But] Henry Covell being also indebted to several other persons, ... and being unable to pay these debts was arrested in January at the writ of Messrs. Sacketts, and on 1 February was surrendered to the King's Bench Prison where he has ever since remained". (1)

The Margate bank of Cobb & Co. expanded beyond 1815. Table 39 shows the total weekly and monthly circulations of their bank notes, as issued under an Act of Parliament of 1829,² for 1834 and 1843. On 7 October 1844 it was minuted in the Cobb papers that "[we] ceased to issue our Margate Bank Notes and began to issue Bank of England Notes only, as received direct from the Bank of England".³

Although Margate bank notes in circulation rose appreciably between 1834 and 1843, the figures reveal less of a seasonal summer upsurge than might have been expected. The average weekly circulation in 1834 at £5,644 was exceeded on a monthly basis in January, February, July, October, November and December, and on a weekly basis on 4 January, 25 January, 1 February, 8 February, 15 February, 19 July, 26 July, 2 August, 9 August, and thereafter on each of the thirteen weeks falling between 4 October and 27 December. The average weekly circulation in 1843 at £8,494 was exceeded on a monthly basis in January, February, April, October, November and December, and on a weekly basis for the first seven weeks falling between 7 January and 18 February, on 1 April, 15 April, 22 April, 29 April and on most of the fourteen weeks falling between

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. 9 Geo. IV c. 23.
 3. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.

30 September and 30 December with three exceptions - 11 November, 9 December and 23 December. Both in 1834 and 1843 there were higher average weekly note circulations for July and August than for June and September, the increase being more pronounced in 1834 when, excluding the end of October onwards, the highest circulations were obtained during three peak summer weeks - 26 July, 2 and 9 August. Apart from the fact that Bank of England notes were also in circulation, how does one explain the higher circulations of the autumn and winter months between October and February? The answer must lie in higher incomes and purchasing power following the end of holiday seasons coupled with revenues arising from arable harvests, not forgetting a traditional shipping and salvaging function which for the Cobbs was related to their banking activities, as indicated by a very considerable body of correspondence and other evidence in the Cobb MSS, including a Letter Book which runs to 1,000 pages.¹

Lying off the Thanet coast was one of the world's most important shipping routes. There were several navigational hazards, especially the Goodwin Sands.² As the volume of shipping sailing to and from London increased,³ so the importance of Kentish "foying" was maintained into the nineteenth century. The South Eastern Gazette estimated that 2,395,854 tons of shipping passed by Margate in both directions during 1843.⁴ Between 1840 and 1844 twenty vessels were lost off Margate, including The Westminster valued at £100,000 and The Larkins at £95,000.⁵ Captains of vessels who urgently needed anchors and chains or whose cargoes were saved sometimes required money for settling the costs of rescue, repair or salvaging services.

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. See, for instance, R. Larn, Goodwin Sands, Shipwrecks (1977) or H. Biggs, The Sound of Maroons: The Story of Life-Saving Services on the Kent and Sussex Coasts (Lavenham, 1977).
 3. As noted in Chapter I above; also Whyman in Archaeologia Cantiana (1969), op. cit., 124-5.
 4. The South Eastern Gazette, 8 March 1853, 5cd.
 5. Ibid., 8 March 1853, 5cd.

Foying was particularly a winter occupation.¹ Significantly letters, known to the author of this thesis, which were addressed to the Cobbs, specifically as shipping agents, were dated 16 November 1782, 22 January 1790, 26 January 1796, 28 January 1796, 2 February 1796, 31 October 1808, 9 November 1808, 9 December 1808, 27 December 1808, 10 October 1809, 17 January 1810, 19 January 1818, 15 January 1821, and so on.²

On 22 January 1790 Wildman & Smith wrote the following letter from London to Messrs. Cobb & Son.

"Gentlemen,

We have received your letter of the 20th., inst. and have since consulted the Underwriters what is proper to be allowed you and the Masters of the Vessels you mentioned in a former letter in respect to your Trouble and Expenses about the Young William. They think £20 in addition to the Expenses you were put to (a particular of which you inclosed sometime ago) will be handsome and satisfactory, out of which you will please to satisfy the Masters of the Vessels that were put to some small Expenses". (3)

Bingley, Pitt & Masten informed Messrs. Cobb and Co. from London on 26 January 1796 that "we have your favor of the 25th. inst., and note that Captain Wood of the William & Elizabeth has been obliged to put into Margate with Loss of an Anchor and Cable, the amount of which and £20 as paid the Boatman for assistance we shall duly honour".⁴ Two days later the same firm, in expressing sorrow that Captain Henry Buck had "received some Damage in the late Gale", informed Messrs. Cobb & Co. that "altho' it is the Owner's Business and not ours to advance money for the Repairs, yet to prevent Detention of the Vessel any longer than what is absolutely necessary, we request you to supply him with what he has occasion for and to see justice done betwixt him and the Tradesmen employed to put him in a condition to proceed, ... and your Bill on us for disbursements we shall duly honour".⁵ While Bingley, Pitt & Maston promised to honour on 2 February 1796 "an account of the damage to [the]

1. See Chapter I above.

2. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

William & Elizabeth amounting to £120 7s. 6d., which is very heavy indeed", they trusted that "some part of the Old Cable was saved".¹

John Akin of London advised Cobbs on 31 October and 9 November 1808 that Mr. James Penglestone "who is I believe a very good man" would accept Briggs's bill of £507 5s. for expenses incurred by the ship, The Hero, undertaking to pay this amount, "which falls due on 7 December ... to Esdaile & Co., when received, unless you advise to the contrary", provided "the vouchers for this amount" were forwarded to London.² On 10 October 1809 John Fox of Margate "Rec'd of Messrs. Cobb & Co. £30 for Services in carrying off a Cable to the Ship, Pamona, as awarded by the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports".³

An 1816 guidebook urged merchants to "liberally and without hesitation reward those men whose chief employment is to render assistance to ships in distress; for ... they rarely pay any respect to the imminent danger to which they are often exposed, but bravely venture their lives on the least probability of rescuing their brethren from an immature grave".⁴ Rewards were sometimes paid. During the night of 12 January 1803 the crew of the Margate Lord Nelson lugsail boat rescued 127 people from the Hindostan East Indiaman, whereupon "the Honourable East India Company handsomely rewarded the Nelson's crew with a donation of 500 guineas".⁵ Sixteen Margate mariners shared this particular winter windfall, and others followed. On 19 January 1818 Messrs. Cobb & Son were informed that

"your letter of the 15th. inst., to Mr. Barrett, mentions the very meritorious conduct of the crew of the Lugger King George of your place, in saving the crew of the Vittoria;

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th. Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 18.
 5. Ibid., 18-19; 106 lives were saved according to evidence submitted to a House of Commons Committee following the damage done to Margate's Pier and Harbour from the great storm of January 1808, Margate Pier: Petition, and Report [46] (1808), op. cit., 3-4.

and you may communicate to them that as Chairman of the Committee of Lloyds, I shall propose our recommending to the Subscribers at large, to vote them a remuneration at a General Meeting, the Committee having no power to do so without their sanction. I have no doubt, however, that my recommendation to reward these fine fellows for their disinterested humanity will be readily adopted". (1)

The reputation of Cobbs as brewers, bankers, consuls to foreign governments and agents to Lloyds and other shipping interests was so well established by 1819 as to prompt the following letter.

"Messrs. Cobb & Co.,
Margate.

Plymouth, 22 July 1819.

Gentlemen,

Having been applied to by several Captains (as well English as foreign), who have been to our address, to furnish them with a correspondent list for the most principal English harbours, we have complied therewith and taken the liberty to recommend your respectable house to them, putting your name on the said list.

Hoping such will be agreeable to you ... We remain respectfully,

HAWKER & Sons". (2)

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

PASSENGER COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND AND WATER
BETWEEN LONDON AND MARGATE BEFORE 1840.

Introduction.

Chapter II opened by noticing how the rise of the Thanet resorts resulted initially from three major developments.

- (a) From the eighteenth century medical publicity which was bestowed upon sea water and sea air.
- (b) From the facilities which Thanet possessed and developed so that sea bathing could be practised with comparative ease.
- (c) From an extension of inland and water transport linking London or the county to Thanet.

These developments, it was argued, collectively represented key factors in the early rise of the Thanet watering places. Chapter II then proceeded to elaborate on the first and second of these developments.¹ It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the history and significance of passenger communications overland and by water between London and Margate before 1840.

Historians of holidaymaking and seaside towns have long accepted the view that communications have been decisive in determining the fortunes of most English seaside resorts.² Few would quarrel with the idea that extensive holidaymaking relies on three essential conditions being fulfilled, beginning with the existence of a sufficient number of people who can afford to go on holiday, which cannot be divorced from such considerations as incomes and living standards.³ Secondly, there must be resorts or places to which holidaymakers can go, so that the story of holidays is very largely a story

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1. See above, Chapter II: Key Factors in the Early Rise of the Thanet Watering Places.
 2. The most recent support for this view is presented in J. Walvin, Beside the Seaside (1978), or J. Anderson and E. Swinglehurst, The Victorian and Edwardian Seaside (1978), 18.
 3. See Chapter VII below.

of resorts, covering both spas and seaside towns. Finally, inland and coastal resorts have developed on the basis of improved communications. Spas and most pre-1815 seaside resorts relied on coaching to transport passengers to and from the amenities they had to offer, which was true alike for Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Brighton or Weymouth. For the Thanet resorts, and in the specific case of Margate in particular, this was only partly the case owing to the inevitable exploitation of natural water communications, via the Thames, to and from London.¹

The 1847 holiday season was the first to benefit Margate by way of an influx of railway visitors travelling on the first railway link between London and Thanet, namely the South Eastern Railway which, having been extended from Ashford, was opened to Margate on 1 December 1846.² Although that event was a milestone in Margate's history, such as to warrant mention and an illustration in The Illustrated London News,³ Margate was by then more than a century old as a sea bathing resort.⁴ The significant eighteenth century foundations of Margate's growth, popularity and prosperity as a seaside resort were built up on communications by coach and boat and it is especially the water communications which have to be stressed.

This chapter will show that of longer term significance than medical recommendations to the growth of Margate as a seaside resort were the physical means of getting there by land and water, as they developed from the second

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1. Thanet barley and cereal production prospered on the basis of the same water communication link with an expanding London food market, as noted in Chapters I and V.
 2. J. Whyman, "A Hanoverian Watering-Place : Margate before the Railway", in Ed: A. Everitt, Perspectives in English Urban History (1973), 139, 149.
 3. The Illustrated London News, Volume IX (July-December 1846), 368.
 4. See in particular Chapter II above.

half of the eighteenth century onwards. Until the railway produced visitors in 1847 the main forms of communication from London, from where Margate attracted most of its visitors,¹ were either by coach or by boat, and before the middle of the nineteenth century water conveyance was the more important method. It was the most direct and the cheapest, and in its later years it was by far the most comfortable. In a very real sense the journey to Margate presented no great problems, because hoys and, later, steamboats were able to operate frequent and cheap services by way of the river Thames.² Margate was particularly fortunate in the costly days of coaching to have such a natural highway to and from its shores, so that whereas Brighton owed its prestige to royal patronage, water communications created the popularity of Margate.³

The development of this traffic before 1840 can be divided into two phases. The era of transport by coach and hoy lasted until about 1815, followed by that of the steamboat over the next thirty years. The means of conveyance from London in 1793 included "the indiscriminating hoy", "the more respectable packet", stage coaches and private carriages.⁴ Prior to 1815 sailing vessels played a decisive rôle in Margate's early rise to maturity as an English seaside resort. During 1814, however, Sir Marc Brunel introduced to Margate harbour the first steam packet, *The Thames*, powered only by one 16 h.p. engine.⁵ and this event ushered in the steamboat era,

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1. See Chapter VII below.
 2. Whyman, op.cit., 149-50.
 3. Ibid., 150.
 4. Z. Cozens, A Tour through the Isle of Thanet, and Some Other Parts of East Kent (1793), 1.
 5. A.M. Kay, Growth of Settlement in Margate and Its Region, London Diploma in Geography Thesis (1951), 86; Y. Cloud, Beside the Seaside (1938), 233.

which reached its zenith during the 1830's. Margate between 1815 and 1840 enjoyed increasing renown as a well developed and popular steamboat resort and although coaches continued to ply to and from London they found it harder to compete, as this new mechanical means of propulsion achieved a developing and solid reputation for reliability, speed and cheapness combined with comfort. Indeed, in 1839, John Poole, when confronted by the immense success of steamboats, stated "I have not heard of one person, in his or her right senses, who has lately made an overland trip to Margate,...apart from the driver and guard of the royal mail", for whereas "my own first sea trip to the place in question, which was performed in a thing called a hoy,... endured for seven-and-thirty mortal hours,...my last, in a steamer, was accomplished in about $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours".¹

Following this Introduction, the next two sections of this chapter examine "Overland Communications between London and Thanet", and "Travelling by Hoys or Sailing Packets and their Impact on the Growth and Character of Margate before 1815". Given, however, that within the overall development of Kentish seaside resorts railways contributed to but did not induce the popularization of Gravesend as well as Margate, which is a distinction attributable to water communications, specifically to steamboats in the case of Gravesend and to hoys, sailing packets and steamboats in the case of Margate, this chapter then proceeds to examine the development and effects of steam packet communications in a comparative analysis on "Travelling on Steamboats and their Impact on the Growth and Character of Margate and Gravesend between 1815 and 1840".²

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1. J. Poole, "Margate", The Amaranth (1839), 69.
 2. A shortened and amended version of the third and fourth sections of this chapter appear in an article in Southern History, Volume III(1981), entitled "Water Communications to Margate and Gravesend as Coastal Resorts before 1840".

Two reasons can be offered for including some analysis of Gravesend, beginning with its unique position as a post-Napoleonic steamboat Thameside resort, even though bathing in salt water had its origins there late in the eighteenth century.¹ Secondly, steamboat communications occupy a prominent place in Kentish transport history, having profound consequences for resort development as well as introducing several notable travelling innovations and producing many social and economic effects which are commonly associated with railways later on in the nineteenth century.

Margate's pre-railway 'popularization' can be indicated in several ways. Firstly, water communications were vital to its early rise to maturity as an English seaside resort both prior to and after 1815. Secondly, the lower fares which prevailed on hoys and steamboats, compared to coaches, introduced a cross section of visitors to the developing resort, few being the pre-railway resorts which catered for social classes beneath the aristocracy, gentry and clergy, with Margate soon becoming an exception to the general rule that Georgian and Hanoverian spas and watering places were almost exclusively the resorts of the upper classes.² Moreover, Margate did not benefit from the sustaining influence of royal patronage which contributed so enormously to the expansion and popularity of Brighton or Weymouth.³ The contrasting explanation of prosperity as between Margate and Brighton, which was really between hoys and royalty, was observed by The Times of 1 September 1804.

1. It was on 18 May 1796 that 49 residents joined in a subscription of five guineas each in order to found a bathing establishment, whereupon "they purchased a machine at Margate to begin with", which was first used on 27 June 1796, R.P. Cruden, The History of the Town of Gravesend in the County of Kent (1843), 449; also F.A. Mansfield, History of Gravesend in the County of Kent (1922), 30, or Ed: G.D. Howell, The Kentish Notebook, Volume II (1894), 90. Several improvements came to Gravesend during the second half of the eighteenth century, and among them "proper machines have lately been established here, with every requisite accommodation for sea bathing", E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Volume III (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1797), 320.

2. See Chapter VII below.

3. E.W. Gilbert, Brighton : Old Ocean's Bauble (1954), 15-17.

"Margate, August 30...has not been so full of visitors for eight years past, as it is this season. Every hoy or, according to the modern term, every packet is literally loaded. The smallest of these vessels brought down 120 persons yesterday morning... Though the town is so remarkably full, there are not here, at present, many persons of high rank and fashion.

Brighton, Thursday, August 30...is at present unusually full of company; and the presence of his ROYAL HIGHNESS has its obvious influence on the vivacities of the place". (1)

For these reasons and thirdly it is hardly surprising that Margate was in several respects the first seaside resort to become 'popular' in the widest interpretation of that word, and especially as applied to amenities and recreations. This fact has been widely acknowledged by historians and historical geographers, including Professor Gilbert who has pointed out that

"Margate...drew its plebeian multitudes from London by steamer before the railway made it possible for the cockney crowds to go to Brighton. ...Margate was regarded as 'worse and worse - nobody there but trades people'... Margate was also a pioneer in the development of popular seaside amusements and other amenities... The town played its part in the invention of the bathing machine and was the first to start steamer trips and the use of piers as promenades". (2)

Gravesend with an even closer proximity to a teeming London, being fed with visitors from the natural highway of the Thames, was 'popular' from the outset. To The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser of 31 May 1825,

"this town has been long and universally known as the goal of every young cockney's Sunday excursion... Excellent accommodations for bathing of every kind have been provided for the visitors... For some years past the numbers of people who resort to this place, chiefly for the purpose of bathing, have been increasing every summer... The people of London, who may be observed every Sunday flocking down by hundreds in steam packets...have taken such a liking to Gravesend, that a company of rich capitalists have resolved to build an entire new town in its vicinity". (3)

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1. The Times, 1 September 1804, 2d.
 2. Gilbert, op.cit., 18-20; also compare under "Other Forms of Seaside Amusement", Chapter IV above.
 3. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 31 May 1825, 3d.

Despite a long history of water communication between Gravesend and London, the economic and social significance of which did not escape the notice of Daniel Defoe and other contemporaries of the eighteenth century,¹ Gravesend rose suddenly to fame as a popular Thameside resort following the introduction of steamboats in 1815. Their impact was so immediate that a

"flood-time came. Steamboat companies were formed... Piers were proposed and erected... Baths were erected. Pleasure gardens were founded and developed". (2)

Overland Communications between London and Thanet.

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a gradual increase in coaching services to fashionable centres of resort. This fact, coupled with better journey times from about 1770 onwards, meant that by 1800 services were being provided which were reasonably good, having regard to the use of horse traction and the state of the roads.³ Of Thanet's roads it was noted

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1. Daniel Defoe reported rather incredibly of Gravesend that "it is the town where the great ferry (as they call it) is kept up between London and East-Kent, it is hardly credible what numbers of people pass here every tide, as well by night as by day, between this town and London: Almost all the people of East-Kent, when they go for London, go no farther by land than this town; and then for six-pence in the tilt-boat, or one shilling in a small boat or wherry, are carry'd to London by water", A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I (Everyman's Library, Revised Ed., 1962), 101. In 1796 it was noted that "the fare from Gravesend to London is now 9d. each passenger", and "coaches are provided to convey passengers to Rochester, Chatham, etc. at 1s.6d. each, so that a person may be conveyed from London to Chatham, upward of 30m. for 2s.3d. which is one of the cheapest instances of travelling in the kingdom", G.M. Woodward, The Eccentric Excursion (1796), 43-4.
 2. A.J. Philip, A History of Gravesend and Its Surroundings (1954), 174.
 3. H.W. Hart, "Some Notes on Coach Travel, 1750-1848", The Journal of Transport History (May 1960), 147.

in 1796

"the roads about this Island being originally intended only for carts and waggons, (1) were formerly much neglected, and scarcely passable by the more delicate carriages of convenience or pleasure; but, to the credit of the inhabitants, they have been lately much improved, and are now made so commodious, that although there are no turnpikes, the traveller in Thanet will, without expense, experience all the advantages of that useful institution". (2)

The quality of Thanet roads depended in part on access to beach material to repair them and was naturally assisted by easy natural drainage through a chalky subsoil.

Thanet's roads represented, however, only the tail end of a landward journey from London, whereby Margate was reached during the 1760's and 1770's by taking the Dover road from London to Canterbury where, since the Dover coach branched off, it was necessary to change to local coaches which took passengers the remaining sixteen miles into Thanet.³ The overall route is very clearly shown on The Journey Map of Kent, dating from the early 1840's.

The London to Canterbury or Dover coaching trade was well established by the middle of the eighteenth century and from Canterbury London could be reached in one day as early as 1754. Advertising in The Kentish Post, during September 1754, Messrs. Thomas Hartcup and Robert Legeyt informed the public of their intention of running three times weekly between Canterbury and the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, London, "a glass coach or landau, hung on springs, to carry four people only" at a fare of 12s. per passenger. The journey would be performed in a single day, a proper guard would attend the coaches and "if four people take places for Margate or Ramsgate, they shall

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1. Compare Chapter I above.
 2. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet : being Chiefly Intended as a Directory for the Company Resorting to Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs (Margate, 1796), 6.
 3. Whyman (1973), op.cit., 150.

be carried thither from Canterbury as Stage Passengers".¹ At the end of 1755 Thomas Iampard advertised a daily morning departure from the Fountain Inn at Canterbury, Sundays excepted, for 6s. to the Crown Inn at Rochester or for 12s., "in one Day", to the Star Inn, close to the Monument in London. A return service also operated every day except Sundays from the same destinations back to Canterbury.²

It is worth noting that little information on the London to Thanet stage coach services is to be obtained from early prints or from early guidebooks. Guidebook compilers possibly regarded coaches as part of the regular order of things, coaches being less unique compared to the Margate hoys!³ The best information prior to the 1790's on coaching arrangements⁴ comes from the Canterbury newspapers. In the early days most Thanet passengers changed coaches at Canterbury, even though Beale & Co. advertised in June 1768 a "Flying Machine" from Margate to London in one day, from the Fountain Inn, whereby "those who are pleased to favor this Machine may depend on the Business being performed with Care and Dispatch".⁴ Twelve years later The Margate Guide (1780) stressed that "for the Accommodation of the Company at Margate... Diligences, Post Coaches, and Machines, run daily to and from London, through Canterbury".⁵

Such references to through services are far less frequent than sustained references or advertisements relating to passengers being conveyed to and from the London coaches operating through Canterbury. In 1763, in his first guide-

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1. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 11-14 September 1754.
 2. Ibid., 31 December 1755-3 January 1756, 3.
 3. As illustrated in the following section of this chapter.
 4. The Kentish Gazette, 8-11 June 1768.
 5. The Margate Guide (1780), 18.

book to Thanet, John Lyons advised visitors that "a Coach, or Post-Chaises, and often both, run every day, to meet the Machines which come into Canterbury from London, and return with passengers to Margate the same evening".¹ As if to substantiate this point The Kentish Post let it be known during June 1763 that "the Margate Machine now runs to Canterbury during the season for bathing, waits the Machines coming from London, and returns to Margate early in the evening, at 5s. each passenger".² During June 1766 Martin, Ford & Co. announced that a Post Coach, hung on springs, with four horses and two postilions, operated every day from the Fountain at Margate to the King's Head, in Canterbury, returning "the same day after meeting the London Machines".³ May 1769 produced the following announcement on the first page of The Kentish Weekly Post and Canterbury Journal: "This is to give Notice, That The MARGATE MACHINES Set out this Day from Margate to Canterbury, and will continue every Day during the Summer Season".⁴ Thus, by 1770 at least two local coaches were making the round trip to Canterbury every day to link up with the London coaches.⁵

The normal coach journey from London to Margate was described more fully in The Gentleman's Magazine in 1771.

"The land conveyance is...extremely cheap and commodious. The stage coaches set out from London every day (Sundays excepted) at five in the morning and reach Canterbury at four in the afternoon, fare 12s. each passenger. The machines that carry only four within side do not set out till six in the morning, fare 15s. From Canterbury another machine (which runs all the summer) takes the passengers on to Margate the same day at 4s. each. The whole distance 72 miles is performed in 13 or 14 hours, and the whole fare is only 16s. to 19s." (6)

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1. John Lyons, A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and Particularly of the Town of Margate (1763), 16.
 2. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 11 June 1763.
 3. Ibid., 11 June 1766.
 4. The Kentish Weekly Post and Canterbury Journal, 22-29 May 1769, 1.
 5. The Margate Guide...In a Letter to a Friend (1770), 20-1.
 6. Philomaris, "Some Peculiar Advantages which Margate Pre-eminently Enjoys, for the Benefit of Bathing in the Sea", The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 41 (1771), 167.

The seasonal nature of the Margate/Canterbury link is clearly established in newspaper advertisements during the 1770's.¹ By 1779 two machines and a diligence were conveying passengers to and from the London coaches stopping at Canterbury,² while from Ramsgate at least from 1776 onwards "a machine and several carriers set out every day for Canterbury, during the season, and return the same evening".³ Coach fares appear, however, to have varied considerably during the 1770's and 1780's. In May 1774 William Brett advertised Post Coaches London to Canterbury for £1, compared to Post Chaises at 12s.⁴ During 1781 John Thornton operated a Margate Coach "to the Dolphin Inn, Canterbury, on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday Mornings at 9 o'clock and sooner, if required, to meet the Coaches or Diligence at Canterbury and returns to Margate the same day, at 3s.6d. each Passenger".⁵ Coach fares inside from London to Brighton were advertised at 16s. in 1762, compared to 14s. in 1770.⁶ In 1781 Mitchener from the New Inn and Hotel on the Parade at Margate advertised having "for the accommodation of the Public, all sorts of Carriages always ready at short notice for London".⁷

In 1792 the following coach services were operating from Margate and Ramsgate respectively.

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1. For instance, in two advertisements in The Kentish Gazette, 18-21 May 1774, 1c.
 2. The Kentish Traveller's Companion (2nd Ed., Rochester, 1779), 171-2.
 3. Ibid. (1st Ed., Rochester, 1776), 139.
 4. The Kentish Gazette, 18-21 May 1774, 1c.
 5. Ibid., 9-12 May 1781, 1.
 6. Hart, op.cit., 148.
 7. The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, 2 August 1781, 1c.

From Margate,

A Mail Coach every evening at 5 o'clock from Mitchener's and returns next morning at 8 o'clock.

A Night Coach from the Fountain every evening.

Two Coaches and Diligences every morning from Margate to Canterbury, which wait the machines coming in from London, and return the same evening.

A Coach from the Fountain to Ramsgate twice every day during the season.

From Ramsgate,

S. Heritage and J. Long & Fowler's Coaches and Diligences set out every day to Canterbury, and return the same evening. Also a coach twice every day to Margate from Heritage's during the season. (1)

Local operations within Thanet were important in linking Margate and Ramsgate and especially for visitors arriving by water communication who wished to terminate their journey at Margate, before "crossing by land to Ramsgate, by which means they avoid a boisterous voyage round the North Foreland, where the sea is in general much agitated, owing to the meeting of the North Sea and Channel Tides".² In 1797 the following Ramsgate coaches proceeded twice a day to and from Margate, "during the Summer Season".

MUMMERY'S STAGE

From the London Hotel, Ramsgate, to the Fountain Inn, in Margate; fare 1s.3d. - Children half price.

PAMFLETT'S STAGE

From the Royal Oak, Ramsgate, to the White Hart on the Parade, Margate; fare 1s.3d. - Children half price.

HERITAGE'S STAGE

From the King's Head Inn, Ramsgate, to the Old Crown, near the Market Place, Margate; fare 1s.3d. - Children half price". (3)

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1. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), 160-1.
 2. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), 68.
 3. The Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend (1797), 40.

By the mid-1790's direct and regular coach services were operating between Margate and London, by which time also the number and choice of services had expanded appreciably, as the following details dating from 1796 demonstrate.

TABLE 40 : MARGATE COACHING SERVICES, 1796.

a) <u>Mail Coaches and Diligences.</u> ¹	<u>Fare</u>		
	£.	s.	d.
A Mail Coach starts from the York at 5 every evening and returns at 8 every morning	£1.	1s.	
Also a Coach to carry 'six insiders' at 4 every morning	£1.	1s.	
Also one to carry 'four insiders' starting at 4.00 a.m.	£1.	3s.	6d.
A Diligence for three inside at 4.00 a.m.	£1.	3s.	6d.
Baloon Coach from Benson's Royal Hotel, Cecil Square and Diligence from the same place			?
From Mummery's Coach Office, (2) a coach for six inside at 4.00 a.m.	£1.	1s.	
Also coach to carry four	£1.	3s.	6d.
Also a coach to carry six at 5.00 p.m.	£1.	1s.	
Also a Diligence at 4.00 a.m. every morning	£1.	3s.	6d.
These take up passengers from the Fountain, White Hart and Duke's Head.			
b) <u>List of Diligences, Coaches, etc., Running between Margate and London during the Season.</u> (3)			
<u>From Mitchener's Hotel</u>			
A Diligence every morning at 4 o'clock, carries three inside, to the White Bear, Piccadilly	£1.	6s.	
Also a Night Coach, every evening at 5 o'clock, carries four inside, to the Cross Keys, Gracechurch Street	£1.	5s.	

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1. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796).
 2. Mathew Mummery Junior is listed as a Coachmaster in ibid.
 3. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op.cit., 95-6.

From the Fountain

A Post Coach, carries four passengers only, every morning at 4 o'clock, to the Spread Eagle, Gracechurch Street; Cross Keys, ditto; White Horse, Fetter Lane; and the Golden Cross, Charing Cross	£1. 5s.
A Coach, carries six inside, every morning at 4 o'clock, to the above inns	£1. 2s.
A Night Coach, every evening at 5 o'clock, arrives in London early in the morning, carries six inside	£1. 3s.
A Diligence, every morning at 4 o'clock	£1. 6s.

On the basis of these facts a coach journey of the 1790's from Margate to London took all day or all night and cost between 21s. and 26s., for the 72 mile journey between the two towns, at fares which were comparable to those between London and Brighton in 1794 at £1. 3s. inside or 13s. outside,¹ but at the same time these fares were very much higher than a minimum hoy fare of 5s., as indicated in the next section of this chapter. Back in 1771 when the Margate coach fares had ranged from 16s. to 19s., The Gentleman's Magazine had likewise reported favourably on "the Margate hoys, ...having good cabins and accommodations for passengers, which they carry at so easy a rate as 2s.6d. each".²

Even though there was clearly an impressive expansion of coaching services between London and Margate, which included by the 1790's opportunities for all day or all night travelling, without having to change coaches in Canterbury, journeys were not always as convenient or as expeditious as printed sources might suggest. An eighteenth-century overland journey to

1. Hart, op.cit., 148.

2. The Gentleman's Magazine (1771), op.cit., 167.

Margate was not necessarily something to be lightly undertaken. Overnight travelling leaving at 5.00 p.m. was matched by early starts at 4.00 a.m. There were unforeseen perils along the road. In 1754 Samuel Carnell, a coaching manager operating on the London to Dover run, pointed out in an advertisement justifying fares from London to Canterbury and Dover of £1. and £1. 5s. respectively, that "as Robberies are at this Time too frequent, tho' no such Accident has ever happened to these Carriages, and as carrying an armed Man behind may be attended with Fatal Consequences, making Villains more Desperate, each Person is insured 10 Guineas".¹

When George Keate journeyed to Margate in 1779 he had ample opportunity to admire the panoramic view when ascending Boughton Hill between Faversham and Canterbury, for

"as the horses took breath at the foot of BOUGHTON HILL what say you, Sir? - Shall we indulge the coachman in his request and walk up?... It will stretch our legs, and give us a fine prospect, but it is rough and steep... The sun was declining in its gayest colours - the air was pure and serene, and Nature seemed perfectly at peace; - on my right hand, corn fields, hop grounds, and wide extended inclosures of varied forms, wore the face of plenty and security; - on my left, the ISLE of SHEPEY, and the rich vale of FEVERSHAM, contrasted the landscape, and the opening of the channel, which was covered as far as the sight could stretch with innumerable sails, carrying on an intercourse with the distant parts of the World, compleated a scene which my eyes were unwilling to quit". (2)

Eighteen years later on 4 July 1797 the author of The Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend reflected on his journey by night to Margate, his late arrival there, and the fatigue and effects arising from

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1. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 2-6 March 1754, 3; also, 6-9 March 1754, 3.
 2. G. Keate, Sketches from Nature, Taken and Coloured, in a Journey to Margate (5th Ed., 1802), 6-7.

his journey, as follows:

"AGREEABLE to my dear friend's request, I take the first opportunity to inform him of my safe arrival at the Fountain Tavern, in King-street, about half after eight, yesterday morning. The reason for travelling in the night-coach (travelling by night in the summer, at the full of the moon, is doubtless pleasant, but better for gentlemen than ladies), I think I told you, at our last meeting; because I have the whole day before me to look for lodgings, and avoid, by this method, the necessity of lying at an inn, which I never am very fond of, and seldom do if I can possibly help it.

After breakfast I went to see an apartment in Fort-square, recommended to me by an intimate friend, and got settled in it by teatime... Having little or no sleep in the coach, and the fatigue naturally attending travelling, especially so expeditiously as the night-coaches do in general, made me (as you may readily suppose) wish to get to bed as soon as possible... Being in no great hurry to get up this morning,... I did not rise till past nine o'clock... Still I had not slept off my fatigue,...as my head and bones were still in pain". (1)

In 1804 the famous topographical artist and diarist, Joseph Farington, decided to travel by coach to a holiday in Broadstairs, which in fact occupied the best part of two days, with an overnight stop at Sittingbourne as the following extract shows.

"AUGUST 1. - At 9 o'clock left London in the Rochester Coach with Wm. Offley, got there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, and dined at the Bull. The master of it complained of the great number of Soldiers billeted upon Him, - wd. be willing to give them 1s. a day each to be free of the expense and trouble.... In the even'g we went in a Chaise to Sittingbourne, to the Bell a good House but the Rose is most spoken of.

AUGUST 2. - Saw Lady Curtis (2) and her Family, who were at our Inn last night. They were going in a Barouche and 4 Horses to their House lately built at Ramsgate - At 10 we set off for Canterbury and to Broadstairs, where we arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2". (3)

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1. The Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend (1797), op.cit., 5-7.
 2. She was married to Sir William Curtis, Bt., M.P. for the City of London, 1790-1818, and Lord Mayor of London in 1795.
 3. Ed: J. Greig, The Farington Diary, Volume II (1923), 271.

All the fatigue and frustrations of coach travelling did not, however, prevent Joseph Farington from returning from his Broadstairs holiday by means of a direct day coach from Margate which took fourteen hours to reach London.¹ Speeds and times certainly improved during the 1800's, allowing The Times to advertise during July 1815 an eleven hour service from the White Bear in Piccadilly to the Albion Hotel in Ramsgate on "THE WELLINGTON, a new and elegant light COACH", departing every morning at 8 o'clock and arriving punctually the same evening at 7 o'clock, "the Nobility and Gentry being respectfully informed, that the Proprietors have spared no expense to render this Coach, superior to any other on the road".²

Margate in 1811 possessed three coach offices and four London coaches operated daily, along with the following local services:

"Coaches to Sandwich, Deal and Dover from Mummery and Sons (3) and Kirby's Offices, every morning at 8, and afternoon at 3. These run daily during the season. Also coaches daily, every evening at 4, from ditto, to meet the London Coaches at Canterbury. Stages from the above offices run to Ramsgate and Broadstairs, during the season, several times a day". (4)

In 1815, apart from The Wellington, other coaches set off for Ramsgate at 6 o'clock in the morning or at 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening, from the White Bear, Piccadilly and the Cross Keys in Wood Street, two doors from Cheapside, and from the latter departure point "the MARGATE ROYAL TELEGRAPH, light, four inside Coach" was timetabled for 7 o'clock every morning.⁵

From 1815 onwards, having competed with hoys and sailing packets, the

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1. Greig, op.cit., 279.
 2. The Times, 11 July 1815.
 3. Compare the 1796 entry for Mathew Mummery Junior as noted in this section above.
 4. Holden's Annual London and Country Directory of the United Kingdoms and Wales (1811).
 5. The Times, 11 July 1815.

Thanet coaches faced a new and increasing challenge from steamboats. In 1816 coaches and diligences continued to depart from Margate for London every morning and evening,¹ while in 1819 "several [coaches] run daily during the Summer between Margate and London".² A Pigot directory of the early 1820's points to the continued participation in the coaching business of the Mummery and Kirby families:

"Coaches: LONDON, Deal, Dover, Ramsgate, etc, from George Mummery's and William Kirby's Offices, Bridge-st., York Hotel, Fountain, King's Head, and Duke's Head, almost hourly during the season. LONDON, Deal, Dover, Sandwich, etc. from the White Hart and London Hotels, the Liverpool Arms, Foy Boat and Bull's Head Inns, hourly". (3)

Prior to 1815 Thanet coaches enjoyed several advantages over sailing packets, excepting the latter's lower fares. They ran to fairly firm schedules, compared to the erratic sailing times of the hoys. They were preferred to hoys by "ladies of fashion" and by the wealthy and timid. Some of these points of comparison are illustrated in the next section to this chapter, but throughout travelling by coach was costly and, compared to the stable and lower fares of the sailing packets and steamboats, coach fares to Margate and Ramsgate actually rose to the levels of £1. 8s. inside and 15s. outside between 1830 and 1833.⁴ These fares were higher than those to Brighton in 1839 at one guinea inside and 12s. outside,⁵ even allowing for the fact that the total distance between London and Margate was about 25 miles further than from London to Brighton. In 1839, however, the London to Dover

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1. The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), 76.
 2. The Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion (1819), op.cit., 46.
 3. Pigot & Co's London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1823-4, 404.
 4. G.A. Cooke, A Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Kent (New Ed., 1830), xxxv; and A Picture of Ramsgate (Ramsgate, 1833), 9.
 5. Hart, op.cit., 148.

coach fares were higher still at £1. 12s. inside and 18s. outside.¹

Apart from the fare, tips to coachmen and luggage charges, there was much in the way of incidental expenditure on meals taken at inns, where stopping times rarely exceeded 20 minutes, which was insufficient time to complete meals for which payment was made. Not only were coaching inn proprietors' charges high in relation to living costs for the period, but any 'left-overs' were resold to the next coach party, and this form of profiteering flourished more or less throughout the coaching era running from 1750 to 1848.² There was some sympathy for the traveller from Samuel Carnell in 1754 when he let it be known that

"as Foreigners are apprehensive of being imposed on upon the Roads, Breakfast of Tea and Coffee, a regular Dinner with Small Beer, and Tea and Coffee in the Evenings, are provided and paid for by the Manager; so that the above Prices /London to Canterbury, £1., or London to Dover, £1.5s.⁷ are the Whole that each Passenger will be at throughout the Journey; except Wines, the Prices of which are set up in the Rooms, with a copy of the Merchant Seal". (3)

This was an exceptional innovation on the part of a coaching proprietor, and although the Thanet coaches retained a fair patronage during the 1820's they found it increasingly hard to compete with the many advantages offered by the Thames steamboats of the 1830's, as the final section to this chapter shows. Although geographically limited the competition of coastal shipping resulted in severe competition for coach owners from 1830 onwards,⁴ and especially for those plying to Gravesend, Herne Bay or the Thanet resorts. When confronted with the question on "What competition do you meet with on the Kent Road?", Mr. Benjamin W. Horne, in evidence on 31 May 1837 to The

1. Hart, op.cit., 148.

2. Ibid., 153.

3. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter, 2-6 March 1754, 3; also, 6-9 March 1754, 3.

4. Hart, op.cit., 149.

Select Committee on Internal Communication Taxation (1837), cited as to the detriment of coaching "steam-packets, at 1s. and 1s.6d. to Gravesend, 5s. to Dover, 1s.6d. to Ramsgate and 3s.6d. and 4s. to Boulogne".¹

Another stage coach proprietor on the Blackheath and London Road, Mr. Charles Collins, was in no doubt about steamboats undermining the very existence of the coaching business.

"Q. Have you been increasing or diminishing the number of your coaches? - They were increasing till within about three years ago...

Q. Will you state to the Committee the number of coaches... that are now running upon that line? - The number of coaches that I now have running is just half what it was... Others are taken off the road altogether.

Q. To what do you attribute this diminution in your business? - ...To the establishment of steam vessels; I consider that, without the railway, they would be the means of destroying the present class of coaches, for they run in the summer season, a time when we calculate on making our profit". (2)

From 1830 onwards, confronted by "the swiftness, safety and cheapness of the steam vessels", only some people, "particularly aged persons and delicate females...from timidity", preferred to travel by coach, several of which by then were "built on a principle that secures them from overturning, called 'safety coaches'".³ During the 1830's Thanet coaches catered only for a minority of visitors before being completely axed by the railway from 1847 onwards.

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1. Mr. Benjamin W. Horne, in evidence 31 May 1837, before The Select Committee on Internal Communication Taxation /4567 (1837), 3, Q.39.
 2. Mr. Charles Collins, in evidence 16 June 1837, before ibid., 39, QQ, 484-6.
 3. Cooke, op.cit., xxxv; also A Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op.cit., 9.

Travelling by Hoys or Sailing Packets and their Impact on the
Growth and Character of Margate before 1815.

Margate's development as a seaside resort is portrayed from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards in wealth of guidebooks, directories, topographical works, newspapers and journals, several of which attributed Margate's success to hoys and sailing packets. Three references suffice to illustrate this point. Intending visitors were informed in 1797 that

"during the season, eight Packets sail to and from London alternately, and frequently make the passage in ten or twelve hours... They are fitted up with a degree of elegance and convenience, that at once shows the emulative spirit of their owners, who are men of respectability; and to whose persevering exertions Margate must be thought not a little indebted for its present prosperity". (1)

Five years later it was suggested that "it is perhaps owing to this eight or nine passage packets or yachts, and to the very superior accommodation which they afford, as well as to the civility and attention of the masters and seamen who navigate them, that Margate stands so highly distinguished in the list of watering places".² Mrs. Pilkington devoted part of a two month's residence at Margate during the summer of 1812 to an investigation of the town's character and development which led her to the overall conclusion that

"it is only within a few years that it has become a fashionable place of resort; for until that period, it was merely a fishing town, and one dirty narrow lane (if I may be allowed the expression), now called King-street, was the principal part of the town.
- From the salubrity of the air, and the convenience of sea-bathing at any hour of the day, it eventually rose from its state of insignificance, into a handsome and even celebrated town. The cheapness and convenience of the packet-boats have doubtless greatly contributed to the popularity of the place". (3)

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1. By an Inhabitant, The Margate Guide, A Descriptive Poem with Elucidatory Notes (Margate, 1797), 75.
 2. The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (2nd Ed., Margate, 1802), 50.
 3. Mrs. Pilkington, Margate!!! or Sketches amply Descriptive of that Celebrated Place of Resort (1813), 93.

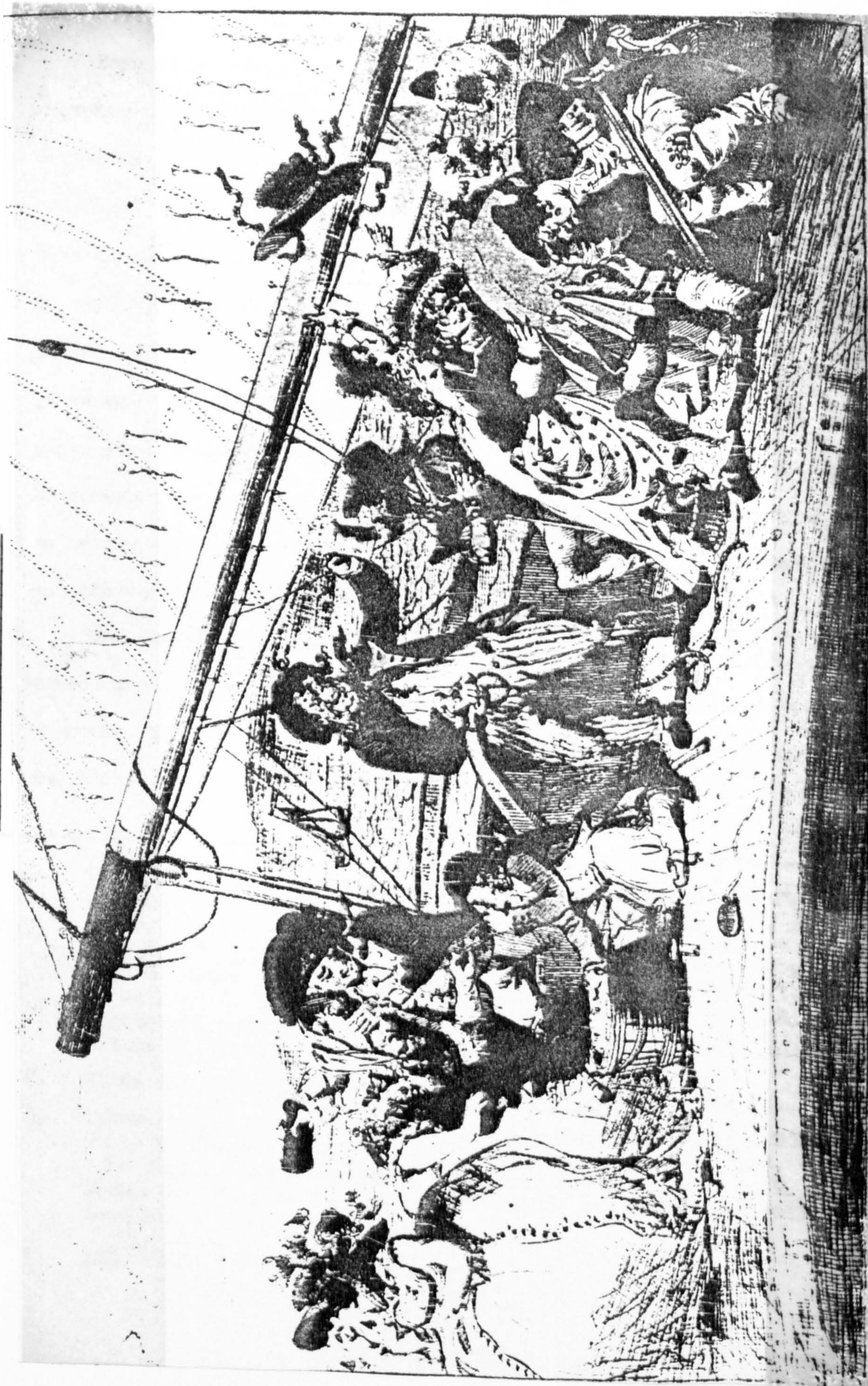
For almost a century Margate's pre-railway popularity rested on water communications. Its eighteenth century foundations were built up on communications particularly by hoy or sailing packet, exploiting the almost exclusive advantage of a direct and low-cost water-communication link with London, using the Thames as a natural waterway. The potential offered by hoyes was apparent to John Lyons when he compiled Margate's first guidebook, A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and particularly of the Town of Margate, in 1763. In the quotation which follows he provides a good contemporary account of the hoy which runs to a single page.

"As Margate is only a large village, you cannot expect that it should be so regularly supplied with shops, as a market-town; not but that there are several good ones, and many very reputable Tradesmen. This deficiency is, in a great measure, supplied by the numerous articles to be found in most of them, and by their ready and quick communication with London by the Hoyes.... They are sloops of eighty or a hundred tons burden. There are four of them, two of which sail in alternate weeks. Their station in the River is at Wool-Key, near the Custom-house. They usually leave Margate on Friday or Saturday, and London on Wednesday or Thursday. Passengers, of whom there are often sixty or seventy, pay only 2s.6d. and the freight of baggage is inconsiderable. They sometimes make the passage in eight hours, and at others in two or three days, just as winds and tides happen to be for, or against, them. The best wind down is W.N.W., the best up E.S.E. The Hoy, like the Grave, confounds all distinctions: High and Low, Rich and Poor, Sick and Sound, are here indiscriminately blended together, .../as/ a motley crew, of all ages, tempers, and dispositions... The passage is cheap, and in fine weather extremely pleasant and agreeable... The Masters are very careful, decent men, and allow of no impropriety of behaviour, which they can possibly prevent. They transact incredible business". (1)

Although Benjamin Beale had perfected by then his famous bathing machine, Margate was still an infant resort, having as yet to embark on a sustained building boom which produced fashionable squares and permanent assembly rooms from 1769 onwards, circulating libraries from 1766 onwards, a permanent Theatre Royal from 1787 onwards, a charter for holding a twice weekly market

1. Lyons, op.cit., 14-15.

ON A HOY BOUND TO MARGATE.



VOYAGE TO MARGATE.

M.D. George, Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire (1967), p.154.

from 1777 onwards and the first of several Improvement Acts from 1787 onwards.

Hoys originating as single-masted cargo sailing vessels, usually carrying corn into London and returning to Thanet with shop goods,¹ which developed also the habit of conveying "passengers and luggage along the sea coast",² comfortably predated the onset of sea bathing at Margate. Several authorities have traced their existence at least back to the 1630's.³ As corn sloops with a tradition of carrying passengers Margate hoys became famous during the eighteenth century. Over succeeding decades, however, passengers and their luggage triumphed over corn and other cargo and purely passenger-conveying sailing packets or yachts emerged which were thought to be somewhat superior to the old hoy, so that what became a desire overall to bestow on hoys a certain respectability by renaming them 'packets' did not escape the watchful eye of The Times on 1 September 1804.⁴

The following table, which is based on details found in contemporary guidebooks, directories and newspapers, summarizes the number of hoys, packets or yachts and the trend of fares on the London to Margate run between 1763 and 1815.

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1. Throughout the eighteenth century the Isle of Thanet was famous as a commercial corn producer for the London market; on the importance of hoys in this connection see: J.H. Andrews, "The Thanet Seaports, 1650-1750", Archaeologia Cantiana, LXVI (1953), 37-44, or in Ed: M. Roake & J. Whyman, Essays in Kentish History (1973), 119-26, as well as D. Baker, "The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century : North-East Kent", The Agricultural History Review, Volume 18, Part II (1970), 126-50.
 2. R. de Kerchove, International Maritime Dictionary (2nd Ed., 1961), 382.
 3. Lyons, op.cit., 15, or The Gentleman's Magazine, LXXII (1802), 176, while W. Jerrold, Highways and Byways in Kent (1907), 110, refers to John Taylor, the Water Poet, who relates that in 1637 "a Hoy from Rochester, Margate in Kent, or Feversham and Maidstone" sailed to London.
 4. The Times, 1 September 1804, 2d.

TABLE 41 : VESSELS EMPLOYED AND THE FARES CHARGED ON THE
LONDON TO MARGATE SEA ROUTE, 1763-1815.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Hoys</u>	<u>Packets or Yachts</u>	<u>Fares</u>	
1763	4		2s. 6d.	
1770	5		2s. 6d.	
1780	5	1	2s. 6d.	
1789	6		4s.	
1792	6		10s. 6d., 6s.,	4s.
1796	3	8	10s. 6d., 7s.,	5s.
			<u>Best Cabin</u>	<u>Fore Cabin</u>
1802		9	7s.	5s.
1807	3	9	7s.	5s.
1809	2	9	9s.	7s.
1811	3	11	9s.	7s.
1812		7	7s.	5s.
1815		7 - 13	7s.	5s.

There was an impressive increase in the number of vessels operating between 1763 and 1811. During the Napoleonic Wars between 1811 and 1815 some of the packets were switched from passenger carrying to troop carrying, but from advertisements placed in The Times it is clear that at least seven packets continued to ply regularly with passengers between London and Thanet during the summer months of 1812 to 1815.¹ The minimum single fare to and from Margate ranged from 2s.6d. to 7s. falling back to 5s. in 1812 and 1815, which was only double that of 1763. A single fare obtained between 1763 and 1789, with complete stability until after 1780. The 1790's produced differential fares which were associated with greater comfort. Guidebooks

1. For instance, seven Margate packets in a front page advertisement in The Times, 14 June 1815, followed on 12 July 1815 by an advertisement relating to six Ramsgate packets at fares of 7s. and 5s. respectively in the best and fore cabins, the latter offering "a passage...preferable to that by the packets of a contiguous watering place", meaning Margate.

15 SHILLINGS

GRAPH 1.

SINGLE FARES LONDON TO MARSATE
ON HOYS, SAILING PACKETS OR YACHTS
1763 - 1815, BASED ON THE FIGURES
GIVEN IN TABLE 41.

14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

— SINGLE FARE UP TO 1789
— BEST CABIN AFTER 1789
- - - FORE CABIN AFTER 1789

1763 1770 1780 1789 1792 1796 1802 1807 1809 1811 1812 1815

YEAR

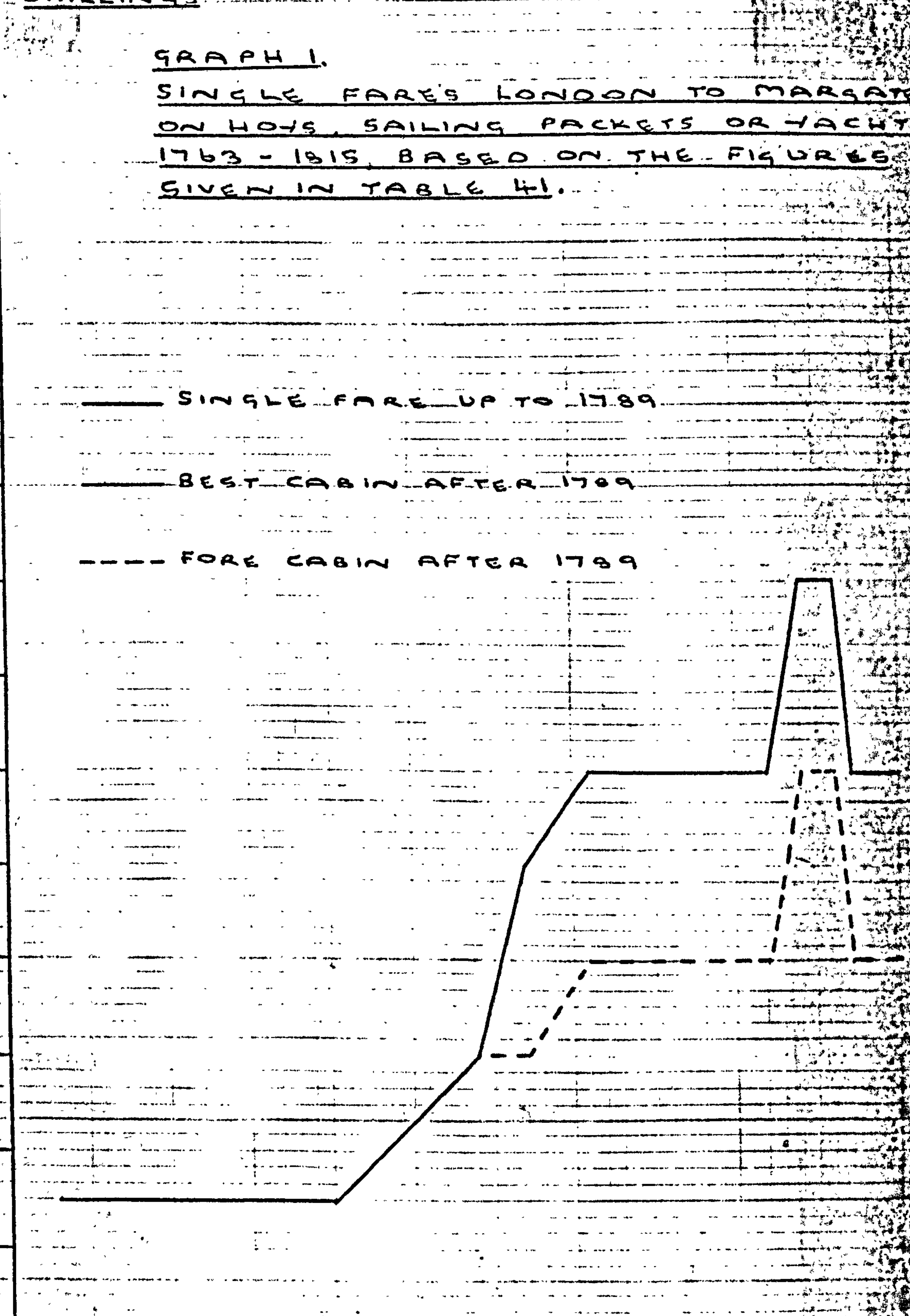


TABLE 42 : A LIST OF THE YACHTS OR PACKETS SAILING BETWEEN MARGATE AND LONDON DURING THE SEASON (1796).

<u>Name of Vessel</u>	<u>Sails</u>	<u>Returns</u>	<u>Fares</u>	<u>Master</u>
Robert and Jane	Sunday	Thursday	5s., 7s., After Cabin, 10s.6d.	Capt. Kidd
Royal Charlotte	Monday	Friday	5s., 7s.	Capt. James Iaming
Britannia	Friday	Wednesday	5s., 7s.	Capt. Finch
Diligence	Saturday	Wednesday	5s., 7s.	Capt. Sandwell
Duke of York	Tuesday	Saturday	5s., 7s.	Capt. Kennard
New Rose in June	Wednesday	Sunday	5s., 7s., After Cabin, 10s.6d.	Capt. Palmer
Princess of Wales	Wednesday	Sunday	5s., 7s., After Cabin, 10s.6d.	Capt. Hillier
British Queen	Thursday	Monday	5s., 7s.	Capt. R. Iaming

The above vessels sail to Dice Quay, Billingsgate Dock, Lower Thames Street, London, where answers are given respecting the hours of sailing.

Competition was keen among the different hoy proprietors as is all too clear from advertisements which were placed in The Times from July 1811 onwards. James Iaming, who sailed from Dice Quay, Billingsgate, every Friday at 12.30 during the 1811 season, advertised the Royal Charlotte packet as being "a very fast sailing one,...being allowed in size and convenience to be one of the first in the Margate employ",¹ while a few days later the Duke of Gloucester, captained by John Chapman, was being promoted as "a new vessel", with "excellent accommodations", which "sails equally fast with any vessel in the employ".² During July 1813, Mrs. S. Iaming, who owned the

1. The Times, 4 July 1811.

2. Ibid., 9 July 1811.



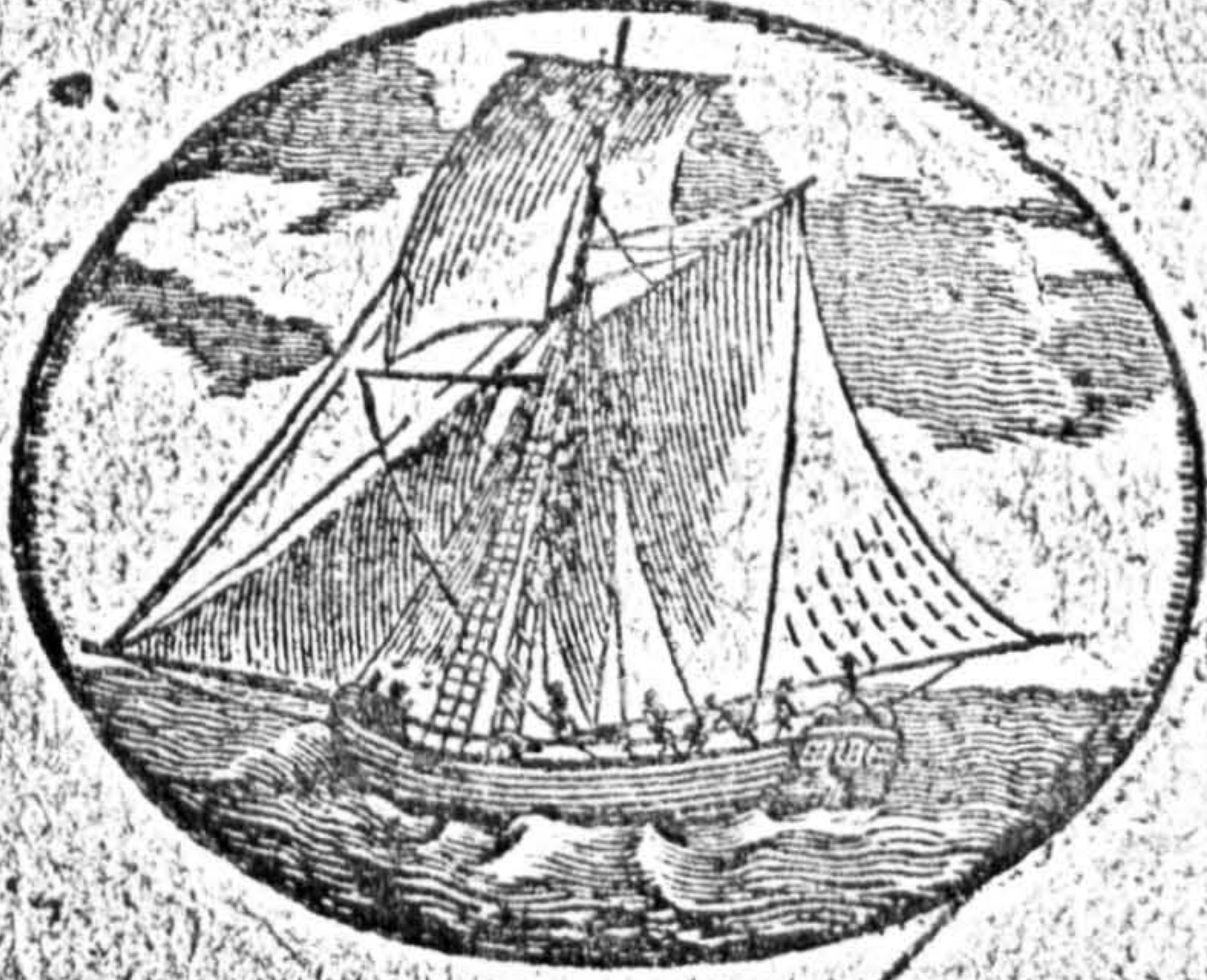
THE OLD MARGATE HOY



"The o'er-washing billows."

'Can I forget thee, thou old Margate Hoy, with thy weather-beaten, sun-burnt captain and his rough accommodations?', Charles Lamb, The Last Essays of Elia [1833], illustrations by C. E. Brock (1900), pp. 53-5.

MARGATE PACKET.



The Royal Charlotte,
 BURTHEN, 90 TONS,
 (An entire new Vessel, with many very extensive additional
 Conveniences)

JAMES LAMING, Owner,
ROBERT PALMER, Master,
 SAILS FROM

DICE QUAY, Billingsgate, London, every FRIDAY,
 and from Margate to London every MONDAY,
 During the Season.

After Cabin, 7s.—Fore Cabin, 5s. each Passenger.
 Children in Arms, 10s. Privilege

This Vessel takes in Goods at the usual Freight—All and
 every the Dangers and Accidents of the Seas, and of Naviga-
 tion of whatsoever Nature or Kind, or howsoever occasioned,
 excepted.

J. Laming may be spoke with on Board; at the Gun Tavern,
 Billingsgate; at No. 8, Finch Lane, Cornhill; or at his House,
 Duke Street, Margate.

* * * No Money, Plate, Watches, or Jewels will be accounted
 for, unless delivered to the Master, and paid for accordingly.

To prevent Mistakes, the Friends of J. LAMING are
 requested to insert the Words **ROYAL CHARLOTTE** on their
 Directions.

Warren, Printer, Margate.

Sep 28/03
 J. Laming
 R. Palmer

The Royal Charlotte
 Margate

A handout advertisement relating to the Royal Charlotte Margate Packet owned by James Laming. Margate Public Library Local Collection, Arthur Rowe Bequest.

British Queen packet, returned "sincere thanks to her Friends and the Public, for the favours conferred on her late husband Richard Iaming for many years", begging "to inform them, that she continues the same business, and trusts, that a steady adherance to the comfort, convenience and safety of passengers, will induce them to patronize her endeavours to support herself and a large family in it".¹

"The Old Margate Hoy", as immortalized in 1823 by Charles Lamb,² was a popular target for caricature and literary and poetic licence. George Saville Carey in portraying the scene on board a hoy offered the following advice to travellers in 1799:

"should you be disposed to go by water to Margate, you will often be under the necessity of arming yourself with a great deal of patience, and a good store of victuals; you must shut your eyes from seeing indecent scenes, your ears from indecent conversation, and your nose from indelicate smells". (3)

Both the arrival and departure of a hoy attracted great crowds, which as a social phenomenon became well known as 'hoy fair', such that Margate pier on these occasions by 1816 frequently accommodated "upwards of a thousand persons of all distinctions, indiscriminately blended together".⁴ Much quoted in guidebooks were the following lines attributed to John Wolcot

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1. The Times, 17 July 1813.
 2. "Margate...was our first sea-side experiment, and many circumstances combined to make it the most agreeable holyday of my life. We had neither of us seen the sea...but can I forget thee, thou old Margate Hoy, with thy weather-beaten, sun-burnt captain, and his rough accommodations?", Charles Lamb, The Last Essays of Elia 1833, Ed: E. Blunden (O.U.P., 1929), 34.
 3. G.S. Carey, The Balnea : or, An Impartial Description of All the Popular Watering Places in England (1799), 34-5.
 4. The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op.cit., 56.

(pseudonym Peter Pindar) describing the welcoming scene at Margate on the arrival of a hoy.

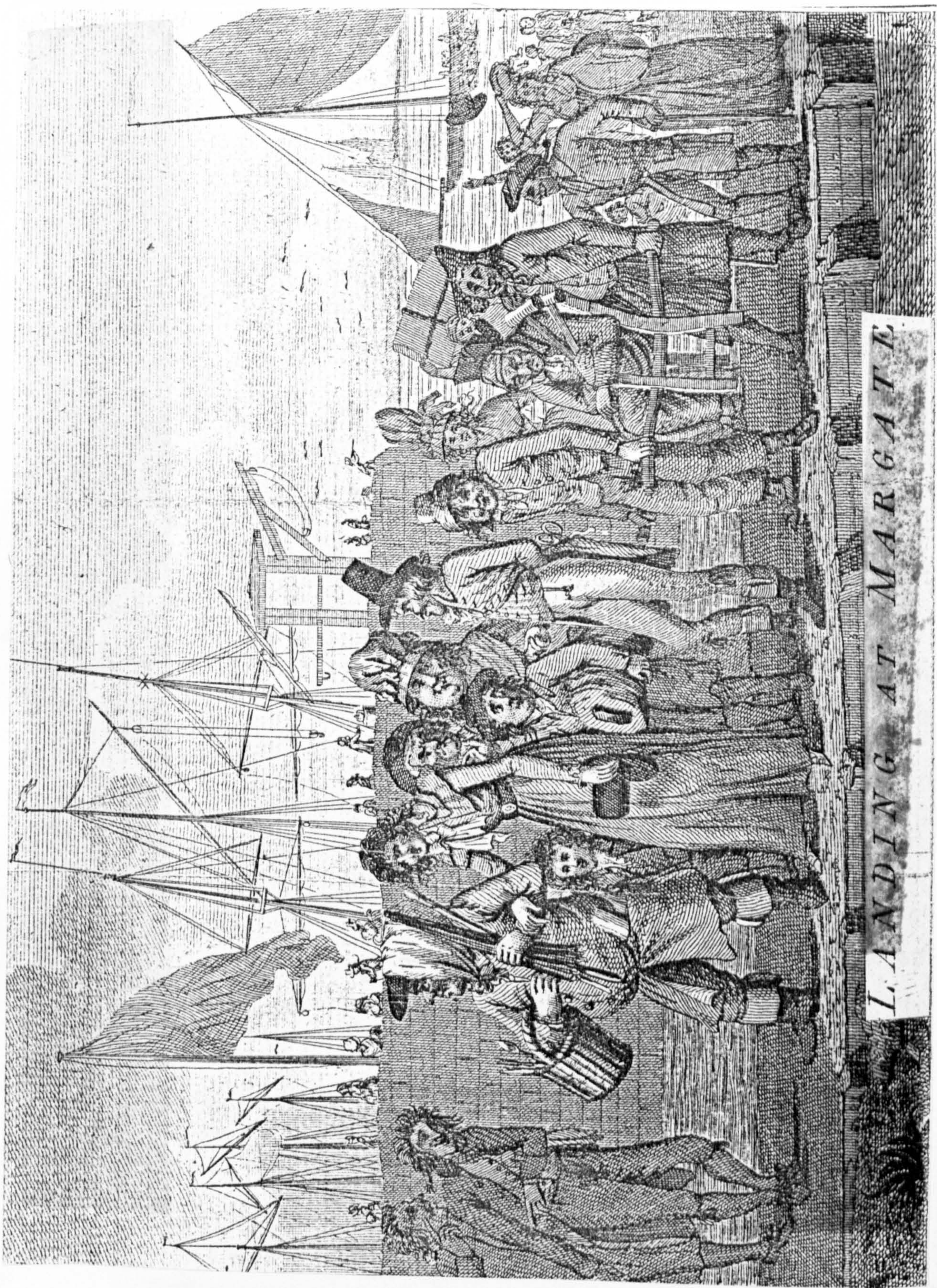
"Soon as thou gett'st within the Pier,
All Margate will be out I trow,
And people rush from far and near,
As if thou had'st wild beasts to show". (1)

In 1832 Captain Kennett Beacham Martin who, as an employee of the General Steam Navigation Company, was a steam navigation enthusiast, after having commanded a sailing packet for six years earlier in his career, recalled how

"the passage from London to the Isle of Thanet, by fast sailing packets, had existed many years, and, as far as good pilotage and nautical skill could command success, was brought to very great perfection. The vessels were handsomely modelled, ...and possessed excellent accommodations for one hundred passengers, on a short voyage; and, with a fair wind, numbers would crowd on board for a passage to Margate, or Ramsgate; but the elements are fickle, and the voyage begun in pleasurable anticipations too often terminated in delay and disappointment: on those occasions the passengers' provisions became exhausted, and ill humour seated itself beside the empty hamper". (2)

Passengers frequently had to contend with long delays or were buffeted by storms. At one o'clock on 19 August 1781 a Margate hoy arrived from London "with very great difficulty: the wind was so high and the sea so rough", it being noted that "the passengers above 100 in number and chiefly females were in a very dangerous and pitiable situation".³ Five years later a Margate hoy bound for London "with near 100 persons on board" collided

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1. Quoted, for instance, in E.W. Brayley, The Beauties of England and Wales or Delineations Topographical, Historical and Descriptive, Volume VIII: Kent (1808), 961, or The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op.cit., 57. John Wolcot had published in 1792, Odes of Importance, etc...To a Margate Hoy and in 1798, Tales of the Hoy: Interspersed with Song, Odes and Dialogues.
 2. Captain K.B. Martin, Oral Traditions of the Cinque Ports and Their Localities (1832), 28.
 3. The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, 22 August 1781, 3d; also The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 23 August 1781, 2c.



Margate Public Library Local Collection, Parker Bequest.

with a collier "and very narrowly escaped going to the bottom".¹ A year later another hoy bound for Margate had to ride out a violent storm prior to entering the harbour, whereupon several passengers reported that "their situation was not to be described".² Ten years later the passengers on one hoy bound for Margate took twenty seven hours to complete their voyage during the greater part of which "it rained so as to drive them under deck, and made them as comfortable as the people in the black hole [of] Calcutta".³ On 29 August 1804 a Margate hoy arrived up to four hours late on account of "a very thick fog".⁴ When the Margate packet, The Grand Falconer, was "dismasted off the Reculvers" early on Sunday morning, 16 September 1810, its passengers were landed at Herne Bay and proceeded to Margate "some on foot, and others in carts and other carriages".⁵ Although wealthy families despised the vulgarity of the hoys, preferring to travel by public coach or in their own private carriages, coaches being favoured by ladies of fashion, coaches too met with accidents, it being reported from Margate on 4 September 1795 that "the Mail Coach this morning was overturned between Canterbury and this place".⁶

Back in 1763 John Lyons had declined to recommend the hoy "too strongly to Ladies of great delicacy".⁷ Some years later on her first

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1. The General Advertiser, 22 August 1786, 2c. Shortly after this episode The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser of 9 September 1786, 4a, reported over 1,000 colliers crowding into the Pool of London, making it impossible "for any vessel of greater burthen than 30 tons to reach higher than the beginning of Wapping".
 2. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 21 August 1787, 4.
 3. The Times, 16 September 1797.
 4. Ibid., 1 September 1804, 2d.
 5. The Morning Chronicle, 19 September 1810, 3c.
 6. The Morning Post and Fashionable World, 7 September 1795, 2d.
 7. Lyons, op.cit., 15.

visit ever to the seaside Catherine Hutton travelled down to Margate "in nine hours and forty minutes [but] went back in thirty-six hours". She recalled in a letter to her father, dated 19 May 1780, that "for four hours after we got upon the sea I was miserably ill and in strong hysterics".¹ Her travelling companion, Mrs. André, "was so disgusted with the hoy that she returned to town in the diligence".² An anonymous letter compiled in 1800 described the return passage as being "too fine to be expeditious", yet it "suited my female friends the better, who (mild and fine as it was) were [nevertheless] very sick indeed".³

Despite these and other disadvantages a hoy journey to Margate did not necessarily take any longer in time and was much cheaper than travelling from London by road. In 1771 as already noted the whole distance of 72 miles might be performed in thirteen or fourteen hours at total fares of 16s. to 19s.⁴ Six years later when John Baker travelled to Margate for a five week vacation, he set out from London at 9 a.m. on 9 September 1777, spent the night at Rochester and the following night at Canterbury before finally reaching Margate at 1.30 p.m. on 11 September. On the return journey he departed from Margate at 1.45 p.m. on 14 October, spent that night in Canterbury and the following night in Rochester before arriving home just after 6 p.m. on 16 October.⁵

By the 1790's the single coach journey could be accomplished in a single day or night, but cost four or five times the minimum fare of 5s. on the hoys at between 21s. and 26s.⁶ When Joseph Farington, R.A., the topo-

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1. Ed: Mrs. C. Hutton Beale, Reminiscences of a Gentlewoman of the Last Century: Letters of Catherine Hutton (Birmingham, 1891), 24-5.
 2. Ibid., 25.
 3. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS.
 4. The Gentleman's Magazine, XII (1771), op.cit., 167.
 5. Ed: P.C. Yorke, The Diary of John Baker (1931), 417, 421-2.
 6. The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture (1796), op.cit., and A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (Margate, 1796), op.cit., 95-8.

graphical artist and diarist returned to London from a holiday spent in Broadstairs he departed on a coach from Margate at 5 a.m. on 27 August 1804, and arrived fourteen hours later in London at 7 p.m., but in order to catch the coach he spent the night of the 26th in a Margate hotel.¹ Although coaches ran more reliably to scheduled timetables, which was one advantage they had over the erratic times of the hoys, the latter did offer passengers opportunities to stretch their legs and it still took eleven hours to accomplish the coach journey as late as 1815.²

It is not easy to ascertain the total traffic which was handled by the Margate hoys and yet they seem to have carried more passengers than the coaches. Individual coaches accommodated up to six passengers inside, with others riding on the outside. Even allowing for the "great complaints" which were levied during August 1802 at the Brighton coaches for being "loaded with passengers, not less than eight or ten persons being frequently stowed on the outside",³ each individual coach carried relatively few passengers. The position could be very different on the individual hoy. A guidebook of 1797 proudly announced that the hoys "sometimes bring above a hundred passengers at a time",⁴ and this figure is supported by newspaper reports,⁵ it being noted by The Times on 16 September 1797 that "so great is the rage for watering places, that the Margate Packet had, the week before last, 152 passengers on board".⁶ The maximum number of passengers who could be carried

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1. Greig, op.cit., 278-9.
 2. The Times, 11 July 1815.
 3. Ibid., 18 August 1802, 3d.
 4. The Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend (1797), op.cit., 15.
 5. For instance, The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, 22 August 1781, 3d; The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 23 August 1781, 2c; The General Advertiser, 22 August 1786, 2c; The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 28 August 1799, 2d; The Times, 1 September 1804, 2d.
 6. The Times, 16 September 1797.

at any one time had clearly risen considerably from the 60-70 mentioned by John Lyons in 1763.¹ On 24 August 1800 The Observer revealed that "seven hoys last week conveyed to Margate 1,342 persons".²

In 1792 it was calculated that "vessels bring and carry during the Bathing Season to and from London 18,000 passengers".³ This estimate is borne out also by evidence which was presented in 1850 to The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours, showing the following numbers of passengers travelling to and from Margate on sailing packets.⁴

<u>April to April</u>	<u>No. of Passengers</u>
1812-13	17,000
1813-14	20,506
1814-15	21,577

The volume of traffic handled by the hoys, coupled with their lower fares compared to coaches, had important social consequences for Margate. The Margate hoy became synonymous with middle-class and mercantile holiday-making. Hoys were instrumental in bringing to Margate, perhaps more than to any other resort, a widening cross section of society during a century which was so noted for elegance and high living. Cheap water communications facilitated the development of Margate as a middle and lower-class resort. In 1778 it was specifically stated of Margate that visitors "of the middle and inferior classes may have recourse to the benefits of this place by the cheapness of a sea voyage; as hoys and yachts are continually passing between

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1. Lyons, op.cit., 15.
 2. The Observer, 24 August 1800, 4d.
 3. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792, op.cit., 160.
 4. Report from the Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee /and/ Minutes of Evidence, /660/ (1850), 169.

this place and London for the conveyance of goods and passengers at a very cheap rate".¹ In 1789 it was further noted that "the chief of the company which come by the hoys are, as you may naturally suppose, of the inferior cast; very few persons in genteel life come by water, without they are recommended by their physicians so to do, to experience the seasickness, which is thought to be very beneficial in some complaints".² It became distinctly unfashionable to be seen travelling to Margate in a hoy, The Times being no less explicit on 10 September 1803 when it observed that "at Margate the distinctive title of Fashionables is given without reserve to all the visitors of that agreeable watering place, who do not arrive there by the Hoy".³

Newspaper reports make it quite clear that hoys lowered the social tone of Margate. According to The Morning Post and Fashionable World of 17 August 1795 "several caricaturists are now at Margate, [and] the exhibitions of the City Ladies ascending from the Hoys...present daily the most whimsical exhibitions".⁴ The Times of 5 August 1799 noted how "Margate is already beginning to be crowded, as usual, with all sorts, and for all purposes", added to which "some tradesmen have gone down to get, and others to get rid of their money".⁵

Wealthy families who avoided the hoy took advantage nevertheless of the cheaper water communications so far as transporting their domestic servants was concerned. John Baker's diary records how on 12 September 1777

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1. A Tour Through the Island of Great Britain (8th Ed., 1778), 139.
 2. The New Margate and Ramsgate Guide in Letters to a Friend (1789), 12.
 3. The Times, 10 September 1803, 2b.
 4. The Morning Post and Fashionable World, 17 August 1795, 2c.
 5. Quoted also in J. Ashton, Old Times: A Picture of Social Life at the End of the Eighteenth Century (1885), 65.

"the Hoy came in about 12 and in it the maid (Sally Matthews) Mrs. Woodington hired in London".¹ Domestic servants certainly accounted for a proportion of the summer passengers by hoy, as George Keate observed during the 1770's.

"There are always merry folks aboard... A crowd affords variety... It consisted of a few gentlemen, who, like myself, enjoyed a passage by sea; - some decent shopkeepers, and their wives, who had been washing off the summer dust of LONDON, - and the remainder chiefly composed of the servants of families, that had left MARGATE, who were all extremely communicative, and appeared to have spent their time in that happy idleness, which such an excursion from home usually gives them". (2)

Subsequently from the mid-1790's onwards domestic servants and shopkeepers shared the hoys with patients travelling to and from the Margate or General Sea Bathing Infirmary which, being intended for poor people suffering from scrofula or tuberculosis, opened its doors at Westbrook on the outskirts of Margate during 1796.³ Hoys fixed the location of a 'General Sea Bathing Infirmary' at Margate, as was made clear in 1801 in "Hints for Establishing a Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate for the Poor of London".⁴

Margate was fairly unique in attracting shopkeeping holidaymakers from the 1770's onwards, a phenomenon noticed by The Morning Chronicle of 30 August 1774.

"There has not been so universal a dullness in town as there now is, since the eve of the last election. The streets are almost without passengers. The quality have left St. James's for the sake of visiting their seats and their boroughs; and the tradesmen seem in general to have deserted their shopboards and counters for Margate and Brighthelmstone". (5)

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1. Yorke, op.cit., 417-8.
 2. Keate, op.cit., 245-7.
 3. For a general history of this charitable hospital see Chapter VIII below.
 4. J.C. Lettsom, Hints Designed to Promote Benificence, Temperance and Medical Science, Volume III (1801), 236-7; also see Chapter VIII below.
 5. Quoted also in J. Hampden, An Eighteenth-Century Journal: Being a Record of the Years 1774-1776 (1940), 95.

Some London shopkeepers set themselves up in business during the summer months but George Keate was also clear in his own mind that many travelled to Margate purely for recreation and pleasure. Inequality, he concluded, was maintained constantly by

"the frequent imports and exports of the HOYS.... The decent tradesman slips from town for his half-crown, and strolls up and down the Parade as much at his ease as he treads his own shop, while his wife, who perhaps never eloped so far from the metropolis before, stares with wonder at the many new objects which surround her." (1)

The Margate hoys allowed a widening cross section of society to travel to Margate for pleasure which inevitably had an impact on the bustle and popularity of the resort. Popular attractions of the 1800's were pier promenading, a camera obscura and donkeys.² Early nineteenth-century Margate suffered no want of popular amusements and, as noted on 6 September 1810, was "crowded with company, and indeed may be considered as London in miniature, being in many circumstances an epitome of that vast metropolis".³ It seems logical, therefore, to apply the label 'London-by-the-sea' to Margate before it is applied to Brighton.

Travelling on Steamboats and their Impact on the Growth and Character of Margate and Gravesend between 1815 and 1840.

"We must leave town immediately", said Mr. Cymon Tuggs.

Everybody concurred that this was an indispensable preliminary to being genteel. The question then arose, Where should they go?

'Gravesend?' mildly suggested Mr. Joseph Tuggs. The idea was unanimously scouted. Gravesend was low.

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1. Keate, op.cit., 66.
 2. J. Whyman, "The Uniqueness of Margate as a Seaside Resort (Part VI)", The East Kent Critic, No. 170 (June 1977), 3; also see Chapter IV above.
 3. The Morning Chronicle, 8 September 1810, 3a.

'Margate?' insinuated Mrs. Tuggs. Worse and worse - nobody there, but tradespeople....

'Ramsgate?' ejaculated Mr. Cymon, thoughtfully. To be sure; how stupid they must have been, not to have thought of that before! Ramsgate was just the place...

Two months after this conversation, the City of London Ramsgate steamer (1) was running gaily down the river. Her flag was flying, her band was playing, her passengers were conversing; everything about her seemed gay and lively. - No wonder - The Tuggses were on board".

Charles Dickens, Sketches by Boz (1836).

So far as Kent is concerned any analysis of pre-railway transport developments would attach little importance to the two canals which were constructed within the county.² Considerable significance, however, has to be attached to steamboat developments down the Thames to Gravesend and beyond to Herne Bay, Margate and Ramsgate. In several respects the introduction of steamboats to Kent was as far reaching as the subsequent construction of railways. Compared to road, river and harbour improvements, canals and, to an important extent, railways, the effects of steamboats were confined almost wholly to passenger transport, involving a substantial and expanding excursion element. Their effects were predominantly social rather than economic.

The introduction of steamboats to Gravesend and to Margate coincided with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, even though The Times as early as 4 July 1801 had reported an experiment which had taken place on the river Thames "for the purpose of working a barge, or any other heavy craft, against the tide, by means of a steam engine, on a very simple construction", the barge in question progressing "against a strong current, at the rate of

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1. Captain K.B. Martin had command of The City of London Steam Packet in July 1832, Oral Traditions of the Cinque Ports, op.cit., 30-1.
 2. Mentioned, for instance, in F.W. Jessup, Kent History Illustrated (2nd Ed., Maidstone, 1973), 50-1 as The Royal Military Canal and the Thames and Medway Canal.

2½ m.p.h." ¹ In 1813 a Mr. Dawson is supposed to have run a small steam-boat between Gravesend and London, but nothing definite can be traced. ² 1815 seems to be the significant year when the Marjory became the first passenger steamer to work regularly on the Thames, running between London and Gravesend on alternate days; ³ when "several gentlemen of London formed themselves into a company for establishing steam vessels between the metropolis and Margate" ⁴ and when steamboats began plying regularly from London to Margate, including the Thames. ⁵ The Times of 8 July 1815 described it as a "rapid, capacious and splendid vessel", having "the peculiar advantage or proceeding either by sails or steam, separated or united, by which means the public have the pleasing certainty of never being detained on the water after dark, much less one or two nights, which has frequently occurred with the old packets". ⁶ During September 1815 The Gentleman's Magazine reported on how "a Margate hoy of large dimensions, propelled by steam, goes constantly to and from London to Margate, and from its novelty, and the certainty of its arrival within a given time (about twelve hours), it is much thronged with passengers". ⁷

A mixed reception was bestowed on the first steamboats as can be seen from the following comment of a Thanet guidebook of 1816: "the number of passage vessels was last season augmented by three steam yachts, which from the general regularity of their arrivals, induced many to prefer them to the original packets, but as others cannot divest themselves of the idea that

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1. The Times, 4 July 1801, 2c.
 2. F. Burt, Steamers of the Thames and Medway (1949), 7.
 3. Ibid., 8. This 70 ton, 63 foot long vessel, built of wood in 1814 at Dumbarton, was propelled by a 14 h.p. engine.
 4. R.B. Watts, A Topographical Description of the Coast between London, Margate and Dover...With an Account of the First Application of Steam...in Propelling Vessels (1828), 9.
 5. Burt, op.cit., 10.
 6. Quoted also in R.A. Fletcher, Steamships: The Story of their Development to the Present Day (1910), 66.
 7. The Gentleman's Magazine, LXXXV (1815), 272.

their motion...must be more liable to accidents; this invention, however, ingenious, will probably never entirely supercede the old packets, though it may promote that kind of competition and attention to accommodation which will more effectually promote public convenience".¹

One enthusiastic admirer of steamboats from their inception, however, was (Sir) Rowland Hill, who was staying in Margate during the summer of 1815. He recollected how on 3 July,

"we went to see the steamboat come in from London. It is worked by means of two wheels, resembling water-wheels, one of which is placed on each side of the vessel, and about a-half sunk in the water. It comes from London and returns three times in each week. It generally performs the voyage in about twelve hours. In the best cabin there is a handsome library, draught-boards, etc. It is surprising to see how most people are prejudiced against this packet. Some say that it cannot sail against the wind if it is high; but when it entered the harbour the wind and tide were both against it, and the former rather rough, yet I saw it stem both. There was a great crowd, and much enthusiasm, though carpners predicted failure, and sneered at 'smoke-jacks'". (2)

Following the introduction of steamboats "many objections were started, and the public mind [was] agitated by fabricated tales of danger".³ Technologically steamboats were not particularly successful in their early days. Not only did they employ auxiliary sail, but their machinery failed frequently and their working expenses were heavy.⁴ The Marjory plying to Gravesend was sometimes laid up for repair over several days before being withdrawn from service at the end of her first season.⁵ The opening years

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1. The New Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op.cit., 59-60.
 2. Sir Rowland Hill and G.B. Hill, The Life of Sir Rowland Hill and the History of Penny Postage, Volume I (1880), 134, 135-6.
 3. Watts, op.cit., 10.
 4. Burtt, op.cit., 8. Apart from costing initially anything between £5,000 and £10,000, Mr. George Dodd pointed out in 1817 that their "furniture and decorations alone form an expensive item; they are also very expensive to maintain, especially on the Thames, by reason of the great cost of coal", in evidence, 21 May 1817, before The Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Preventing the Mischief of Explosion From Happening on Board Steamboats, /422/ (1817), 37.
 5. Burtt, op.cit., 8.

of Thames steamboat navigation witnessed engine and boiler explosions, while 1817 produced a Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Preventing the Mischief of Explosion From Happening on Board Steamboats,¹ followed shortly afterwards by the devastating news contained in a Notice which was posted up at Lloyd's, on 3 July 1817, announcing that "The Regent steam packet, bound to Margate, was burnt to the water's edge, yesterday afternoon, off Whitstable [with] crew and passengers saved".²

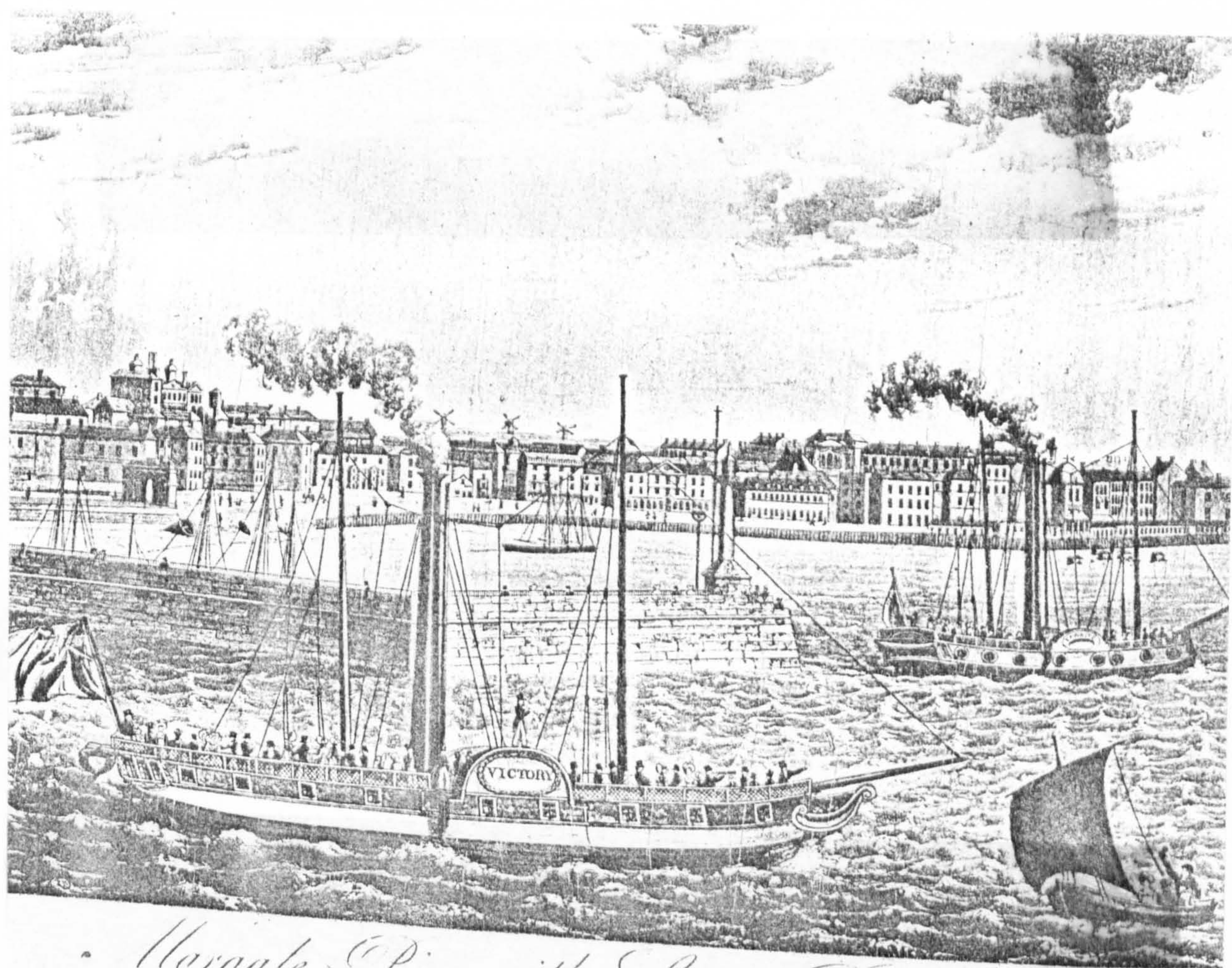
The technical superiority of steamboats improved with each passing season and from Thanet as early as 1817 it was claimed that "in consequence of the introduction of Steam Packets in the summer of 1815, and the general preference given to them by the visitants, several of the regular sailing Packets have been obliged to look out for other service".³ Two years later it was clearly explained why the old fashioned Margate hoys were fast falling into disuse.

"The benefits arising from the noble invention of Steam Vessels are nowhere more sensibly felt than in the Isle of Thanet... The Sailing Hoys have been known to be 72 hours in going from London to Margate... A Steam Vessel might actually make nine voyages, while the Sailing Packets are making one! Such is the great improvement that has lately been introduced into the mode of conveyance between London and Margate". (4)

Some of the old sailing packets reverted to trading vessels, operating to and from London, or between British and Flemish ports.⁵

As steamboats improved their safety and technical performance so they

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1. [422] (1817).
 2. The Times, 4 July 1817, 3e; reported also at some length in The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 8 July 1817, 4d, the Regent, "with a crew of ten men, and about forty passengers", having cost "£11,000 to construct".
 3. E.W. Brayley, Delineations, Historical and Topographical, of the Isle of Thanet and the Cinque Ports, Volume I (1817), 66-7.
 4. Thanet Itinerary or Steam Yacht Companion, (1819), op.cit., 25.
 5. Ibid., (2nd Ed., 1822), 26.



Margate Pier, with Steam Packets.

London Published by E. Wallis 42, Skinner Street.

Two 1820 steam vessels, the Victory with 2 x 25 h.p. engines and the Favourite with 2 x 20 h.p. engines, both built in 1818, with the pier, harbour, town and bathing machines as a background.

Margate Public Library Local Collection.

were more favourably received. Lord Broughton travelled down to Margate on 28 July 1820 on "the London Engineer steam yacht...270 people on board - a magnificent spectacle altogether", but "a few years ago I recollect laughing at the notion of applying steam to these purposes". Three days later he returned on the Eclipse steam yacht which departed at 8 a.m.

"We arrived by this extraordinary mode of making progress at Tower Stairs, quarter to four in the afternoon, passing by all sailing boats as if they were at anchor... Six hours and a half - 88 miles by water; passage money, 15s; music, 1s; sailors, 1s. Eighty passengers pay the expenses. All above - profit". (1)

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was no less impressed when he recalled on 10 October 1825 "how impossible it would have been fifteen or even ten years ago for me to have travelled and voyaged...120 miles with fire and water blending their souls for my propulsion".²

From 1820 onwards steam navigation proved immensely successful and there is no shortage of official statistics and contemporary comment to prove the point. Figures presented to the 1850 Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours revealed an impressive but fluctuating growth of passenger traffic on steamboats between London and Margate during the sixteen years following the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

TABLE 43 : PASSENGERS CONVEYED BY WATER TO AND FROM MARGATE, 1815/16-1830/31.³

<u>April to April</u>	<u>No. of Passengers</u>
1815-16	21,931
1816-17	16,519
1817-18	21,462
1818-19	33,196
1819-20	39,658
1820-21	43,947
1821-22	38,712

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1. Ed: Lady Dorchester, Recollections of a Long Life by Lord Broughton, Volume II (1909), 133-4.
 2. Ed: E.H. Coleridge, Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Volume II (1895), 743.
 3. The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours (1850), op.cit., 169.

<u>April to April</u>	<u>No. of Passengers</u>
1822-23	41,971
1823-24	41,952
1824-25	53,657
1825-26	58,527
1826-27	59,997
1827-28	72,798
1828-29	71,937
1829-30	48,751
1830-31	98,128

Between 1820-21 and 1829-30 the total number of passengers carried between London and Margate exceeded half a million at 532,249, compared to 191,849 between 1812-13 and 1819-20. The increase in the average numbers carried per annum from 23,981 to 53,225 as between these two periods represented an increase of about 125 per cent. It is no wonder that the original steward of the Thames and Eclipse steam vessels could argue in 1828 that "the inhabitants of Margate ought to eulogize the name of Watt, as the founder of their good fortune; and Steam Vessels, as the harbingers of their prosperity".¹

If anything the expansion of traffic to and from Gravesend was even more impressive. By 1831 it was estimated that about 120,000 passengers travelled annually from London to Gravesend, in boats "now admirably managed and admirably conducted", the numbers formerly being "nothing like what they are now".² Single vessels were proceeding to Gravesend with as many as 500 passengers on board.³

Individual steamboats of the 1820's carried many more passengers than the sailing packets which had preceded them. They achieved greater speeds, developed a reputation for their comfort and regularity and represented

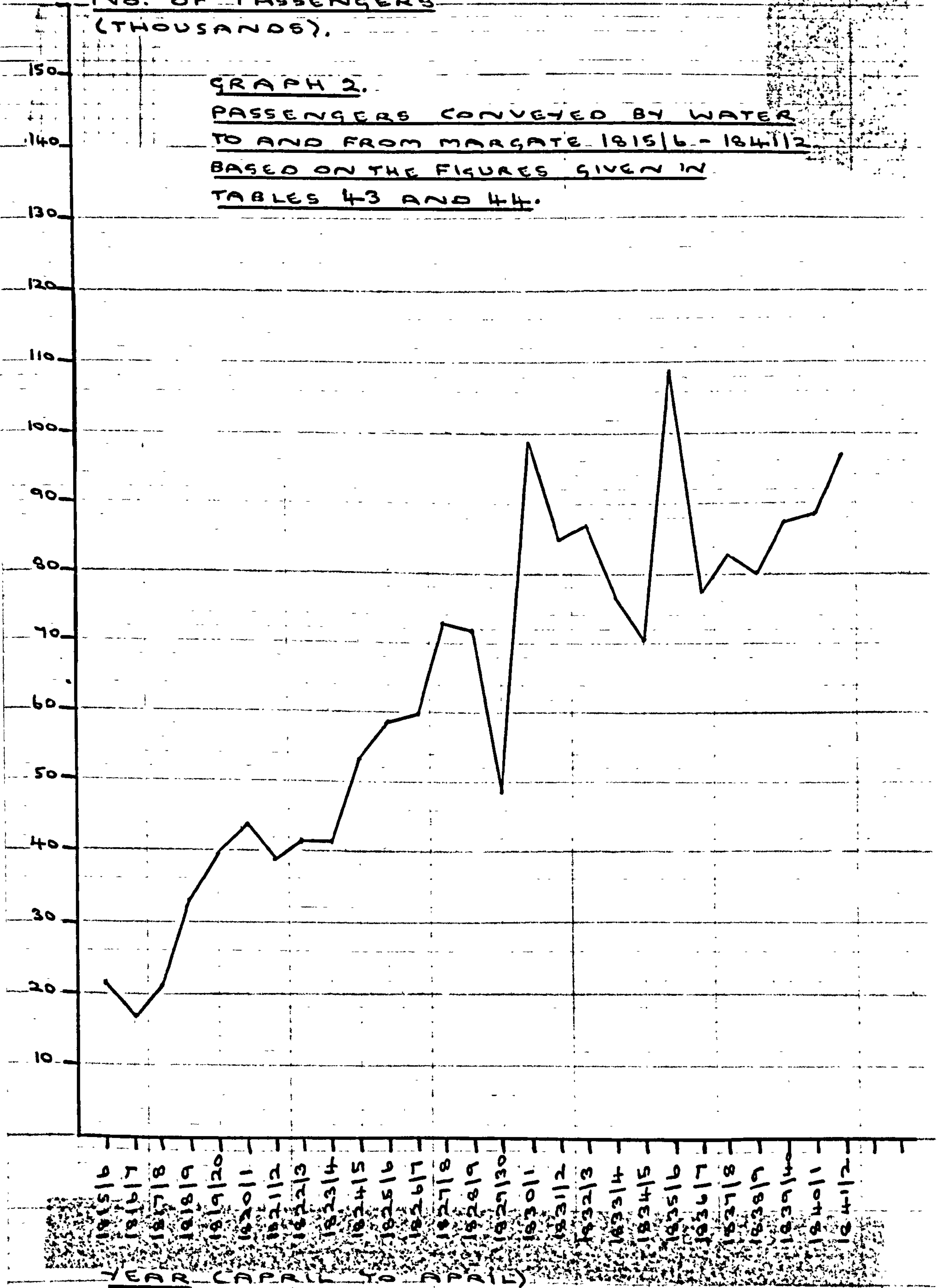
1. Watts, op.cit., 10.

2. Mr. R.P. Cruden in evidence, 23 September 1831, before The Select Committee on Steam Navigation, 3357 (1831), 80-1, QQ. 1437, 1446.

3. Mr. C. Beer in evidence, 29 September 1831, before ibid., 121, Q. 2193.

No. OF PASSENGERS
(THOUSANDS).

GRAPH 2.
PASSENGERS CONVEYED BY WATER
TO AND FROM MARGATE 1815/6 - 1841/2
BASED ON THE FIGURES GIVEN IN
TABLES 43 AND 44.



altogether a much more pleasant and convenient way of travelling than by stage coach. Such facts brought added custom and prosperity to Margate, as was pointed out on 7 August 1822 by a Morning Post reporter.

"The confluence of visitors to this favoured resort is beyond precedent. The Venus steam yacht brought yesterday 250 passengers; and the arrivals by the Hero today have nearly numbered 300. The entertainments keep pace with our imports; every day brings its own amusements. We have donkey races, juggling matches, cricket, running against time... The principal hotels are overflowing". (1)

By the mid-1820's the average time taken to complete a journey between London and Margate had been reduced from nine hours or over to seven hours and under.² The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser of 31 May 1825 reported a voyage from Margate in six and a half hours at 14 m.p.h., whereby "sojourners to this asylum of health and pleasure may well call this flying by steam".³ By 1827 six Margate steam vessels - the Eclipse, Venus, Magnet, Dart, Albion and Hero - were advertised as frequently performing the passage in six hours, being "all furnished with powerful engines by Bolton, Watt & Co."⁴ By 1830 it could be claimed that "a JOURNEY to Margate, which thirty years ago might have occupied a whole week only in going and returning, may now be performed in a sunny afternoon; and before the week is elapsed, the whole of Margate may have been explored, and the traveller safe back to his own London residence".⁵ The quickest passage ever by 1831 was achieved by the Royal Adelaide in 5 hours 17 minutes from Margate to London,⁶ by which year also the London/Gravesend time had been cut from four or five hours to three.⁷

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1. The Morning Post, 9 August 1822, 3c.
 2. Seven hours being quoted by Thomas Cromwell, Excursions in the County of Kent (1822), 113.
 3. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 31 May 1825, 3c.
 4. The Times, 17 July 1827.
 5. Cooke, op.cit., 1.
 6. The Kentish Gazette, 1 April 1831, 4d.
 7. Mr. Cruden before The Select Committee on Steam Navigation (1831), op.cit., 81, QQ. 1447-8.

Although in the case of Gravesend, "previous to steam navigation, there was a great number of parties in the course of the summer who went out in boats to Gravesend", hiring "two, four, six, or eight waterman to row them", which now (1836) "is all done away",¹ it is hardly surprising that it was steamboats, not railways, which pioneered day excursions further afield. Such reductions of time, as noted above, gave rise to day excursions to Margate before the end of the 1820's. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser of 26 August 1828 reported how Captain Grant had run the Columbine "from London to Margate and back in the day", having on board an "unprecedented freight of 660 merry souls", but the turn round at Margate allowed only for taking on "a fresh supply of provisions and exchanging a few 'how do you do's' with the gay inhabitants of this corner of England".²

The comfort and luxury of a Margate steamboat, of 100 h.p. and "equipped to the taste of the present times", costing already £20,000 by 1825,³ as against £5,000 to £10,000 in 1817,⁴ were described as follows in 1831:

"Those persons who have not been accustomed to steam vessels will, doubtless, be astonished at the accommodations which they will find on board; the cabins being fitted up in the most elegant manner, and with every possible attention to comfort. The company are provided with draughts, chess boards ...and an excellent band of music, and when the weather permits, they often join in the dance, for which the clear and spacious decks of these vessels are peculiarly adapted. It would be an act of injustice towards the stewards were we not to notice their great activity and civility, and the excellence of the refreshments provided. The dinner, which consists of joints, boiled and roasted, of the very best quality, all vegetables that are in season, and pastry, wines or dessert is served up in a style both pleasing and surprising, when the limited size of the kitchen is considered... There is always a female attendant on board to wait upon the ladies". (5)

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1. Mr. J. Banyon, Clerk to the Waterman's Company, in evidence, 25 July 1836, before The Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State of the Port of London, 557/ (1836), 258-9.
 2. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 26 August 1828, 3d.
 3. W. Bain, "Remarks on the Progress of Steam Navigation", Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XVIII (November 1825), 544.
 4. Mr. Dodd before The Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Preventing...Explosion. (1817), op.cit., 37.
 5. G.W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs and the Parts Adjacent (2nd Ed., 1831), 6-7.

Steamboats of the 1840's contained cabins "fitted up with absolute splendour - paintings and noble glasses adorn the sides and the floors are covered with the most expensive carpeting".¹ As if to labour the point The Morning Herald of 11 July 1827 noted how the Duke of Devonshire had travelled to and from Margate by steamboat, dining at the table d'hôte, causing "his own fruit to be produced at the dessert" and permitting "his servants to wait upon the company at table".²

The number of steamboats on the London to Margate run doubled from five in 1820³ to ten by 1827,⁴ of which six belonged to the Old (or Regular) Margate Company and four to the General Steam Navigation Company.⁵ Varying in power from 80 to 160 h.p. they combined "in a degree impossible to any other mode of conveyance, the greatest comfort with the most accelerated locomotion", plying "with almost the precision of clockwork" and being known to land on Saturdays "in the height of the season...from 800 to 1,000 persons at Margate".⁶ By 1828 one or more boats left London for Margate every morning at nine o'clock during the season and it was felt that their "regularity, speed and certainty,...joined to the social pleasures of the passage,... justly entitle [their] proprietors to the unprecedented patronage they enjoy".⁷

Captain Martin, having experience both of hoys and steamboats, was well

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1. The New Ramsgate, Margate and Broadstairs Guide (Ramsgate, circa 1842), 6.
 2. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.
 3. W.C. Oulton, Picture of Margate and Its Vicinity (1820), 113, viz: the Engineer, Eclipse, Favourite, Victory and Majestic.
 4. A Week at Margate (5th Ed., 1827), 4, viz: Eclipse, Venus, Albion, Columbine, Dart, Harlequin, City of London, Hero, Royal Sovereign and Magnet; also The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.
 5. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827; Watts, op.cit., 13.
 6. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.
 7. Watts, op.cit., 13.

THE HARLEQUIN STEAM PACKET AT MARGATE PIER.



qualified to comment on the superiority of steam navigation as he saw it in 1832.

"When we consider the strong prejudices it had to combat - the extraordinary difficulties its infant progress encountered... we have reason to admire the persevering industry of those individuals who, having expended their wealth and talent,... have brought it to its present useful and efficient state... A very few years have sufficed to send us ahead of every competitor for maritime fame".

Since 1820 he had never been obliged

"to anchor upon the passage, or put back to port in consequence of any fault, accident, or defect in the steam machinery... During a period of six years in sailing packets my return of passengers conveyed amounted to 3,107... With these I witnessed many unpleasant casualties, from the breaking of spars, and coming in contact with other vessels, and in more than one instance attended with loss of life. In twelve years...in the command of different steam vessels I have had under my care 128,047 passengers, not one of whom received the slightest personal injury. If a sailing packet, to and from London and Ramsgate, conveyed 800 passengers in a month, it was thought an extraordinary affair; yet, during the last four weeks June/July 1832, our returns in the City of London steam packet give 5,356 persons".

Here was an advantage "procured through the medium of civilization and science".¹

If the 1820's were notable for steamboat successes, the 1830's and 1840's produced the heyday of steamboat traffic prior to the introduction of railways. There was a substantial augmentation of traffic during those decades which surpassed anything previously witnessed.

1. Martin, op.cit., 27, 29-30.

TABLE 44 : THE NUMBER OF PASSENGERS LANDING AND EMBARKING ANNUALLY AT THE GRAVESEND TOWN AND TERRACE PIERS AND AT MARGATE PIER, 1830/31 - 1841/42.¹

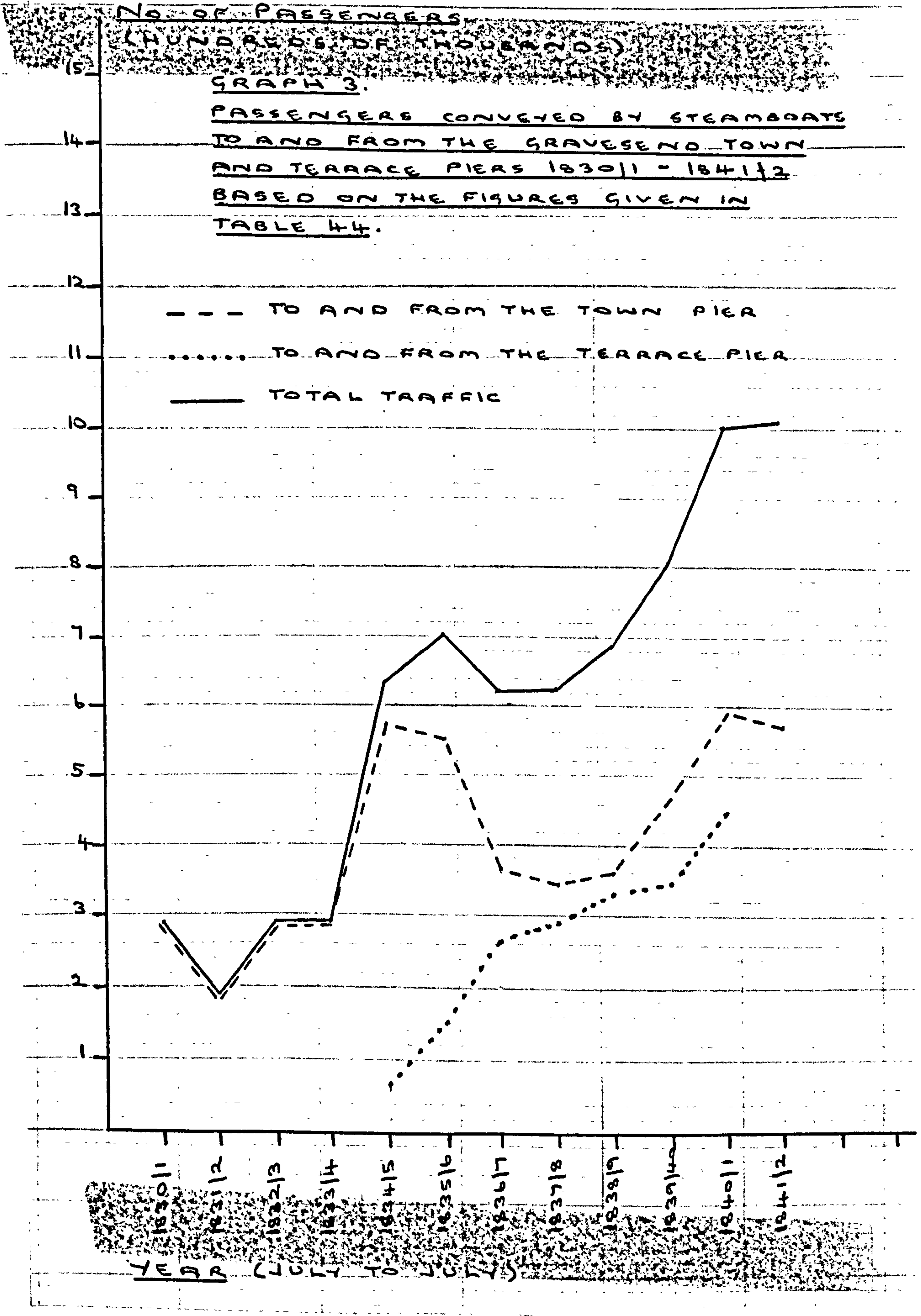
<u>Year</u> (a)	<u>GRAVESEND</u>			<u>MARGATE</u>
	<u>Town</u>	<u>Terrace</u>	<u>Total</u>	
1830-31	291,681		291,681	98,128
1831-32	187,687		187,687	85,399
1832-33	290,420		290,420	86,852
1833-34	292,169		292,169	76,456
1834-35	570,452	68,882	639,334	70,330
1835-36	550,267	153,192	703,459	108,625
1836-37	362,285	262,768	625,053	77,907
1837-38	342,622	291,120	633,742	82,704
1838-39	359,008	328,928	687,936	80,211
1839-40	468,186	344,668	812,854	87,850
1840-41	589,194	454,505	1,043,699	88,338
1841-42	570,059	571,226	1,141,285	96,777

Note (a) For Gravesend, July to July.

For Margate, April to April.

The annual traffic to and from Gravesend more than tripled in a decade. By the early 1830's the number of passengers landing and embarking at the Town Pier had reached almost 300,000 annually. Ten years later the Gravesend boats were handling in excess of a million passengers annually at the Town and Terrace Piers. With respect to the Margate traffic the total number of passengers arriving at and departing from the harbour or pier totalled 2,219,364 over thirty five years between 1812-13 and 1846-47, giving an annual average of 63,410 passengers. That average was exceeded in every year during the 1830's. Margate's steamboat traffic more than quadrupled between

1. For Gravesend, Cruden, op.cit., 537, his Town Pier figures for 1833-34 and 1834-35 being confirmed by Mr. W.A. Coombe, Town Clerk of Gravesend, in evidence, 28 March 1836, before The House of Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, House of Lords Record Office, Committee Office Evidence, Volume 15 (1836); for Margate, The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours (1850), op.cit., 169.



1817 and 1835. A record total was reached in 1835-36 at 108,625. There were annual fluctuations in the numbers carried but against a total traffic of 532,249 passengers between 1820-21 and 1829-30, 854,462 were conveyed between 1830-31 and 1839-40. The average numbers carried per annum during the 1830's were 60 per cent up on the 1820's at 85,446 compared to 53,225. Yet another peak figure was attained in 1842-43 at 102,647. Margate's steamboat traffic reached a maximum of 640,804 passengers between 1840-41 and 1846-47, which as an annual average of 91,541 represented a further 7 per cent rise compared to the 1830's.¹

An 1836 parliamentary committee heard some interesting evidence concerning the steamboat traffic then passing up and down the Thames. As many as 130 steam vessels were alleged to pass through the Pool of London on a summer's day with some Gravesend boats making up to four passages daily.² A witness, with a proprietary interest in Margate steamboats, recalled having "come up from Gravesend with upwards of 1,100 people and we have come with upwards of 900 from Margate - that was last Whit Monday, it was an excursion to Margate and back".³ A director of one of the Gravesend companies, involved in carrying large numbers of passengers, reckoned to convey "300 persons in each boat", which rose sometimes to 450 or 600 and "on one day of public rejoicing we have carried 900".⁴ Yet another director of the same company claimed to have landed 3,000 passengers in about 45 minutes, and "we might land from one boat 1,000 people".⁵

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1. The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours (1850), op.cit., 169; also Whyman (1973), op.cit., 138-9, 153-4.
 2. Mr. Taylor, a Thames pilot, and Mr. J. Ferguson, Manager of the Gravesend Diamond Steam Packet Company, in evidence, 23 and 24 March 1836, before The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, op.cit.
 3. Mr. G.W. Clifton, in evidence, 26 March 1836, before ibid.
 4. Mr. C. White, in evidence, 14 April 1836, before ibid.
 5. Mr. G.C. Redman, in evidence, 14 May 1836, before ibid., Volume 17.

Submitted also as evidence to the same committee was a table showing the "Present Amount of Traffic by Water".¹

Passengers by Steam Packets between London and

Gravesend	} From Returns of Pier Dues	670,452
Herne Bay		30,102
Margate		107,188
Ramsgate estimated at		50,000
Sheerness, Southend, The Nore, Dublin, Falmouth, Northern and Foreign Ports	}	200,000
<u>Annual Amount of Traffic:</u>		<u>1,057,742</u>

10% to Margate }
5% to Ramsgate } 18% to the Kent coast.
3% to Herne Bay }

BUT over 60% to Gravesend.

As many as twelve different companies operated steamboats below London Bridge between 1829 and 1846.² Competition was keen between rival companies, larger and more powerful vessels were constructed and the time taken to complete passages was reduced still further. Six different companies competed for the Margate passenger traffic in 1836 and 1841.³ By 1846 the fastest

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1. Submitted to The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill (1836), op.cit.
 2. Burt, op.cit., 29-59, including the General Steam Navigation Company, the Milton and Gravesend Steam Packet Company, the Margate and London Steam Packet Company, the Star Steam Packet Company, the Gravesend Steam Packet Company, the London and Herne Bay Steam Packet Company and the Diamond Steam Packet Company.
 3. Whyman, op.cit., 153.

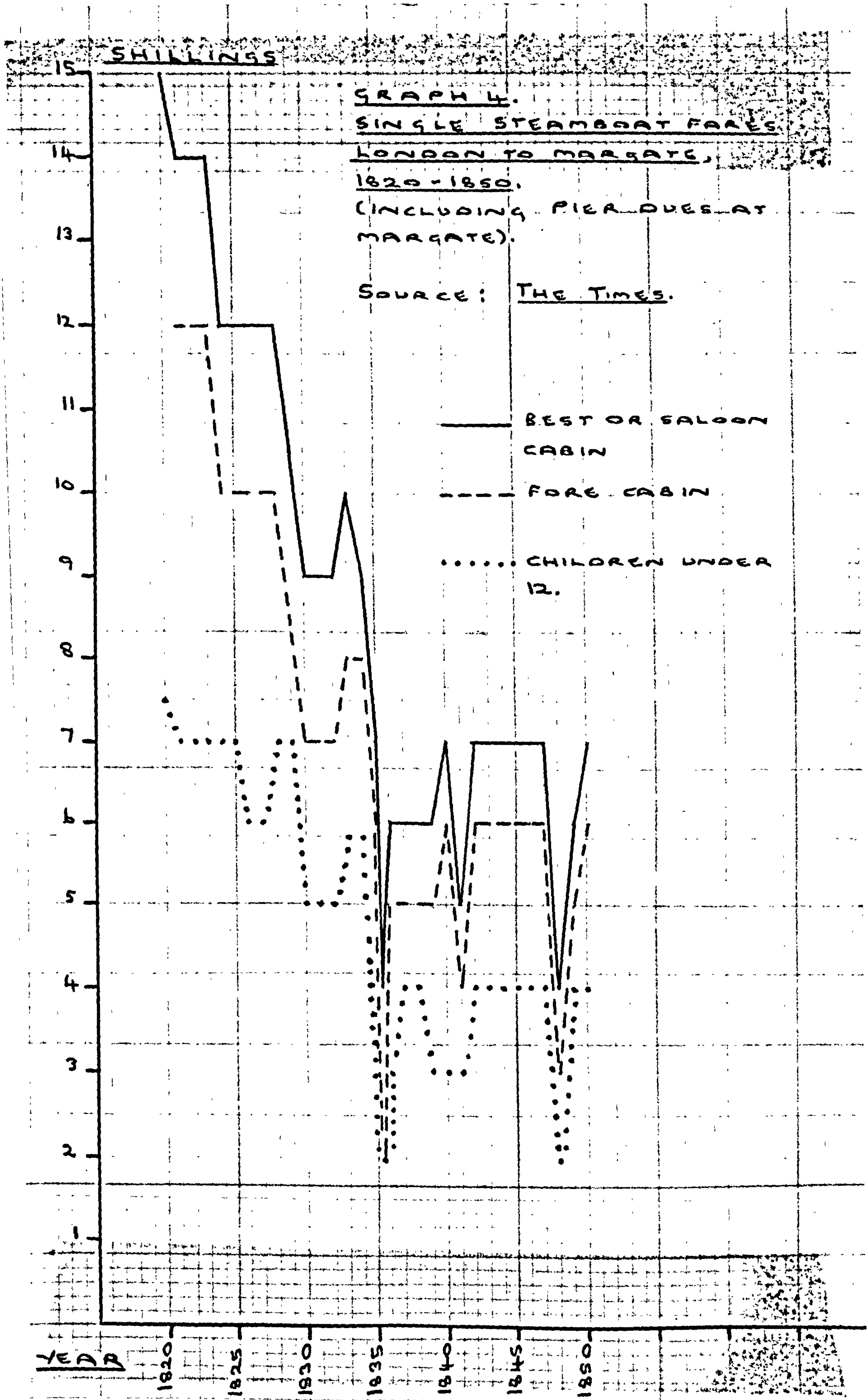
passage ever between Margate and London had been cut to $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours.¹ A Sunday afternoon steam packet trip from London to Gravesend was advertised in 1835 as leaving London at two to arrive at Gravesend about four, "allowing parties to remain on shore an hour or two, returning by the late Packets".² During the same month it was reported that

"Gravesend is filling fast, and the various steamers have little cause for complaint... The Diamond has come to the Pier in 1 hr. 45 mins.... This is by far the greatest feat ever performed by any Steamer on the River". (3)

Competition between steamboats and companies resulted in lower fares. To start with fares were relatively high at 3s. to 4s. in the best cabin and 2s. in the fore cabin on the London to Gravesend run in 1815-16.⁴ High fares were also charged at first by the Margate steam vessels, the lowest being 12s. compared to an 1815 hoy fare of 5s. A tendency for fares to decline commenced during the 1820's, so that on the Margate run single fares between 1824 and 1829 were some 20 per cent lower than in 1819-20, at 12s. in the best or saloon cabin and 10s. in the fore cabin, as against 15s. and 12s.⁵ The decline continued to averages of 7s. and 6s. from 1835 onwards,⁶ and to much lower levels whenever competition between the steamboat companies was intense. The 1830's were notable for extreme fluctuations in fares, which might have been predicted from a report in The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, as early as 7 October 1828:

"so great is the competition between the rival companies, who run vessels between London and Margate, that the conveyance to Margate on Monday morning was gratis, the passengers having nothing to pay but the pier dues". (7)

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1. The Times, 27 May 1846.
 2. The Gravesend and Milton Journal, 30 May 1835, 1.
 3. Ibid., 16 May 1835, 8.
 4. Burt, op.cit., 9-10.
 5. Calculated from advertisements appearing in The Times.
 6. Ibid., and The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours (1850), op.cit., 169.
 7. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 7 October 1828, 2e.



The years 1835-36 witnessed very low fares from London to Margate. Potential travellers were invited by the Commercial Steam Packet Company to "Observe!!!" that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays were the "Cheap Days from Margate to London", during July 1835, at 4s. in the saloon, 3s. in the fore cabin, and 2s. for a child under twelve.¹ On 27 June 1835 The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser had reported how some steamboats were charging only 2s. per person from London to Margate, out of which the proprietors had to pay 15d. pier duty for each individual. Receiving only 9d. from each passenger was the equivalent of only one penny for every ten miles of the 90 mile journey.² Effectively this was only one tenth of the one penny per mile which found its way into the coffers of the parliamentary trains after 1844.³ On 24 May 1836 The Times advertised the General Steam Navigation Company's regular summer fares at 5s. and 4s. "exclusive of Pier Dues at Margate", but "on those days the unjustifiable opposition is continued... the fares will be 2s. and 1s.6d."⁴ "Ruinous"⁵ opposition of this sort arose from interlopers intervening to undercut the normal fares. A minimum fare of 1s.6d. was a shilling less than the prevailing hoy fare from 1763 to 1780.

More or less the same trends were apparent on the Gravesend run, with The Kentish Observer of 28 August 1834 noting that "travelling was never cheaper than at present", since "one may travel in any of the steamers on any day, except Sunday, for 1s. to Gravesend",⁶ while during July 1845 it was possible for the Star packets to offer "Fresh Air and Cheap Excursions for

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1. The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser, 4 July 1835, 1.
 2. Ibid., 27 June 1835, 6.
 3. It was stipulated by The Regulation of Railways Act, 1844, better known as the Cheap Trains Act, that all railways had to run at least one train daily charging a minimum fare of 1d. per mile third class.
 4. The Times, 24 May 1836.
 5. Mr. J. Knill, in evidence, 30 March 1836, before The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, op.cit.
 6. The Kentish Observer, 28 August 1834, 3b.

the Million" to Gravesend and back for only 9d.¹ Nine years previously it was pointed out that fares to Gravesend had been as low as 6d.² and a steamboat proprietor since 1818 was asked,

"Q. What is the present 1836 fare from London to Margate? - The present fare is a very reduced one; they are conveyed under prime cost; they are taken to the Isle of Thanet and Margate at 3s., 4s., and 5s. and to Ramsgate for 1s.6d....

Q. From London Bridge to Ramsgate for 1s.6d? - Yes, there is a vessel that runs every Sunday morning to Ramsgate for 1s.6d.; if you ask me what the proper fare ought to be I should say 8s. or 10s." (3)

A Margate steamboat proprietor actually confessed to "hardly knowing what the fares are now - I believe you may go almost for nothing", whereas before the "great competition" of 1835-36 "the fares were 7s. and 9s." ⁴

Steamboats on the Thames pioneered from the 1820's daily, Sunday and weekend excursions to Gravesend, Sheerness, Herne Bay and Thanet, as well as daily commuting between Gravesend and London. Steamer trips became popular with Londoners both for holidays and excursions. Businessmen took their families down to Gravesend to stay and then commuted to and from London on the steamboats. Mindful that "there is a class of persons that are interested in the velocity of steam boats between Gravesend and London", it was argued in 1831 that it was "of great importance to...mercantile men, who require to be in London early in a morning to fulfil their duties; to them...speed is necessary".⁵ It is significant how the Gravesend and Milton Steam Packet

1. The Times, 1 July 1845, 1.

2. Capt. J. Fisher, in evidence, 25 March 1836, before The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, op.cit.

3. Mr. J.L. Jones, in evidence, 25 March 1836, before ibid.

4. Mr. Clifton, in evidence, 26 March 1836, before ibid.

5. Mr. Cruden before The Select Committee on Steam Navigation (1831), op.cit., 81, 83, QQ. 1447, 1486.

Company in 1835 advertised its first vessel as leaving Gravesend pier at 6.30 a.m. on weekdays, so as to arrive in London around 8.30 a.m.,¹ there being "many...persons who live at Gravesend or take lodgings for the summer months".² A letter from a passenger to The Gravesend and Milton Journal of 25 April 1835 confirmed that "the Diamond...left the Pier, at Gravesend, on Wednesday morning...at 6.30 and arrived at London Bridge at 8.17, thus performing the passage in 1 hr. 47 mins., a distance of 32 miles".³

Weekend commuting further afield to Herne Bay or Margate allowed fairly wealthy fathers and sons who lacked guaranteed holidays to join their families for weekends on the coast. Steamboats ensured that Margate was ideally located for this sort of family arrangement, which gave rise to a late Saturday arrival "called in the language of the place 'The Hats' Boat' or 'The Husbands' Boat'", and described thus:

"the male part of the visitors generally go up and down to London for their business, leaving their families on the coast... The liveliest scene at this lively watering place is on the Saturday night... The good men wind up their week's business on the Saturday afternoon, and then embark to rejoin their wives and children. All circumstances favourable the husbands' boat ought to arrive at 9, or 9.30 in the evening, and the wives expect its arrival at that time". (4)

As an encouragement to family and periodical travel the Margate Regular Steam Packets - Eclipse, Venus, Albion, Dart, Magnet and Hero - advertised during July 1827 "Family Passage Tickets, in parcels containing six or twelve, price 4 gns. per dozen", and "Personal Season Tickets 3 gns. each, offering great advantage to the purchaser as these vessels now make 26 passages a week".⁵

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1. The Gravesend and Milton Journal, 25 April 1835, 1.
 2. Mr. White, in evidence, 14 April 1836, before The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, op.cit.
 3. The Gravesend and Milton Journal, 25 April 1835, 8.
 4. "The Isle of Thanet", The Land We Live In (circa 1840's), 147, 152; also J. Whyman, "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns", Local Population Studies, No.8 (Spring 1972), 24; compare also Chapter V above.
 5. The Times, 9 July 1827.

The Arrival of the 'Husbands' Boat' at Margate.



The Illustrated Times, 6 September 1856,
Margate Public Library Local Collection.

When railways appeared on the scene they competed with the steamboats in offering special Saturday to Monday tickets to the seaside.¹

Regarding day excursions numerous advertisements can be found in The Times from the 1820's onwards. On 1 July 1825 the Gravesend steamboats, Sons of Commerce, Swiftsure and Favourite, were advertised as leaving at eight and returning at four, for 3s. in the saloon cabin and 2s. in the fore cabin, and on Sundays 3s.² Two years later Gravesend day excursion fares were promoted at 1s.6d. and 1s. respectively, rising to 2s. on Sundays.³ On 25 June 1829 Londoners could go on the

"Third annual, extraordinary and interesting marine excursion - The Hero Steam Packet, Capt. Large to Margate and back, 13-14 hours. This packet has engines of 100 h.p. by Messrs. Watt & Co. ...A military band on board. Leaves Tower Stairs 7.30 a.m. Tickets 10s. each. Refreshments". (4)

Day excursions at low fares permitted working class travel, which did not pass unnoticed in the press, with some contemporaries taking an unsympathetic view of the working classes enjoying an outing. Respectable passengers complained of too much drinking on board, having "their morals shocked at the low orders of passengers".⁵ It was readily admitted in 1834 that recklessly low fares tempted "loose characters" who annoyed "respectable passengers...by their intrusion".⁶

Steamboats provided rich pickings for pickpockets. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser of 16 September 1828 noted how pickpockets on one

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1. For instance: "'Saturday to Monday at the Seaside', cheap trains by the South Eastern Railway every Saturday afternoon from London Bridge to Margate at 2.30 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. returning on Sunday evening, or Monday morning. Fare there and back 8s.6d., 3rd class; 12s.6d., 2nd class; and 17s.6d., 1st class", The City Press, 12 May 1860, 1; 19 May 1860, 1.
 2. The Times, 1 July 1825.
 3. Ibid., 3 July 1827, 4 July 1827.
 4. Ibid., 24 June 1829.
 5. The Gravesend and Milton Journal, 30 August 1834.
 6. Ibid., 13 September 1834.

Margate steamer had committed robberies to the value of at least £300.¹

It was alleged on one occasion that company agents failed to rectify "the presence of three notorious thieves", thereby allowing "320 passengers to be subjected to robbery".²

Another complaint levied against day excursions concerned the overcrowding of individual vessels as The Times of 23 May 1839 lamented.

"The manner in which the steamers are crammed with passengers during the holy days is highly dangerous. It was really frightful to see the steamboats pass up and down the Pool during Monday and Tuesday, crowded as they were with human beings, ...pushed in the cabins as close as negroes in the hold of a slave ship... The little boats carried 300, 400 and 500 persons, and the larger ones...to Gravesend, Herne Bay and Margate frequently took down and brought up 500, 1,000 and 1,500 passengers. Collisions were nearly occurring several times between the rival steamers...in coming in and going away from the landing places; and it is fearful to contemplate the dreadful sacrifice of human life which must have been the result if a collision had taken place". (3)

The provision of excursions involved Sunday travelling which met with sufficient hostility to find mention in an 1832 Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day. Having explained how six or seven steamboats, and at least 1,500 passengers, arrived on Sundays, from the beginning of June until the latter part of August, Lieut. John Petley was asked if the arrival of such numbers disturbed the tranquility of Gravesend on the Sabbath day.

"Most exceedingly... The town resembles more a fair than a Sabbath-day... They land...when persons are coming from places of worship, and are highly calculated to do injury to young persons, to remove the impressions that they have received from religious instruction. There are a great number of vans and donkeys and hired horses".

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1. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 16 September 1828, 3d.
 2. The Times, 28 August 1835, 6d.
 3. Ibid., 23 May 1839, 3b.

He agreed, however, that excursionists brought business into the town, "principally to the public houses,...to the letters of vehicles...and donkeys".¹

The Secretary to the New Gravesend Company having explained how his company ran up to three vessels on a Sunday morning, which generally took 2½ hours to arrive, each with 250-300 passengers on board, argued that profits accrued both to the company and to trading interests within Gravesend, since "we have generally on the Sunday that class of people that cannot go during the week", such as "artisans and mechanics, and persons in business". Although Sundays attracted "some shopkeepers and tradesmen", the lower classes predominated as "a very considerable majority", and "the better class go down in the week time". Generally the passengers behaved themselves despite "much drinking of spirits".

"I do not find anything like indecorum on board,...
/and/ at Gravesend...you generally find them spreading
their little cloths, and taking their refreshment on the
grass... I have never seen anything like a tumult or
anything like disorder". (2)

A third witness admitted to having travelled on more than four occasions on a Sunday boat which ran to Margate, where he had observed "ladies and gentlemen sitting in the cabin with their books, and religious books", with "as much attention paid to religion there as elsewhere". The boat referred to was not on a day trip but on a regular sailing, "for persons that cannot get away from their business at any other time", there being "no more harm in a boat going to Margate on /a/ Sunday, with these sort of persons, than a person riding in his carriage to church".³

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1. In evidence, 28 July 1832, before The Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, /697/ (1832), 252, QQ. 3892-3, 3895. 3898.
 2. Mr. L. Gilson, in evidence, 25 July 1832, before ibid., 205-7, QQ. 3270, 3272, 3275, 3283, 3286-8, 3290, 3316.
 3. Mr. S. Knight, in evidence, 25 July 1832, before ibid., 208, QQ. 3355, 3357, 3359.

Despite some opposition to Sunday travelling it flourished beyond 1832. 6,070 passengers boarded nine steamers on one Sunday during August 1834,¹ while two years later it was claimed that steamboats had landed over 8,000 people at Gravesend on a Sunday.² There must be some implications in these and other figures which have been quoted for that famous historical debate on early nineteenth century working-class standards of living!

Living standards apart, the vast expansion of steamboat traffic to and from Gravesend profoundly affected the growth, popularity and economy of that town. Life ceased to be dominated by servicing commercial shipping passing up and down the river. Such was the effect of steam navigation by 1831 that "the resort of persons by steam conveyance forms the chief source of the subsistence of the inhabitants".³ Eleven years later it was observed of "the most frequented town on the River Thames" that

"the thousands of visitors who here keep holiday during six or eight months of the year have insured resources to the inhabitants more to be depended on than the fluctuations of trade. New houses, new streets, hotels, reading rooms, public baths, and pleasure gardens have all appeared in succession since the introduction of steam on the river". (4)

Building developments and improvements such as these are commonly associated with railways as The Times noted at the end of August 1860 when reporting on the "Results of Excursion Trains".⁵

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1. The Kentish Observer, 21 August 1834, 4b.
 2. Mr. Clifton, in evidence, 26 March 1836, before The Commons Committee on the London and Blackwall Commercial Railway Bill, op.cit.
 3. Mr. Cruden before The Select Committee on Steam Navigation (1831), op.cit., 80, Q. 1437.
 4. W.H. Bartlett, J.D. Harding & T. Creswick, The Ports, Harbours, Watering Places and Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain, Volume I (circa 1842).
 5. "The revolutions in places are as strange as those affecting their inhabitants, and the most secluded spots have been the first to change... The place is inundated by excursionists, who crowd its lodgings and consume its stores, till new markets are opened, and new hotels rise... Marine Terraces, Sea Villas, 'Prospect Lodges', 'Bellevues', hotels, baths, libraries, and churches soon accumulate", The Times, 30 August 1860, 6.

In the space of twenty years between 1821 and 1841 the number of houses within the jurisdiction of the Corporation of Gravesend, which included the adjoining parish of Milton, more than doubled¹ and yet, with one million passengers annually in the early 1840's "accommodation was quite at a premium" and it was no uncommon occurrence to pay 10s. for the privilege of spending a night in an armchair.² From 1815 onwards steamboat companies were established, piers were built, and accommodation and amusements were provided. These developments changed the character of Gravesend, which "has a bustling air, and seems to be...half sea-port, half watering-place", for "go where you may, you are sure to find shrimps to sell and 'lodgings to let'".³

Although Margate's character and popularity had been moulded before 1815, steamboats augmented these characteristics and brought added prosperity to the resort. The Times of 28 September 1824 observed how it was visited almost entirely by "the inhabitants of eastern London during the early part of the season".⁴ The Morning Herald of 11 July 1827 confessed that Margate was "the least fashionable" and yet "the most frequented watering place in England".⁵ Fifteen years later Margate flourished as

1. Cruden, op.cit., 533-4, viz: number of houses in:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Gravesend</u>	<u>Milton</u>	<u>Total</u>
1821	646	462	1,108
1841	939	1,354	2,293

2. The Invicta Magazine, Volume 2, No.2 (December 1911), 94.

3. The Pictorial Guide to Gravesend and Its Rural Vicinity : A Holiday Handbook (1845), 8.

4. The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c.

5. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.

"a favourite watering place for the inhabitants of London", abounding "with all the resources for health, pleasure and amusement which distinguish well frequented towns of this class",¹ there being perhaps "no town in the southern parts of England which, in proportion to its rank and station, is more popularly known, by name at least, than Margate".²

In 1845, which was the year before the South Eastern Railway linked Margate to London, Mrs. Elizabeth Stone invited her readers to look at Margate sands.

"They appear one indiscriminate moving mass of cabs, cars, carts and carriages; horses, ponies, dogs, donkeys and boys; men, women, children and nurses; and, the least and the biggest - babies and bathing machines. Imagine...all proper associations and accompaniments: little boys with spades; nurses with babies; mammas with sewing. ...The hawkers are a most noisy...and persevering fraternity here; such opportunities for 'cheap bargains'; nothing in the world that you may not buy". (3)

She also noted how

"thirty years ago Margate and Ramsgate were crowded in the season by those who now would not be seen but at Brighton, and perhaps will not continue to go there long. It requires marvellous courage now to confess any interest in places so utterly discarded by fashion as are Margate and Ramsgate. They are still crowded, but by decidedly unfashionable people". (4)

While railways had yet to make an impact on these two Thanet resorts, Brighton had welcomed the arrival of its first London train on 21 September 1841, occupying thereafter "the place which Margate had once held in the affections of earlier generations of cockneys",⁵ and so could indeed be called "the lungs of the great capital".⁶

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1. The Journey Book of England: Kent (1842), 127.
 2. The Saturday Magazine, XXI (1842), 645.
 3. Mrs. E. Stone, Chronicles of Fashion, Volume II (1845), 299-300.
 4. Ibid., 298.
 5. Gilbert, op.cit., 139-42, 152.
 6. Ibid., 152, quoting from The New Monthly Magazine, LXI (1841), 171.

CHAPTER VII

THE HOLIDAYMAKERS OF MARGATE, RAMSGATE AND BROADSTAIRS

Introduction

"A great number of nobility and persons of fashion resort to Margate in the summer both for the enjoyment of its pure and salubrious air, and for the benefit of the sea water".¹

This flattering assessment of 1796 applied only to a portion of Margate's visitors. Indeed, a much wider cross section of society travelled to the resort in private carriages, public coaches, hoys, sailing packets and yachts before 1815² than went to Broadstairs or Ramsgate. The latter

"as a watering-place ... possesses such advantages of air, situation, soil and other local conveniences, as to give it a complete pre-eminence over its rivals, and render it not only a place of fashionable resort during the bathing season, but the constant residence of a number of opulent families". (3)

Mrs. Pilkington contrasted "the different scenes which the streets of Margate and Broadstairs presented, the former appearing like the bustle of the metropolis, and the latter representing the quietness of a country town or village".⁴ Visitors to Broadstairs were "more select, or rather more fashionable", and for Mrs. Pilkington this was evident "from the number of elegant equipages they had seen during their drive in the morning".⁵

Several questions can be posed about the visitors to Thanet's resorts from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.⁶ Can they be identified

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1. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet; Being Chiefly Intended as a Directory for the Company Resorting to Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs (Margate, 1796), 13-14.
 2. As noted in the previous Chapter.
 3. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), 39.
 4. Mrs. Pilkington. Margate !!! or Sketches amply Descriptive of that Celebrated Place of Resort (1813), 188-9).
 5. Ibid., 189.
 6. Compare back to the Introduction.

as individuals or by classes or occupations? From where did they come and in what numbers? How far did their social composition change before the 1840's? Did the visitors to Broadstairs or Ramsgate materially differ from those who went to Margate? Why did some visitors prefer only one of the Thanet resorts? By endeavouring to answer some of these questions it is hoped to overcome a recent criticism of holiday resorts and their visitors:

"holiday resorts are sharing fully in the current surge of interest in local history, but most contributions so far have had much more to say about building history, local topography and residential patterns than about the visitors who were the life-blood of these often highly-specialised towns. (1) This sad imbalance ... results in an inadequate treatment of the resort's most important economic activity". (2)

Visitors to Thanet During the Coaching and Hoy Era, 1763-1815.

Eighteenth century holidaymaking was a prerogative of the upper classes, who had patronized the expanding inland spas of the seventeenth century. Comprising royalty, the aristocracy and the gentry, they were people of good birth, of high social status and of independent means as to income. Landed property was the foundation of eighteenth century society, and retained an importance throughout the nineteenth century.³ At the end of the eighteenth century Patrick Colquhoun enumerated nearly 300 peers, 890 baronets and knights, 6,000 esquires and 20,000 "Gentlemen and Ladies", all of whom were potential visitors to the Thanet resorts, and economic growth and transformation was increasing the numbers and wealth of merchants, industrial entrepreneurs, financiers and the professional classes. The expanding wealth of the middle classes and tradesmen deepened the demand for holidaymaking, particularly during the nineteenth century.

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1. D. Sherry, "Bournemouth: A Study of a Holiday Town", The Local Historian, Volume 10 (1972), 126-34, provides one instance of these pre-occupations.
 2. J. K. Walton and P. R. McGloin, "Holiday Resorts and their Visitors; Some Sources for the Local Historian", The Local Historian, Volume 13, No.6 (May 1979), 323.
 3. G. E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963) and F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963).

Although these trends manifested themselves in eighteenth century Margate and produced from the upper classes scorn, contempt and ridicule, rank, fashion, gentility and quality assumed greater significance in the opening decades of the nineteenth century than at any time in the eighteenth century. To be a tradesman was to be 'vulgar', but to be an aristocrat, a prominent churchman, or one of a leading county family was to be of the 'first distinction'.

The noun 'distinction' and the adjectives 'genteel' and 'vulgar' were used to describe in general terms the visitors to Margate and Blackpool well before 1800. Among the seventy or so visitors to the tiny resort of Blackpool in August 1788 was Catherine Hutton (1756-1846), who communicated her thoughts to Mrs. André:

"I never found myself in such a mob ... The people are, in general, of a species called Boltoners; that is, rich, rough, honest manufacturers of the town of Bolton, whose coarseness of manners is proverbial even among their countrymen ... I find here that I have no equals but the lawyers; for those who are my equals in fortune are distinguished by their vulgarity and those who are my equals in manners are above me in situation". (1)

The presence of "better company" in "the other houses" was conceded, rather grudgingly, including Lancashire gentry, Liverpool merchants and Manchester manufacturers. She concluded with a general observation on the Lancastrians: "the Boltoners are sincere, good humoured and noisy; the Manchestrans reserved and purse-proud; the Liverpoolians free and open as the ocean on which they get their riches".²

Catherine Hutton reflected a belief among the upper classes that money had to be taught how to behave. Even though wealth accumulated rapidly in the City of London, in the North, in the Black Country and from abroad, and was visible in country houses and ostentatious consumption, people had to wait for social acceptance. Many Victorians believed that it took three generations to make a gentleman.³ Social climbing nevertheless went on, and the upper classes

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1. Ed: Mrs. Catherine Hutton Beale, Reminiscences of a Gentlewoman of the Last Century: Letters of Catherine Hutton (Birmingham, 1891), 56.
 2. Ibid., 56-7.
 3. Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (1949).

renewed themselves from an expanding stock of merchants, bankers or successful soldiers, whose wealth induced them to purchase country seats and send their sons to Eton.

Underlying the contemporary use of 'distinction', 'genteel' and 'vulgar' were far reaching structural changes in the economy and society of Britain during the century ending with the Great Exhibition of 1851, which influenced the social development of Margate or the major Lancashire resorts.

"The impression gained is that Margate was used as a holiday resort by poor Londoners before the nineteenth century ... There is evidence that some of the poor from London were using Margate as a holiday resort by 1800. Most of them seem to have travelled by sailing hoy". (1)

From 1815 onwards, pleasure steamers from important centres like London to Gravesend and Margate introduced cheap holiday travel on a more extensive scale to the masses.² In the opposite corner of the kingdom, "there are references to working class people from inland towns of Lancashire using their coast for holidays by the early nineteenth century".³ Richard Ayton in 1815 noticed crowds of poor people spending three or four days in the crowded village of Blackpool, some of them having walked up to 40 miles from Manchester and other manufacturing towns.⁴ Certainly some Lancashire workers were taking holidays away from home before 1830.

"From 1800 to 1830 both Blackpool and Southport were used as places for holidays by some of the lower classes of Lancashire. These members of the working classes may have walked, ridden in carts, or sailed in canal barges for their journey from Manchester and other urban centres ... They stayed for two or three days at the seaside and slept under crowded conditions". (5)

Blackpool in 1827 was inundated by vast numbers of cotton workers from Blackburn, Burnley and Colne.⁶

The fact that some of the lower orders of society could afford to visit

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1. G. C. Martin, Some Aspects of the Provision of Annual Holidays for the English Working Classes down to 1947, Leicester M.A. Thesis (1968), 7, 22.
 2. J.A.R. Pimlott, The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History (1947), 77; J. Timbs, Curiosities of London (New Ed., 1867), 777, also Chapter VI above.
 3. Martin, op.cit., 7; F.A. Bailey, A History of Southport (1955), 32; W.J. Smith, "Blackpool: A Sketch of Its Growth, 1740-1851", Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society (1959), 87.
 4. R. Ayton, A Voyage Round the Coasts of Britain (1815), Volume 11, 102-5.
 5. Martin, op.cit., 23.
 6. Smith, op.cit., 91.

the seaside is one of the lesser well publicized effects of economic growth and rising incomes. In the case of Margate a direct and cheap water communication link with London produced a cross section of society among its eighteenth century visitors.¹

The exclusiveness of seaside resorts before 1815 was influenced by royal patronage and by fashionable preferences which could change from one season to another. Fashionable society followed closely in the wake of royalty. The Prince Regent patronized Brighton from 1783 onwards. The presence of the Prince of Wales, later George IV, in Brighton was carefully reported in the press, as, for instance, in The Morning Chronicle, during August 1810:

"Brighton, August 5,
The PRINCE, accompanied by Mr. TYRRWHIT, in his travelling coach, reached the Pavilion between one and two o'clock this morning, having been about 5 hours and 20 minutes on the road". (2)

It was noted, however, that until "the Prince's arrival the company was extremely disproportioned to the accommodation".³ Brighton was "under the Sanction and Patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales".⁴ Of all seaside resorts it enjoyed the most sustained royal patronage,⁵ which continued during the reigns of George IV and William IV, and even for a few years under Queen Victoria. A succession of royal visits contributed largely to the pre-railway growth and popularity of Brighton. Despite the rowdy behaviour of the Prince's set, Brighton remained among the most exclusive of England's seaside resorts. Royalty also extended its seal of approval when George III patronized Weymouth in 1789, Princess Amelia Worthing in 1798, and Princess Charlotte Southend in 1801.⁶ George III's visit to Weymouth proved a powerful stimulus to the growth of that resort.

The impact of royalty on the Thanet resorts was limited, non-existent in Margate and mainly confined to Broadstairs and Ramsgate during the 1820's

1. As noted in Chapter VI above.

2. The Morning Chronicle, 8 August 1810, 3b.

3. Ibid.; 16 August 1810, 2d.

4. Ibid., 26 July 1810, 1b.

5. E.W. Gilbert, Brighton Old Ocean's Bauble (1954, reprinted 1968); L. Melville, Brighton: Its History, Its Follies and Its Fashions (1909).

6. Martin, op. cit., 6.

and 1830's. The one exception before 1815 occurred in 1803 when East Cliff Lodge, "a distinguished marine residence, environed by about 24 acres of land planted on the verge of the cliff", between Broadstairs and within half a mile of Ramsgate,¹ served as summer residence to the Princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline.² Margate's popularity and growth were not hindered by an absence of royal patronage, since a more powerful stimulus to growth arose from the ease and cheapness of water communication to and from London. Because of its direct proximity to London and the low fares of the hoys, eighteenth century Margate attracted both the fashionable Londoner and the Cockney.³

Preferences for particular resorts can be gleaned from newspaper reports, and from correspondence. Edward Gibbon, for instance, recorded how his good friend Mrs. Porter set out on Saturday, 14 August 1773, "for Margate on a party of pleasure", and while his choice was Brighton early in July 1781 "Mrs. Porter has chosen not for health, but pleasure a different sea-shore: she has been some weeks at Margate".⁴ This aspect of holidaymaking is neither easily quantified nor simply explained. Indeed, it is rarely possible to state specifically numbers of visitors to a resort. Among the well patronized resorts of August 1781 were Margate, Ramsgate, Brighthelmstone [Brighton] and Deal,⁵ but Southampton was "the place where they [the visitors] are most numerous and genteel".⁶ Brighton and Weymouth were ahead in popularity early in July 1786.

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1. Rev. D. A. Jessurun Cardozo and P. Goodman, Think and Thank: The Montefiore Synagogue and College, Ramsgate, 1833-1933 (O.U.P., 1933), 10.
 2. Ibid., 11; also P. Goodman, Moses Montefiore (Philadelphia, 1925), 38.
 3. See Chapter VI above.
 4. Ed: J. E. Norton, The Letters of Edward Gibbon, Volume I [1750-1773] (1956), 376, and Volume II [1774-84] (1956), 271.
 5. The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser, 24 August 1781, 2d; also according to ibid., 14 September, 1781, 2c, Margate and Brighton were well patronized during the middle of September.
 6. Ibid., 20 August 1781, 3a.

"The number of people of fashion who have left London, within the last fortnight, must be immense, as it is scarcely credible the amazing difference that is visible in almost every street at the West-end of the town within that space.

Brighton is already become cheerful, and seems to bid fair to stand as the favourite haven in the calendar of the sons and daughters of pastime and pleasure, during their summer excursions.

Weymouth has her partizans and can sometimes produce more honourable visitors than all the other bathing ports together". (1)

Brighton had made great preparations for that season, "the inhabitants endeavouring to outvie each other in decorating their houses, both outside and in".² Towards the end of July, Hastings was filling apace, "notwithstanding the continuation of its indecent customs; men and women bathe almost indiscriminately".³ During September 1795, with the threat of war imminent and with the Royal Family at Weymouth, it was announced that "the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt are set off to Weymouth, where they are to be met by the other Cabinet Ministers; and this day at 2 o'clock a grand Council will be held with the King at Gloucester Lodge, on the present situation of affairs in Europe".⁴

Lowestoft claimed a "very numerous and fashionable company" during August 1797, including Lord and Lady Dalkeith and family, Lord Montagu and family, and Lady Fann and family.⁵ Other well patronized resorts were Southampton, and on the East Coast Southwold, Aldeborough and Cromer, with "more than their accustomed complement of visitors".⁶ Late in July 1798 Margate and Ramsgate were more heavily patronized than the Sussex resorts,⁷ and a month later Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs experienced "the fullest season that has

1. The Morning Herald, 1 July 1786, 2c.

2. Ibid., 5 July 1786, 2c. One consequence of the popularity of Brighton in the 1780's was a building boom in the resort, The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser, 27 July 1786, 3d, reporting that "that beautiful situation, the Steine at Brighton is about to be totally annihilated, as to its fine sea view, in consequence of the new building".

3. The Public Advertiser, 22 July 1786, 3c.

4. The General Evening Post, 12-15 September 1795, 3a.

5. The Observer, 20 August 1797, 3a.

6. Ibid., 20 August 1797, 3a.

7. Ibid., 22 July 1798, 3b.

been known for many years, particularly at the former".¹ Ramsgate was the fashionable resort of August 1799.²

An important factor encouraging the patronage of the upper classes and the wealthy during the 1790's and the 1800's resulted from their inability to travel to and from the Continent. The Grand Tour was not feasible. Against a threat of invasion The Morning Chronicle noted how on 28 July 1801 "all intercourse between Dover and France is now at an end, except by Flags of Truce",³ and in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent, "counties most exposed to the meditated attempts of invasion, the civil and military authorities have been anxiously employed in concerting measures of defence".⁴

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, with Kent as the most south easterly county, close and vulnerable to the Continent, people read about dangers and threats of war and invasion. They learned of troop movements, and of numerous contingency measures which were planned or put into operation. It was observed how at the end of August 1795, Mr. Pitt had left London "to review the several corps of Fencibles, raised for the defence of the Cinque Ports, in his capacity of Lord Warden".⁵ He, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and a large party of their friends, dined with Mr. Steele, at his house near Dandelion (Margate).⁶ Soldiers who were stationed in Thanet during August 1797 helped to harvest the corn crop.⁷ It was announced during July 1798 that the second West York Regiment of Militia, under the command of Lord Downe, had arrived in Canterbury en route to temporary barracks at

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1. The Observer, 19 August 1798, 2b; compare a week later, ibid., 26 August 1798, 2c, "Margate is unusually full".
 2. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 21 August 1799, 2b.
 3. The Morning Chronicle, 28 July 1801, 2d.
 4. Ibid., 27 July 1801, 3a.
 5. The General Evening Post, 29 August - 1 September 1795, 1c; less than two weeks previously Mr. Cobb, the Margate brewer and banker, had reviewed the United Volunteer Corps on Sandwich Flats as Reviewing General, The Morning Post and Fashionable World, 17 August 1795, 2c.
 6. The Morning Post and Fashionable World, 3 September 1795, 4a.
 7. The Observer, 20 August 1797, 3c.

Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs.¹

Military activity intensified over the next few years. Margate hoys were commandeered for military service during the 1799 season yet

"Margate, notwithstanding the interruption to the hoys, is tolerably full, [but] they are building there, in our opinion, with more spirit than judgement, for the generality of the houses are small and removed from the sea. The Theatre is well attended". (2)

Great activity prevailed among the Volunteers of Dover, Deal and Margate, and "the Kent and Sessex Coasts, which were lately much exposed to the depredations of the enemy's small privateers, now swarm with our cruizers".³

1801 brought renewed threats of invasion but they did not deter people from visiting the seaside.

"The fear of invasion prevails more in the inland counties than on the coast. The visitors to the watering place seem not diminished. Having no great incumbrance of business on their hands [they] will be at leisure to watch the motions of the enemy, as an object of some curiosity". (4)

Newspapers almost daily during the first week of August 1801 reported that people were flocking to the coasts of Kent and Sussex.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations on the coast ... in case of invasion, the citizens flock to Margate in droves ... It is more likely that Margate should be the object of the French invasion than Brighton. The capture of a hoy richly laden with citizens and their stores would be worth sending to any of the Parisian Theatres!" (5)

The social implications of war were reported with humour and sarcasm: "from the number of fair females now at the seaside, if our Gallic invaders are not taken prisoners, of this we may be certain, that to a man they will be made captives".⁶ From London came the astonishing report that "thin musters of the London Volunteer Corps are attributed to the annual trips to Margate and Brighthelmstone; and we know not where they can be more eligibly situated to resist an invasion".⁷

1. The Observer, 22 July 1798, 2c.

2. Ibid., 18 August 1799, 3a.

3. Ibid., 4 August 1799, 2d.

4. The Morning Chronicle, 28 July 1801, 3a.

5. Ibid., 1 August 1801, 3a.

6. Ibid., 5 August 1801, 3b.

7. Ibid., 10 August 1801, 3b.

A visit to the seaside during those troubled years provided opportunities for seeing some of the leading figures in government and the armed forces. During August 1801 the Madusa Frigate, flying Admiral Nelson's flag, anchored off Margate, and "crowds of people ... expected to be gratified with a sight of the Hero of the Nile".

"On the following day, every pleasure boat and skiff in the Harbour was hired by different parties, for the purpose of visiting the Madusa; but no person whatever was allowed to go on board; and to add still more to the disappointment of our inquisitive loungers, Lord NELSON did not show himself on the quarter deck during the whole time his ship remained here. The Ladies were quite offended with his Lordship, and observed, on their return from the ship, that he might at least have had the politeness to step on deck, in order that they might see him". (1)

Thanet's military defence was the subject of a report three days after Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Sir Samuel Achmuty, the Colonel Commandant of the troops in the Isle of Thanet, had met in Margate Town Hall the Deputy Lieutenant of the Cinque Ports. They discussed at length the question of defending several 'gates' or passages through the cliffs of Thanet. It was decided to close thirteen of twenty openings to the sea. The other seven would remain open, "until the actual alarm of the invasion, when they also shall be stopped". They were to be closed with wooden barricades in front, and the openings behind were "to be filled up with earth".² Ten men were to position themselves at each gate, including Broadstairs and Kingsgate, upon

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1. The Times, 11 August 1801, 2. During the time that the Medusa was anchored off Margate despatches were sent to London, and the security from impressment of 50-60 local seamen enrolled for voluntary and local services as Pikemen, under the naval command of Captain Hamilton, was threatened. On the evening of his arrival Lord Nelson requested from Captain Hamilton the services of 30 of these seamen, to which the latter replied "that they were ready at any time to come forward in defence of the place to which they belonged; but as they had all wives, and families, and occupations, it would subject them to the greatest inconvenience to be obliged to go on any distant service", ibid., 11 August 1801, 2. The same request and reply involved the Deal sea-fencibles, formed from among the boatmen and fishermen of that town, who met in Deal Castle on 8 August under Captain Coffir, the Commander of the Sea Fencibles for that district, whereupon they agreed to inform Lord Nelson that they were not embodied "for the purpose of going afloat", declaring "their perfect willingness to man the batteries on the Coast, or, in case of any attack from the Enemy, to be employed on any service the Government might think proper", ibid., 11 August 1801, 2d.
 2. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

the firing of a beacon. Spades, pickaxes, and pikes were to be used to close the gates remaining open: "the pikes to be furnished by the Colonel Commandant of the district; the other instruments by the landowners, for whose accommodation the seven gates are to remain open".¹ A foreman was to supervise each group of ten men and the men and foremen were to be chosen "from among those persons who are not already engaged in the public service".² Twenty seven waggons were to be provided when needed to transport the Volunteers, thirteen for Margate, eight for Ramsgate, three for Broadstairs, and three for Sarre; "such waggons to be, at $\frac{1}{4}$ hour after the firing of the beacon, at a fixed rendezvous in the neighbourhood of the different places mentioned".³ Each waggon was to have four horses and two drivers, with three days' provisions for the drivers and one truss of hay and four bushels of oats for the horses; and

"every waggon to be employed in this way is forthwith to have painted on the back an inscription signifying the corps to which it is to be attached. This is to be done in order to prevent ... such waggons from being impressed for any other purpose in the event of invasion". (4)

Payment was to be made of 1s. 2d. for every mile travelled. The drivers were to be chosen from classes not yet employed in the public service and, with a view to possible evacuation, all other waggons were to be held "in readiness ... at the order of the Colonel-Commandant ..to be employed in carrying away first the families of the persons to whom they belong, and next the women, children, the aged and infirm".⁵ The evacuation route was to be via Sarre, turning off the Canterbury Road at Upstreet for Faversham, etc., and, "if any of the waggons engaged for the Volunteers be appropriated to any other purpose, in consequence of a bribe to the owners, the latter as well as the persons bribing, shall be subject to a severe penalty".⁶ Finally, it was expected that the waggons, each carrying 22 men, arms, etc., would maintain a speed of at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ m.p.h.⁷

1. The Times, 21 October 1803, 4a.

2. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

3. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

4. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

5. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

6. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

7. Ibid., 21 October 1803, 4a.

Situated at the west end of Margate High Street, overlooking the harbour and the sea, were officers' and soldiers' barracks, complete with hospital, canteen, mess house and guardroom, employing property "originally constructed for three dwelling houses" and occupying about an acre of land, which were auctioned in 1816 and 1817.¹ Late in September 1803, Lord Keith, Admiral in Charge of the Fleet guarding the Downs, boarded several hoys and fishing boats anchored at Margate Pier,

"for the purpose of inspecting, and ascertaining such as may be fit to arm as part of [a] flotilla destined for the defence of the coast, it being the design of the Government to arm such as are best calculated for service with cannonades, and man them with the fishermen, and other seafaring persons". (2)

Two days later it was noted that

"some alarm has been spread here [Margate] this evening by the rumours of news from town, which, added to the new and increasing menaces of French invasion ... have combined to excite some apprehensions among the fair sex, for whose safe and speedy removal, in case of necessity, arrangements are now making". (3)

Subsequently, it was reported from Margate that

"the artillery here, and at all the batteries along the coast, are constantly exercised at the great guns ... All the passages which were opened from the high lands through the Cliffs to the Beach, for the convenience of conveying sea weeds to manure the lands, are now barricaded, and parties appointed for their defence; and from here to Kingsgate, and thence to Ramsgate, the Cliff presents one inaccessible wall of 50 feet high". (4)

Despite considerable military and naval activity, 1804 produced a full season in Margate. The harbour on 1 September "was in a bustle, in consequence of the removal of several cannonades, and a considerable quantity of shot, and other valuable stores, which are lodged in the depots here".⁵ Visitors were attracted to Margate; indeed,

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1. The Kentish Gazette, 10 September 1816 and 18 April 1817. A proposal to sell in three lots, "with a proportion of land to each", proved unsuccessful in 1816 and so in 1817, the properties were recommended as being suitable for dwelling houses; or "the premises, from their contiguity to the Pier, are most admirably calculated for storehouses, granaries and many other purposes where space is required". Adaptation to an academy was also recommended, the plan of the estate being open to inspection at the Barrack Offices, Spring Gardens, London.
 2. The Times, 28 September 1803, 3b.
 3. Ibid., 30 September 1803, 3a.
 4. Ibid., 1 October 1803, 3a.
 5. Ibid., 4 September 1804, 3c.

"military curiosity rises. The Cliffs and the Pier are covered with telescopic observers, who are for ever descrying some vessel of war, or hearing some alarming reports of artillery ... Their greatest misery is the distance of the French coast, which prevents them from enumerating the enemy's gunboats". (1)

A day or so later

"the Cliff, and the beach below, were crowded with spectators to witness the military exercises of two branches of the Volunteer Force of this town; the Rifle Company and the Bombardiers ... There are also the Sea Fencibles ... and there is the Corps of Volunteer Infantry ... The same system prevails all along the Coast". (2)

The Volunteer Bombardiers manned the great guns, receiving "much commendation from the Officers of Artillery"; Riflemen practised on the beaches before great crowds; and among the troops stationed in Thanet were the Herefordshire Militia, and the 13th Light Dragoons.³ Margate and its harbour were protected by batteries on the pier, on the Fort Cliff, and on the cliff at Westbrook, near the Sea Bathing Infirmary:

"the gates, towards the Sea on this Island, are for the greater part stopped by breast-high walls and those which are for convenience still left open could be closed in an hour's time ... The farmers' men are instructed in the readiest mode of their becoming a sort of petty, but useful engineers". (4)

The morning of 4 October 1804 witnessed "a very interesting naval spectacle" off the coast of Margate, involving a variety of exercises by fifteen fishing vessels, with their cannonades mounted, manned by the Sea Fencibles, under the command of Captain Brisbane, and as all hands were engaged the packets did

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1. The Times, 6 September 1804, 2d; compare the boat parties, "who not only get out of sight, but arm themselves with telescopes, and actually venture to take a peep at the Gallic shores, whence they return, with tales magnified a thousand times more than all the power of their glasses; they are listened to in the public rooms, and public houses, with great eagerness and respect, while they relate the wonders they have beheld - they have seen 'armies and generals', count their numbers and call their names ... They devise the most brilliant schemes for destroying the enemy's gunboats, and expose the errors of our naval commanders", ibid., 22 September 1804, 3b.
 2. Ibid., 7 September 1804, 3a.
 3. Ibid., 22 September 1804, 3b.
 4. Ibid., 22 September 1804, 3b.

not sail.¹

Reminders of war were present during the 1805 season, when during September it was reported that

"the fine clear weather has, for several days, rendered the French coast visible from the ascent which forms the site of Lord KEITH's marine villa ... Ramsgate pier is peculiarly convenient for the embarkation of cavalry". (2)

East Cliff Lodge close to Ramsgate, where the Princess of Wales had stayed in 1803, had passed into the possession of Lord Keith in 1804.³ This substantial marine villa was constructed in a Gothic style by Benjamin Bond Hopkins during 1794-5, having been designed by Mr. Boncey of Margate.⁴ It was first entered in the Rate Books of the parish of St. Lawrence in the year 1799 at a rateable value of £40.⁵ Situated on a high cliff, substantial and beautifully laid out grounds surrounded the villa.⁶ Lord Keith, who later became Admiral Viscount Elphinstone, employed soldiers to excavate galleries and subterranean passages leading to a jetty under the cliff, from where he was in the habit of embarking for the fleet then guarding the Downs.⁷

Margate during the middle of September 1805 "had all the appearance of a naval engagement, without the painful sensations of the horrors of war", with "the Volunteer Flying Artillery" exercising on the sands,⁸ and

"although the soldiers in this vicinity are not numerous, yet we have warlike exhibition in all its various kinds; we have a portion of the 13th Light Dragoons, the Renfrew Regiment of Militia, a corps of Sea Fencibles and the Volunteer Artillery". (9)

The Napoleonic Wars were no great impediment to holidaymaking in the Isle of Thanet. They deterred people from travelling to Europe for pleasure,

1. The Times, 6 October 1804, 3a.

2. Ibid., 17 September 1805, 2c; compare Chapter V above.

3. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 11.

4. C. Cotton, The History and Antiquities of the Church and Parish of St. Laurence, Thanet (Ramsgate, 1895); Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 10; Goodman, op. cit., 38.

5. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 10.

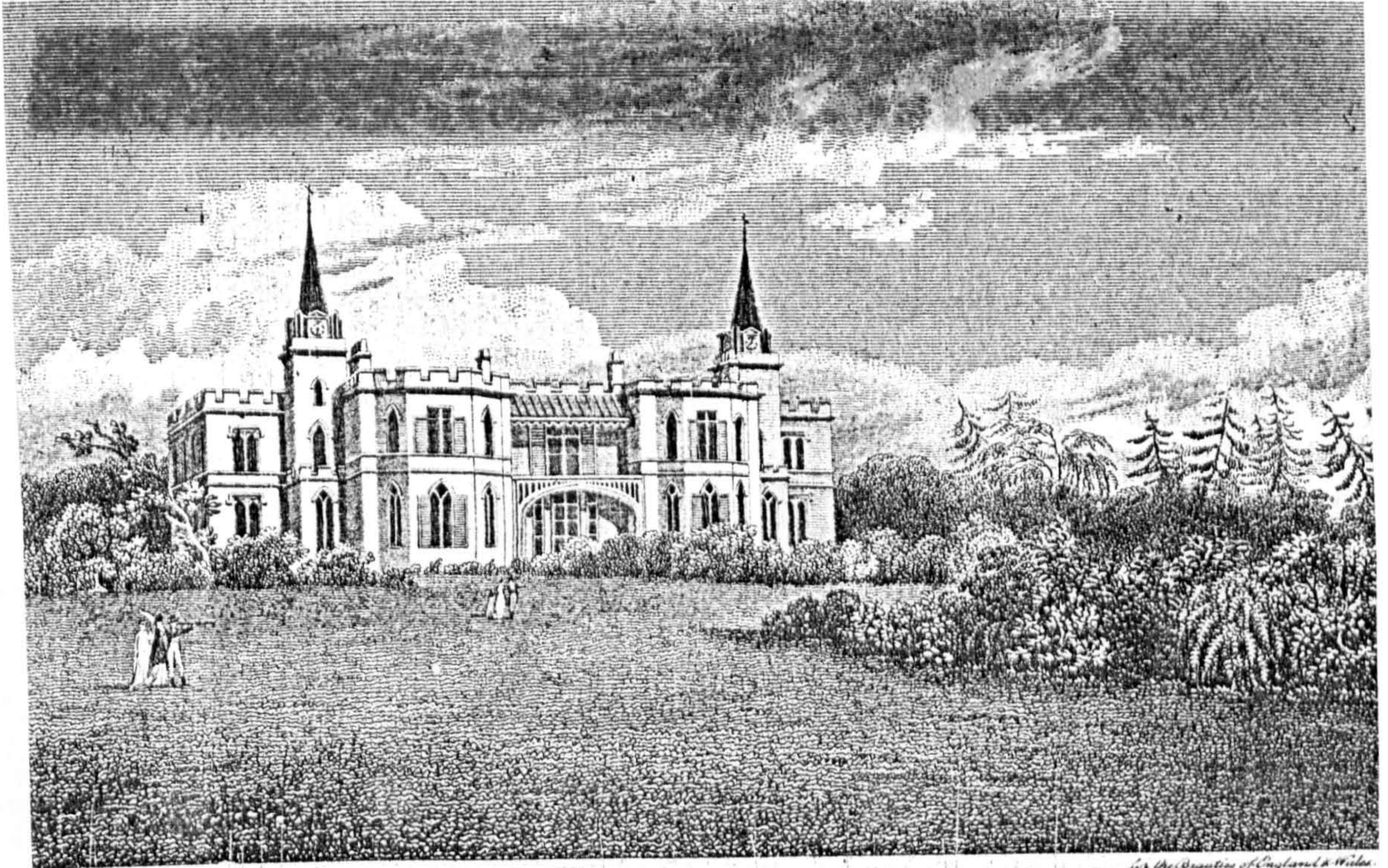
6. Goodman, op. cit., 38.

7. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 11; according to Goodman, op. cit., 38, two subterranean passages were the work of smugglers.

8. The Times, 18 September 1805, 3a.

9. Ibid., 21 September 1805, 2d.

EAST CLIFF LODGE, NEAR RAMSGATE, IN 1805.



engraved by W. Cooke

for the Owners of England & Wales

EAST CLIFF LODGE,
(Seat of Lord West)
Kent.

London Published by Agnew & Sons, 10, Pall Mall, Dec. 1805.

An Original Print.

but they did not interrupt a sustained expansion in the number of visitors to Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs. They prolonged the patronage of the fashionable and wealthy to Margate up to 1815. Top naval and military personnel coalesced easily with fashionable society. Had the wars not occurred Margate's summer society might have assumed a different character, for hoys, and a rising national wealth were attracting a greater cross section of society as holidaymakers to Margate.

The historian must turn principally to family papers, diaries, correspondence, and newspaper reports for some idea of the individuals and classes visiting the Thanet resorts. Contemporary wits described, often in satirical terms, the society they encountered, as did the Letters of Momus, from Margate; Describing the most distinguished Characters there; And The Virtues, Vices and Follies to which they gave occasion, in what was called the Season of the Year 1777, which were published as "salutary lessons to the motley groups which crowd our bathing-places".

"Margate, Sept. 1, 1777.

Sir,

It is become the fashion ... to resort in the summer to the bathing-places. I have been at this place a few days ... Places, like persons, necessarily assume a character ... The company at Brighthelmstone consists of persons who are analogous to the qualities of a man of fashion; pride of birth and rank, ... expense without taste". (1)

Compared to fashionable Brighton,

"Margate is furnished with dispositions of a humbler cast; such as might enter into the composition of a country squire; or rather a city alderman". (2)

This middle-class character was visible in the assembly rooms, where

"the M.C. has a strange predilection for haberdashers, mantua-makers, and milliners, and takes every opportunity of setting them above the wife or daughter of a merchant, who hath left off trade; of a quack-doctor; of a dentist; of a Lincoln's-Inn lawyer; of a doctor in divinity, or an M.P." (3)

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1. Letters of Momus, from Margate; Describing the most distinguished Characters there; And the Virtues, Vices and Follies to which they gave occasion, in what was called the Season of the Year 1777 (1778), 1.
 2. Ibid., 2.
 3. Ibid., 2.

There was, however, a hint of respectability, for

"in the anxious and corroding silence of the card room an invalid coughed in a note like that of a pig; the astonishment it occasioned made the man ashamed to own his infirmity. Some referred it to evil spirits, and the clergy were desired to go home for their prayer books ... and being reduced to difficulties they started the supposition that the noise was made by a ventriloquist". (1)

At Margate, the company divided "into people of fashion; people of fortune and of genteel professions; and a rabble, consisting ... of rich and poor".²

The aristocracy or

"those few who have birth and rank to value themselves upon ... shut themselves up, on the principle of eastern princes, that familiarity may breed contempt; and that to be often seen is to be despised. Instead therefore of ... assisting to give spirit and elegance to our public amusements, they crowd together in select parties in small apartments, and wholly separate themselves from the company. The consequence of this is, that our gentry, legitimate and illegitimate, take their place, and affect the airs of fashion". (3)

Ladies sought public admiration by flaunting beauty and dress, including those

"who would be attended to, but cannot obtain attention. Among these is a very remarkable character; a Mrs. Coniac, widow of a brandy merchant, whose usual place of residence and scandal is Kensington. She would have bullied me into some notice of her, if on my first approach I had not been deterred by her breath; which a poet would say, is like a gephyr loaded with the fumes of a distillery". (4)

The female visitors varied greatly in beauty and styles of dress, "down to bawdiness and absurdity".⁵ The male visitors were ranked in classes commencing at the top with the nobility and gentry, followed by divines, and lawyers, "with whom this place swarms";

"but physic is the favourite profession here. We have doctors and surgeons and apothecaries employed here in every way, and it would fill up your paper to give you a history of physic at Margate". (6)

1. Letters of Momus, op. cit., 3.

2. Ibid., 11.

3. Ibid., 11.

4. Ibid., 12-13.

5. Ibid., 16.

6. Ibid., 16-18.

Below the professional classes were London tradesmen assuming "impertinent airs of gentility".¹

Newspapers published lists of fashionable arrivals and analyzed the company, noting carefully the distinguished visitors who arrived and where they were staying. Public breakfasts, plays in the theatre, and balls in the assembly rooms attracted gatherings of the most fashionable, but by the end of the 1760's, Margate's masquerades were attracting that cross section of society noted in other contemporary sources. Readers of The Kentish Weekly Post were assured during 1769 that

"the masquerades will be again established, with the consent of a Great Personage, ... but the public ones, as heretofore, where the purchase of a ticket gave the lowest and most abandoned character the privilege of consorting with the best and most exalted, will not be allowed; nor any gaming permitted even at the private ones which are to be by subscription ... There is no doubt but masquerades can be rendered as innocent a diversion as any in the whole round of elegant entertainment". (2)

Family papers, diaries and correspondence reveal the names of individuals who went to the Thanet resorts, their impressions while there, and their reasons for being there. They commented too on the amusements and society, which they encountered. Mary and Agnes Berry chose in September 1794 to stay well away from Margate at Prospect House, near Broadstairs, in "a single house and the very Temple of the Winds". Their friend Horace Walpole observed that Lord Cholmondeley had once hired this isolated and exposed residence.³ Mary informed Horace Walpole that

"we are so far from the two metropolises of Margate and Ramsgate, that having as yet had no inducement strong enough to take us out three miles in cold dark nights, we have spent every evening at home and alone, except last night, when we dined at Broadstairs, our nearest town, with a Scotch Lord and Lady Balgonie". (4)

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1. Letters of Momus, op. cit., 35.
 2. The Kentish Weekly Post and Canterbury Journal, 28 August - 4 September 1769, 7.
 3. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, The Letters of Horace Walpole, Volume XV (Oxford, 1905), 310-11.
 4. Ed: W.S. Lewis and A.D. Wallace, Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry, Volume XII (New Haven, 1961), 112-3.

Alexander Leslie (1749-1820), as Lord Balgonie, was Deputy Lieutenant of Fife.¹ Attending the dinner party was

"your favourite Lord Galloway ... and I have got a headache today by dancing Scotch reels with him and one of his daughters ... I meet every day hundreds of other faces that I know, in our airings of a morning ... Mrs. Fitzherbert is at Margate driving away sorrow ... the Duchess of Rutland [is] at Ramsgate". (2)

Mrs. Fitzherbert's sorrow resulted from the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales.³ During 1797 and 1799 she visited Ramsgate.⁴ The Berry sisters, although socially observant, spent a quiet and retired holiday.

"It has been the finest calm, clear weather for these last three days at the Prospect House, that can be conceived ... Lord Cholmondeley inhabits the next house, within 50 yards ... in just the same exposed position ... The Greatheads are returned to Margate, and we are going to dine with them tomorrow. This is our first gaiety, for, except our dinner at Broadstairs, we have spent every evening at home and alone". (5)

Lord Cholmondeley became Chamberlain of the Prince of Wales's household.

Bertie Greathead (1759-1826) was a poet and dramatist.

Before 1815 there was a rising demand for holidays from the upper classes and the wealthy, meaning mainly the aristocracy, the gentry and the clergy, plus a few from among the professional and mercantile ranks. Eighteenth century advertisements for hotels, property, lodgings, libraries, assembly rooms or the theatre were addressed first and foremost to the nobility and gentry. George Vandam, dancing master, advertised a "Publick Ball for Gentlemen and Ladies" for Tuesday, 4 June 1754, at the Red Lyon in Ramsgate, for 2s.6d., tea and coffee included, where "there will be good company".⁶ Fifteen years later, from Margate, "Mr. WALKER [presented] his respectful Compliments to the NOBILITY and GENTRY, with Thanks for their Civilities",

1. Lewis and Wallace, op. cit., 113.

2. Ibid., 113.

3. In Shane Leslie, Mrs. Fitzherbert: A Life (1939-40), Volume 11, 120, there is a letter from Mrs. Fitzherbert to the Prince of Wales, from Margate, and probably written in October 1794.

4. The Observer, 13 August 1797, 2d; The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 17 August 1799, 2c.

5. Lewis and Wallace, op.cit., 122, 124.

6. The Kentish Post or Canterbury Newsletter, 29 May - 1 June 1754, 1.

and acquainted them "that he has fixed His BALL NIGHT for Wednesday, the 13th Instant, when he hopes to be honoured with their Company".¹

Several visitors by name can be identified during the 1770's and 1780's. James Essex (1722-84), an architect, and his family visited Margate in 1776 and 1779. Their 1776 visit was "for the use of bathing".² During September 1780 the Master of Pembroke was at Ramsgate.³ These references confirm middle-class holidaymaking to Thanet from the 1770's onwards. Representing the professions was John Baker (1712-79) who visited Margate for five weeks during 1777, accompanied by Mrs. Woodington.⁴ He was a Barrister of the Middle Temple, and Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands. On their first evening, they met Mr. Vincent Newton and Uxor and her sister, Mrs. Charlton, who was the wife of a London druggist. Uxor was a Miss Maxfield from Staffordshire, "who has a fortune of £600 a year and some money left by her relation".⁵

The opposite extremity from lodgings was to own a marine villa. Already by 1776 Lord Viscount Conyngham and Earl Verney possessed summer residences in Ramsgate.⁶ The Conynghams as local landowners were not a Kentish family. Most of their financial interests lay outside Thanet in the Irish counties of Donegal, Meath and Clare.⁷ Their Thanet estates existed at Minster and Ramsgate, and the latter was visited primarily for purposes of recreation.⁸

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1. The Kentish Weekly Post and Canterbury Journal, 28 August - 4 September 1769, 1.
 2. Ed: W.S. Lewis and A.D. Wallace, Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole, Volume 11 (1937), 26, 166.
 3. Ibid., 234.
 4. Ed: P.C. Yorke, The Diary of John Baker (1931), 417-22.
 5. Ibid., 417.
 6. C. Seymour, A New Topographical, Historical, and Commercial Survey of the Cities, Towns and Villages, of the County of Kent (Canterbury, 1776), 653. Also as permanent residents were "many seafaring people, and other persons retired from business", who "live here upon the small fortunes which they have acquired", ibid., 653-4.
 7. The Conyngham MSS exist in the Kent Record Office, U438, and I am most grateful to Mr. R.J. Grover for supplying me with material which he had extracted from the Conyngham estates in Thanet.
 8. Ibid. The Thanet records tend to be rather fragmentary. The Thanet estates consisted of farmland and marshland in Minster and Sarre and some urban property in Ramsgate, managed by a local steward.

The Conynghams were longstanding Thanet landowners and the use of their Ramsgate estate as a summer residence developed quite naturally out of a growing vogue for sea bathing and holidays.

One of the earliest marine residences existed in the Kingsgate estate of Henry, the first Lord Holland, who, in a City of London petition, was branded as "the public defaulter of unaccounted millions".¹ After a seat on the Treasury Board, and having attained the positions of Secretary at War and Secretary of State, Henry Fox, in his fifty-third year, in 1757, accepted the office of Paymaster General of the Forces, during the Seven Years' War. Although a backward step politically [here] was a post with tremendous possibility for personal gain.² During the time that he held this position, £49½m., the equivalent of a third of the national debt, passed through his hands.³ As Paymaster General he received funds from the Treasury and paid them, on proper requisition, to the War Office, but "since his balances were not closely scrutinized, he could utilize them as he wished, subject to a final accounting that in practice was generally delayed for years".⁴ Some of the £49½m. remained in the hands of his executors nine years after his death and eighteen years after his resignation.⁵ Money passing through his hands was lent to the government and he kept the interest.⁶

"The Pay Office was lucrative at any time, as the Paymaster was entitled to use the large sums passing through his hands as if he were a private banker. In time of war it was an Eldorado ... Not only was he entitled to the interest on the balance in his hands, but to any capital profit he might make by its investment". (7)

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1. C. Hobhouse, Fox (1947), 2; also see Chapter IV above.
 2. L. Reid, Charles James Fox A Man for the People (1969), 7.
 3. Hobhouse; op. cit., 2.
 4. Reid, op. cit., 7.
 5. Hobhouse; op. cit., 2.
 6. Reid, op. cit., 7.
 7. Hobhouse, op. cit., 1-2.

Quite openly, and in a most disarming way, he explained the procedure thus:

"the Government borrows money at 20% discount. I am not consulted or concerned in making the bargain. I have, as Paymaster, great sums in my hands, which, not applicable to any present use, must either lie dead in the bank, or be employed by me. I lend this to the Government in 1761. A peace is thought certain ... I sell out, and gain greatly. In 1762, I lend again: a peace comes, in which again I am not consulted, and I again gain greatly". (1)

Lending to the government and investing in government bonds were regarded as legitimate spoils of office,² whereby Henry Fox, subsequently Lord Holland, became fabulously rich.³ His personal fortune during eight years in office increased by hundreds of thousands of pounds, hence his "unenviable reputation as a despoiler of the public purse".⁴ Thus,

"if reference was made in those decades to a certain defaulter of unaccounted millions, no listener need send to know who was meant, as Henry Fox, in the popular view, had a clear lien on the title". (5)

With his wealth acquired from office holding, Lord Holland purchased and embellished a new estate at Kingsgate between Broadstairs and Margate,⁶ "at the extreme point of the Kentish coast, a little more than half a mile from the North Foreland",⁷ within walking distance of two crowded watering places.⁸ Lord Holland as something of a valetudinarian had an inclination for bathing in the sea.⁹ He desired a country house in a remote situation where he could indulge in riding, cricket and partridge shooting. His great love of Classics

1. Hobhouse, op. cit., 2.

2. Reid, op. cit., 7.

3. Hobhouse, op. cit., 2.

4. Reid, op. cit., 7.

5. Ibid., 7-8; and "for many decades when enemies of Charles Fox ran short of other names they could blacken him afresh with his father's unsavoury reputation", for Charles's heritage from his father was "a political liability". Also for Fox's profitable speculations with public funds, see Lucy S. Sutherland and J. Binney, "Henry Fox as Paymaster General of the Forces", English Historical Review, Volume LXX (April 1955), 229-56.

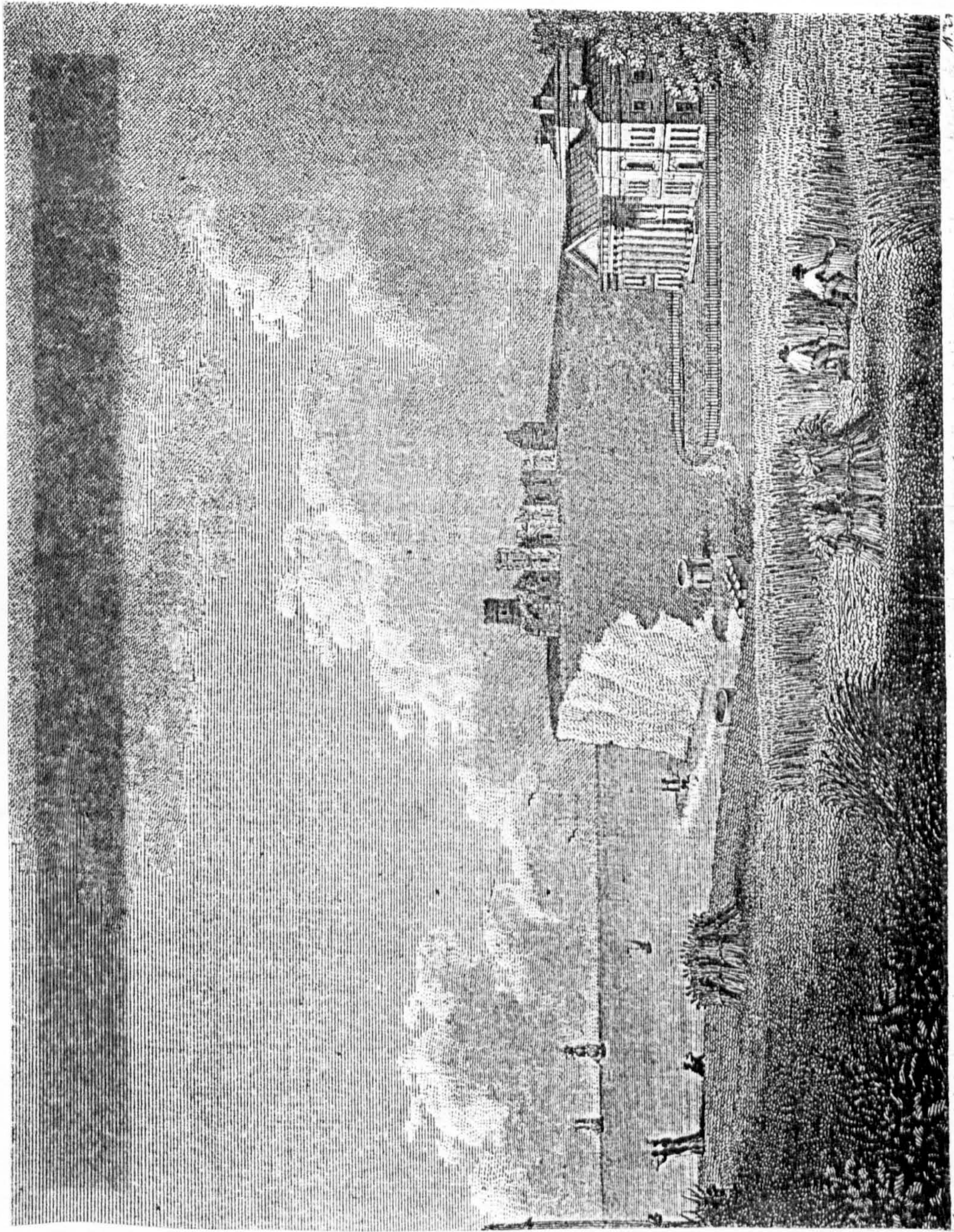
6. E. Lascelles, The Life of Charles James Fox (O.U.P., 1936), 15.

7. Sir G. Otto Trevelyan, The Early History of Charles James Fox (1923), 274.

8. Ibid., 278.

9. Hobhouse, op. cit., 2.

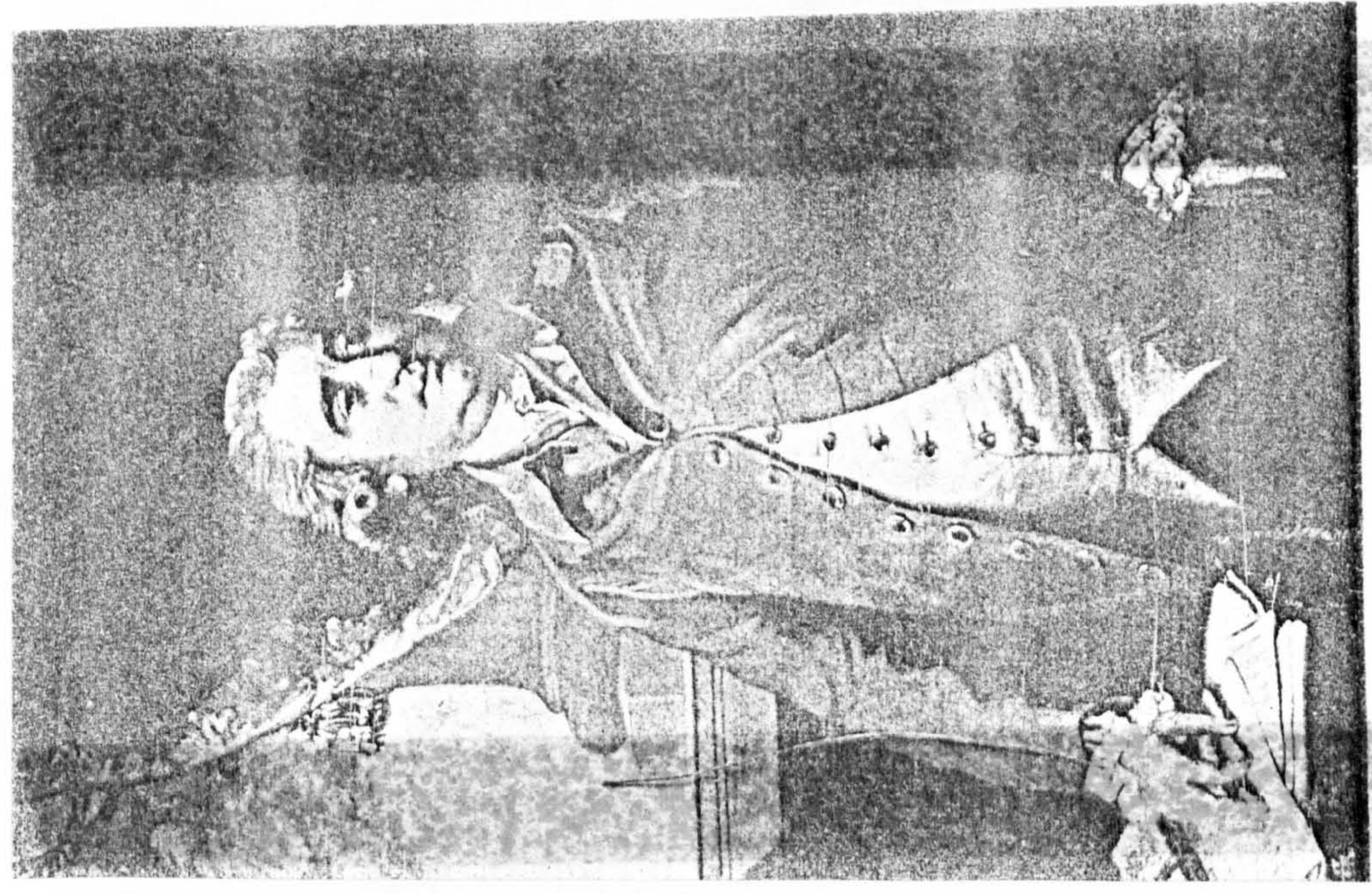
THE KINGSGATE ESTATE ONCE OWNED BY THE HOLLAND FAMILY.



Kingsgate in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, the Seat of John Roberts Esq.

Published in the Gentleman's Magazine, March 1754, by W. Dugdale, Esq. Surgeon Buildings, St. Dunstons.

An Original Print. The engraving appears in E. Lascelles, The Life of Charles James Fox (O.U.P., 1936), Frontispiece.



CHARLES JAMES FOX, circa 1783-4
*From an engraving by JOHN JONES
after the portrait by SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS*

and romanticism found ample expression in the estate which developed at Kingsgate, on which no expenditure was spared. A contemporary estimate has put the total expenditure on this estate by the Holland family at £100,000.¹ In a dell running down to the sea, Lord Holland erected a spacious residence which purported to represent Tully's Formian villa.² It was furnished liberally with genuine antiquities, and the neighbourhood was landscaped and planted with sham castles, abbeys and monuments.³ It was exactly to his liking and taste,

"training ivy over turrets and cloisters; mounting cannons along the cliff; raffling for statues of Flora and Bacchus, and busts of Pertinax and Crispina; excavating burial mounds or rearing a pillar to commemorate a battle between Danes and Saxons". (4)

News of his removal from the Pay Office reached him while at Kingsgate, but proudly he promised Charles in 1767:

"all my things have come from Naples. I shall make King's Gate very pretty for you ... where I hope you will spend many happy hours after I am dead and gone". (5)

The estate had its own landing place, from where Lord Holland could retreat with his family across the Channel.⁶ By this means "he saved some expense, and much risk of irreparable damage", by shipping Etruscan vases and Roman altars, which were the spoils of travel, "straight from Leghorn to his own private landing place".⁷ Smuggling too may have been a further possible use for this direct access to and from the sea. Contemporaries, and particularly the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71), were quick to implicate Lord Holland in smuggling. Following a visit to Kingsgate he composed some censorious lines which read as follows:

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1. The Literary Panorama, Volume 111 (1807-8), 633.
 2. Trevelyan, op. cit., 274.
 3. Ibid., 274; Lascelles, op. cit., 17.
 4. Trevelyan, op. cit., 275.
 5. Ibid., 280.
 6. Lascelles, op. cit., 17.
 7. Trevelyan, op. cit., 280.

"Old and abandon'd by each venal friend,
Here Holland form'd the pious resolution
To smuggle some four years, and strive to mend
A broken character and constitution",

which was brought to the notice of the public during August 1787 in The European Magazine.¹

Kingsgate for Lord Holland was an escape from London, an indulgence in classical appreciation, and an opportunity to enjoy the country and the seaside. There, he advised Lord Shelburne, sea air gave him "appetite, sleep and spirits"². Another letter from Kingsgate mentions having "lost for more than three months past every symptom of an asthma, every apprehension of a dropsy"³. Visitors were entertained, and Lords Ilchester and Bateman were shown the Margate sands.⁴ The Kingsgate estate became one of the sites to be visited in Thanet. It aroused both censure and admiration from visitors. What was undoubtedly the most elaborately planned and executed marine estate on the Isle of Thanet, passed to and was more or less gambled away by Charles James Fox, who when confronted by conflict in politics and by heavy losses at gambling ended the summer of 1771 by retiring to Kingsgate so as "to reduce the increasing roundness of his figure by cricket and partridge shooting".⁵

John Baker, during his stay in Margate in 1777, "went out in chaise to King's Gate (Lord Holland's) consisting of variety curious buildings - £900 a year left to Charles Fox by his father - they say he lets it go to decay".⁶

During the same month of the same year Momus wrote from Margate that

"King's-Gate is at the distance of a few miles, where the late Lord H..... spent prodigious sums of money, [but] those whom he employed showed great taste. The house is in a good style for the situation, on a steep and naked shore; the ruins are for the most part well imagined. ... I regretted that the original owner and possessor of so pleasing a spot had not been an honest man". (7)

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1. Compare back to Chapter I above.
 2. Trevelyan, op. cit., 274.
 3. Ibid., 278.
 4. Ibid., 276.
 5. Lascelles, op. cit., 42.
 6. Yorke, op. cit., 418.
 7. Letters of Momus, op. cit., 27.

After Hardwicke Lewis had visited Margate, in June 1786, he devoted three chapters to Kingsgate and its associations with Lord Holland,¹ for "no man with half a grain of curiosity can forbear visiting Kingsgate, a feat of the late Lord Holland".² The mansion had now passed from that great orator, Charles James Fox, into the possession of its former steward in the Powell family.³ Hardwicke Lewis noted how

"It has been the folly of wittlings to deride this situation, but they mistake the place for the man ... [Here] there is exhibited so classical a taste as to bear away the imagination ... The house, if it had not been mortgaged at play, would at this time have been possessed by an English orator ... The inside of the edifice is ornamented with a superior collection of busts, vases, pillars, and statues, variegated with inscriptions". (4)

The view was highly gratifying to the eye of an artist or antiquary, "but to a common observer [it] conveys the idea of an auction room".⁵ The entire architecture was a blending of Roman and Gothic.⁶

Several other marine villas and estates were erected along the Thanet coast,⁷ but only a minority could afford to erect or rent a marine villa, besides which many very wealthy visitors preferred to have freedom of choice in selecting which resort to visit. In 1787, Lord George Herbert (1759-1827), later the 11th Earl of Pembroke, chose Margate as the place most likely to be beneficial to his wife's health, and accordingly rented a house there for two weeks at a cost of 10 guineas, at the end of September.⁸ Lord Pembroke, the 10th Earl (1734-94), wrote as follows to his son:

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1. Hardwicke Lewis, An Excursion to Margate in the Month of June, 1786 (2nd. Ed., 1787), Chapters XIII, XIV and XV.
 2. Ibid., 47.
 3. Ibid., 49.
 4. Ibid., 47-9.
 5. Ibid., 49.
 6. Ibid., 50.
 7. See Chapters III, IV and V above.
 8. Ed: Lord Herbert, Pembroke Papers (1780-1794) Letters and Diaries of Henry, 10th. Earl of Pembroke and his Circle (1950), 322.

LORD GEORGE HERBERT AND HIS WIFE WHO VISITED MARGATE IN 1787.



GEORGE, LORD HERBERT, AFTERWARDS 11TH EARL OF PEMBROKE, K.G.
Painted in 1821, aged 61. By William Owen



ELIZABETH BEAUCLERK, 1ST WIFE OF GEORGE, LORD HERBERT, DAUGHTER
OF LADY DIANA AND TOPHAM BEAUCLERK
By Sir William Beechey

Ed: Lord Herbert, Pembroke Papers (1780-1794) Letters and Diaries of Henry, 10th Earl of Pembroke and His Circle (1950), pp. 348, 450.

"Wilton House.

21st Sept. 1787.

Dear George,

I was in hopes to have seen you and Elizabeth here ... but I find you are going, if not gone, to Margate. I hope she has not miscarried again, which the name of a sea-bathing place makes me fear she has. Pray let me know". (1)

Lord George Herbert had only recently married Elizabeth on Sunday, 8 April 1787. Elizabeth (1767-93) was the daughter of Lady Diana and Topham Beauclerk. Writing from Margate, on 24 September 1787, Lord Herbert reassured his father that

"my coming to this place is not on Elizabeth's account. She is going on very well, but I myself like to get a month or six weeks bathing in the Spring and in the Autumn. Brighton is where I usually go in the Spring, but at this time of year it rather overflows with Royalty and Weymouth is in my opinion a most detestable place, so I am come to try this". (2)

Margate, by offering a passage to and from Ostend was visited temporarily by the upper classes en route to and from the Continent. During August 1781 it was well patronized by visitors and "we have also several persons of distinction ... but they do not intend to remain; they are here only on their way to the Continent".³ On 1 August 1781 it was announced that "Lord Cholmondley sets off tomorrow with a grand retinue to Margate, to embark for the Continent, where his Lordship intends to spend the remainder of the summer in travelling".⁴ On 8 September 1789 Lady Jemingham and her daughter boarded the Margate to Ostend yacht.⁵

Although it is impossible to quantify the number of visitors to the Thanet resorts in the eighteenth century, it must have increased fairly steadily judging from the building boom which took place in Margate,⁶ and from

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1. Herbert, op. cit., 360.
 2. Ibid., 360.
 3. The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, 22 August 1781, 3d; also The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 23 August 1781, 2c.
 4. The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, 1 August 1781, 2b.
 5. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 15 September 1789, 4c.
 6. See Chapter III above.

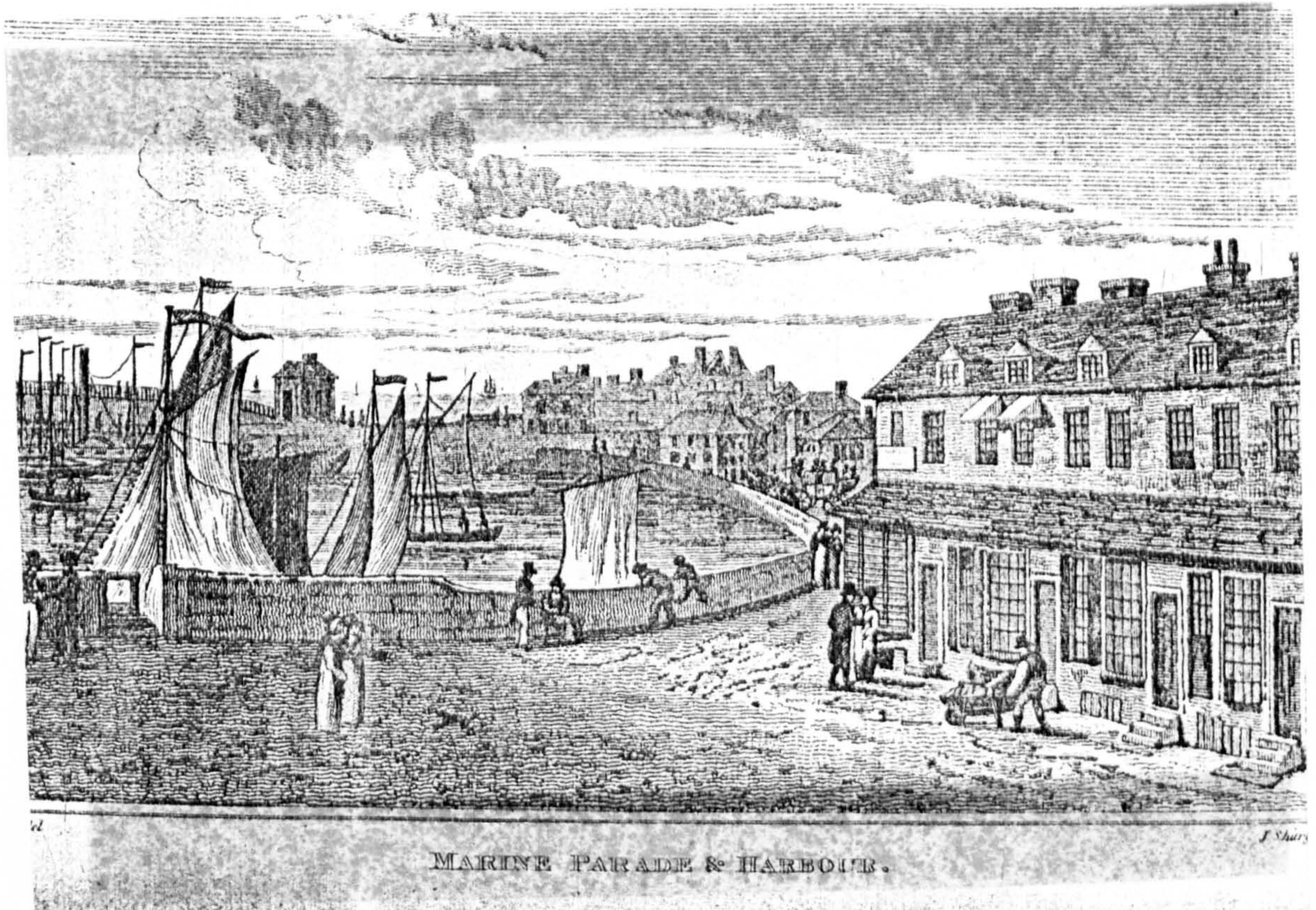
the frequency of newspaper reports referring to crowded seasons.¹ During August 1786 Margate had "more visitors this summer than ever was remembered; upwards of 1,000 subscribers to the [assembly] rooms were in the book last week".² Among the visitors were many outside the ranks of the nobility or gentry. George Dempster (1732-1818) on a two week visit to the Isle of Thanet found "Margate an agreeable enough place to my taste, where many of the middle ranks of people repair ... and which your people of fashion shun and even sneer at".³ He thought well enough of Thanet to visit the island in 1771, 1782 and 1786.⁴

There are plenty of contemporary testimonies which bear out the personal impressions of the widely-travelled and socially-observant George Dempster. In 1776 Charles Seymour concluded that Margate "if not so much resorted to in the summer by persons of the first quality as Brighthelmstone" [Brighton] was, nevertheless, "in great vogue among wealthy Citizens of the Metropolis, and the most respectable class of the Gentry".⁵ During the 1777 season, it was admitted that Margate "has not much pretensions to rank, politeness, taste [or] harmony ... It is the resort of those who during the winter are immersed in the frauds of the city".⁶ "City quality", and "a sprinkling of your West-end of the town quality", were noted among Margate's visitors during August 1781,⁷ while on 1 July 1786 The Morning Herald observed how "Margate fills as usual - the City dames insist upon a trip in the hoy, as a matter of right, established by custom and usage".⁸

Catherine Hutton's first visit to the seaside was by hoy to Margate in May 1780;⁹

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1. See Chapter III above.
 2. The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, 24-August 1786, 2b.
 3. Ed: James Fergusson, Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson 1756-1813 with Some Account of his Life (1934), 71-2.
 4. Also see Chapters I, II and III above.
 5. Seymour, op. cit., 557.
 6. Letters of Momus, op. cit., 51.
 7. The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser, 23 August 1781, 3c.
 8. The Morning Herald, 1 July 1786, 2c.
 9. See Chapter VI above.

MARGATE'S MARINE PARADE AND HARBOUR AS THEY APPEARED IN 1820.



W. C. Oulton, Picture of Margate and Its Vicinity (1820), p. 46.
This illustration shows an early steamboat at anchor in the Harbour.

"How little, my dear father, when we wrote last did we expect such a glorious excursion to Margate! It was Mrs. André's plan, and as sudden as it was agreeable ... Our party consisted of Mrs. André and her brother, myself and my brother, a son of Sir Kildare Burrowes, who is in Mr. André's counting house, and an Irish clergyman. I passed three nights at Margate". (1)

Mrs. André, formerly Miss Drury, was the daughter of Mr. Dru Drury, a celebrated entomologist and a Fellow of the Linnean Society. Her husband, John Louis André, was a merchant of French extraction, born in Genoa and educated in Geneva. As wealthy London merchants, the André's had both a London home and a country seat at Warnford Court in Enfield.² George Keate studied Margate's society during the 1770's.

"THE PARADE.

THOSE who have paced the Pantiles at TUNBRIDGE, or the STEINE BRIGHTELMSTONE, will, I doubt not, be startled at the boldness of a writer, who should prefer the PARADE at MARGATE to either ... Foreign nations have constantly remarked ours, as abounding with a greater diversity of character than any other ... The independency of individuals allows us the indulgence of it ... Here there are to be met with many plain, unrefined characters, intermingled with the more polished crowd.... The farmer's rosy-cheeked daughter crosses the island on her pillion, impatient to peep at the LONDON females ... The LONDONER views with a disdainful surprise, the awkward straw hat, and exposed ruddy countenance". (3)

During the century or so before popular railway excursions made an impact, Keate provides one of the few references to country people from the hinterland coming to the coast. There were visits for the day on horseback, or in the farm cart or family coach, but documentation on this type of visitor is almost non-existent.

Margate during the 1770's and 1780's attracted "fine gentlemen and fine ladies", with their "valets and chambermaids".⁴ George Keate, who came from a good family, took his French valet, Pierre, both to Margate and on a tour of Europe.⁵ Although for many it was genteel to go to Margate, it was already

1. Hutton Beale, op. cit., 24-5.

2. Ibid.

3. George Keate, Sketches from Nature, Taken, and Coloured, in a Journey to Margate (5th Ed., 1802), 64-7.

4. Ibid., 67.

5. Ibid., i, 36.

a summer resort for the more ordinary citizens of London.¹ Hardwicke Lewis noted, in June 1786, a higher respectability early in the season.

"Margate is by no means full, but what company there is, is highly respectable. The citizens have not yet commenced gentlemen, haughtily bending the head backwards, through the dread of being thought to have contracted a sneaking stoop behind the counter". (2)

Two years later Margate was full "as usual ... of cits and families, who retire thither in order to recruit their palled appetites with the salubrious effects of sea breezes".³

Visitors continued to flock in ever increasing numbers to the Thanet resorts after 1790. Their wide social composition had become well established, particularly in Margate. The Dowager Countess Conyngham and her family enjoyed occasional summer visits to Ramsgate. Her estate steward, Richard Harvey, who lived in Ramsgate, corresponded with Lady Conyngham about these summer visits, and the state of the Thanet seasons. She was informed on 3 September 1790 that "Ramsgate, Margate and Broadstairs are fuller of company than I ever remember, notwithstanding the late great increase of buildings".⁴ As early as March 1791, Lady Conyngham and family were planning to return "to Ramsgate in May next", and she wished to know the intentions of some of her friends; "Mr. and Mrs. Fermor think of coming hither about the same time; they are at present at Sevenoaks".⁵ Harvey was instructed to forward any news of their arrival in Ramsgate to the Countess. One year later, on 23 March 1792, Harvey was preparing the late Mrs. Bonepace's house for Lady Conyngham to stay in during the summer months.⁶ Lord Conyngham was on military duty in Ireland, but on 1 October 1798 the Countess learned that Lord Conyngham had

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1. Sir Walter Besant, London in the Eighteenth Century (1925), 342, 402.
 2. Hardwicke Lewis, op. cit., 25-6.
 3. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 22 July 1788, 4.
 4. Kent Record Office, Conyngham MSS, op. cit., U438 E1.
 5. Ibid., 18 March 1791.
 6. Ibid. The Conynghams did not have a permanent residence on their Thanet estates. In 1816 four farms in Minster and Sarre, occupying 705 acres, including Minster Court Farm, were let to tenants. The Ramsgate property in 1810 consisted of a number of allotments let to householders, three cottages letting for between £8 and £10 annually each, and a house which in that year brought in £30.

been staying in Ramsgate for nearly a month, and intended to stay longer, "probably for the greater part of the winter, from motives, as I understand of economy, his Lordship having determined to pay off his debts".¹ Ten years later, Harvey told Lady Conyngham of the continuing buoyancy of Ramsgate as a watering place.

7 September 1808 - "Ramsgate has been this summer as full as usual, though some think the company not quite so select".

or 17 November 1809 - "Ramsgate has had a tolerably good season; many of the Company have left us, but several still remain, and propose continuing here some time longer". (2)

Compared to today's holiday seasons, which usually end abruptly at the beginning of September, those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries extended into October, and sustained a fashionable patronage both at Brighton,³ and in the Isle of Thanet. The national newspapers were full of the comings and goings of fashionable society. The General Evening Post reported, early in September 1795, that "the Lord Chancellor has a house at Ramsgate, where he bathes", and Margate was filling so rapidly that "this morning [1 September] ... a hoy arrived full of passengers, many of whom, after having looked in vain for a lodging, or a place to shelter them, were obliged to return on board the dirty hoy to sleep".⁴

Select companies were in evidence during July and August 1797:

"we are told that the visitors at the watering places are so select this season that there is no room for the envenomed tongue of slander. We should suppose from this valuable piece of information that the visitors are pretty even with one another". (5)

During July, it was noted that "the Duchess of Newcastle is the present occupant of Lady Tancred's villa in the Isle of Thanet"⁶. Lady Loughborough had "left London for the neighbourhood of Deal, where she [will] be ...

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1. Kent Record Office, Conyngham MSS, op. cit., U438 E1.
 2. Ibid.
 3. See Gilbert, op. cit.
 4. The General Evening Post, 1-3 September 1795, 4b; compare Chapter III above.
 5. The Observer, 6 August 1797, 2b.
 6. Ibid., 30 July 1797, 2a.

joined by the Chancellor for the summer".¹ The Duke and Duchess of York had left London for Broadstairs where "two houses in Chandos-row are laid into one for their accommodation".² During August, the Duke of York returned to London from Broadstairs,³ but "Mrs. Fitzherbert has taken a house in Albion Place, Ramsgate, where at present she resides";⁴ "the Duke of Clarence has taken a house for the bathing season at Dover, where he arrived on the 8th",⁵ and "the Lord Chancellor has taken the house at Kingsgate, formerly Lord Holland's", having "sailed from London in the Trinity yacht".⁶ It was a long season and, on 17 September 1797, "Lord and Lady Cholmondeley, Lord and Lady Holland, Mr. and Mrs. Musters, etc., are still at Ramsgate".⁷

Fashionable patronage to the Thanet resorts in 1797 was repeated in 1799;

"at no preceeding season have the watering places in the Isle of Thanet so much abounded with company of the first fashion. Last week more than 1,500 persons breakfasted at Dandelion. The greatest number on any former occasion was 1,004". (8)

Dandelion, about 1½ miles from Margate, possessed

"a good tavern and coffee house, and an excellent bowling-green, planted round with evergreens and flowering shrubs; upon the Terrace, raised above the green are alcoves for ladies who frequently drink tea in them whilst the gentlemen are playing bowls ... There is a public breakfast at Dandelion every Wednesday during the season; an excellent band of music attends ... Mr. CROSS, the present tenant of the Grove-house Tavern, spares neither pains nor expense to render Dandelion one of the most pleasing public places in the neighbourhood". (9)

The Morning Post and Gazetteer noted now early in September 1799

"Lord ASHBURNHAM and family, Lady and Miss TWISDEN, and SIR FRANCIS BLAKE, are just arrived at Ramsgate. That place has been a long time quite full". (10).

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1. The Observer, 30 July 1797, 2a.
 2. Ibid., 30 July 1797, 2b.
 3. Ibid., 20 August 1797, 2a.
 4. Ibid., 13 August 1797, 2d.
 5. Ibid., 13 August 1797, 2a.
 6. Ibid., 27 August 1797, 2a.
 7. Ibid., 17 September 1797, 2a.
 8. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 5 September 1799, 2c.
 9. A Short Description of the Isle of Thanet (1796), op.cit., 30-2; also see Chapter IV above.
 10. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 7 September 1799, 3d.

The south coast was feeling the winds of competition, causing "Brighton, notwithstanding repeated failures, to attempt a Masquerade, in opposition to Margate".¹ Mrs. Fitzherbert at Ramsgate in the middle of August was

"in excellent health and spirits. She has a new and gay equipage ... The Prince, according to the rumour at Ramsgate, is to be there in the course of the coming week. Lady Heathcote, with her lovely family, Lord Bruce, Lord and Lady E. Bentinck, and several others of distinction, are amongst its present visitors". (2)

Ramsgate and Broadstairs attracted very fashionable patronage. The latter "has more to boast in the quality than the quantity of its visitors", and "to those who admire dullness and retirement, this place has great attractions".³ Leading members of society were much in evidence in Thanet during September 1799.

"Lady ANN and Captain HUDSON remain at Margate during the remainder of the month - Lady GLENCAIRN is there for health only.

The Marchioness of DONEGALL lives in great retirement at Broadstairs. The Countess of GUILDFORD and her sister, Lady BURDETT, are at Ramsgate. Lady CLANBRASSIL is at the same place". (4)

Margate was honoured during the 1798 season with a visit from Henrietta, Countess of Bessborough (1761-1821), the daughter of the first Earl Spencer and the younger sister of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.⁵ Living constantly in the midst of social amusements, she had married, on 27 November 1780, Viscount Duncannon, who, in March 1793, had succeeded his father as the third Earl of Bessborough.⁶ Lady Bessborough corresponded frequently with Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (1773-1846), who was appointed British ambassador to St. Petersburg and to Paris.⁷

"we have got a beautiful house (I told you wrong; it is Hoopers Hill not Dean [Dane] Hill, which is a little below). We are at the top of a high cliff, and the open sea close up to the

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1. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 7 September 1799, 3c.
 2. The Observer, 18 August 1799, 3a; The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 19 August 1799, 2c.
 3. The Observer, 18 August 1799, 3c.
 4. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 9 September 1799, 2c.
 5. Ed: Castalia Countess Granville, Lord Granville Leveson-Gower Private Correspondence, 1781-1821, Volume 1 (1916), xxvii.
 6. Ibid., xxvii.
 7. Ibid., xxvii.

THE COUNTESS OF BESSBOROUGH AND HER SISTER.



HENRIETTA, COUNTESS OF BESSBOROUGH



GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE

From miniatures by Antonio Fattori

[To face p. 34, Vol. II.]



HENRIETTA FRANCES, VISCOUNTESS DUNCANNON AND COUNTESS OF BESSBOROUGH

From the mezzotint by Grozer, after Sir Joshua Reynolds

Ed: Castalia Countess Granville,
Lord Granville Leveson-Gower Private Correspondence, 1781-1821
(1916), Volume I, p. 88 and Volume II, p. 34.

rocks, and a great deal of shipping at a distance. On the other side we look over the down and to a little grove of trees, which is always a rarity at a sea-port. The House is very large, and prettily furnish'd. We saw another house with trees and a kind of park, which tempted me very much, but it was not near so large, and the distance from the sea made it inconvenient. We are surrounded with Gossips". (1)

A visit was paid to Kingsgate;

"I took a beautiful ride tonight to Kingsgate, with the moon shining on the sea, and wander'd about the great House there, which, if we had seen a day sooner, we should have taken; but they told us it was in ruins - I think it a delightful place". (2)

From Margate she went to Plymouth, and then to Dover:

"we have had all sorts of adventures ... We stay tomorrow and go back Thursday with the Duke of Manchester and Mr. Smith, who take us in their boat first to Margate and then to London". (3)

The Duke of Manchester included Margate in his coastal cruising: "the DUKE of MANCHESTER is in the neighbourhood of Margate, sporting his elegant pleasure boat".⁴ The Countess of Bessborough preferred seclusion to public display.

"Charles Greville is here, and very pleasant. I always think him much more so in the country than in London. He and I and Culling Smith do nothing but ride and play at chess and sing from morning till night, and almost from night till morning". (5)

Among Margate's fashionable visitors at the end of August 1802 were the Marchioness of Bath and her three daughters. The resort was "full in every part. Many Fashionables are there ... Mr. LITTLEDALE, the Dutch Banker, and family, are expected, and the Duke and Duchess of St. ALBANS, To-morrow".⁶ The Times announced the latest arrivals at Ramsgate on 16 September 1802 to be Lord and Lady Bessborough, Sir W. Farquhar and his two daughters, Mrs and Miss Chalmers, Mr. Conyngham, Rev. W. Tooke, Colonel, Mrs and Miss

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1. Castalia Countess Granville, op. cit., 216.
 2. Ibid., 217-8.
 3. Ibid., 223.
 4. The Morning Chronicle, 4 September 1801, 3a.
 5. Castalia Countess Granville, op. cit., 224.
 6. The Times, 31 August 1802, 2d.

Hartcup, the Marquis of Hartingdon, Lord Paulet, and Lord and Lady Sydney.¹

On 22 September a ball in Ramsgate in honour of Mr. Le Bas, the Thanet Master of Ceremonies, was "attended by all the Fashion of the Isle of Thanet". It started at 9 o'clock when Lady H. Cavendish and Mr. Townley began dancing followed by:

The Marquis of Hartingdon.	The Hon. Miss Carre
Lord Dungannon	The Hon. Miss C. Lambe
The Hon. Mr. Lambe	The Hon. Miss Fitzroy
Mr. Conyngham	Miss Farquhar

The Duchess of Devonshire "gave the company a most elegant entertainment".² Also present were the Duke and Duchess of St. Albans, Lord and Lady Melbourne, Lord and Lady Brownlow, Sir Gilbert and Lady Heathcote, the Earl and Countess of Jersey, the Duke and Duchess of Manchester and Lady Southampton.

The course of the 1803 and 1804 seasons was frequently reported in The Times. Readers were informed on 18 July 1803 that

"Margate is beginning to fill. Among the principal houses taken for the season are the following: the Castle at Kingsgate, Lord Viscount CHETWYND; Lord Holland's House, General JONES; North Down House, the Duke of MONTROSE; Chapel Hill House, Lady ARABELLA WARD; the Fort House, Mr. AGAR". (3)

Margate's August holidaymakers included "many of the most fashionable",⁴ and on Sunday morning, 25 September, the pier, as "the favourite promenade by day", was "honoured by the presence of the Duchess of St. ALBANS, Lady HEATHCOTE, Miss MANNERS, Colonel PLUNKET, and many others of distinction and respectability".⁵ The Duke and Duchess of St. Albans, Lady Heathcote and Miss Manners remained until The Times announced on 30 September and 1 October 1803 the last public breakfast at Dandelion for that season:⁶

"all our unfashionable visitors are decamping home rapidly, without beat of drum; and the last flight of Fashionables

1. The Times, 16 September 1802, 3b.

2. Ibid., 25 September 1802, 3c.

3. Ibid., 18 July 1803, 3b.

4. Ibid., 20 August 1803, 3a.

5. Ibid., 28 September 1803, 3b.

6. Ibid., 30 September 1803, 3a.

only awaits the Benefit Ball of our truly polite Master of the Ceremonies, Mr. LE BAS, early next week, to make their final exit for the season". (1)

Margate, towards the end of August 1804, was enjoying its busiest season for eight years.² A public breakfast at Dandelion on 29 August was well attended, and thirty "equipages in waiting" were noted.³ The Times reported from Margate on 6 September 1804 that

"the Promenade at the Rooms on Sunday evening was very full, and rather shewy, the Ladies being for the greater part dressed in very good taste ... Mrs. JORDAN drew as full a house [the theatre] as has been known since her arrival ... She was received with great applause ... Several fashionables were in the boxes, among whom were Lady ESSEX [and] Lady FRANKLAND". (4)

Mrs. Jordan concluded her engagement at Margate with a benefit night:

"The play was 'Much ado about Nothing' ... The house was not remarkably full, though the boxes contained a number of genteel company. Lord KEITH, Lady EDWARD BENTINCK, Lady HALES, and other persons of fashion had boxes". (5)

General Dumourier paid a visit to Margate in the middle of September 1804, where "he dined with Lady HAMILTON".⁶

The 1804 season was crowned by a great public breakfast which was held on 15 September, when

"Dandelion was the great scene of fashionable attraction. Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs, poured forth their hosts of visitors, and the road was occupied with a string of coaches, post-chaises, barouches, sociables, curricles, gigs, saddle horses, and all the other modes of conveyance. Near 700 persons were in the garden, and the amusement continued an hour longer than usual. There was a most enchanting exhibition of female beauty and elegance, ... [including] one of the daughters of Prince CABTELCIBERT, the Neapolitan Ambassador, ... and Lady DIANA HERBERT. Among the Company were the Neapolitan PRINCE and PRINCESS, with all their family, Lady CHOLMONDELEY, with a number of her friends, Miss BENTINCK, daughter of Lord EDWARD BENTINCK, Lord PEMBROKE, Lord COLERAINE, Lord RODNEY [and] several Officers of the Herefordshire Militia

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1. The Times, 1 October 1803, 3a; compare ibid., 3 October 1803, 2c: "to-night will be the last Benefit Ball for the Master of the Ceremonies, which will form the finale of fashionable amusements and the usual signal for the close of the season".
 2. Ibid., 1 September 1804, 2d.
 3. Ibid., 1 September 1804, 2d.
 4. Ibid., 6 September 1804, 2d.
 5. Ibid., 10 September 1804, 3b.
 6. Ibid., 14 September 1804, 2d.

with some Naval Officers. The Band of the Herefordshire (which is a very capital one) attended, and executed many beautiful airs, in addition to the usual band of the place. This ... was for the benefit of Mr. LE BAS, the Maitre des Ceremonies of Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs. MITCHENER contracts for the entertainment ... and pays Le Maitre des Ceremonies 80 gns., so that the business was no losing concern". (1)

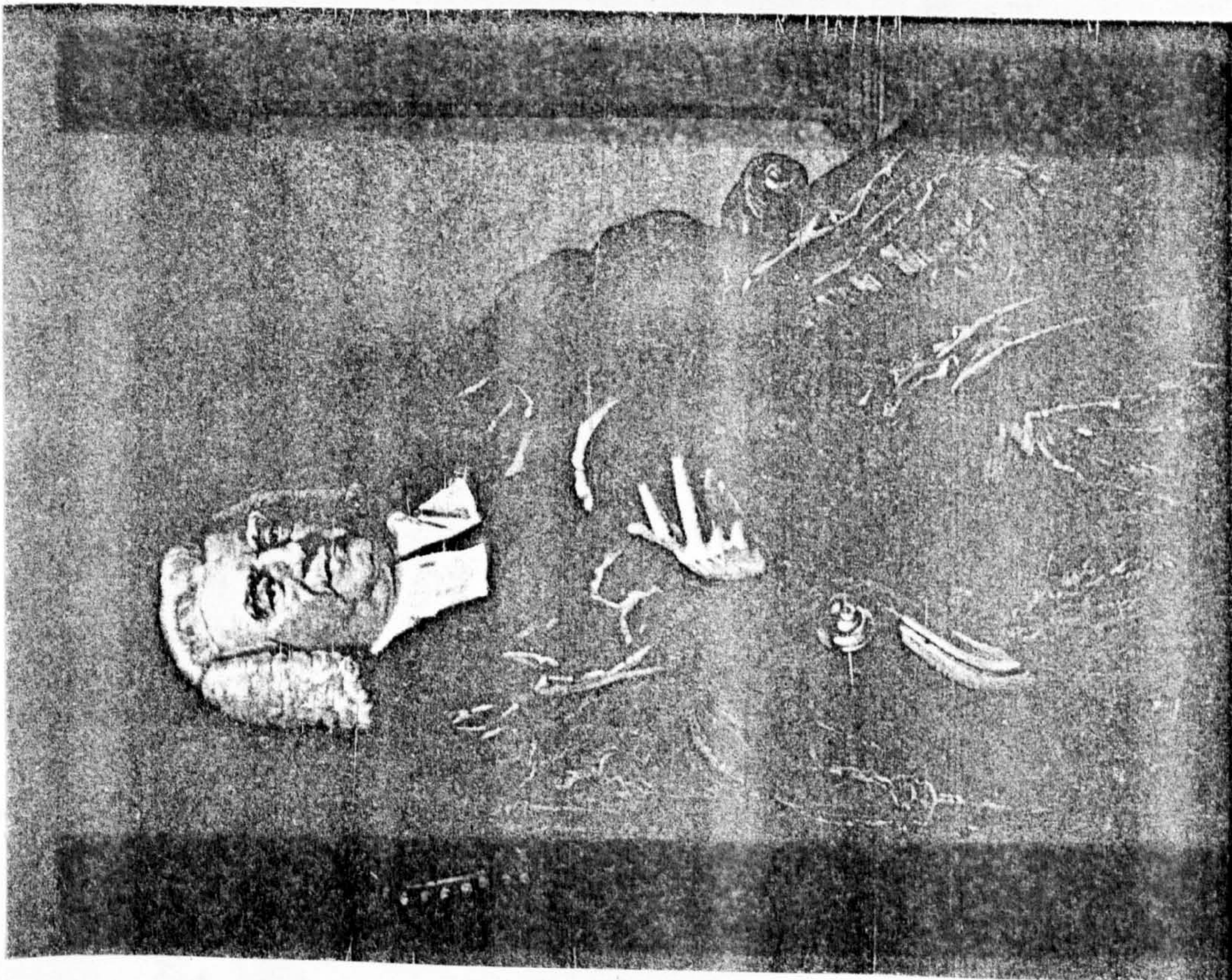
Subsequent arrivals included the Earl of Ormond, Lady Susan Drew, and Lady Virginia Murray,² but the season was drawing to a close and "to-morrow night is the ball night at KIDMAN'S Rooms, for the benefit of Monsieur LE BAS, Grand Maitre des Ceremonies ... which is always one of the fullest assemblies of the season".³ This prediction was shown to be accurate.

"Last Sunday's promenade was fuller than it had been for three weeks before; and last night's ball [24 September] collected together nearly all the beauty and fashion of the Isle of Thanet, for the benefit of Mr. LE BAS. Margate was perhaps never more crowded with visitors than on this occasion. All the lodging houses were occupied on the Sunday evening by the numbers of persons who came ... to be present at the Assembly, which mustered near 700. The dancing commenced about 9 o'clock with two minuets ... Country dances succeeded till near 4 o'clock ... The various uniforms of the Officers of the Regulars, Militia and Volunteer Corps, and the Navy, made a very splendid appearance. White was the predominant colour with the Ladies ... The family of the NEAPOLITAN PRINCE ... were among the chief ornaments of the night. Lord COLERAINE ... and a long list of persons of rank and fashion were present ... It was remarked, with great pleasure, that Ladies of an improper description, did not, on this occasion, disfigure the assembly; that they have frequently done so, has been a matter of much complaint, and it is to be hoped that the M.C. will prevent [any] recurrence of a similar irregularity". (4)

As the weather deteriorated so Margate was gradually deprived of its summer visitors, "particularly those of the lower order, who are almost all gone back to London, with their 'stock of health' for the ensuing winter".⁵

Margate continued to attract visitors of a humbler disposition during the 1790's and 1800's, and the social range of holidaymakers remained as wide as ever. The disreputable at one extreme included pickpockets:

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1. The Times, 18 September 1804, 2d.
 2. Ibid., 22 September 1804, 3b.
 3. Ibid., 25 September 1804, 3a.
 4. Ibid., 27 September 1804, 3a.
 5. Ibid., 4 October 1804, 2d.



SAMUEL PARR

From the engraving by T. Hodgetts of the painting by George Dawe, R.A., 1813, at St. John's College, Cambridge.

W. Derry, Dr. Parr: A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson (Oxford, 1966), p. 288.



SIR T. N. TALFOURD, B.A., M.P.

Sir T. N. Talfourd, Letters of Charles Lamb (1886), Frontispiece.

"several of the London Pickpockets have gone down to get a ducking at Margate. One would think from this that the Thames had run dry". (1)

On a higher social plane were scholars, writers, and caricaturists. Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), who was a scholar, parson-politician, "the Whig Dr. Johnson", selected Margate in August 1791 for his "annual ramble".² Peter Pindar was writing "legendary tales and light sketches of humour" in August 1799.³ Charles Lamb paid his first visit to Margate during September 1801, having never seen the sea before,⁴ and travelled down in the "Old Margate Hoy".⁵ The legal profession was well represented during September 1804;

"Among our recent visitors, we may count no small number of Legal Gentlemen, who seem extremely desirous of invigorating themselves for the labours of the ensuing Term. They walk much on the Cliff and Beach". (6)

One of the most notable of many caricaturists to visit Margate was James Gillray (1756-1815), who was a contemporary of Rowlandson and Isaac Cruikshank. He was one of the first professional caricaturists who, after having studied at the Royal Academy under the presidency of Sir Joshua Reynolds, specialized in both political and social caricature.⁷ Being troubled by rheumatism as early as 1795, being compelled to wear eye-glasses by 1806 and being in all probability a heavy drinker, Gillray's capacity for creative work began to fail in 1807.⁸ During the late spring or summer of that year he suffered from a physical and mental breakdown, which necessitated a period of recuperation. By August 1807 Gillray had taken a room at 3 Covell's Row, in Margate, which lay just off the High Street, and was about 150 yards from the beach. His friend, Mrs. Humphrey, wrote to him on

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1. The Observer, 10 September 1797, 2a.
 2. Warren Derry, Dr. Parr: A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson (Oxford, 1966), xi, 138.
 3. The Morning Post and Gazetteer, 21 August 1799, 2b.
 4. Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, Letters of Charles Lamb (1886), Volume 1, 307.
 5. Ibid., Volume I, 307; Volume II, 379.
 6. The Times, 14 September 1804, 2d.
 7. D. Hill, Mr. Gillray The Caricaturist (1965).
 8. Ibid., 142-3, 149.

19 August, expressing happiness at his continued improvement and informing him of her plans for a visit.

"[I] cannot possibly be with you before Saturday as I could not get a place in any Coach till Friday on which day I mean to set out and shall be in Canterbury on Saturday forenoon where I shall be happy to see you at the Rose Inn ... I hope it will not fatigue you too much to come so far, if I find myself much tired I shall perhaps lie down an hour or two so will leave my name at the Bar of the Inn that if you should happen to come in in the meantime you may know where to find me. I shall tell you all the news when I have the pleasure of seeing you ...

H. Humphrey.

P.S. Canterbury not Rochester remember.

I enclose a two pound note for fear you should run short". (1)

The postscript to this letter suggests that Gillray's spending money "was then under regulation as a means of checking his alcohol consumption".²

During his stay at Margate Gillray decided that his spectacles were unsatisfactory and so wrote to London for a replacement. His optician replied as follows: "I am very glad to hear that you are in a mending way, but sorry to hear that you find fault with your spectacles, Mrs. Hump[hrey] takes 2 pair of them to you to day; I hope they will do".³ It was during his visit to Margate that James Gillray compiled notes for an ambitious sequence representing "John Bull and his family" on holiday at Margate, which are reproduced as an illustration.⁴

Margate's more ordinary visitors were referred to as citizens⁵ or as Cocknies.⁶ While the middle and trading classes came predominantly from London, Mrs. Pilkington encountered "persons from every part of the Kingdom".⁷ In her lodgings she met a lady and her two children, "who had recently arrived from Ireland".⁸

1. Hill, op. cit., 143,
Add. MSS. 27, 337, f.108.

2. Hill, op. cit., 143 n (7).

3. Ibid., 149; Add. MSS. 27, 337, f.108, 19 August 1807.

4. Hill, op. cit., 136-7; Add. MSS. 27, 337, f.201.

5. For instance, The Times, 6 September 1804, 2d.

6. Ibid., 13 September 1804, 2d.

7. Pilkington, op. cit., 3.

8. Ibid., 45.

JOHN BULL AND HIS FAMILY AT MARGATE (1807).

Fat Citizen Wife with one Eye & son (of 8 years old), & beautiful Daughter of Nineteen setting off in Post Chaise with Bundles & Boxes for Margate from Butcher Shop all dress'd mighty fine.

Bills stuck up, of Post Chaises at 1/6 pr mile—Combination pro bono publico—squeezing a Purse. Bull Rochester Mitre, Canterbury—Kings Head Ramsgate—York Hotel Margate.

Plate 2nd. accident on y^e road. old Post Chaise breaking down, wretched ill matched horses—Boxes breaking . . . in back . . . Carravan &c all in motion for Margate.

Plate 3d. arrival at Margate in Post Chaise with bound up wheel & broken boxes Mitchener Margate—whole family quite fatigued—Mitchener bowing to the Ground, Crowds of Bathing people (Hughes, Wood, Mrs. Pavey &c.) forcing Cards &c. into their Hands, Ross y^e Wig Man &c. Yarnier Bettison &c.) heaps of Grooms &c unloading bundles, Boxes &c.—

3rd Plate [sic] Hay fair scene y^e Pier Packet just arrived. People just landed from y^e packet. Fatigued & faded—some Sick & Invalid. wrapd up in Great Coats with their Bags & Baskets of Provisions. high wind. Ladies Petticoats blowing over their heads—looking at the contents of another Packet landing from y^e Bay in Boats—

John Bulls Family looking on—Women tumbling into y^e water—Y^e Wharfingers charging double Pickpockets & Bucks in morning garments—Ladies in Bathing Bonnets . . . Organs, Hurdy Gurdy—Punch—Hardy & Luturn Smuggling Shop & Custom house opposite—Girls of y^e Town giggling &c.

4th Plate
Bathing—

Scene y^e Machines in Muddy water dead dogs, Fish Guts Greens and filth swimming about—naked men among y^e machines—Bathing women

entering from one Machine to y^e other, young Ladies looking thro' Telescopes at y^e Naked Figures in y^e Water. High wind. John Bull & Family waiting on y^e Stairs of Bathing House.

5 Plate

Public Breakfast—Scene dandelion¹

Boy eating y^e jellies—Father & Mother gattling—a British officer dancing with Miss— Treasures of a 'Dandelion day'— ie: a terrible rainy morning y^e company all sok'd—

6th Plate Raffling. Scene Mr Silver's Library or Bettison's—raffling. Miss treated by y^e officer & swindlers. . . . Numbers of little Boys & Girls venturing their last shilling with y^e utmost agitation

6th Plate killing time. Scene y^e Bathing room Miss Singing to the Harpsichord—Papa asleep in extacy Booby's gassing—reading Newspapers. Bills up for Plays, Methodist Sermon, Luturn's raffles, rules of Bathing, Convenient Lodging.

9th Plate

The Evening. scene Metchen Hotel—Landlord presenting long Bill with y^e greatest insolence. Papa drawing empty Purse. Mamma scolding Miss. pointing to her Belly: Miss crying and holding her Beau—who may be indicated as having had his turn served & making his Bow.—

or y^e Pleasures of y^e Beach—one scene crab hunting. John Bull & Family caught by y^e waters.

Scene Last.

Returning the cheapest way all sick, Mama Sucking y^e Brandy Bottle Captain Rowe at helm—Miss Puking up her inside—some eating some smoking some playing at Cards—some singing some drunk—

"Web footed" was a favourite adjective employed by the London newspapers when reporting on Margate's ordinary visitors, as in September 1795:

"Margate was never more crowded than it is at present. Several private houses are converted into lodging houses and the multitude of web footed animals who bathe every day is unprecedented". (1)

Being well frequented and having full seasons meant for Margate an ever growing patronage by the trading classes, which sharply distinguished Margate from Brighton. The Morning Chronicle noted during July 1801 how "the watering places begin now to fill in their usual proportions; Brighton has those who would be thought the higher orders of fashion, and Margate has all the little curriers!"² A cross section of visitors from many trades and professions was one of the themes of William Robinson's poem A Trip to Margate in 1805.

"'Tis not in bathing that you come to know
Who visit Margate. To the pier you go,
And there a strange and motley crew you see,
Compos'd of every trade, and each degree
Up to nobility, of which a few
Are sprinkled now and then among that crew,
The rest made up of male and female cits; ...
Solicitors and Lawyers ...
... and Surgeons and Doctors too,
And Undertakers also not a few ...
To those must still be added Barbers, Taylors,
Slopsellers, Butchers, Bakers and Tea-dealers
These from the packet to see put on shore,
By hundreds at a time, you'd think no more
Were left in London, and you'd ne'er suppose
That Margate of such numbers cou'd dispose
In comfortable lodging, or cou'd feed
Such swarms as daily her supplies do need". (3)

These lines once again stressed the importance of the London hoy in creating the popularity of Margate which over the nineteenth-century steamboats, railways and rising incomes were to deepen still further. Margate was a fashionable and a developing middle class resort. Before the 1840's, the middle class character of Margate became increasingly pronounced.

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1. The Morning Post and Fashionable World, 26 September 1795, 2c.
 2. The Morning Chronicle, 23 July 1801, 3a.
 3. William Robinson, A Trip to Margate; with a Description of Its Environs (1805), 16-7.

Many among the middle and trading classes tried to improve their social standing by participating in the fashionable amusements of the upper classes. The latter, supported by newspapers, were scornful of the former's intrusion into public breakfasts, libraries or the assembly rooms. Margate's masquerades acquired an evil reputation. A masquerade at Bettison's during 1804 "was attended respectably enough in point of numbers, but [we have] to lament a deficiency in characters; indeed, a good Masquerade seems to be a thing not practicable in Margate".¹ The Times proceeded to observe that

"there is much talk today about an advertisement from the Society for the Suppression of Vice, in which the Margate Masquerades are particularly censured: they are considered as great nuisances. Those who have seen the Masquerades given this season, will find some difficulty in discovering any very crying evil in their present state; for really they have all been very ill attended, and possess so few attractions, that he who has been once, will scarcely be drawn again. There have been but four of them in all (admission 4s.), two at the Theatre, and two at the rooms ...

The inhabitants and the visitors of Margate contend, that if the propriety of allowing or suppressing public amusements bear any relation to the facility with which they may produce good or evil effects, the Masquerades of London should be stopped rather than those of Margate. They think that the metropolitan society should take the beam out of their own eye, before they meddle with the mote in their brother's". (2)

Ordinary Londoners were expected to indulge themselves in a whole range of amusements early in September 1804 offering

"a very ample bill of fare for the rest of the week:-
Two Masquerades, one at the Theatre to-morrow, and another at the Rooms on Friday; Dandelion to-morrow morning; besides the Plays, the Libraries, and twenty other things, all wonderfully well adapted for lightening the pockets of a Citizen, and putting him in mind, in due time, of his counting-house or his shop". (3)

The second masquerade at Kidman's rooms was poorly attended, even though "public chit-chat had promised much diversion".⁴ The attendance was thought to be less than 150, "and the appearance of many of the Gentlemen was careless and slovenly to excess".⁵

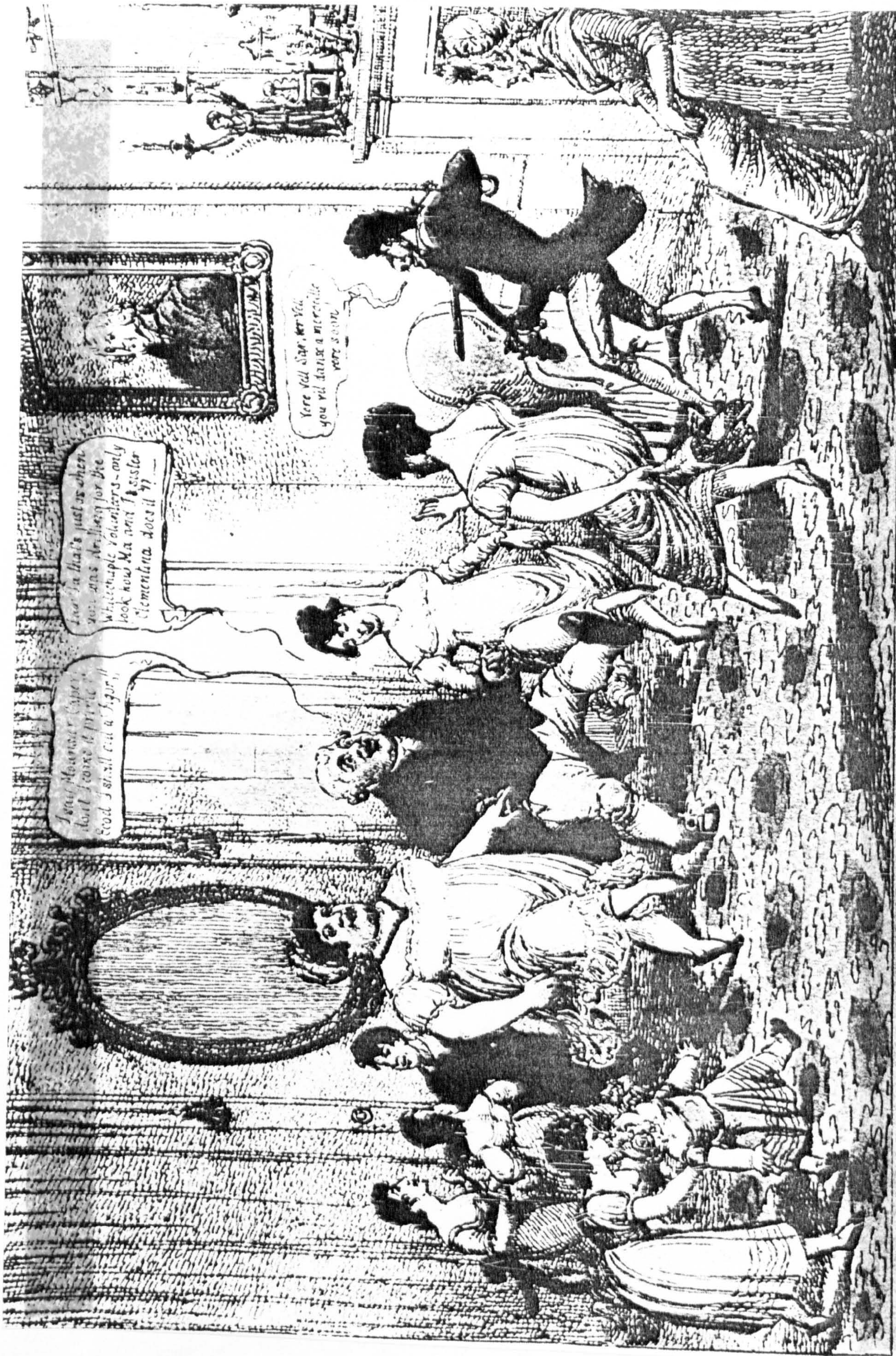
1. The Times, 1 September 1804, 2d.

2. Ibid., 10 September 1804, 3b.

3. Ibid., 6 September 1804, 2d.

4. Ibid., 10 September 1804, 3b.

5. Ibid., 10 September 1804, 3b.



BOBBIN' about to the FIDDLE, — a Family Rehearsal of Luirdrill, Dancing for a try to Margate.

M. D. George, Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire (1967), p. 171.

Although assemblies were fashionable, well dressed occasions, "the Ladies have a good right to speak well of Margate, for here they are not bounded within those limits which decorum prescribes to their public appearance in the metropolis".¹ Gambling assumed fever proportions in Margate during the 1800's, associated especially with the loo table and the libraries.² This produced such comments as "the littlegoes are a good deal regretted by some";³ or "many of our speculators, of different descriptions, have left us for this season [1804], some with money in their pockets, and others with but a melancholy tale to tell, on casting up their accounts".⁴

London citizens also derived pleasure from rural fetes and from shooting:

"our land parties have lately had several rural fetes. Kingsgate was enlivened the other day by eight or ten citizens, with a greater number of Ladies, who seemed for a time to revive the festivities that once distinguished this spot, when it was the residence of its great improver, the father of CHARLES JAMES FOX". (5)

Shooting became "a favourite diversion; but our Margate sportsmen (or rather our London sportsmen at Margate) do not seem to be eminently successful in taking the field against the feathered tribe".⁶

Some visitors were none too pleased by what they saw at Margate, including Mrs and Miss Meyer and Miss Green who, on 20 August 1804, moved to Broadstairs, "not liking Ramsgate or Margate, the latter Mrs Meyer said is London, - Cheapside, Wapping".⁷ This decision by the wife and daughter of the musician, Philip James Meyer, was recorded a day later in the diary of the famous topographical artist, diarist and Royal Academician, Joseph Farington (1747-1821), who was on holiday in Broadstairs, from 2 August to the 26th.⁸ It had been the intention of Mrs Meyer and her daughter to spend their holiday in Margate, and Thomas Coutts and Co. had arranged on 13 August

1. The Times, 14 September 1804, 2d.

2. See Chapter IV above.

3. The Times, 4 September 1804, 3c.

4. Ibid., 4 October 1804, 2d.

5. Ibid., 22 September 1804, 3b.

6. Ibid., 27 September 1804, 3a.

7. Ed: James Greig, The Farington Diary, Volume II (1923), 277.

8. Ibid., 271-8.

1804 for Mrs. Barbara Meyer to have banking arrangements with Messrs. Cobb and Co.,¹ as shown by an illustration of the relevant letter.

Broadstairs was very select compared to Margate. It was much smaller and its amusements were less plentiful and varied.² Guidebooks noted the tranquility and respectability of Broadstairs.

"Its late rapid increase in population and beauty arises wholly from the great influx of strangers to the island, for the enjoyment of easy exercises in a salubrious sea air, and the benefits of sea bathing ... [but] those who may not chuse to mix in the gaiety and pleasure of a more public place, will find this a retired and agreeable situation". (3)

These features and the facts of war were confirmed in Joseph Farington's detailed diary. He observed much during his twenty four days in Broadstairs, and his diary is full of social observation. August 3 was spent "with our friends, and in walking and reading" amidst the sounds of war, for "there was a good deal of firing heard today, which was judged to be at Boulogne".⁴ An uphill walk on 5 August took them to St. Peter's Church for divine service at eleven, conducted, with no sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Chapman.⁵ Little of significance occurred until the evening of 11 August, having spent that morning in writing, reading and walking: "in the evening we went to Ramsgate to the Assembly Room, where Madame Bianchi sang several songs to a Pianoforte and Meyer played on the Harp".⁶ Madame Bianchi, a popular singer, sang under the name of Miss Jackson, but was married to the famous Italian composer, Francesco Bianchi who had settled in London in 1793.⁷ Philip James Meyer (1732-1820), born in Strasburg, had settled in England in 1784, where in 1772 he had been the first musician to play the pedal harp.⁸ It cost 7s. 6d. to

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1. Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS, op. cit.
 2. As noted in Chapters III and IV above.
 3. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), op. cit., 37.
 4. Greig, op. cit., 271.
 5. Ibid., 271-2; the Church was "large, light and clean, and everything very decorous", ibid., 272.
 6. Ibid., 273.
 7. Ibid., 273.
 8. Ibid., 273.

AN ARRANGEMENT IN 1804 FOR MRS. MEYER TO DRAW MONEY FROM THE MARGATE BANK OF MESSRS. COBB & CO.

Barbara Meyer

London 13 August 1804

£50.

Mrs.

We trouble you with this to acquaint you that we have of this date assigned a Sum of Credit to you for Fifty pounds in favor of Mrs Barbara Meyer, whose signature we annex, which we request may meet due honor when presented by said Lady.

In witness

Mrs. O Your most Obedient Servants

Thomas Cobbe & Co

Thomas Cobbe & Co Margate

JOSEPH FARINGTON, R.A., A VISITOR TO
BROADSTAIRS IN 1804.



a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.S.

Jos: Farington

Ed: J. Greig, The Farington Diary, Volume I (1922),
Frontispiece.

go to the concert which finished at 9.30 p.m., whereupon

"a Ball commenced. At Eleven we came away. There was much company, and among them, Lady Augusta Murray and her Son, and Sister, Lady Hamilton [Nelson's Emma] with Mrs. and Miss Nelson - Lord Essex and many officers of the Herefordshire Militia which he commands, stationed here. His Lordship spoke to me and recommended me to go to Manton [Manston] a few miles from Broadstairs as being a very picturesque spot ... Lord Cholmondeley was there and also Lord Keith who commands the fleet in the Downs. Lady Augusta Murray ... has entered Herself in the subscription book at Ramsgate Duchess of Sussex". (1)

Lady Augusta Murray, the second daughter of the 4th Earl of Dunmore, had married Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, in Rome on 4 April 1793, but the King, in August 1794, had declared the union to be void under the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.² Farington and the Offleys rode into Margate on the afternoon of 14 August, "and saw the Library, the Assembly-room, and the Bathing Houses - Lord and Lady Cholmondeley - Miss Seymour - Lord Essex and several other fashionable persons were there",³ but "Margate is a very public place", and "I much prefer the quiet retirement of Broadstairs".⁴ Later they dined with the Rev. Mr. Powel who had arrived at Ramsgate on the previous day from Bransbury.⁵

The following extracts from his diary refer to a "dreary round" and show how fashionable society was in Broadstairs.

"AUGUST 15. - The company, at Broadstairs has increased in number, but all are in parties, there does not appear to be any association. The English reserve is fully expressed. Card tables are set every even'g in the Library, but as yet there are no players. We dined and passed the evening as usual. We breakfast abt $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9, - dine at 4, - tea $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, - light supper at 9 - and retire between 10 and 11.

AUGUST 17. - Lord and Lady Wm. Gordon arrived [at Broadstairs] and took a House ... In the evening the Dowager Lady Pembroke was upon the walk.

AUGUST 19. - Lord Melville and Lord Keith took an airing and rode through Broadstairs. Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, was on a visit to Lord Keith". (6)

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1. Greig, op. cit., 273-4.
 2. Ibid., 273.
 3. Ibid., 275.
 4. Ibid., 275; while in Margate they visited Mitchener's hotel where "he had two turtles in water, and had Turtle ready dressed to be sent anywhere, the price 18 shillings a quart", ibid., 275.
 5. Ibid., 276.
 6. Ibid., 277.

On 22 August, Farington was one of party who went to a public breakfast at Dandelion.

"At one o'clock went in a Chaise with Miss Glover to Dandelion to a public breakfast. John and Wm. Offley rode. There was much company, who breakfasted in boxes [or] at long tables on one side of a space of ground like a bowling green. A stage for dancing was also laid and [there was] a small band of music ... Several young people and children danced under the direction of Mr. Le Bas, Master of the Ceremonies at Margate and Ramsgate. The first dance was led off by a beautiful girl, Lady Diana Herbert, Daugr. of Lord Pembroke, who with her brother, Lord Herbert, was there with their grandmother the Dowager Countess of Pembroke ... There was much fashionable company. - The dance was made up of a very mixed party, many Citizens' children being of the number, and it was agreeable to see the different ranks partaking of the amusement. - I met S. Boddington there, who came with S. Rogers [the banker poet]". (1)

Samuel Boddington, born 19 June 1766, from 7, Bedford Square in London, was the second son of Benjamin Boddington, a West India merchant.²

Broadstairs enjoyed predominantly a fashionable patronage. During August 1810 Lady Mulgrave moved from Tunbridge Wells to Broadstairs, "where she is expected to remain about a fortnight previous to the family going into Yorkshire".³ On the evening of 15 September 1814, Mrs. Forsyth of Pierremont House, gave "a grand Ball at Barfield-rooms, on the Marine Parade", at Broadstairs,

"which was attended by about 100 fashionables many of whom came from Ramsgate. The Ball-room was brilliantly illuminated by chandeliers ... At midnight the company partook of a Sandwich supper, set out with much taste; the wines were of the best vintages. At 2 o'clock the party broke up". (4)

Ramsgate remained equally fashionable. Broadstairs and Ramsgate were skirted by country seats and marine villas, whose occupants as men of wealth and social standing attracted public attention. Notable coastal properties of the early 1800's included:⁵

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1. Greig, op. cit., 277-8.
 2. Ibid., 278.
 3. The Morning Chronicle, 16 August 1810, 2d.
 4. The Morning Post, 20 September 1814, 3d.
 5. Also see this Chapter above and Chapters III, IV and V.

Pierremont: between Broadstairs and St. Peters, "lately completed under the direction of Thomas Forsyth Esq for his summer residence".¹

Updown House: Lady Glencannon.²

Belmont: "the Warrs possess, a verdant eminence, that rises on the west of Ramsgate; and nearer Pegwell Bay is the Garrows; both are beautiful erections".³

East Cliff Lodge: "the tasteful Gothic villa of Admiral Lord Keith, the present C. in C. of all the ships of war stationed in the Downs ... and sometime since the summer residence of H.R.H. the Princess of Wales".⁴

Stone House: on the North Foreland, a "handsome seat", erected first by Sir Charles Raymond, improved by Sir Henry Harper, and in the possession of the Cuthberts.⁵

The Kingsgate Estate: "Holland House was the residence of the late Henry Lord Holland, to whom we are indebted for this liberal embellishment to a brilliant, rural and placid vale, which charmingly characterizes the fruitful scenery of Thanet".⁶

Within a few years Kingsgate House, "the celebrated and beautiful marine residence of the first Lord Holland", was purchased, "with its plantations", by Mr. Froggett, a solicitor, "for 3,000 guineas".⁷ Before the Napoleonic Wars had ended the Marquis of Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, took a lease of East Cliff Lodge. The Morning Post noted during August 1814 that "Lord WELLESLEY is at his seat at East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate".⁸

Ramsgate, although remaining predominantly fashionable, experienced some of the vulgarity of Margate as early as 1796.

"Our early season [July] has already begun, and those who are fond of cheap lodgings have made their appearance ... We have Mrs. Deputy Plumb, with her naked daughters, who have scarce more cloathing than a fig leaf on them ... Then we have

1. The Maritime Guide (circa 1804), op. cit., 45.

2. Ibid., 44.

3. Ibid., 43.

4. Ibid., 38-9.

5. Ibid., 36.

6. Ibid., 35-6.

7. The Literary Panorama, Volume III (1807-8), 633.

8. The Morning Post, 8 August 1814, 3c.

Mrs. Pop from Whitechapel. She came down in state in her own job-coach, which was loaded so full with unredeemed Articles for family wear, that her daughters, who are the very duplicate of herself, ... were forced to come in the Hoy. But she vows it is so shocking to her feelings, that they never shall ride down no more in that nasty sort of water conveyance, though she should spend upon their luxury and elegance ten out of that thirty percent, which she grinds from the necessitous miseries of hard-earned industry. Then we have three learned Ladies, who, after the great fatigues of novel writing in the winter, have retired hither ... We begin to look gaily, early as it is, [but] I would that the salt water, for the benefit of the Pops, and the Plumbs, who frequent our watering-places, could as easily wash away the mud of vulgarity and affectation from their hearts, as it does the rouge from their faces". (1)

During September 1814, Ramsgate suffered from a prodigious "influx of gamblers, of every description",² while from Broadstairs a rumour "that the Balls here are not well attended" was considered to be "untrue - 'a weak invention of the enemy'".³

A Thanet holidaymaker of the 1800's, who sought the selective company of fashionable people, stood the best chance of fulfilling that wish in Margate towards the end of the season. This tendency for fashion to predominate later in the season can be illustrated for 1805 through the columns of The Times. On 12 September there was a masquerade at the theatre, which

"was converted into a grand saloon, and was illuminated with festoons of lamps of various colours ... Among the more prominent characters were an Old Clothes Man, an Italian Hermit ... [and] two Fruit Women ... The more respectable part of the Company ... continued in the Boxes, and retired before one this morning". (4)

A few days later, Margate was "full of life, spirit and gaiety; all are ... 'buxom, blithe and debonair'",⁵ and "the most brilliant assemblage of this season is expected to be on Tuesday next, at the Ball of the Master of the

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1. The Times, 8 July 1796.
 2. The Morning Post, 12 September 1814, 3e.
 3. Ibid., 5 October 1814, 3c.
 4. The Times, 14 September 1805; 2d.
 5. Ibid., 20 September 1805, 2d.

Ceremonies, Mr. LE BAS, of whose vigilant attention to the unwritten laws and important duties of etiquette, the public is sufficiently convinced to reward him with its countenance and support".¹ 26 September produced "a brilliant Assembly at which all the principal persons in the town and its vicinity attended".² Two days later at the theatre

"we had an enchanting and magnificent display of beauty and fashion, ... among whom we observed Lord KEITH, and a numerous body of Naval Commanders; the Earl of MANSFIELD, and many other Military Officers; the Countess of MANSFIELD, the Earl and Countess of LIMERICK, Lady BROOKE, Lady HALES [and] Lady GLYNN. There was such a throng of carriages, that in the absence of the customary precautions of the capital, it was very difficult to avoid accidents, and impossible to prevent confusion ... The brilliant circle of hereditary distinction is daily increasing, but the pleasant humours of what is called, 'Hoy Fair', are on the decline". (3)

1814 was the last season of the coaching and hoy era and the Napoleonic Wars were drawing to a close. For polite society it was memorable, for two announcements, from Margate, on 23 September: "our Arbiter Elegantierum, Mr. LE BAS, after wielding the sceptre for [over] twenty years, abdicates his throne, on Monday next, in favour of an officer in the York Militia",⁴ and

"the Town Crier, to our great surprise, is this instant employed in announcing that Dandelion Gardens will be opened to the public no longer than the present season. They are sold, we are told, to a Gentleman of acknowledged taste, who means to convert them into a marine residence for himself". (5)

Mr. Le Bas, the retiring Master of the Ceremonies, was to receive from "Captain CLOUGH £200 per annum by way of annuity", but he "does not quit his post altogether, until the latter is formally inducted, and generally acknowledged throughout the Island".⁶

The 1814 season had been a busy one. During one week in August more

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1. The Times, 20 September 1805, 2d.
 2. Ibid., 30 September 1805, 2c.
 3. Ibid., 1 October 1805, 3a.
 4. The Morning Post, 26 September 1814, 3c.
 5. Ibid., 26 September 1814, 3c.
 6. Ibid., 26 September 1814, 3c.

than 1,000 persons had arrived from London.¹ Early in September both Margate and Ramsgate were full of visitors who experienced difficulties in securing lodgings.² A masquerade in the Margate assembly rooms attracted 400 people,³ but the visitors were heterogeneous, and "personal importance was ... weakened by the presumption of some of the tip-top tradesmen in dancing with the dignified misses, the Ladies not knowing their partners until quizzed about accepting the hands of tailors and men milliners".⁴

26 September was an important terminal date in Margate's social history when

"the Isle of Thanet witnessed a scene, which excited a great sensation! - we allude to the formal abdication of the Monarch of the Graces, Mr. LE BAS, after swaying the sceptre for the space of 26 years. At 9 o'clock p.m. the ceremony took place in the Assembly-room when Captain CLOUGH's election followed". (5)

A ball then "excited more interest than any since the period when the late Duchess of DEVONSHIRE honoured [them] with her presence".⁶ Dancing commenced once the election was over. "Carriages innumerable" arrived and, "at the hour of ten, Captain CLOUGH directed the band to strike up".⁷ Now "all the beauty and fashion of the vicinity" appeared and that evening was "a proud one in the annals of gaiety",⁸ when "there were present 652 persons of bon!"⁹

The Thanet resorts remained distinctly fashionable during October 1814.

A Broadstairs assembly at Nuckell's Great Room was

"attended by nearly 100 Fashionables of consideration, all carriage company! Dancing commenced at nine o'clock ... Refreshments of a superior description were provided and distributed at midnight. Dancing was kept up until 1.30 ... Captain CLOUGH officiated". (10)

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1. The Morning Post, 27 August 1814, 3e.
 2. Ibid., 12 September 1814, 3a; also see Chapter III above.
 3. Ibid., 13 September 1814, 3d.
 4. Ibid., 26 September 1814, 3c.
 5. Ibid., 30 September 1814, 3d.
 6. Ibid., 30 September 1814, 3d.
 7. Ibid., 30 September 1814, 3d.
 8. Ibid., 30 September 1814, 3d.
 9. Ibid., 1 October 1814, 3c.
 10. Ibid., 5 October 1814, 3c.

From Margate it was announced, on 11 October, that "the Rooms are to continue open during the whole of the month; on Mondays and Thursdays, the ball; on the other nights, cards".¹ In 1814 the fashionable end of the season was prolonged: "the Libraries have not been so crammed at night as we have been accustomed to see them",² and on 8 October

"the fashionable population of the Isle of Thanet mustered strong ... We never recollect to have witnessed except upon some very important occasion, so great a concourse of rank and beauty as graced the Assembly Rooms ... Cecil Square was filled with carriages and four from Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and even Dover. It was a most flattering encouragement in every respect". (3)

Captain Clough made his entré into Ramsgate at a ball on 12 October, when "the Assembly Rooms were full of company of the first class - an unprecedented event".⁴ A concert given at Mrs. Witherden's Ramsgate library on 15 October attracted "250 fashionables".⁵ Margate boasted that "this delightful spot once more flourishes as it was used to do", and "now vies with any of its neighbours".⁶

Although Margate, much exposed to northerly blasts, failed to achieve popularity as a winter abode,⁷ visitors in the autumn of 1814 remained reluctant to leave during the second half of October.

"From the number of houses taken by families of the first distinction for the winter, it is expected to be the gayest witnessed here for several years ... The Balls continue and are well attended ... The Theatre is open tonight, for the last time this season ... PALLISTER'S Promenades closed on Wednesday; and this morning [19 October] a deputation of Gentlemen called on Messrs. BETTISON and requested their Musical Promenades might be continued a short time longer ... A most liberal subscription was directly made towards defraying the expenses of keeping that elegant room open at least a fortnight more, so that GIBBON and PANORMO, those great favourites, will remain with us till the room closes". (8)

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1. The Morning Post, 13 October 1814, 3c.
 2. Ibid., 13 October 1814, 3e.
 3. Ibid., 11 October 1814, 3d.
 4. Ibid., 15 October 1814, 3d.
 5. Ibid., 19 October 1814, 3b.
 6. Ibid., 21 October 1814, 3e.
 7. See Chapter II above.
 8. The Morning Post, 21 October 1814, 3e.

Steamboat Visitors from 1815 Onwards

The trend whereby Margate attracted holidaymakers from all classes became increasingly pronounced from 1815 onwards. The Kent Mercury observed nine years later how

"an entire change has taken place in the character of our visitors within twenty or twenty five years. In those days, the Duchess of Devonshire (mother of the present Duke), Lady Duncannon, Lady Bessborough, Lady Elizabeth Foster, the Duke of St. Albans, Earl Thanet and his brothers, the Tuftons, Sir H. Man, and all the leading nobility of Kent, were residents during the season, and ... occasioned Margate to be a powerful rival of Brighton, although his present Majesty was ... its patron. Margate subsequently became unpopular with the fashionable world, but continues more or less the summer retreat of the 'London citizens'". (1)

Once the Napoleonic Wars had finished the aristocracy could travel uninterrupted to and from the Continent, and holidaymaking along English shores came within the reach of increasing numbers of middle class and trading folk, as one social consequence of expanding national wealth, itself a product of sustained economic growth. Steamboats brought increasing numbers of visitors to Margate and Ramsgate. They ran up and down the river with ever increasing regularity and frequency and

"for the middle classes there was the fortnight or month at Herne Bay or Margate. The middle classes of London clung to the fashion of the yearly stay by the seaside as [a] mark of gentility". (2)

During the period that steamboats were triumphant, and unchallenged by railways, Margate attained higher peaks of popularity, as noted by contemporary literature of the 1820's and 1830's. One guidebook observed how in 1830

"this place has been progressively attaining notoriety as a resort for sea bathing; and it now ranks amongst the most popular of those gay towns upon the English coast which are annually frequented by the inhabitants

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1. Quoted by The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c.
 2. Sir Walter Besant, London in the Nineteenth Century (1909), 16.

of the metropolis, with the conjoined views of improving health and indulging in a festive relaxation from their ordinary pursuits". (1)

From a famous London directory of the early 1830's came the comment that "until about the middle of the last century, Margate ranked but as a small fishing village; but since that period it has been progressing towards its present importance, which is that of a populous town and bathing place of the first celebrity".² A more personal observation survives from 1842.

"This favourite resort of the inhabitants of the metropolis ... has increased in extent with surprising rapidity since the communication between it and town, by means of steamboats, has become so expeditious and cheap. It is a very lively, bustling place, and abounds in amusements; it is very well suited for spending a few days, and the trip may often prove of essential benefit to those who cannot spare much time from their usual avocations ... Margate is one of those places where there is little restraint, each one doing what seems agreeable to him, without much attention to conventional arrangements". (3)

Compared to the eighteenth century the number of visitors frequenting Margate is more measurable from 1815 onwards; but compared to the present-day statistics of modern resorts, those of the nineteenth century are more scattered. An increasing steamboat traffic provides one indication of a rising index of holidaymaking to Margate.⁴ In 1839 it was stressed that the number of passengers visiting Margate had "in every succeeding season ... rapidly augmented, and in recent years it has more than quadrupled that of 1815".⁵ However, not all the passengers on steamboats arriving at Margate were intending to stay there. Some from a desire to avoid passing round the North Foreland were bound for Broadstairs or Ramsgate. At best steamboat figures provide only some indication of the numbers of holidaymakers frequenting Margate between 1815 and 1840.

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1. G.A. Cooke, A Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Kent (New Ed., 1830), 295.
 2. Pigot and Co.'s National, London and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1832-3-4 (5th Ed.), 849.
 3. John Harrison Curtis, Observations on the Preservation of Health in Infancy, Youth, Manhood and Age (1842).
 4. See Chapter VI above.
 5. Pigot and Co.'s Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839), 339.

The Times reported during October 1819 that 24,960 persons had visited Margate during that season.¹ Over the next three to five years that figure more than doubled. 55,000 visitors may have patronized the resort during 1822,² and the "high seasons" of 1824 and 1830 produced numbers estimated respectively at over 60,000³ and over 95,000.⁴ At Margate during the 1830's, it was no uncommon sight for 2,000 steamboat passengers to "frequently land in one day",⁵ and because "the present buildings are still found insufficient for this vast influx of persons, ... new ones are constantly erecting".⁶

Margate still attracted ordinary visitors and holidaymakers of distinction, the latter coming particularly towards the end of the season. During the early 1820's, Margate was visited "by a great number of nobility, gentry and citizens".⁷ In Ramsgate and Broadstairs the patronage of fashionable visitors continued throughout the 1820's and 1830's. Ramsgate "within the last few years has obtained very considerable celebrity as a sea bathing place, and ... has become a powerful rival to Margate".⁸ Ramsgate's assembly rooms were "well conducted, the company attending numerous, ... [and] of the first order of respectability".⁹ Ramsgate remained a "fashionable bathing place".¹⁰

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1. The Times, 22 October 1819, 2c.
 2. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1823-4, or Pigot & Co.'s New Commercial Directory, for 1824, 402.
 3. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7 (3rd Ed.), 637; For 1827-8 (3rd Ed.), 637.
 4. Pigot & Co.'s National, London, and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1833-4 (5th Ed.), 849.
 5. Ibid., 849.
 6. Ibid., 849.
 7. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1823-4, op. cit., 402.
 8. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7, op. cit., 642-3; also For 1828-9 (3rd Ed.), 642-3.
 9. Ibid., 643.
 10. Pigot & Co.'s National, London, and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1832-3-4, op. cit., 855.

Broadstairs was quiet, respectable and genteel, offering

"many attractions to those who prefer tranquility to the bustle of festive and noisy crowds. The buildings are principally of a superior order, and the numerous gentlemen's seats in the neighbourhood, give the place an appearance of high respectability". (1)

Fashionable patronage had raised Broadstairs "to celebrity and placed it amongst the watering places much resorted to by genteel families".²

Ramsgate and Broadstairs benefited from royal patronage. Ramsgate's answer to the famous Clifton Baths of Margate existed in

"The ROYAL KENT BATHS, situated on the West Cliff, built and furnished in the completist manner, [which] vie in comfort and elegance with any in the Kingdom: they are under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent". (3)

The Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria were in Ramsgate in 1822,⁴ and again in 1823.⁵ From Ramsgate it was announced on 14 August 1822 that "H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, and the Princesses Feodore and Alexandrina and suite, having embarked yesterday morning at the Custom-house Stairs, London, on board the Hero steam packet, at 8 o'clock, arrived here about 5 in the afternoon".⁶

That evening in London there was "an alarming rumour" that the Hero steam packet had caught fire off Gravesend which was "entirely without foundation", the truth being that "the Hero [had] carried down H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent".⁷

On 12 September the Duchess of Kent held "a grand ball and supper" in Ramsgate,

"in honour of the birthday of his Highness Prince CHARLES of Lieningen, her Royal Highness's son, who has completed his 18th year. In the evening a grand display of fireworks was exhibited on the Cliff near Nelson's Crescent ... The company was very numerous and select". (8)

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1. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7, op. cit., 595.
 2. Pigot & Co.'s National, London and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1832-3-4, op. cit., 774.
 3. Pigot & Co.'s London & Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7, op. cit., 643; on the Clifton Baths see Chapter IV above.
 4. The Morning Post, 15 August 1822, 3d; 16 August 1822, 2d; and 22 August 1822, 3c.
 5. The Marquis of Lorne, V.R.I. Her Life and Empire (1901), 24.
 6. The Morning Post, 16 August 1822, 2d.
 7. Ibid.; 15 August 1822, 3d.
 8. Ibid., 17 September 1822, 3d.

During 1829, the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria spent some weeks residing in Broadstairs at Pierremont House.¹ Five years later The Kentish Observer reported that H.R.H. the Princess Sophia Matilda, who was on holiday in Broadstairs, had presented £5 towards the 8th Annual Ramsgate Regatta, which had taken place at Pegwell Bay, under the patronage of the Earls of Guilford and Darnley, J.P. Powell, Esq., and M. Montefiore, Esq.²

In 1835 the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria paid another visit to Ramsgate, when the royal party also included the King and Queen of the Belgians. The Times noted that "the visit of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria to this town continues to give gaiety and animation to it".³ They stayed at Albion House which, "together with two other adjoining private houses, they have taken for two months", and "the hotels are ... crowded".⁴ The royal visitors were honoured by an address of welcome.

"Yesterday was the day appointed by their Royal Highnesses to receive the address of the inhabitants on the occasion of the Royal visit. At 11 o'clock the committee of the inhabitants, headed by R. Thompson Esq., the Deputy, Sir W. Curtis, [and] M. Montefiore, Esq., proceeded to Albion-house, to present the address, where they were received in the drawing room. At 1 o'clock the Committee proceeded to the Albion Hotel to present an address to the King and Queen of the Belgians ... King Leopold proposes to leave Ramsgate at 8 this evening direct for Claremont. The Queen is to remain at Ramsgate for the present". (5)

Moses Montefiore made available the secluded grounds of his East Cliff Lodge to the royal party, with the presentation of a key "enwrapped in the handsomest mazarine blue ribbon that the town of Ramsgate could supply".⁶

Subsequently, Princess Victoria and her sister stayed for some time in Broadstairs, whereupon Moses Montefiore had, "in a truly knightly manner", a

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1. The Marquis of Lorne, op. cit., 50, 59.
 2. The Kentish Observer, 28 August 1834, 3bc.
 3. The Times, 2 October 1835, 2cd.
 4. Ibid., 2 October 1835, 2cd.
 5. Ibid., 2 October 1835, 2cd.
 6. Goodman, op. cit., 38-9.

special gate cut into the wall for the royal visitors' convenience. This courtesy produced an appropriately royal note from the Duchess of Kent:

"Sir John Conroy presents his compliments, and in obedience to a command he has just received from the Duchess of Kent, hastens to acquaint Mr. Montefiore that Her Royal Highness is exceedingly gratified and obliged by his attention in making a new access to his charming grounds from Broadstairs for her convenience, but Her Royal Highness fears she has given a great deal of trouble". (1)

During October 1836, the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria were once more in Ramsgate, residing on the West Cliff, and Moses Montefiore received and accepted an invitation to dine with them.² His diary of 11 October recorded how

"I attended Synagogue and a little before 7 went in our chariot to West Cliff, where I had the honour of dining with their Royal Highnesses ... The other guests were Sir John Conroy, the Dean of Chester, Mr. Justice Gaselee, the Rector of St. Lawrence, the Hon. Col. Stopford, and one other Lady and gentleman. I took down the Colonel's wife and sat opposite to the Princess. There were thirteen at table, and it was impossible for it to have been more agreeable. I never felt myself more at ease at any dinner party within my recollection. The behaviour of the Duchess was most kind and condescending, and all the party were extremely amiable and chatty. The entertainment was truly Royal, and after dinner, when the gentlemen had joined the ladies in the drawing room, where tea and coffee were served, the Duchess again spoke to each of us. The Princess Sophia Matilda was also present. I returned home quite enraptured with the very kind and obliging manner in which I had been distinguished by her Royal Highness". (3)

King Leopold of the Belgians landed at Ramsgate in 1838 on his way to attend Queen Victoria's Coronation.⁴ By 1850 the days of royal patronage at Brighton and Ramsgate had ended, but Broadstairs, during the later nineteenth century, retained some associations with royalty. The Duke and H.R.H. the Duchess of Fife, who was the eldest daughter of the Prince of Wales, and their children occupied Holland House for summer visits.⁵

1. Goodman, op. cit., 39.

2. Ibid., 44.

3. Ibid., 44.

4. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 10.

5. Broadstairs: The Official Publication of the District Council (1905), 17.

Initially all three Thanet resorts remained popular with writers and scholars, William Cobbett and Margate excepted. Cobbett when passing through the Isle of Thanet in 1823 by-passed Margate: "that place is so thickly settled with stock-jobbing cuckolds at this time of the year, that, having no fancy to get their horns stuck into me, I turned away to my left when I got within half a mile of the town".¹ Rowland Hill (1795-1879), famous in the history of penny postage, paid two visits to Margate in 1813 and 1815. His first visit was for the benefit of his health; "we could see the coast of France", but "my mother was rather uneasy at being so near to the French".² On his second visit two summers later, he left Birmingham for London on 23 June 1815, How he found the money to pay for this trip he has left on record:

"my eldest brother and I, who, on account of depressed health, had two years before been taken by my mother to Margate (much to my delight, as I then first saw London and the sea), were eager to repeat the trip, and not having the means at hand, set about to acquire them ... We boldly determined to give four public lectures, the admission to be by purchased tickets ... our total profits being sufficient to warrant the journey, we took it accordingly, intending thereby to get up such a stock of health as would carry us briskly through the next half year". (3)

The poet, John Keats (1795-1821), paid two visits to Margate in 1816 and 1817 accompanied by his brother for reasons of health. John, who was never very strong, having been apprenticed to an Edmonton surgeon, was a dresser at Guy's Hospital in 1816, but he soon left that profession and in 1817 published his first volume of poems.⁴ His first visit arose out of concern

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1. William Cobbett, Rural Rides, Ed: G.D.H. Cole (1930), Volume I, 233.
 2. Sir Roland Hill and George Birkbeck Hill, The Life of Sir Roland Hill and the History of Penny Postage (1880), Volume I, 133.
 3. Ibid., 134-5.
 4. Aileen Ward, John Keats: The Making of a Poet (1963). Before 1820 his health had begun to fail, and he was undoubtedly affected by the savage criticisms meted out in the reviews of his works, and by the death of his brother, Thomas. Leaving England in 1820 he died on 23 February 1821, soon after reaching Rome.

for his younger brother, Thomas, who had grown into a tall, narrow-shouldered, highly-strung lad of 16, with a build that doctors described as "consumptive".¹ Although Thomas had spent the previous winter in the milder climate of Lyons, he remained pale and thin, and so

"John Keats decided that a vacation by the sea would do him good. They packed up and went off to Margate, a popular resort ... complete with the usual ballrooms and cardrooms, a sandy beach for swimming, and a promenade from which to watch the yacht races". (2)

The two brothers enjoyed each other's company and also that of Wells, "a precocious red-haired fellow and a great joker", who was a junior clerk in a solicitor's office.³ He livened up their holiday,

"besides making it possible for Keats to spend some longed-for time by himself ... He had come on this vacation primarily to write, to see what he could do in a month or more away from the responsibilities of the hospital. Day after day he went tramping along the coast, ... drinking in every new sight and sound ... Almost at once the vast openness of the scene, with its endless motion and glimmer, entered into his poetry". (4)

1817 saw the publication of his first volume of poems and a second visit to Margate. On 14 April 1817 he travelled to the Isle of Wight in the Southampton coach, but suddenly he decided that he could work better in the more familiar surroundings of Margate.⁵ He invited Tom to meet him there, and his company "was a steadying influence. They walked and talked together as they had the summer before".⁶ After three weeks Keats suddenly grew tired of "this treeless affair" and moved to Canterbury.⁷

Samuel Taylor Coleridge paid four visits to Ramsgate in 1819, 1822, 1824 and 1825,⁸ where he put into practice his belief in the efficacy of sea

1. Ward, op. cit., 65-6.

2. Ibid., 66.

3. Ibid., 66., Wells had already developed an interest in the theatre which in a few years was to lead him into playwriting.

4. Ibid., 66.

5. Ibid., 112-3, 117.

6. Ibid., 117.

7. Ibid., 121.

8. Ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1895), Volume II, 700, 721-2, 729, 742.

CHARLES DICKENS (1812 - 1870)

A FREQUENT VISITOR TO BROADSTAIRS BETWEEN 1837 AND 1851.



CHARLES DICKENS, AGED 27
by Daniel Maclise, R.A.

" Here we have the real identical man Dickens "
W. M. THACKERAY

Una Pope - Hennessy, Charles Dickens (1947), Frontispiece.

bathing.¹ Charles Lamb, having first seen the sea at Margate in 1801,² paid two more visits to the resort in 1821³ and 1831.⁴ On 8 June 1821 he informed John Taylor that "I am here at Margate, spoiling my holydays with a Review I have undertaken for a friend".⁵ Charles and Mary Lamb met Mr. and Mrs. Cowden Clarke from Ramsgate.⁶ Charles Cowden Clarke (1787-1877) established a school at Enfield, where Keats was one of the scholars, before becoming a partner of Alfred Novello, the musical publisher.⁷ The Lambs also saw Charles Cowden Clarke in 1831 following his retirement to "this pleasant and healthy locality" of Ramsgate.⁸

Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), journalist, barrister, Nonconformist, educationist and traveller, visited Margate and Broadstairs on 21 and 22 September 1836,⁹ but undoubtedly the most frequent visitor to the Thanet coast from the literary world was Charles Dickens. After a visit to Ramsgate in 1836 he stayed in Broadstairs in 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1847, 1848, 1850 and 1851.¹⁰ He left London at the end of August 1837, "going out of town [to Broadstairs] for a few days",¹¹ and stayed at 12 High Street,¹² from where he wrote to his friend and biographer John Forster

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1. See Chapter II above.
 2. Noon Talfourd, op. cit., Volume I, 307; Volume II, 379; also see the previous section above.
 3. Ed. E.V. Lucas, The Letters of Charles Lamb to which are added those of his Sister Mary Lamb (1935), Volume II, 299-300.
 4. Noon Talfourd, op. cit., Volume II, 379.
 5. Lucas, op. cit., Volume II, 299; John Taylor (1781-1864) was in joint proprietorship of The London Magazine with J.A. Hessay, and later became an authority on currency questions, ibid., 300.
 6. Ibid., Volume II, 300.
 7. Ibid., Volume II, 309.
 8. Noon Talfourd, op. cit., Volume II, 379.
 9. Ed. D. Hudson, The Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson (O.U.P., 1967), 161.
 10. William R. Hughes, A Week's Tramp in Dickens Land (1891), 324-5; Broadstairs, 1836-1859 During the Time of Charles Dickens, 1.
 11. Ed. M. House and G. Storey, The Letters of Charles Dickens, Volume I: 1820-1839 (O.U.P., 1965), 301.
 12. Ibid., 303-4.

Charles Dickens

OUR WATERING PLACE.

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You have no idea how they take it to heart.

We have a pier—a queer old wooden pier, fortunately without the slightest pretensions to architecture, and very picturesque in consequence. Boats are hauled up upon it, ropes are coiled all over it; lobster-pots, nets, masts, casks, spars, sails, ballast, and rickety capstans, make a perfect labyrinth of it. For ever hovering about this pier, with their hands in their pockets, or leaning over the rough bulwark it opposes to the sea, gazing through telescopes which they carry about in the same profound receptacles, are the boatmen of our Watering Place. Looking at them, you would say that surely these must be the laziest boatmen in the world. They lounge about, in obstinate and inflexible pantaloons that are apparently made of wood, the whole season through. Whether talking together about the shipping in the Channel, or gruffly unloading over mugs of beer at the public-house, you would consider them the slowest of men. The chances are a thousand to one that you might stay here for ten seasons, and never see a boatman in a hurry. A certain expression about his loose hands, when they are not in his pockets, as if he were carrying a considerable lump of iron in each, without any inconvenience, suggests strength, but he never seems to use it. He has the appearance of perpetually strolling—running is too inappropriate a word to be thought of—to-seed. The only subject on which he seems to feel any approach to enthusiasm, is pitch. He pitches everything he can lay hold of,—the pier, the jettings, his boat, his lounge—when there is nothing else left to turn to, and even pitches his hat, or his rough-weather clothing. Do not judge him by deceitful appearances. These are among the bravest and most skilful mariners that exist. Let a gale arise and swell into a storm, let a sea run that might appal the stoutest heart that ever beat, let the Light-boat on these dangerous guns of a ship in distress, and these men spring up into activity so dauntless, so valiant, and heroic, that the world cannot surpass it. Cavillers may object that they chiefly live upon the salvage of valuable cargoes. So they do, and God knows it is no great living that they get, out of the deadly risks they run. But put that hope of gain aside. Let these rough fellows be asked, in any storm, who volunteers for the Life-Boat to save some perishing souls, as poor and empty-handed as themselves, whose lives the perfection of human reason does not rate at the value of a farthing each; and that boat will be manned, as surely and as cheerfully, as if a thousand pounds were told down on the weather-beaten pier. For this, and for the secondation of their comrades whom we have known, whom the raging sea has engulfed before their children's eyes in such brave efforts, when the secret and has

buried, we hold the boatmen of our Watering Place in our love and honor, and are tender of the fame they well deserve.

So many children are brought down to our Watering Place that, when they are not out of doors, as they usually are in fine weather, it is wonderful where they are put: the whole village seeming much too small to hold them under cover. In the afternoons, you see no end of suit and sandy little boots drying on upper window-sills. At bathing-time in the morning, the little bay resounds with every shrill variety of shriek and splash,—after which, if the weather be at all fresh, the sands teem with small blue mottled legs. The sands there, like ails: so busy burying their particular friends, and making castles with infinite labor which the next tide overthrows, that it is curious to consider how their play, to the music of the sea, foreshadows the realities of their after lives.

It is curious, too, to observe a natural ease of approach that there seems to be between the children and the boatmen. They mutually make acquaintance, and take individual likings, without any help. You will come upon one of those slow heavy fellows sitting down patiently mending a little ship for a mite of a boy, whom he could crush to death by throwing his lightest pair of trousers on him. You will be sensible of the oddest contrast between the smooth little creature and the rough man who seems to be curved out of hard-grained wood—between the delicate hand expectantly held out, and the immense thumb and finger that can hardly feel the rigging of thread they mend—between the small voice, and the gruff growl,—and yet there is a natural propriety in the companion-ship: always to be noted in confidence between a child, and a person who has any merit of reality and genuineness: which is admirably pleasant.

We have a Preventive Station at our Watering Place, and much the same thing may be observed—in a lesser degree, because of their official character—of the Coast Blockade: a steady, trusty, well-conditioned, well-conducted set of men, with a misgiving about looking you full in the face, and with a quiet thorough-going way of passing along to their duty at night, carrying huge Sea-Wester clothing in reserve, that is fraught with all good preparation. They are handy fellows—neat about their houses—industrious gardeners—would get on with their wives, one thinks, in a desert island—and people it, too, soon.

As to the Naval Officer of the station, with his hearty fresh face, and his blue eye that has pierced all kinds of weather, it warms our hearts when he comes into planch on a Sunday, with that bright mixture of blue coat, buff waistcoat, black neck-tie, and gold epaulettes, that is associated in the minds of all Englishmen with brave, unflinching, and loyal national service. We like to look at him

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HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

Continued by

his Sunday state; and if we were First Lord (travelling the indispensable qualification for the office of knowing nothing whatever about the sea), we would give him a ship to-morrow.

We have a church, by the bye, of course—a ludicrous temple of flint, like a great petrified haystack. Our chief clerical dignitary, who, to his honor, has done much for education both in time and money, and has established excellent schools, is a sound, shrewd, healthy gentleman, who has got into little occasional difficulties with the neighboring farmers, but has had a pestilential trick of being right. Under a new regulation, he has yielded the church of our Watering Place to another clergyman. Upon the whole, we get on in church well. We are a little hilarious sometimes, about these things of finetization, and about nations arriving at a new and more unprejudiced knowledge of each other (which our Christianity don't quite approve), but it soon goes off, and then we get on very well.

There are two dissenting chapels, besides, in our small Watering Place; being in about the proportion of a haunted and twenty guns to a yacht. But the dissension that has torn us lately, has not been a religious one. It has arisen on the novel question of Gas. Our Watering Place has been convulsed by the agitation, Gas or No Gas. It was never reasoned why No Gas, but there was a great No Gas party. Broadside were printed and stuck about—a startling circumstance in our Watering Place. The No Gas party rested content with clanking "No Gas!" and "Down with Gas!" and other such angry war-whoops, on the few back gates and scraps of wall which the limits of our Watering Place afford; but the Gas party printed and posted bills, wherein they took the high ground of proclaiming against the No Gas party, that it was said Let there be light and there was light; and that not to have light (that is gas light) in our Watering Place, was to entravens the great decree. Whether by these thunder-bolts or not, the No Gas party were defeated; and in this present season we have had our handful of shops illuminated for the first time. Such of the No Gas party, however, as have got along, remain in opposition and burn tallow—exhibiting in their windows the very picture of the aukiness that punishes itself, and a new illustration of the old adage about cutting off your nose to be revenged on your face, in cutting off their gas to be revenged on their business.

Other population than we have indicated, our Watering Place has none. There are a few old set-up beatmen who creep about in the sunlight with the help of sticks, and these are a poor imbecile shoemaker who wanders the lonely life away among the rocks, as if he were looking for his reason—what life he has, he has in his eyes, occasionally in his hands, and drives away again, as if they

thought us very dull; Italian boys come, Punch comes, the Pasticcini come, the Tumblers come, the Ethiopians come; Glee-singers come at night, and hum and vibrate (not always melodiously) under our windows. But they all go soon, and leave us to ourselves again. We once had a travelling Circus and Wombwell's Menagerie at the same time. They both know better than ever to try it again; and the Menagerie had nearly razed us from the face of the earth in getting the elephant away—his caravan was so large, and the Watering Place so small. We have a fine sea, wholesome for all people; profitable for the world, profitable for the mind. The poet's words are sometimes on its awful lips:

And the stately ships go on,
To their haven under the hill;
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!
Break, break, break,
At the foot of thy crag, O sea!
But the tender grace of a day that is dead
Will never come back to me.

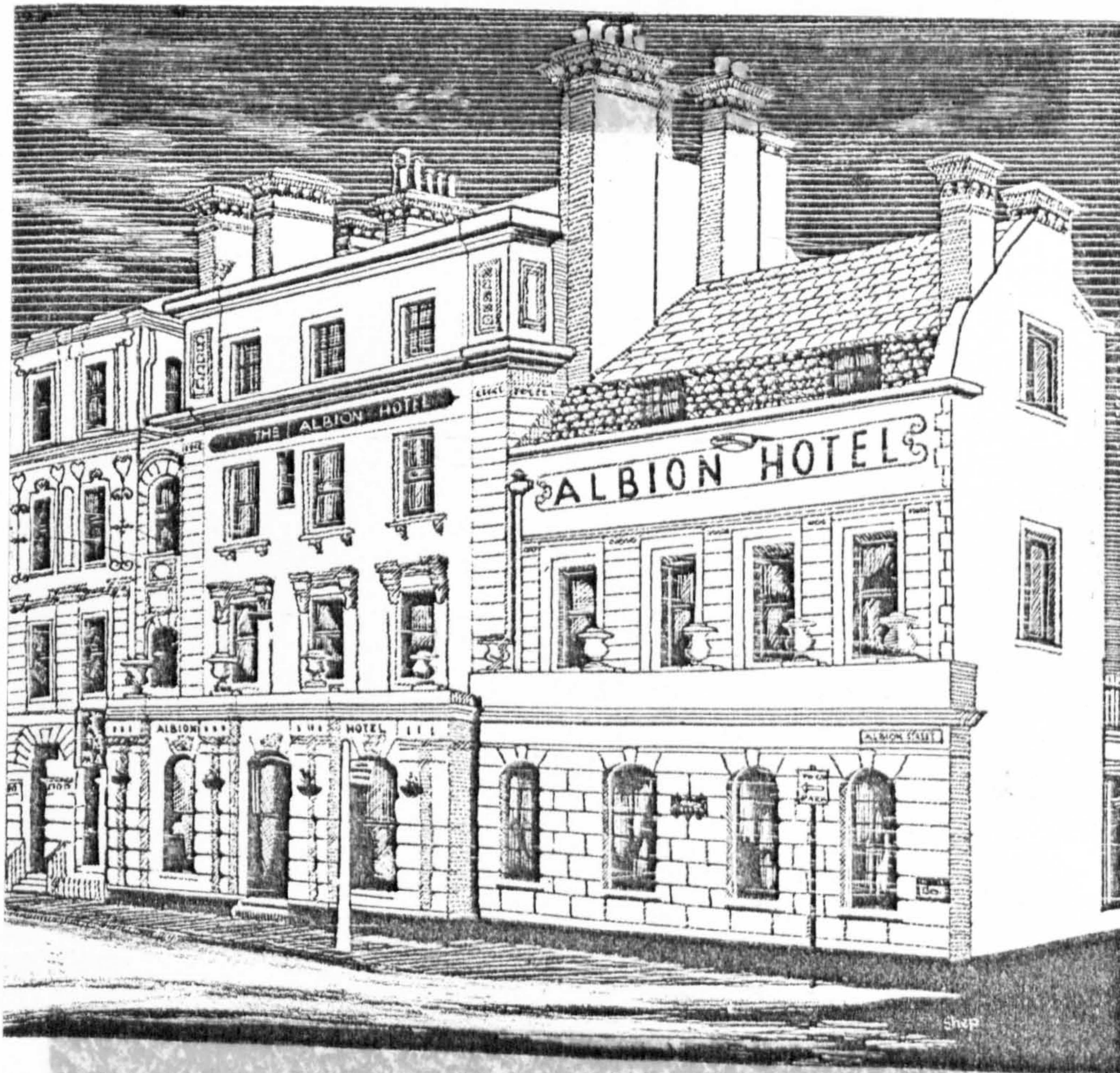
Yet it is not always so, for the speech of the sea is various, and waits not abundant resource of cheerfulness, hope, and lusty encouragement. And since I have been idling at the window here, the tide has risen. The boats are dancing on the bubbling water; the colliers are aloft again; the white-bordered waves rush in; the children

No chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back;
The radiant suns are galling past the shore,
and shining on the far horizon; all the sea is sparkling, heaving, swelling up with life and beauty, this bright morning.

TWO VIEWS OF THE ALBION HOTEL, BROADSTAIRS.



An Original Print of 1871.



THE ROYAL ALBION

The East Kent Critic, No. 170 (June 1977).

(1812-76),¹

"I am much better, and hope to begin Pickwick No 18 to-morrow ... I have discovered that the landlord of the Albion has delicious hollands [Hollands gin] ... and that a cobbler who lives opposite to my bedroom window is a Roman Catholic, and gives an hour and a half to his devotions every morning behind his counter. I have walked upon the sands at low-water from this place to Ramsgate, and sat upon the same ... till I have been flayed with the cold. I have seen ladies and gentlemen walking upon the earth in slippers of buff [i.e. barefoot] ... I have seen stout gentlemen looking at nothing through powerful telescopes for hours". (2)

In 1851 Charles Dickens wrote affectionately of "Our Watering Place" in Household Words,³ but it was not until 1850 that he rented Fort House (later renamed 'Bleak House'), to where he returned for his last long visit in 1851.⁴ He developed a high regard for the Albion Hotel and its landlord, James Ballard (?1806-74) who, as "an excellent hotel-keeper", managed that hotel for 38 years.⁵

Diary entries for 1839 include the following:

"Monday, September 2, 1839.

By steamboat with Kate to Ramsgate. No lodging to be had. Sleep at the Royal Hotel.

Tuesday, September 3, 1839.

To Broadstairs. Took a little house commanding a beautiful sea view, for one month - £21 ... Miss Rainforth and her father and mother (whom we discovered on board yesterday) lodging close to us". (6)

Charles, Kate and the children stayed at 40, Albion Street, from where he wrote to Forster on 9 September 1839.

"My dear Forster.

There were no lodgings at Ramsgate (thank Heaven!) and after spending a night at an Hotel there we came on here, and with great difficulty established ourselves for a month - we couldn't get it for a shorter term, ... two doors from the Albion Hotel ... [with] the most beautiful view of the sea ... that you can imagine. It is a house - not a lodging - has a comfortable sitting room, ... a large bedroom, ...

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., 239 n. (2).
 2. Ibid., 303-4.
 3. Household Words: A Weekly Journal, Volume III (1851), 433-6.
 4. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume I, 303 n. (2).
 5. Ibid., 303 n. (4).
 6. Ibid., 641.

a nursery ... and towards the street a little sitting-room, spare bedroom, and servants' room [with] kitchens ... in their usual places, entrances front and back, surprisingly clean beds, and a costively inconvenient water-closet. Miss Rainforth and her father and mother came down with us in the boat, and live a few doors off. Harley and his sister arrived on Wednesday and hang out in the next street, Rogers (bless his heart) dwelleth at the Albion, and Tom Longman and his wife are to be found at the Library. They have a baby with them, and I think at present that's all the friends and acquaintances". (1)

It is interesting to note who his fellow holidaymakers were. John Pritt Harley (1786-1858) was an actor, singer, stage manager and leading comedian at the St. James's Theatre and was celebrated particularly for his Shakesperian clowns.² Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), the banker-poet, famous for his Pleasures of Memory (1792), knew most writers of importance and was financially generous to many.³ His presence at a public breakfast at Dandelion on 22 August 1804 was noted by Joseph Farington who was then holidaying in Broadstairs.⁴ Thomas Longman (1804-79), a publisher, became head of Longmans in 1842.⁵

Dickens's correspondence gives the impression of literary bustle and whirl at Broadstairs. He worked for three days, 5 - 7 September 1839, and then recorded in his diary that "Chapman and Hall down with Sketches for forthcoming Nos. - Dinner here".⁶ John Forster was invited to Broadstairs:

"I shall have done great things if I have entirely finished by the 20th. That's a Friday - can you come on Saturday the 21st? Consult ... that Diary of yours ... We enjoy the place amazingly, and so will you I'm sure.

Always my Dear Forster
Your faithful friend
CHARLES DICKENS

DIRECTIONS FOR COMING DOWN

1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume I, 578.
2. Ibid., 167 n. (1).
3. Ibid., 602 n. (1).
4. Greig, op. cit., 277-8 as noted in the previous section to this Chapter.
5. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume I, 578 n. (2).
6. Ibid., 641; Edward Chapman (1804-80) and William Hall (?1801-47) formed a bookselling and publishing partnership at 186, Strand, in 1830, A. Waugh, A Hundred Years of Publishing (1930). Records show that they paid Dickens £2,000 for the monthly parts of Pickwick.

Take a Ramsgate boat from London Bridge Wharf at 9 precisely. Say when you draw near here, and that you are for Broadstairs, and come ashore in the boat which will come along-side for you. If the weather should be so rough that the boat can't come ... go on to Ramsgate and return - 2 miles - per fly". (1)

On Sunday, 22 September 1839, "Forster returned with me to Broadstairs - beautiful passage. Kate and the dear children waiting for us at the pier".² Having completed Nicholas Nickleby according to plan, and having been to London, Dickens found time for a few days of pleasure:

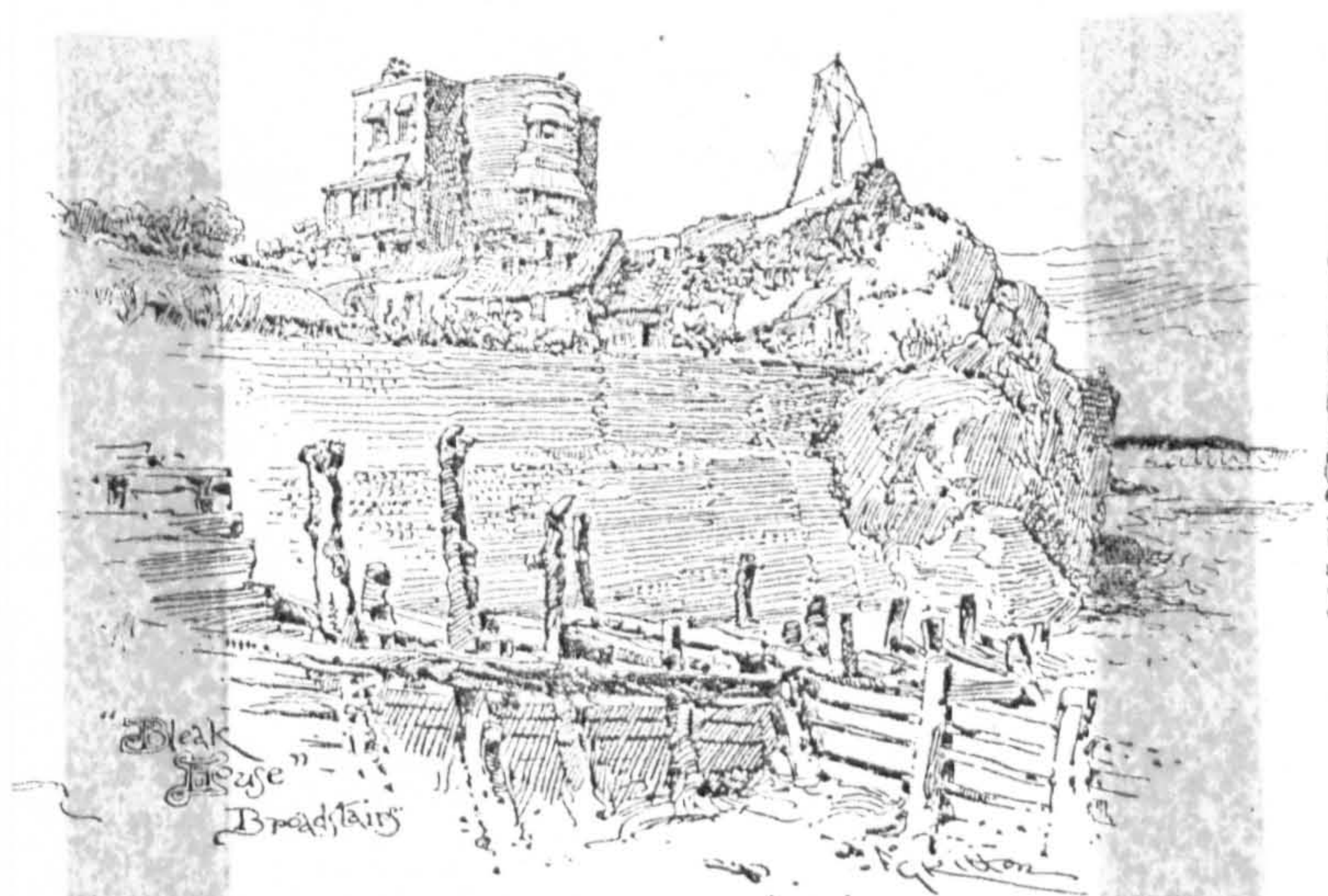
"Monday, September 23, 1839.
Sea Bathing.
Long walk with Forster and Fred.
Wednesday, September 25, 1839.
Sea Bathing.
Fred left us and went to town. Forster, I, and Kate, at Pegwell.
Thursday, September 26, 1839.
Sea Bathing.
Rogers called. Dined early. Saw Forster off from Ramsgate in the evening by the night coach.
Friday, September 27, 1839.
Sea Bathing.
Kate and I dined with Rogers and his friend Mr. Maltby at the Albion here.
Monday, September 30, 1839.
The babes and the servants went home this morning. On this as on all other days since I have completed Nickleby, out from breakfast time until dinner". (3)

In 1840 the Dickens family arrived in Broadstairs on 1 June and established themselves at 37 Albion Street.

"We have been in the house two hours, and the dining-parlor closet already displays a good array of bottles, duly arranged by the writer hereof - the Spirits labelled 'Gin', 'Brandy', 'Hollands' ... and the wine tasted and approved. ... The sea is rolling away ... and there are two pretty little spare bedrooms waiting to be occupied. We mean to stay here a Month, and to return ... for another Month in the beginning of September ... Every Saturday Morning at 9 o'clock there is a Ramsgate steamer leaving London Bridge Wharf, which, being boarded off this place by a boat belonging to it, will deposit you in the family's arms. On Monday mornings you can leave here either at 8 or 9, and be in town, as you please, at about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 or $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4". (4)

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume I, 578-9.
 2. Ibid., Volume I, 643; the arrangement whereby Dickens and Forster met on the Saturday and travelled to Broadstairs together on the Sunday was suggested in a letter to Forster, dated 18 September 1839. Dickens looked "forward to Saturday and the evenings that are to follow it", ibid., 581.
 3. Ibid., 643.
 4. Ibid., Volume II (O.U.P., 1969), 77.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE AFFECTION WHICH CHARLES DICKENS
HAD FOR BROADSTAIRS.



How well Dickens loved Broadstairs is told in his letter of the 1st September, 1843, addressed to Professor Felton, of Cambridge, U. S. A., as follows:—

“This is a little fishing-place; intensely quiet; built on a cliff, whereon—in the centre of a tiny semi-circular bay—our house stands; the sea rolling and dashing under the windows. Seven miles out are the Goodwin Sands (you’ve heard of the Goodwin Sands?), whence floating lights perpetually wink after dark, as if they were carrying on intrigues with the servants. Also there is a lighthouse called the North Foreland on a hill behind the village, a severe parsonic light, which reproves the young and giddy floaters, and stares grimly out upon the sea. Under the cliff are rare good sands, where all the children assemble every morning and throw up impossible fortifications, which the sea throws down again at high-water. Old gentlemen and ancient ladies flirt after their own manner in two reading-rooms, and on a great many scattered seats in the open air. Other old gentlemen look all day long through telescopes and never see anything.



This letter was addressed to Thomas Beard (1807-91) who was a journalist and reporter for The Morning Herald and The Morning Chronicle, and was sometimes called "Dickens's oldest friend".¹ Dickens wrote on 2 June 1840 one of the most famous of his Broadstairs letters to Daniel Maclise (?1806-70), one of the most admired painters of his day.²

"My foot is in the house,
My bath is on the sea,
And before I take a souse
Here's a single note to thee . (3)

It merely says that the sea is in a state of extraordinary sublimity, that this place is, as the Guide Book most justly observed, 'unsurpassed for the salubrity and purity of the refreshing breezes which are wafted on the ocean's pinions from far distant climes' - that we are all right after the perils and voyages of yesterday - that the sea is a rowling away in front of the window ... and that everything is as fresh and glorious as fine weather and a splendid coast can make it. Bear these recommendations in mind.

COME!" (4)

He enjoyed "Brilliant Weather!" and received a visit in the middle of June from his solicitor, Charles Smithson⁵ (?1804-44), who was a partner in Smithson, Dunn and Mitton of Southampton Buildings.⁶ He was suffering from a bad eye, for which his host recommended that "sea water would be the thing to cure it", and "we are flourishing exceedingly, and as brown as berries".⁷ Throughout June Charles Dickens was at his desk for many hours every day "except on Mondays when in common with other vagabonds I usually make holiday".⁸ By 1 July he was back in London.⁹

Finding a house in Broadstairs proved difficult. On 10 August 1840, Dickens was hopeful "about our old one",¹⁰ but a week later he contemplated

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume I, 3 n. (1).
 2. Ibid., 201 n. (1).
 3. A parody of verses written by Byron to Thomas Moore, first published in The Traveller, 8 January 1821.
 4. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 79.
 5. Ibid., 82.
 6. Ibid., Volume I, 427 n. (3).
 7. Ibid., Volume II, 83.
 8. Ibid., 89.
 9. Ibid., 92.
 10. Ibid., 112.

going down to find one.¹ From Devonshire Terrace he wrote to Thomas Mitton, on 19 August 1840, to let him know that

"the only intelligence we can get about the houses on the Terrace at Broadstairs is, that there are two to let: ... one a little to the left of our old house, supposing you were looking out of the window upon the blue, the fresh and ever free;(2) the other a little more to the left still, ... known by the name of Barfield's Cottage, [which] will be vacant (we are told) upon the twenty-first. But ... at this season of the year they won't keep the houses even a week for you ... The other house must be either the one which Smithson looked at, or one close to and exactly like it ... The terms I don't know, but they are certainly not more than five guineas per week, I should say ...

In short, nothing can be done without going down in person, for the place is very full indeed, and the people wildly rapacious and rearing up on their hind legs for money. The day to go down upon is a Monday, for there is a chance of some family having gone out upon that morning it being a great departure day". (3)

Charles Dickens was forced to go down to Broadstairs, where his mission proved successful. From there he wrote to Thomas Mitton on Thursday morning, 27 August:

"In case I should not see you in Devonshire Terrace when I arrive home this evening ... I write you the glad tidings that I have engaged a house - a very good one ... taking possession of it, next Sunday. Let me ... know if we take steam together, and so forth". (4)

He engaged Lawn House, on the way to Kingsgate, which was separated from the sea by a cornfield.⁵

Preparatory to visiting Broadstairs in 1841, Charles Dickens wrote to the librarian, Mr. Barnes,⁶ concerning the possibility of securing accommodation as early as 7 June 1841.

"Dear Mr. Barnes,

We propose coming to Broadstairs this year ... on Saturday the Thirty First of July, and remaining until Saturday the Ninth of October; and as we are going into Scotland the

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 117.
 2. Quoted from "The Sea" in B.W. Procter, English Songs (1832).
 3. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 119-20.
 4. Ibid., 121.
 5. Ibid., 121 n. (1).
 6. The Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1845) lists David Barnes as having several business interests: "library and reading rooms, house agent and bath proprietor", Albion Street, Broadstairs.

nineteenth of this month, we wish, if we can, to arrange about a house before leaving town.

Mrs. Dickens and I, think (though we don't quite remember its accommodations) that your small Library House would suit us very well. If you are disposed to let it for this term, we shall be glad to hear from you on the subject. If you are otherwise engaged, perhaps you will look about for us and give us the benefit of your advice. We wish to be on the Terrace if possible". (1)

Daniel Maclise was invited to journey down with Charles Dickens, for "there is a bedroom ... at your service", and "I only ask in order that the servants (who go on Saturday morning) may know for whom they are to prepare".² From Broadstairs on 2 August 1841 an open invitation was sent to Thomas Beard:

"You cannot (as you know) come too soon, or too often, or stay too long. I am alone, and anxiously expecting you.

The Ramsgate boat starts from the Wharf at London Bridge, every morning at 9 at the moment. All you have to do, is to go aboard of her, and when you come off Margate or thereabouts, tell the captain you want to go ashore at Broadstairs.

When you know, write and tell me the day, that I may be on the look-out for you ... The Sea seems to me to get fresher every year". (3)

A third invitation, dated 16 August 1841, was addressed to Henry Austin (?1812-61), an architect and civil engineer and a former pupil of Robert Stephenson who had employed him on the Blackwall Railway. In 1837 he had married Letitia Dickens⁴ (1816-93).

"My Dear Henry,

You would like this place, I think. Arrange to come down here with Letitia - say on the 1st. of September, and stop as long as you can.

The passage at the longest is 6 hours - the fare as many shillings - and you come ashore under the window - consequently, you can go backwards and forwards as often as you like ... Kate joins me in love to Letitia and sends the same to yourself". (5)

A letter to John Forster on 13 September 1841 reveals how the Dickens

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 297.
 2. Ibid., 343.
 3. Ibid., 347-8.
 4. Ibid., Volume I, 21 n. (3); Dickens's youngest sister.
 5. Ibid., Volume II, 361.

family were enjoying their stay in Broadstairs:

"We are going to dine with Rogers today, and with Lady Essex, who is also here ... I am in an exquisitely lazy state, bathing, walking, reading, lying in the sun, doing everything but working". (1)

Samuel Rogers was a frequent visitor to Broadstairs, where he stayed until 7 October.² Catherine Stephens (1794-1882) was an opera singer and actress who became Countess of Essex by marrying in 1838 the octogenarian 5th Earl of Essex, who died the following year.³ A "Narrative of an Expedition down the Thames, from the Euston Hotel, London, to the Albion Hotel, Broadstairs", in Bentley's Miscellany (1842) associated Broadstairs with Samuel Rogers, Charles Dickens and Lady Essex. Travelling by boat to Ramsgate with her husband, Mrs. Brown (a plebeian) meets a woman who she believes is the "Dowager Lady Essex". She is in fact her lady's maid but informs Mrs. Brown that Broadstairs is "the only place in these parts fit for decent people to be seen at". The Browns decide to forsake Ramsgate and proceed to Broadstairs by omnibus, where at the Albion Hotel they are received "by Mr. Ballard himself, the civil, attentive [and] obliging young landlord". Mrs. Brown is disappointed because the Albion Hotel is not the 'fine large' place she expected and Ballard waits at the table. On discovering, however, that Rogers is in the next room, that the voices she hears through the wall are those of Rogers and Dickens, that the man she had spoken to in the omnibus was Dickens, and that the woman she stared at in the hall was "the real Dowager Lady Essex", coming to the Albion Hotel to drink tea with Rogers, contentment overcomes Mrs. Brown.⁴ Samuel Rogers met the famous social reformer Lord Ashley (1801-85), later the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, who, with his family, was staying in Broadstairs during part of July and August 1841.⁵ By 1841 Charles Dickens had grown accustomed

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1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 380.
 2. P.W. Clayden, Rogers and his Contemporaries (1889), Volume II, 202.
 3. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 280 n. (2).
 4. Bentley's Miscellany; Volume XII (1842), 21-30.
 5. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 380 n. (3).

to coming "to this part of England to pass the Autumn",¹ enjoying in September being "hideously lazy - always bathing, lying in the sun, or walking about".²

Charles Dickens was only one of many from the world of learning and art who chose to visit Broadstairs. This fact was among the merits of the place during the 1840's.

"To those who prefer tranquility and retirement to scenes of bustle and holiday festivity, Broadstairs will present many advantages over its more gay and animated rivals; and to the studious and contemplative nothing can be more congenial than the society which generally meet once a year in this interesting spot. To the invalid it is favourable from the same causes, offering few temptations to gaiety or indulgence, but affording every facility for retired and intelligent enjoyment ... Broadstairs has long been the periodical residence of many distinguished literary men". (3)

Edward Edwards (1812-86), the pioneer of public libraries, went with his wife to Broadstairs at the beginning of October 1848 for a short and inexpensive holiday.⁴ He returned full of energy and high spirits,⁵ While Margratta, his wife, enjoyed a quiet rest, he tramped round the Kentish Coast from Margate to Deal, but in the evenings they settled down cosily to Waverley.⁶

If Dickens and Edwards led the way to Broadstairs during the 1830's and 1840's, others followed suit, including the poet and humourist, Thomas Hood (1799-1845); the biographer and novelist, Florence Marryat (1838-99); the humourist, W.J. Prowse (1836-90); the author and dramatist, Henry Leigh (1837-83); the novelist, Sir Walter Besant (1836-1901); the actor and theatrical manager, J.L. Toole (1832-1906); the novelist, Wilkie Collins (1824-89), who stayed at Bleak House; the historical painter, B.R. Haydon (1786-1846); the actor, Sir Henry Irving (1838-1905), and other eminent artists, dramatists, and literary men.⁷

1. House and Storey, op. cit., Volume II, 381.

2. Ibid., 383.

3. W.H. Bartlett, J.D. Harding and T. Creswick, The Ports, Harbours, Watering-Places and Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain (circa 1842).

4. W.A. Mumford, Edward Edwards, 1812-1886, Portrait of a Librarian (1963), 57.

5. Ibid., 58.

6. Ibid., 57.

7. Broadstairs: The Official Publication of the District Council (1905), op. cit., 21; details from The Dictionary of National Biography.

Local country estates or marine villas continued to be owned or resided in by families of wealth and social standing. Heading the personal lists of Pigot's Directories during the 1820's and 1830's were the resident 'Gentry and Clergy'. Some were members of leading professional and business firms but others had retired to the seaside.

TABLE 45: RESIDENT NOBILITY, GENTRY, AND CLERGY, IN THE ISLE OF THANET, IN 1826-7, 1833-4, AND 1839.

	(1) <u>1826-7</u>	(2) <u>1833-4</u>	(3) <u>1839</u>
Margate	74	97	149
Ramsgate	40	89	-
Broadstairs and St. Peters	34	42	-

TABLE 46: SOME OF THOSE IN MARGATE, IN 1826-7, 1833-4, AND 1839.

<u>1826-7</u>	<u>1833-4</u>	<u>1839</u>
Rev. Fredk. Bayley, Cecil Square.	Rev. Francis Barrow, Fort Crescent.	Rev. Francis Barrow, Fort Crescent.
Edward Boys, Esq., Hengrove.	Mr. Robt. Brooke, R.N., Hawley Square.	Lieut. Alex. Brown, R.N., Westbrook.
William Cobb, Esq., ^A Hawley Square.	Sir Richard Burton, Sackets Hill.	Sir Richard Burton, Sackets Hill.
Da Costa Morrice, Esq., Lausanne House.	Francis William Cobb, ^A Esq., Union Crescent.	Francis William Cobb, Esq., ^A King Street.
Major Garrett, Updown.	Thomas Francis Cobb, ^A Esq., Addington Cottage.	John M. Cobb, Esq., ^A 11 Upper Grosvenor Place.
Daniel Jarvis, Esq., ^B Upper Marine Terrace.	Rev. Thomas Costigan, Prospect Place.	Thomas Francis Cobb, Esq., ^A Upper Marine Terrace.
Sir Thomas Staines, Dent de Lion.	Capt. John Edwards, Prospect Place.	William Cobb, Esq., ^A Hawley Street.
James Taddy, Esq., Hartsdown.	Martin French, Esq., Tivoli Gardens.	Rev. Thomas Costigan, Prospect Place.
	Major Robert Garrett, Updown.	Capt. Cruikshank, 19 Cecil Square.
	George Gunning, Esq., Dent de Lion.	Maurice D'Costa, Esq., Lausanne House.
	Admiral Harvey, 22 Marine Terrace.	The Misses Dixon, 23 Upper Marine Terrace.
	Daniel Jarvis, Esq., ^B Marine Terrace.	Henry Dove, R.N., 10 Addington Square.
	Miss Sophia Jarvis, 24 Hawley Square.	Lieut. Robert Dwyer, R.N., Cecil Square.

1. Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1826-7, op. cit., 595, 637, 643.
2. Pigot & Co.'s National, London, and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1833-4, op. cit., 775, 850, 856.
3. Pigot & Co.'s Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839), op. cit., 340.

1826-7

1833-4

1839

Jno. Powell Powell, Esq., Quex House, [Birchington].	Capt. Easter, Wilderness.
Octavius Scott, Esq., Hawley Square.	Major Robert Garrett, Updown.
Edward Taddy, Esq., Dane.	James Jolly, Esq., Shottenden.
Mrs. James Taddy, Hartsdown.	W.C. Keene, Esq., Dent de Lion.
Lady Emily Wellesley, 11 Buenos Ayres.	Mr. Edward Mockett, Dane.
Major Sir James Whale, Northdown.	Major Wm. Pitchers, 28 Fort Crescent.
Capt. William Wheatley, Princes Crescent.	John Powell Powell, Esq., Quex House.
Capt. Thomas Wilcock, R.N., Dane.	John Slater, Esq., 17 Cecil Square.
	Major Sir James Whale, Northdown.

N.B. The lettered names above had professional or business interests in Margate.

A - The Cobbs are listed during this period as brewers, bankers and agents to Lloyds. (1)

B - Daniel Jarvis was a surgeon practicing in Margate. (2)

The above lists enumerated only four titled persons in Margate and only Maurice D'Costa and Major Robert Garrett were listed continuously over the thirteen year period. Prominent estates included Hengrove, Updown, Hartsdown, Northdown, Dent de Lion, Wilderness, Shottenden, and Quex in Birchington. The residents or retired gentry of Margate contained a respectable number of officers. The same was true of Ramsgate and Broadstairs and their environs, where titled names were more numerous.

TABLE 47: SOME OF THE RESIDENT NOBILITY, GENTRY AND CLERGY IN RAMSGATE, IN 1826-7 AND 1833-4.

1826-7

1833-4

Admiral Boyce, Nelson Crescent.
Peter Burgess, Esq.,^A High Street.
*Robert Croft, Esq., Dumpton.

Major Gen. Beaver, Effingham Place.
Lady Edward Bentinck, 4 Paragon.
Peter Burgess, Esq.,^A High Street.

1. Also see Chapter V above.
2. Also see Chapter II above.

1826-7

Sir William Curtis Bart, Cliff House.
 Lady De Hamlin, East Cliff.
 Hon. Major Gardner, Wellington
 Crescent.
 Col. Garratt, St. Lawrence.
 Thomas Garratt, Esq., Nether Court.
 Sir Thomas Grey,^B Sion Hill.
 Sir James Lake, Paragon.
 Capt. Parkinson, R.N., Mount
 Pleasant.

1833-4

* Robert Croft, Esq., Dumpton.
 Lady Curtis, Cliff House.
 Major Hon. Gardner, Belle Vue Lodge.
 Thomas Garratt, Esq., Nether Court.
 The Hon. Baron Garrow, Pegwell.
 Sir Thos. Grey,^B Physician, 1 Sion Hill.
 Capt. William Hutchinson, R.N.,
 36 Hardres Street.
 Sir James Lake, 13 Paragon.
 Capt. Edward Manby, R.N., 35 Hardres
 Street.
 *Moses Montefiore, Esq., East Cliff
 Lodge.
 Capt. S. Norwood, R.N., Goldsmid Place.
 Capt. Sharp, R.N., 7 Sion Hill.
 J.A. Warre, Esq., M.P., West Cliff Lodge.

N.B.

A - Listed as a banker, Peter Burgess & Son, High Street, Ramsgate.

B - Listed as a practicing physician, Sion Hill.

* - Listed also under Broadstairs and St. Peters.

TABLE 48: RESIDENT NOBILITY, GENTRY AND CLERGY IN BROADSTAIRS AND ST. PETERS,
IN 1826-7 AND 1833-4.

1826-7

Henry Blackburn, Esq., St. Peters.
 Robert Crofts, Esq., Dumpton House.
 Frederick Cuthbert, Esq., Stone
 House.
 Edward Fletcher, Esq., Piermont.
 Capt. George Gooch, Fort House.
 Capt. Henniker, Chandos Place.
 Lord Henniker, Chandos Place.
 Capt. Isacke, North Foreland Lodge.
 Mrs. Langley, Dane Court Lodge,
 St. Peters.
 Mr. Edward Layng, Surgeon, Serene
 House.

1833-4

Henry Blackburn, Esq., St. Peters. (1)
 Sir Richard Burton, Sackett Hill House.
 Col. Clark, St. Peters, M.C. at
 Ranelagh. (2)
 Capt. Charles Cotton, Kingsgate.
 Rev. Thomas Cramp, St. Peters.
 Robert Crofts, Esq., Dumpton.
 Rev. C.G. Davies, Eldon Place, Vicar of
 Broadstairs.
 Edward Fletcher, Esq., Piermont House.
 Capt. George Gooch, Fort House.
 Lady Grant, Victoria Place.
 Capt. Henniker, Chandos Place.
 Lord Henniker, Chandos Place.
 Capt. Isacke, North Foreland Lodge.
 Mrs. D. Langley, Dane Court Lodge.
 Moses Montefiore, Esq., East Cliff Lodge.
 William Read, Esq., Thanet Lodge.
 Lieut. William Rosson, R.N., St. Peters.
 Rev. Evelyn Lavett Sutton, Vicar of St.
 Peters.
 Mr. Isaac White, St. Peters.

1. Listed also under Margate above.

2. These were tea gardens.

Sir William Garrow who owned the marine property at Pegwell, near Ramsgate, was an Assize Judge at Maidstone,¹ but undoubtedly the most famous Thanet estate, apart from Kingsgate which was broken up, was East Cliff Lodge, on the borders of Broadstairs and Ramsgate. In 1815 it was sold to Patrick Cumming, a 'Russia merchant', who leased it to the Marquis of Wellesley. His brother, the Duke of Wellington, often visited him there.² The Kentish Gazette reported during August 1816 that

"His Grace the Duke of Wellington arrived in Canterbury in the forenoon of Tuesday, and took some refreshment at the Fountain Inn, where he met his Noble Brother the Marquis Wellesley, with whom he proceeded to East Cliff Lodge, near Ramsgate. His Grace from thence pursued his route to Dover, where he embarked at 11 on the same night, in the Lord Duncan packet, for Calais". (3)

From 1831, until his death in 1885, Moses Montefiore, "the outstanding Jewish figure of a great part of the nineteenth century",⁴ made East Cliff Lodge his summer home.

Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) joined the Stock Exchange in 1815 being among the few English Jews to gain the much coveted Broker's Medal. This was "a privilege limited to twelve Hebrews and [was] only obtained for him by his uncles at the high cost of £1,200".⁵ Previously he had worked for Johnson, McCulloch, Sons & Co., who were Provision Merchants at 19 Eastcheap, but already at the Stock Exchange his relatives had secured great wealth and influence.⁶ He established himself at Grigsby's Coffee House near the Bank of England, and benefited from his family connections with the Rothschilds,⁷ for

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1. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 2 September 1828, 3d, quoting from The Kentish Chronicle.
 2. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 11.
 3. The Kentish Gazette, 16 August 1816.
 4. Goodman, op. cit., 11.
 5. Ibid., 31.
 6. Ibid., 31.
 7. He became a brother-in-law of Baron Nathan Meyer de Rothschild, the founder of the English branch of the house, and, for the first thirteen years of their married life, Moses and Judith Montefiore lived next door to N.M. Rothschild at 4, New Court, St. Swithin's Lane, in the City of London, ibid., 29.

whom he acted as broker, with the Cohens.¹ He was among the first to issue weekly price lists of stocks quoted on the Exchange.² He was associated with banking, and among his more notable financial transactions was the issue by Moses Montefiore and Nathan Meyer Rothschild in 1835 of a £15 m. West Indian Loan to enable the British Government to carry into effect the Slave Emancipation Act.³ He engaged in commercial ventures, being one of the founders, and until his death the president, of the Imperial Continental Gas Association. The Alliance Assurance Company was formed in 1824 by Moses Montefiore, N.M. Rothschild and others.⁴ He was appointed a director of the South Eastern Railway Company and of the Provincial Bank of Ireland.⁵

He retired from the Stock Exchange in 1824 at the early age of 40,⁶ and was already a wealthy man. He devoted the remainder of his life to philanthropic work and to the service of Jewish people, retaining an active interest only in those companies with which he was connected.⁷ In 1829 he was presented to William IV by the Duke of Norfolk at a dance given by His Majesty.⁸ During the 1830's he met the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria.⁹ He moved in aristocratic and influential circles.¹⁰ In 1837 he was knighted and elected a Sheriff of the City of London and was the second Jew to hold this office.¹¹ In 1845 he headed a deputation to Sir Robert Peel seeking a removal of Jewish disabilities.¹²

1. He married Judith Cohen (born 1784), the second daughter of Levi Barent Cohen (1740-1808), Goodman, op. cit., 28-9.

2. Ibid., 32.

3. Ibid., 33.

4. Ibid., 33; The Alliance Assurance Company was formed because of the alleged refusal of The Guardian Assurance Company to appoint Mr. Benjamin Gompertz, a distinguished mathematician and a brother-in-law of Montefiore, to the post of actuary, on account of his being a Jew, L. Wolf, Centennial Biography of Sir Moses Montefiore (1885), 26.

5. Goodman, op. cit., 34.

6. Ibid., 34.

7. Ibid., 34; on these other interests, ibid., Chapters IV-XI, XIII-XV.

8. Ibid., 43.

9. See this section above.

10. Goodman, op. cit., 43.

11. Ibid., 46-7.

12. Ibid., 42.

Sir Moses Montefiore rented East Cliff Lodge before he purchased it. On 12 February 1822 he signed an agreement to rent the Lodge for one year from 15 April for £550.¹ When it came up for auction in 1830, John Cumming having succeeded Patrick Cumming,² Moses Montefiore wished to purchase East Cliff Lodge, even though the property was in need of repair,³ and even though it was uncertain whether Jews could lawfully possess real estate in England.⁴ He discussed with his wife the probable price it would fetch, and then recorded in his diary:

"if, please God, I should be the purchaser, it is my intention to go but seldom to London and after two or three years to reside entirely at Ramsgate. I would build a small but handsome Synagogue, and engage a good and clever man as Reader". (5)

His ambition was realized in 1831. On 6 April he agreed "to purchase 'East Cliff Lodge', at the price of £5,500", and paid "a deposit of £1,000 in part of the purchase money".⁶ His diary recorded how

"I met John Cumming; he signed the conveyance of East Cliff Lodge to me. I also paid Messrs. Dawes and Chatfield for the conveyance £124 4s. 4d. May the Almighty bless and preserve my dear Judith and myself to enjoy the possession of it for many years, that we may also have the happiness of seeing our intended Synagogue completed, and always have a large congregation". (7)

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1. L. Loewe, The Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore (1890), Volume I, 27; the Montefiore's first visit to Ramsgate occurred on their honeymoon, touring the South of England, and passing through en route from Deal to Margate, 28 June 1812: "we arrived at Ramsgate at one o'clock, where we stopped about half an hour to take lunch. Unfortunately the weather was very rainy. In consequence we were prevented from a walk on the pier which is very handsome", L. Wolf, Lady Montefiore's Honeymoon: An Unpublished Diary (1902).
 2. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 12.
 3. Ibid., 12.
 4. Wolf, Centennial Biography, op. cit., 49; although Jews with impunity openly held and enjoyed landed estates, it was only in 1858 that all such disabilities were removed, H.S.Q. Henriques, The Jews and the English Law (O.U.P., 1908), 191.
 5. Loewe, op. cit., Volume I, 81.
 6. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 12.
 7. Loewe, op. cit., Volume I, 83.

FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS IN JUNE 1817.

Fashionable Arrivals.

Margate.

The Right Hon. Lord Sondes—General Montresor—The Right Hon. Lady Sondes—Hon. Miss Watson—Hon. George Watson—Hon. Henry Watson—Rev. Mr. Jones—Colonel and Mrs. Murphy—Rev. Dr. Nantz and family—Mrs. Manton and ditto—Mr. Lewis and ditto—Mr. Hazard and ditto—Mr and Mrs. Amplett—Mrs. Burns—Mr. and Mrs Stewart—Mr. and Mrs. Read—Mr. Millard—Captains Robinson and Wallace—Mr. and Mrs. Field—Mrs. and Miss Rooke—Mrs Gibbs and family—Mr. Hurst and ditto—Mrs. Finucane and ditto—Captain and Mrs. Young—Dr. Bancroft and family—Mrs. Bowker and ditto—Mr. and Mrs. S. Brooke—Mr. and Mrs. Storeham—Mr. Peacock—Mr. Matthews—Mr. Carlos—Mr. Little and family—Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone—Mr. Brown and family—Mr. Graham and ditto—Lieutenant Howgrave—Mr. Moon—Mr. Valentine—Mr. Musgrave and family—Mrs. Freeman—Mrs. Sharp—Miss Brown—Mrs. and Miss King—Mr. and Mrs Prickett—Mr. Savory and family—Mr. Hedges and ditto—Mr. Briscoe from the Continent—Mr. Ross and friend from ditto.

Kingsgate.

Sir John, and The Hon. Lady Palmer—Lady Wright and Miss Frewer—Sir Peter Pole—Dean of Lichfield—Mr. and Mrs. Curtis—Mr. and Mrs. C. Knight—Captain V. Bennett—Mrs. and Miss Parkers—Mrs. George—Mr. and Mrs. Sharwood—Mr. and Mrs. A. Ryder—Mr. and Mrs. Sedgwick—Mr. and Mrs. Layard—Mrs. Pembroke—Mr. and Mrs. Peckham—Rev. T. Barne—Rev. Charles Pettingal—Rev. Henry Hale.

Broadstairs.

Sir George and Lady Anson—Lieut. Colonel and Mrs Eooth—Rev. James and Miss Beresford—Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rowles—Mr. and Mrs. Crowther—Mr. Todd—Mr. J. B. Price—Mr. and Mrs. Fairbone—Mr. and Mrs. Brough—Miss West—Mr. and Mrs. A. Morton—Mr. and Mrs. Prickett—Miss Clarke—Miss Oakley—Mrs. Mackmurdo—Captain Morton.

Kingsgate.

Colonel Allen and Captain Cotton.

Birchington.

Admiral and Mrs. Watkins and family.

FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS IN JULY 1817.

Fashionable Arrivals.

Margate.

Lord Cochrane—Colonel Allen—Captain Vernon—Mr. and Mrs. Austin and family—Mr. and Mrs. Cooper and ditto—Mr. and Mrs. Watson and ditto—Mr. Steward and ditto—Mr. Bacon—Mr. Bowles and family—Mr. Taylor and ditto—Mr. Dalrymple—Rev. Mr. Robinson—Rev. Mr. Owen—Mr. Snodgass—Mr. King—Captain Wyndham—Mr. Carr—Captain Sherwood and party—Mr. and Mrs. Dearsley and family—Mr. and Mrs. Van and ditto—Mr. Bullock—Colonel Abernethy—Mr. Oliver and family—Mr. Bird and ditto—Mr. Edmunds and ditto—Mr. Bessett and ditto—Major Light and ditto—Mr. Austen and ditto—Mr. Wright and ditto—Mr. Parnell and ditto—Mrs. and Miss Riggs—Mrs. More and family—Mr. Shrewbridge and ditto—Mr. Perrier—Mrs. Hales and family—Mrs. and Mrs. Bartram—Mr. Barton and family—Mr. Baskerville and ditto—Mr. Warrington and ditto—Mr. Mortlock and ditto—Mrs. and Miss Sparrows—Mr. and Mrs. Bagley—Mrs. Samuel and family—Mr. Isaacs and ditto—Captain Crawley—Mr. Ricardo—Capt. Gardner—Mrs. Graham.

Wansgate.

Dowager Countess Dunmore and Lady Virginia Murray—Viscount and Lady Bernard—Lord Winchelsea—Lady Augusta D'Ameland—Lady Whitcombe—Sir William and Lady Wake and family—Sir William and Lady Fraser and ditto—John Round, Esq. M. P.—Admiral and Mrs. Vashon—Rev. James Vashon—Colonel Buckland—Colonel Blunden—Capt. Boys, R. N.—Captain Champain—Captain Simeon R. N.—Captain Bathurst, R. N.—Major-General Foveaux—Major Halford—Major Brace—Captain Newton—The Rev. W. A. Armstrong—The Rev. W. and Mrs. Clarke—Dr. and Mrs. Grey—Mr. R. Filmer—Mr. and Mrs. Barrett—Mr. and Mrs. Prescott—Mr. Collings—Mr. Gundry—Mrs. Woodhouse—Mr. and Mrs. Cadogan—Mr. Yarde—Mr. and Mrs. Kymer—Mr. and Mrs. Pepys—Mrs. Corbett—Mr. and Mrs. Jackson—Mrs. Macvicar—Mrs. Mocatta—Mrs. Lewis—Mr. and Miss Finch—Miss Fitzgerald—Mr. and Mrs. Newton—Mr. Gordon—Mr. Freeling—Miss Shaw—Mrs. Hodges—Mr. Williams—Mrs. Brandrick—Miss Smith—Mr. Barnes—Mrs. I. Wilson—Mr. Gastling.

Broadstairs.

Earl and Countess Delawar—The Honourable Lady Dering—The Rev. F. Mandy—Mr. R. Bell—Colonel Elford—Mr. and Mrs. Hallan—Mrs. Pringle—Mr. Dean—Mr. Gregory—Rev. E. Gregory—Lieut-Col. Boger—Mr. and Mrs. Boger—Miss Lake—Mr. Ashworth—Mr. Hodges—Mrs. Jacomb—Dr. de Courcy Luffan—Mr. Madocks—Mr. de Lassence—Mr. E. King—Miss Thompsons—Mr. and Mrs. Prickard—Mrs. and Miss Atkinson—Rev. Mr. and Miss Taylor—Mr. Reid—Mr. Northcote—Mr. Middleton—Mrs. E. Hoper—Miss Chalié—Mrs. Forsyth—Miss Mortin—Miss Bankers—Mrs. Taunton—Mrs. Gourdez.

Fashionable Arrivals.

Margate.

Sir Edward and Lady Hales, Baroness de Beaufain, Gen. Lightburne. *Colonels*.—Charitic and Lady, Carey, Burslam, Crane. *Majors*.—Lipper, Dyson, James, Aubrey and Lady, Courtenay. *Captains*.—Damant, Doyle, R. N. Hamner, Barlow. Lieut. Kidd, Doctor Brown. *Messrs*.—Simpson, Hull, Priddy, Cantor and family, Boncock, George, Symondson, C. Parr, W. H. Ducham, Robinson, J. Brown, Rixon and lady, Crawford, W. T. Brown, Lee and lady, Joyce, Harrison, Fetherstone, W. Cobham, jun. Horne, Davies, Elwyn, Davis, W. Baker, jun. Martyn and lady, Fermer, Cloves, Cock, Maund and lady, Setwell, Tukes, Mackenzie, Haumer and lady, Raymond and lady, Dowrick and lady, Loo and family, Langton and lady, Neve, Vaughan and lady, Morley, Delaval, Dehamy, Serle, Bradley, Hart, Dixon, Butcher, Clarke, Richer, Ewing, Green, Thweng, Baker and lady, Munns and lady. *Mesdames*.—Maubert, Neve, Chapman, Duncombe, Furrance, F. A. Branston, Horwood, Harman, Stoddart, Abbott, Evans, Hobson, Hayland, W. Watson, Metcalfe, Stewart, Thackery, Kirkup and family, Gompertz, Montefiore and family, Treacher and family, Bowman, Honourable Leeson. *Misses*.—Moorman, Belsey, Fitzgerald, Skipper.

Wansgate.

Countess Egremont, Sir J. and Lady Earle, Sir J. Wynne De Bathe, Maj.-Gen. Armstrong and Lady, Dr. Strachey, *Lieut.*—Gens.—Bligh, Tryon. *Majors*.—De Bathe, Scott Waring and Lady. *Captains*.—Fraser, Gurney and Lady, Grace and Lady, Hon. Mrs. J. Bennett. *Reverends*.—D. Ruell, T. Mitchell, A. Downes, Mr. Easter, J. S. Becker, W. Boughton. *Messrs*.—Mallory, Prescott and lady, Curling, Bryant, Winn, Smales, R. Mackmurdo, Gosling, Hamilton, Spurling, W. Heath, Goddington, Carlen, Smith, Saunders, Edwards, W. Rutter, Brodrick, Bullock, Gillett and family, P. Smith, Hammond and lady, Earle, Conyers, Fermor, Newte, F. Maitland, T. Hawley, Bligh, Askew and lady, Pickard, Kirkpatrick, E. Perceval, Law and family, Corfield Fraser, Bullock, T. W. Mercer, Thompson, Harris, Reade, Fielding, Divett & lady, Percival, Caley, Flanagan, Prior, Washington, Rogers, Gutteres, Samler, R. Byng, Lade and lady, Munro and lady, Elliott, Harrison, Bassil, E. Lawes, Crafer, Thackthwarth, O. Ricardo, Vardon and lady, Brickwood and lady, Powell, J. Taylor, Harris, Inglis, Matthews, Walton and family. *Mesdames*.—Morton, Hunter, Chalmers and family, Moody, Stanley and daughter, Turner and family, Seymour, R. Dawson, Moulton, Whisz, Jaffray, Button, Robinson, Halliburton, Lenox and daughter, Hodgson, Alexander and daughter, Craig, Palmer. *Misses*.—Rolleston, two Bridges, two Harwood's, Armstrongs, Smith, Long, Kuivetti, Arthur, Pearson, Hill.

Broadstairs.

Sir W. and Lady Taunton, Maria Lady Austruther, Capt. Kelly. *Messrs*.—Cockburn and lady, Stevenson and lady, Larkins and lady, G. Enderby and lady, H. Larkins, Hall and family, Delafield, Hodges and family, T. Gray and lady, Smith and daughter, Richards, J. Coggan and lady, Martin & lady, W. Koots, E. Hamner, Tullock, Tattersall, Dax, Atkinson, Murray and lady. *Mesdames*.—Collins, Rees, Jervis, Trelawny, Parsons, Mowbray, two Sinclair's, Hamilton, A. Noyes. *Misses*.—Kelly's, Wagstaff.

Fashionable Arrivals.*

Margate.

Sir Edward and Lady Hales. *Lieutenant-General Stowenson. Colonel Harris. Captains*—Romilly, deKippé, Paget, *The Hon. Mrs. Robert Leeson. Messrs.*—Bragg and lady, Monday and lady, Heathcote, Lloyd, Hepworth, E. H. Robins, Cooper, Randall, Lister, Green, Lewis Goldsmith, Curtis and lady, *Two Macklin's*, Richardson and family, Ramsten, Elustie, Roe, Butcher, Goodwin, Eades, Lewis, Rev. James Rudge, Taylor, Reynolds, Rixon, Montrion, Golding, Hall, Talmadge, Buchan, Salter, Moorman, Knight, Barnes, Williamson, Latham, Halford, Franks and lady, Haywood and family, Power, Shepherd, Bristow, Kibblewhite and family, Samuel and lady, Waymouth, Rev. Evan James, Simpson and family, Wiltshire, Carrick, Fentiman, Cartwright. *Boude. Holland, Bridge, Meredith, Phelps, Power and family, Merant, Skilbeck and lady. Mesdames*—Rogers, Marchall, Parker, Steers, James Robins, Furrance, Wyatt, Neve, King, Baxter, Pott, Felix, Reynier, Millington, Jefferson, Greenfield, Porter, Bingley, Myers. *Misses*—Bone, Sutherland, Wadlam, Lumley, Brass, Fox, Edwin, Maclellan, Orlebar, Cope.

* It is the Editor's intention to discontinue this list until the commencement of the next season. This will afford them more space for other interesting matter.

Ramsgate.

Lord William Fitzroy. *Sirs.*—William Curtis, George Prescott, Francis Ford. *Baron Wolff. Hon. Edward Percival. General St. John. Lieutenant-General Thornton. Major Rowan. Captains.*—De Starck, R. N. Bouchier, Evelyn, Hurrock, Douglass. *Lieutenants*—Hutchinson, Boyce, R. N. Mr. Serjeant Manley. *Doctors.*—Candeleati, Strachey and family. *Ladies*—Jemima Hay, Hopkins, Curtis, Moore, Blunt. *Messrs.*—Jones and lady, Hall, Wilkinson, Terry and lady, Langton, Butler, Austen and lady, J. B. Ince, Harris, Alington, Stone and lady, Calverly, Blgrave and lady, Robinson, Walker, Green, Fry, Benn and lady, Page, Dyer, Kettlewell, Mackay, Munro, Aubrey, Lindo, Bryant, Rivington, Cookson, Costeker, Chamberlain, Wintle, Lenox, Tillock, Seale, Richards, Smith, Kershaw, Snell and lady, Exley, Fleming, Stiff, Turton, Ironside, Friend, Judson, Rev. R. Moore and lady, Mantell, Hay, Morriss and lady, Wilson, Shaw, Booth and lady, Birch, Dunlop, Smith, Girdleston, Cameron, Hodgson, Winter and lady, Pellatt, Sheen, Crowther and lady, J. Crowther, Curling, Goud, Entwistle, Lane, Nixon, Young, Rule, Trant, Morris, Nind and lady, Barclay, Gatty and family, Moon, Mills, Phelps, Trower and lady, Hammersley, Knyvett, Gordon, Allan, Rev. G. Curtis, Pepys, Rev. Henry Pepys, Amedroz and lady, Manley, Hughes, Bradley, Reed and lady. *Mesdames*—Walton, Walford, Lousada, Law, Fordyce, Benyon, Granger, Inglis, Morris, Spalding, Mackay, Hurrock, Andrews, Skelton, Cobbett, Raikes, Pope, Jacques, Broderick, Edwards. *Misses*—Curtis, Holtman, Morland, Greaves, Collett, Dinwiddie, Blant, Rennie, Campbell, Mylne, Lenox, Aldridge, Gibbs.

Broadstairs.

Sir Isaac Heard, *Cartier King at Arms. Baron Wolff. Messrs.* Cuppige, Cobb, Saumarez and lady, Beltz, Wyatt and lady, Ablett, Wyatt, jun. and lady, Bynon, Pullen and lady, Wigger and lady, Richardson, Savile, Miller, Luxmore, Nottidge and family, Chalié, Temple and family, Kemble and lady, Taunton, Rev. C. Wakeham and lady, Burn. *Mesdames.* Hopkins, Ross, Franklyn, Walker and family, Dermer, Trower, Turner, Fletcher, Oakley, Hersley, Gipps. *Misses.* Reid, Dermer, C. Hoper, Kenrick, de Crespigny.

The land for the synagogue was purchased on 6 May at Hereson, near to his newly acquired estate. The foundation stone was laid on 9 August,¹ and its dedication was celebrated in June 1833.² Through acquiring East Cliff Lodge, Sir Moses Montefiore became Ramsgate's most prominent figure whose standing was subsequently improved when he was appointed High Sheriff for the County of Kent and Deputy Lieutenant for Kent.³ In 1837 when Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne, he led a deputation from Ramsgate bearing congratulations to the Queen.⁴

In 1839 Margate's visitors were categorized into "the temporary sojourner, the invalid, and the wealthy resident".⁵ Nobility, clergy and gentry were still prominent among Thanet's visitors immediately after the Napoleonic Wars, as illustrated by lists of fashionable arrivals which were published in The Thanet Magazine between June and September 1817.⁶

The tables which follow provide a statistical breakdown of fashionable arrivals to the Thanet resorts, between June and September 1817, covering adults and families only as the numbers of children are unknown.

TABLE 49: FASHIONABLE ARRIVALS IN THE THANET RESORTS, JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1817.

	<u>June</u>			<u>July</u>			<u>August</u>			<u>September</u>		
	M	R	B	M	R	B	M	R	B	M	R	B
Males	39	14	12	41	37	22	71	85	22	65	110	23
Females	35	14	13	34	29	18	44	53	25	42	56	25
<u>Total:</u>	74	28	25	75	66	40	115	138	47	107	166	48

M = Margate
R = Ramsgate
B = Broadstairs

1. Cardozo and Goodman, op. cit., 13-14.
2. The Kentish Gazette, 25 June 1833.
3. Goodman, op. cit., 38.
4. Ibid., 46.
5. Pigot & Co.'s Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography (1839), op. cit., 339.
6. The Thanet Magazine (1817), 39-40, 88-90, 132-4, 171-3.

TABLE 50: TOTALS FOR THE THANET RESORTS.

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
June	68*	63*	131*
July	100	81	181
August	178	122	300
September	198	123	321
<u>Total:</u>	544	389	933

* Includes 3 males and 1 female in Kingsgate and Birchington who are not included in the above figures.

These statistics do not represent total arrivals in the Thanet resorts, and it is not clear how people were classified as "fashionable", nor how they were listed as such. Around 900 listings represented a proportion of the total number of visitors or holidaymakers to the Thanet resorts, between June and September 1817. Only tentative conclusions can be drawn from these figures; indeed, they pose questions rather than conclusions.¹ There was a seasonal peak in August and September and the figures confirm earlier observations that seasons became more fashionable towards their close, during September, rather than during July.²

There was a predominance of males over females in all the totals, and in every month for each of the resorts, excepting June in Ramsgate, and June, August and September in Broadstairs. Male predominance was strongest in Margate and Ramsgate during August and September. These facts are hard to explain and may be false. They do not accord with conclusions which can be drawn from the summer census of June 1841.³ Women were more likely than men to take holidays, because of occupational considerations.⁴ Perhaps men took more trouble to see that they were listed. Some may not have included their wives or families.

1. For a general discussion of visitors' lists see Walton and McGloin, op. cit., 324-8.

2. See the previous section to this Chapter above.

3. See the next section in this Chapter: "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns".

4. Ibid.

Almost certainly women were underestimated, and unknown totals of children and servants must modify these tentative trends still further, as will be shown in the more detailed statistics from the 1841 census.¹ The nature of this evidence and all these possibilities must be borne in mind when interpreting the next table.

TABLE 51: THE SOCIAL PATTERNS OF HOLIDAYMAKING IN THANET IN JUNE AND JULY 1817.

<u>Holiday Groupings</u>	<u>Margate</u>		<u>Ramsgate</u>		<u>Broadstairs</u>	
	June	July	June	July	June	July
Single Man	16	18	6	23	3	16
Single Miss	2	-	1	3	3	5
Single Mrs	3	1	3	12	-	7
Husband and wife	11	1	8	11	8	4
Mother and daughter	2	3	1	-	-	1
Father and daughter	-	-	-	1	1	1
Mother heading a family	4	3	-	-	-	-
Father heading a family	11	22	-	2	-	-

Margate was more of a family resort in 1817, whereas Broadstairs and Ramsgate tended to attract the unaccompanied female, but these conclusions must be treated very cautiously. Comparatively few of the arrivals stayed over two or more months, but among them were Sir Edward and Lady Hales and the Hon. Mrs. Leesom, during August and September in Margate; or Dr. Strachey, who spent these two months in Ramsgate. It was an aspect of gentility to be seen at the seaside, at an inland spa, or abroad for a prolonged duration. The tables which follow show the number of titled visitors (including honourables), clergymen, and naval and army officers (between the ranks of lieutenant and admiral or general), who were staying in each of the resorts and in total during June, July, August and September 1817.

1. See the next section in this Chapter: "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns".

TABLE 52: TITLED ARRIVALS AT THE THANET RESORTS DURING THE 1817 SEASON.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>	<u>Total</u>
June	5	4	2	11
July	1	11	3	15
August	4	5	3	12
September	3	11	2	16
<u>Total:</u>	13	31	10	54

TABLE 53: ARRIVALS OF CLERGY.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>	<u>Total</u>
June	2	4	1	7
July	2	3	3	8
August	-	6	-	6
September	2	3	1	6
<u>Total:</u>	6	16	5	27

TABLE 54: ARRIVALS OF OFFICERS.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Margate</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u>	<u>Broadstairs</u>	<u>Total</u>
June	8	1	3	12
July	8	11	2	21
August	15	8	1	24
September	4	11	-	15
<u>Total:</u>	35	31	6	72

Margate had the greatest appeal for naval and army officers, attracting no fewer than fifteen during August 1817, but Ramsgate's total over the four months was not far behind that of Margate. Ramsgate was the resort most preferred by titled people and the clergy.

These broad conclusions are confirmed by newspaper reports. A ball at Bettison's Library, on 1 September 1817, attracted over 190 people before 11 p.m., when "a number of fashionables from Ramsgate and Broadstairs added much to the splendour of the rooms".¹ Subsequently it was announced that "Albion House, formerly the residence of James Simmons Esq., and lately of

1. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 9 September 1817, 4a.

Lord Edward Bentinck, in Albion Place, Ramsgate, is engaged for a month, for the reception of the family of the Archbishop of Canterbury".¹

From Ramsgate it was reported on 26 July 1822 that "this favourite watering place can now boast of a numerous collection of visitors, the greater part of the houses in good situations having been occupied for some time past, and rumour says that we are to be honoured with the company of H.R.H. the Duke of YORK, and that he will remain here for a month".² A month later it was noted of Ramsgate:

"this place has certainly, this season, most nobly supported its character for respectable and numerous patrons. It never was known so full of respectable families so early in the year as at the present time, and the increasing demand for houses certainly indicates a most prosperous conclusion.

Our amusements, though few, are very well supported; the Evening Music Promenade at SACKETT's Marine Library is really good in every respect, and well managed.

Among our latest arrivals we have to notice: H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent and suite; the Danish Ambassador; the Earl of Hadwicke and Lord Caledor; Dowager Lady Astley; Dowager Lady Amherst; Lady Charlotte Ram; Sir William Heathcote, etc". (3)

The fashionableness of Ramsgate in 1822 rubbed off on Margate,

"Fashionable Departures.

Mrs. G.R. Bankes and Miss S. Bankes for Margate".⁽⁴⁾

August 7

"The confluence of visitors to this favoured resort is beyond precedent ... The principal hotels are overflowing. Among the latest arrivals are:-

Lord S. Cecil, Lady Strong, ... the Hon. Cavendish Bradshaw, General Sir R. Church, General Wallace, Colonel Wildman, ... Dr. New and family, Dr. Brown, ... the Rev. Mr. Whitley and family". (5)

August 22

"It would be an endless task to enumerate the arrivals - suffice it to say that they are more respectable than have been remembered for many years past". (6)

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1. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 16 September 1817, 4c.
 2. The Morning Post, 29 July 1822, 3d.
 3. Ibid., 22 August 1822, 3c.
 4. Ibid., 31 July 1822, 3c.
 5. Ibid., 9 August 1822, 3c.
 6. Ibid., 24 August 1822, 3e.

A few days later Margate featured as an "elegant resort of Fashionables, ... crowded to an overflow". The libraries were crowded, the theatre was well attended, and "the carriages of the Nobility roll through ... from morn till night".¹ Early in September it seemed as if "nearly the whole population of London was daily parcelled out and shipped [to] this favourite watering place", and though the town "is three times the size it was a few years since, ... it is literally crammed".²

Broadstairs thrived on respectability in its own quiet way, attracting the patronage in 1824 of "Mr. Secretary Peel".³ Margate was becoming, however, less fashionable and more popular. It was renowned for its amusements which created surprise and comment, as seen in observations which were conveyed to the editor of The Lady's Magazine by an old bachelor who for 29 years had been "secluded from the world in a country village, and in one of the most northern counties of England".⁴ In the following passage he comments unfavourably on gaming in the libraries, and criticizes lack of modesty in the ladies, resorting to Margate.

"Margate I had been taught to consider as the focus of attraction for invalids of every description. Judge then, sir, what must have been my astonishment at beholding its inhabitants decorated with as many flowers and feathers as would have formed a May garland. It is not merely the heads of those valetudinarians, which actually seem to bend under the load of finery, but their whole figures, ... decorated out for the purpose of exhibiting their various talents. ... A knowledge of music seems no longer to be acquired for the gratification of friends and parents, but for the itinerant loungers of a public bathing-room. ... I have seen young ladies actually stalk up to the instrument, and, uninvited, begin playing in the presence of fifty strangers! This practice ... is overleaping that bar of distinction which separates the private individual from the public performer. - Another practice, which appears to

1. The Morning Post, 27 August 1822, 3a.

2. Ibid., 3 September 1822, 3d.

3. The Times, 9 August 1824, 2b.

4. The Lady's Magazine, 5 September 1815, 458.

me perfectly un-feminine, is the fashionable dice box, and the public game of loo, in which, the sexes indiscriminately combine at the libraries, with the eagerness of complete gamblers, and the intimacy of old acquaintances.

These practices, Mr. Editor, appear to me of a most dangerous tendency, and seem to unsex the sex, if I may be permitted to make use of such a term; for as Nature evidently designed that a distinction should be placed between them, I have no idea of having her rights infringed upon by the authority of Fashion ...

As the sick and healthy alike resort to this much-frequented bathing place, it doubtless is politic in the inhabitants to furnish them with a variety of amusements; and it is not that I object to harmony issuing from the bathing rooms, but I would have that harmony produced by those who obtain from it their livelihood. The dice-box and the loo-table I consider as having a more dangerous tendency ... May not frequent success at these libraries engender a fondness for still more seductive hazardous pursuits? The frequent association with men ... may have incalculable mischiefs". (1)

The amusements of Margate were the subject of an article in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in 1833, which opened by re-echoing the sentiments expressed above.

"MARGATE, as a bathing place, might be imagined a retired spot, to which invalids resort for the benefit of their health, ... as one vast hospital or receptacle of human misery. Far otherwise. There are persons who admire the salubrity of the air ... There are also many who think bathing may prove serviceable to them - many who delight in opportunity for care-killing - many whose happiness consists in escaping from a crysalis state in London, to flutter a butterfly at Margate". (2)

The great majority came for amusement and relaxation, including riding to Ramsgate or Pegwell Bay, sailing to the Reculvers,³ strolling along the Parade, walking on the pier or the jetty, but

"then come the concerts! ... Then there are the libraries! It is impossible not to be a subscriber, although a book be never opened". (4)

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1. The Lady's Magazine, 5 September 1815, op. cit., 458-60.
 2. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (Edinburgh, 1833), 155.
 3. Compare "it is often the practice of the Margate visitors to sail from thence to the little village of Herne Bay, distant a few miles, to perambulate the extensive and pleasant hills that abound in that neighbourhood", The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c.
 4. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1833), op.cit., 155.

Raffles and dice remained an essential part of the library scene, and

"some of the fortunates at the dice box will become possessed of a great number of tickets, for which, at their departure, the amount may be received in trinketry or trumpery ... Every lure is set, every trap is baited, to catch the contents of the cockney's purse. Step into the bazaars, they appear as if the Boulevards of Paris had emptied all their fiddle-faddles, sweet scents, and nonsense, to attract ... Then there are the gardens - plenty of foolery and fireworks ... Margate presents much that is satisfactory ... and there is no doubt that the Londoners will long retain a partiality for Margate". (1)

It was reckoned that Margate by the 1830's was attracting nearly 100,000 visitors during the season.² The majority were Londoners from many walks of life. That cross section of society noted among its visitors as early as the 1770's³ became more pronounced during the 1820's and 1830's. Thomas Cromwell wrote in the 1820's about "the annual recurrence of 'the season'" continuing "to present as motley groups of ... visitors, as can be easily imagined". Margate, "of all our watering places", exhibited "contrasts the most marked, as to rank and manners".⁴ The pastimes of its visitors in 1824 included cockney donkey excursions to Dandelion and to Birchington.⁵

In 1833 it was observed how "there was, in time past, a superior class of visitors; but as their heels were touched by the toes of others considered inferior ... they vanished".⁶ Those holidaymakers who retained a partiality for Margate comprised three main groups, beginning with families,

"respectable in every sense of the term; they have houses or lodgings in the squares, or best parts of the town ... They are the affluent merchants and tradesmen of the metropolis, being par excellence, vulgarly denominated carriage company". (7)

The second group was less wealthy and rented houses or lodgings,

1. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1833), op. cit., 156.

2. Ibid., 155.

3. See the previous section to this Chapter.

4. Thomas Cromwell, Excursions through the Counties of Sussex, Kent and Surrey, 3 Volumes: Kent (1822), 99-100.

5. The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c.

6. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1833), op. cit., 155.

7. Ibid., 155.

"less expensive, [they] regulate their establishments on principles of economy and respectability ... They are select in their intimacies, enjoying all the amusements of the place unostentatiously ... approximating to the carriage class, but not of it - [they] may be called the horse and gig company". (1)

The third group preferred boarding houses, and among them "may be found many highly cultivated persons", who, "for the purpose of distinction only, may be called the foot company". They knowing that "the few holidays that can be snatched from their occupations ought to be agreeably spent, rush down to Margate with a determination to be happy".²

In the 1820's there was still more selectness at Margate very late in the season, as The Times noted at the end of September 1824.

"The company at present are far more select and respectable than they have hitherto been: some of the most opulent merchants, East India Directors, and bankers, are now here; and a few who may be denominated a portion of the fashionable world. Sir Gilbert Heathcote has engaged Captain Cotton's House, in the neighbourhood of Margate [viz: Kingsgate], for one month, at the high rate of 200 gns., the Captain himself having gone to the Highlands to shoot grouse". (3)

Distinction was increasingly sacrificed with the increasing numbers flocking to Margate. The resort had become popular in the eyes of The Morning Herald because of steamboats, an abundance of accommodation, "the cleanliness of the place", and "the civil and obliging manners of the inhabitants", but

"Margate having been so long under the bann of fashion, the names of distinguished visitants are seldom found amongst the arrivals. Such visits, however, like those of angels, 'few and far between', when they do happen, form a remarkable event in their annals". (4)

Such was the holiday of a few days which the Duke of Devonshire spent in Margate during 1827.

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1. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1833), op. cit., 155.
 2. Ibid., 155.
 3. The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c, quoting from The Kent Mercury.
 4. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.

"He occupied the greater part of Wright's Hotel, and was constantly throughout the day driving about in pony chaises, sailing or rowing, appearing always to enjoy the place with the utmost buoyancy of spirits and good humour. His departure was universally regretted". (1)

Ramsgate and Broadstairs were considered to be much more respectable than Margate. Ramsgate at the beginning of August 1828 was regaining

"its summer gaiety, the influx of visitors daily increases, and its Promenades abound with fashionable company. The steamboats arrive well filled, and we have every prospect of a good season; within a day or two the hotels have received a considerable increase of nobility, among whom may be named Earls Chesterfield, Castlereagh, Harborough, etc, with their several suites". (2)

Three weeks later

"this place continues to be visited by the haut-ton. The Duke of Newcastle and family are about to occupy Albion House, Albion Place. Remain - the Duchess of Manchester, Lady Emily Montagu, Lady Bentinck, Countess Carnworth, Lord and Lady Dalzell, Lady Bromley, and many other families of distinction". (3)

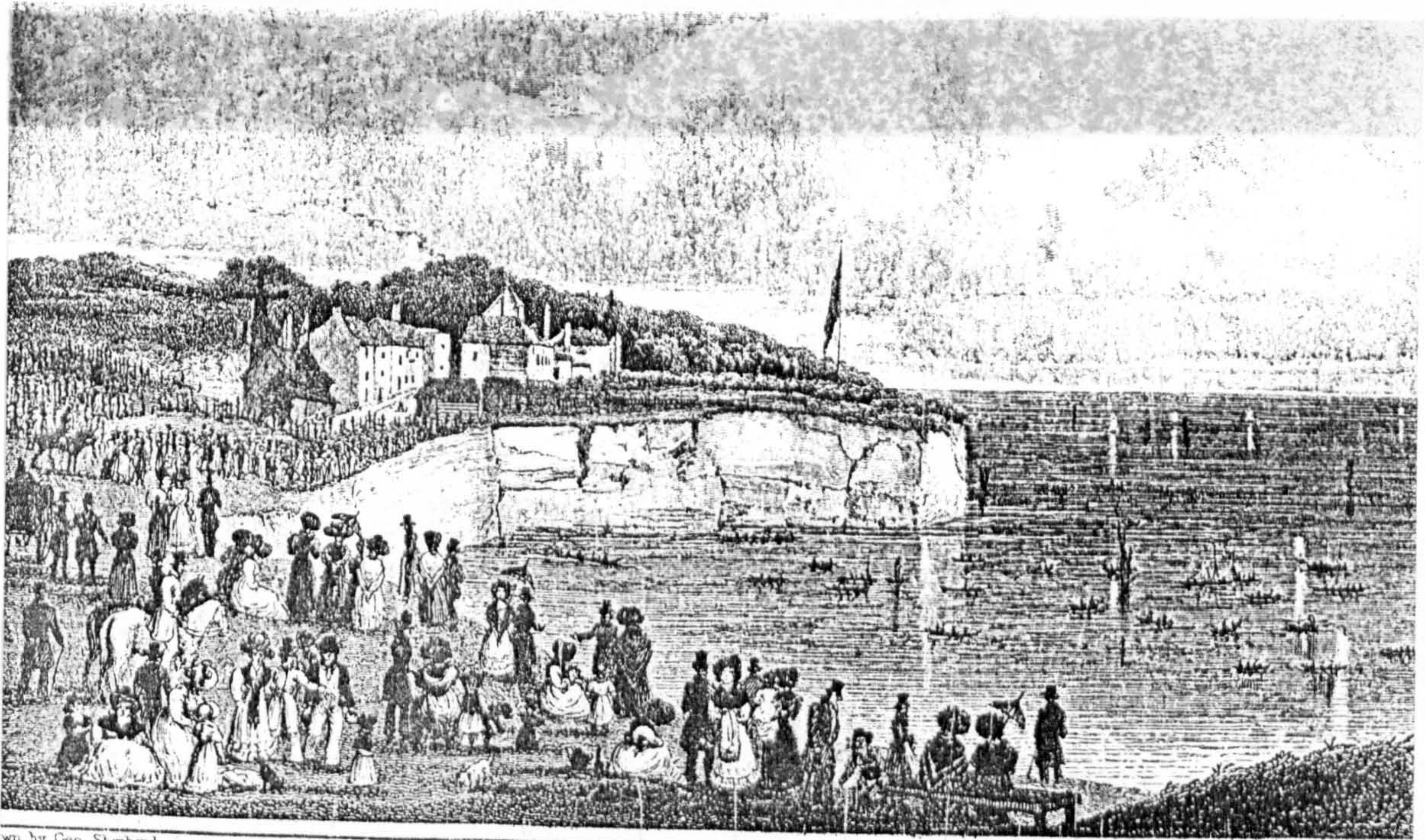
Ramsgate's 1834 season commenced early in July, with the residence of "several highly respectable families", including the Countess of Ashburnham, who had taken a house in the Royal Crescent until 1 November.⁴ By the end of July the resort was "very full of visitors and generally lively and gay".⁵ The Royal Harbour by 11 August had "been enlivened by the arrival of several large vessels and yachts", and among the latest visitors were Countess Kilmorey, Viscount Newry, Countess Beauchamp and Sir W. W. Wynn and family.⁶ People were looking forward to the annual Pegwell Bay Regatta, which "promises to exceed this year its former attractions",⁷ and at the

"Bell Vue Tavern, Pegwell Bay.

John S. Cramp most respectfully acquaints his friends and the public who may honor him with their support

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1. The Morning Herald, 11 July 1827.
 2. The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 5 August 1828, 3c.
 3. Ibid., 26 August 1828, 3e.
 4. The Kentish Observer, 3 July 1834, 3a.
 5. Ibid., 31 July 1834, 2f.
 6. Ibid., 14 August 1834, 3c.
 7. Ibid., 14 August 1834, 3c.

A REGATTA AT PEGWELL BAY.



Drawn by Geo. Shepherd

Engraved by C. Moore

PEGWELL BAY NEAR RAMSGATE,
KENT.

WITH THE REGATTA ON SEPT. 23, 1828.

Published 1829 by Geo. Virtue 26, Ivy Lane.

A Treasury of Kent Prints contained in W. H. Ireland,
A New and Complete History of the County of Kent (1828 - 31)
(Sheerness, 1972), Plate 21.

on the REGATTA DAY ... that every attention shall be paid to their commands, and they may rely on the most reasonable charges. The tables prepared for Cold Dinners, Luncheons, etc., will be accompanied with a printed Bill of Fare, annexed to which the charge for every variety of refreshment". (1)

Although advertisers no longer addressed themselves to the nobility and gentry before all others, there was a fashionable turn out for the eighth Annual Regatta on Thursday, 21 August. It was reckoned that the event attracted 5,000 spectators.

"The line of road, ... and fields adjoining, were densely filled with splendid equipages of the gentry ... The lawn of the Belle Vue boasted a numerous and fashionable assemblage of nearly 1,000 - the pleasure ground (overlooking the Bay) of Sir William Garrow's Marine Villa, was graced with a numerous and select party, by invitation ... The whole arrangement was under the direction of the Ramsgate Galley Club". (2)

1835 produced bumper seasons in Thanet. Ramsgate was already in full swing during the month of June; "upwards of 1,000 passengers have arrived at this fashionable watering place during the week, among whom were many families of distinction ... a full and lengthened season is now confidently expected".³ Among the top visitors that year were the Duchess of Kent, Princess Victoria, the King and Queen of the Belgians, and M. de Bourquenay, the First Secretary of the French Embassy.⁴

Broadstairs attracted a wealthy and upper-class clientele for much of the nineteenth century, and in the 1830's assumed the character of a small, fashionable and most select watering place. Being a retreat for invalids was a feature which did not meet with universal approval. A valetudinarian, while complimenting Broadstairs on its picturesqueness, and its many walks and rides, commented that

"I have passed many a pleasant hour there, in solitude - for company there is none. A more unsocial spot does not exist ... I asked one of the inhabitants - Why? ...

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1. The Kentish Observer, 14 August 1834, 2a.
 2. Ibid., 28 August 1834, 3bc.
 3. The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser, 27 June 1835, 8.
 4. The Times, 2 October 1835, 2cd; also see this section above.

He informed me that none but serious, sedate and quiet people, ever came there; and that music (unless sacred), raffles, assemblies, and things of that nature, were held, by the generality of visitors, in great abhorrence.

'Billiards' he added, 'were tolerated, though disapproved of, for the sake of reconciling the young men, who must, of necessity, in some cases, accompany their papas and mammas to the 'solemnity of the village'". (1)

Margate during the mid-1830's benefited from crowds and full seasons, but publishing the names of arrivals became less frequent, although in 1834,

"Margate, August 19.

Amongst the recent arrivals at Howe's Royal Hotel are Sir James Shaw, Sir James Williams, - Baring Esq., M.P., - Stewart, Esq., M.P., ... Mrs. Royall and family ... Rev. Joyce and family, James Wallace Esq., and family". (2)

Nobility no longer came to the resort and the popularity of Margate broadened out from the gentry to an expanding and increasingly diverse middle class.

They were the mass holidaymakers in the bumper season of 1835, when "the daily arrivals exceed anything witnessed for many seasons, and the influx gives a degree of animation to the whole Isle of Thanet".³ Some of the old forms of social gathering still remained popular, such as an evening masquerade at the Tivoli Gardens, which attracted more than 2,000 patrons, "including the élite of the island and its adjacents".⁴

Margate at the close of the 1830's was "the classical resort of the citizens of London - the Baiae of Cockney-land - a very pleasant retreat from the close alleys and crowded thoroughfares of the vast and sleepless city".⁵ Broadstairs by contrast was "a little town ... much more retired and quiet than Margate, and is [thus] frequented by those who would avoid the gaiety and bustle of the latter place", but

"strictly speaking Broadstairs is not a modern town ...

There is a beautiful walk called the Parade, on the edge

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1. By a Valetudinarian, Sea-Side Reminiscences: A Collection of "Odd Thoughts", picked up at the Chief Watering-Places on the South Coast of England, and designed to Assist Strangers and Visitors in their Rambles (circa. 1835), 16-17.
 2. The Kentish Observer, 21 August 1834, 3e.
 3. The Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser, 1 August 1835, 8.
 4. Ibid., 1 August 1835, 8.
 5. John Poole, "Margate", The Amaranth (1839), 71.

of the cliff, protected on the sea side by a strong fence, and commanding a fine view across the Channel". (1)

The middle classes were advised to visit Margate, if only for a short duration:

"the salubrity of the place is unquestionable ... Including those that have accidentally dropped over the pier, fallen from the cliffs, or been lost out of bathing machines, the loss, I am told, seldom exceeds 600 in a season ... For drives, rides and walks, as beautiful almost as are anywhere to be found, - for breezes which infuse health into the frame, and impart elasticity to the spirits, ... for the pleasures of human enjoyment, manifested by a larger number of happy, laughing faces, than any other place can, at any other time, exhibit, - they, I say, who would enjoy all this, must, once in its season, pay a visit to MARGATE". (2)

A middle-class diary, written by Mary Figgins, survives from the 1820's.

It describes a three week holiday to Margate, between 30 August and 21 September. Mary Figgins took a holiday with her sister Rose and brother Vincent. Nearly all diaries are unique in some respect or other. This particular diary of an ordinary family makes no mention of bathing but has much to say about the jetty, bazaars and raffles, which were symbolic of Margate's popularity and middle-class character. Mary and Rose departed from London on 30 August (possibly in 1828), having risen early at a quarter to six; they travelled to Margate by steamboat.

"We had a very pleasant voyage and we landed at the pier at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 4 where Vincent was waiting to receive us. We then proceeded to our lodgings in Union Crescent at the back of Hawley Square, had our tea, unpacked and went to bed at ten". (3)

On 31 August,

"got up at 8. After breakfast we went to market and laid in a store and then went for a walk to Dandelion ... In the evening we went on the jetty, but found it very damp and not being inclined to pay a penny ... Vincent proposed going and seeing all that was to be seen for nothing. The first place was the Boulevard which was

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1. The Saturday Magazine, Volume XXI (1842), 26-7.
 2. Poole, op. cit., 71.
 3. Margate Public Library, Local Collection, Y060. 41, Mary Figgins MS Diary, 30 August - 21 September, circa 1828.

crowded. They have made an addition by which you can go through to Cecil Square. The new room is very prettily fitted up, there is a lady plays the piano and a boy the harp, they play very well indeed. There is another lady who sings occasionally but it is very seldom ... The centre of the room is filled with loo tables. We saw Mr. and Mrs. Obbard and 3 daughters. He had given them six pence to raffle, and they had won a two shilling ticket. We then proceeded to the French bazaar which was much the same as the other raffling but no music. After that we went to the temple of fancy and then to Betterton's Library but the music at both places was far inferior to that at the Boulevards, but they were all crowded alike. Vincent thinks that for sight seeing Margate is a very cheap place". (1)

Walking on the pier and jetty and along the coast to Kingsgate and visits to the Boulevards occupied 1 and 2 September. The latter were less crowded on the first evening "owing to there being a juvenile fete at Tivoli".² On the second evening, after visiting the Boulevards,

"we then went to the fancy fair where I and Vincent took two chances in a raffle. Vincent played at loo at Jolly's and won 2s. After supper we went to enquire when the raffle would take place and heard that it would be settled the next evening at 10". (3)

Saturday, 3 September, was one of those typically exciting days in a holiday.

"Up at 8. We all went to market and afterwards for a walk on the sands. Vincent took a sketch while we strolled about and picked up shells. When he was tired of sitting still he had a game at Archery with Mr. Wilson our fellow lodger. He is an old schoolfellow of Vincent's. In the afternoon we went on the pier where we saw the Misses Collins. We then came home and did not go out again till 9 when we went about the raffle and had to saunter about the bazaar an hour. However, it repaid us for our pains for Vincent won the musical workbox which was the chief prize". (4)

Sunday, although "we were not down till past 9", was set aside for church going but "being late we went into a free sitting and guess my surprise at seeing in the seat before us Mr. and Mrs. Brown of Peckham and their two sons - I likewise saw Mrs. Charles".⁵ Vincent left by the 9 o'clock steamboat for

1. Mary Figgins MS Diary, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

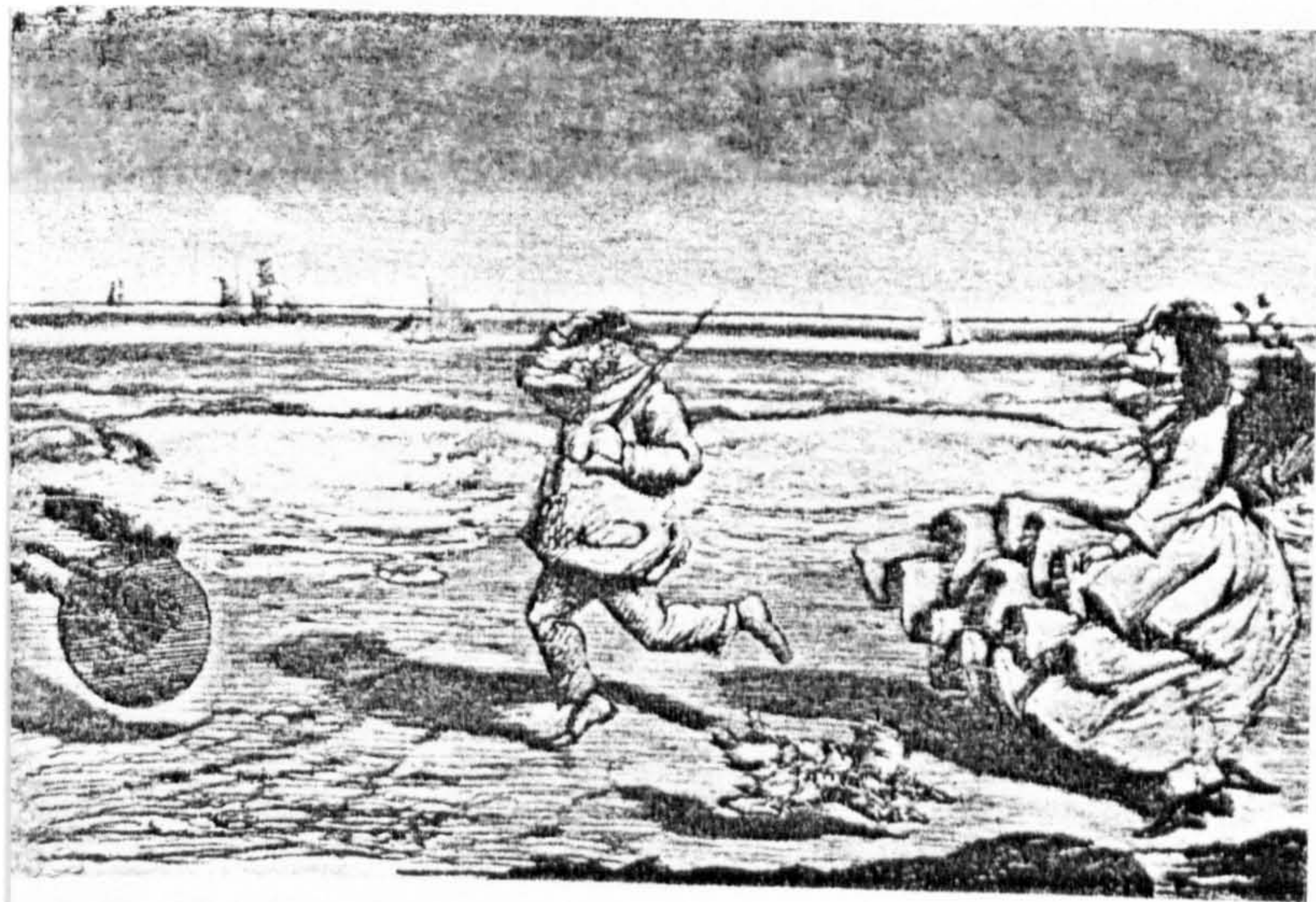
5. Ibid.

SEASIDE RECREATIONS AS DETERMINED BY THE WEATHER.



SEASIDE LITERATURE FOR YOUNG LADIES
Illustration by John Leech: from his *Punch* collection, 1854

C. Marsden, The English at the Seaside (1947),
p. 33.



48 A Windy Day by the Sea
From the painting by John Leech, c. 1870

R. Manning - Sanders, Seaside England (1951),
p. 99.

London on Monday, 5 September, when a visit to a pastrycook followed a brisk walk on the sands, it being "so very cold", and "we were famished".¹ Before departing Vincent

"agreed to take the lodgings for a month. They are in a large house at the back of the town. We are very well waited upon and we are very comfortable with the exception of one thing, namely, the person at whose house we are lodging is a music master and whenever he is in he is what Vincent calls tormenting the violin. Mr. Wilson likewise plays so that between the two we have scraping nearly all day". (2)

Walking, strolling on the jetty or the sands, and visits to the market occupied the next few days, 6-10 September. The last day being a Saturday, "Rose tried her luck in a raffle and lost", and

"we went to see the last packet in thinking that perhaps Vincent might alter his mind but there was no such good luck. On our way home we met Mr. Wilson and his party. We joined them and went to all the different places of amusement. Rose raffled and lost. Mr., Mrs. and Miss W. likewise ... There was such a set of noisy young men there that we came home. I enjoyed being out ... We went to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 monstrous late". (3)

On Sunday, 11 September,

"when we got to Church, they were reading the first lesson. We were in the last pew and could neither see nor hear". (4)

A wet Sunday afternoon was spent pleasantly with the Wilsons: "they had some friends - Miss Philcox, a very nice young lady, nothing at all stiff about her, but on the contrary very agreeable, Mr. Dunn and Mr. Sayer, the most impudent staring man I ever met".⁵ Tuesday, 13 September, was the day of Vincent's return to Margate.

1. Mary Figgins MS Diary, op. cit. Their holiday was bedevilled by poor weather. They encountered wet and windy days including 2 September; on Sunday, 4 September, "it was very windy" and "in the afternoon it rained"; likewise on the afternoon of 5 September; it was wet on 7 September and in the afternoon of the 8th "there was a storm"; on 10 September, "we went to market and strolled about the town being afraid of the rain"; over the next two days it rained in "torrents", and "the wind blew and howled"; Tuesday and Wednesday, 13-14 September, were windy and showery; on Friday, 16 September, "it rained in torrents till about 12"; not until Tuesday, 20 September, could Mary Figgins record that "it was a beautiful day".

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

"It was very showery and the wind was tremendous.
... We went to market and afterwards for a stroll on the pier. I never saw the sea so rough before ... We saw the Magnet coming and went to the end of the pier when to our great surprise she passed and we heard a sailor say that it was too rough for her to venture into the harbour and that she was going round to Ramsgate ... Rose hired a fly and we arrived there just as the packet entered the harbour. Rose raced to the end of the pier and watched them all land but Vincent was not there. The sea was quite calm compared to Margate. We saw a shower coming and ran under cover. We had not been there long before we had a regular squall. I never saw it rain so in my life. You could not see a yard before you. Rose was afraid she should miss Vincent as there were packets which came in at the same time. The wind blew a hurricane and I quite enjoyed the fun of seeing poor soles' umbrellas, bonnets, etc., blown inside out. In the midst of it all we saw Vincent. He was very surprised to see us. We all got into a conveyance that was coming to Margate. When we arrived home it was past 7. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were tired of waiting and were having their tea. They then came in and spent the evening with us". (1)

The Wilsons had made up their minds to return to London the following day,
and

"go they would although the sea was dreadfully rough, very showery and there was no packet in the harbour, nor could there be one till high water. They actually waited about the pier till 12 when a vessel came. We saw them off and returned home". (2)

Visits to the market, walking to Northdown, sauntering on the pier and jetty, and patronizing the raffles occupied the next three days. Mary secured on the Thursday a 2s. win at Jolly's and "a chance in a raffle".³ On Friday, 16 September,

"we dined at quality hours and afterwards went ... into the bazaar, etc. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 we went to the raffle. Rose won a musical workbox - it was so provoking, I was only one number short". (4)

Having managed to arrive at church at a later time each week, on Sunday, 18 September,

"we all overslept ourselves and were not down till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. It was too late to go to Church, but

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1. Mary Figgins MS Diary, op. cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

we dressed and went on the jetty just as they were all coming out. We saw one lady caught at the end, she had to walk through when the spray was as high as her head and everybody laughing at her". (1)

This diary recounted observations and ordinary events which would not be untypical of present day holidays. Vincent, like so many in the business and professional classes of his day, could not afford to prolong his stay at the seaside. He had to content himself with fleeting visits of a few days duration, and so on Monday, 19 September,

"Vincent was going by the first packet and we were all down before 8. We went to the jetty with him and saw the packet off. We likewise saw two who after running down the jetty at the risk of breaking their necks got there in time to see the packet gone. We saw Mr. Dunnet and spoke to him and he offered to take us for a sail but it was too rough. We strolled about till dinner time. About dusk we went on the pier and saw the packets in. They were both very late having each of them burst a boiler". (2)

The diary for some unexplained reason ends on

"Tuesday, September 20th.

We went to market and for a walk on the jetty. It was a beautiful day. We went for a sail with Mr. Dunnet, a young lady and a little girl. It was very pleasant indeed. Rose and the young lady were sick. Mr. Dunnet is very much improved. He was really quite chatty. We returned home about 3". (3)

Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns⁴

Since 1801 there have been three summer censuses, 30 May 1831, 7 June 1841, and 20 June 1921; and, particularly in the case of seaside resort towns, the exact date of the census can be of vital importance to the information obtained from the returns. The census of 1921 is undoubtedly the best recent example of a summer census. This showed for Margate a total resident population of 46,480 but the Registrar General, taking into consideration the fact that the season was sufficiently far advanced by then to produce a large

1. Mary Figgins MS Diary, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Also see J. Whyman, "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns: an attempt to look at the age and social structure of Victorian holiday-making", Local Population Studies, No.8 (Spring 1972), 19-38.

number of visitors in the population, subsequently reduced the 1921 resident population of Margate to 27,740. Following the 1831 census, it was reported that "Margate and Ramsgate have increased in Population (2,496 and 1,954 Persons respectively) which is attributable to their being resorted to as Watering Places".¹

The 1841 count was only two weeks earlier in the year than that of 1921. It was recorded that "the Return for Margate includes 245 Persons in the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, 68 Seamen, etc., in vessels and steam packets in the harbour and 1,586 visitors".² This figure of 1,586 visitors on 7 June 1841 is quoted in J.A.R. Pimlott, The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History (1947), along with 590 visitors at Blackpool, 89 at Shanklin, 186 at Cleethorpes, 65 at Seaton, 49 at Budleigh Salterton, 50 at Cromer, 44 at Skegness, and 60 at Bridlington.³ Of these returns, 1,586 is clearly the most impressive figure, but it does not tally with information obtained from the Margate Enumeration Schedules. There were 1,297 visitors within Margate over the census night of 7 June 1841. 1,265 can be specifically identified in 22 of the Enumeration Schedules. All told there were 23 Enumeration Schedules, one of which mentions the presence of "Gentlefolk Visitors 32"⁴ and 1,265 plus 32 gives 1,297. Visitors were recorded as such by means of a tick, cross or a small 'v' or 'L' entered against their names, or they were bracketed in groups in lodgings, boarding houses, or hotels as visitors, as illustrated below.

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1. Census of England and Wales (1831) Enumeration Abstract, Volume I (1833), 260n(n).
 2. Enumeration Abstract, England and Wales, Volume I (1843), 128 n (6).
 3. Pimlott, op. cit., 77.
 4. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2.

TABLE 55: EXAMPLES OF VISITORS STAYING IN MARGATE OVER THE CENSUS NIGHT OF 7 JUNE 1841. (1)

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>	
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>			
High Street	1	James Gostling	30		Draper	No	
		Sarah do.		30			Y
		Louise do.		1			Y
		Mary Moyan		30		Female Servant	Y
		Hannah do.		15		Female Servant	Y
		Richard Kingsford	20			Shopman	Y
		(Lewis Ling	50			Independent	No
		(Lewes do.	25			Independent	No
		(Walter do.	20			Independent No. <u>Visitors</u>
		(Eliza do.		20			No
(Harriet do.		15			No		
Parade	1	Ann Trike		60	Lodging House Keeper	Y	
		Ann do.		20		No	
		Mary Sacket		19	Female Servant	Y	
		William Cummins	50		} <u>Visitors</u>	No	
		Sarah do.		45		No	
		Mary McGora		25		No	
White Hart Hotel, Parade	1	George Creed	55		Hotel Keeper	Y	
		Mary do.		55		Y	
		John Colley	21		Clerk	Y	
		Charles do.	12			Y	
		Mary Mastraw		30	Female Servant	Y	
		Sarah Pain		35	Female Servant	Y	
		Mary Doughty		14	Female Servant	Y	
		Joseph Walker	20		Male Servant	Y	
		William Johnson	25		Male Servant	Y	
		Robert Elliott	80		Independent	No	
		Mary do.		60	Independent	No	
		Edmund Chalmer	45		Independent No	
		Charles Fowler	58		Independent	No	
		Thomas Lambert	30		Engineer No. <u>Visitors</u>	
		Eliza do.		25		No	
		Mary Depuse		50	Independent	No	
		Edward Collins	25		Solicitor	No	
Eugenie do.		19		Y			

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2, 107/468/3, 107/468/5.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>		
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>				
Broad Street	1	Ann Busden		40	Staymaker	Y		
		Ann do.		20	Staymaker	Y		
		Sarah Burtinshaw		10		Y		
		V Ann Worley		55	Independent	No		
		V Ann do.		25		No		
		V Daniel do.	20		Independent	No		
Bridge Street	1	Thomas Scott	41		Grocer	Y		
		Elizabeth do.		33		Y		
		Stephen do.	12			Y		
		Eliza do.		10		Y		
		William do.	7			Y		
		Elizabeth do.		4		Y		
		Thomas do.	6			Y		
		Joanna do.		2		Y		
		Elizabeth Cook		20	Female Servant	Y		
		V J. R. Rucktro	34		Independent	No		
		V Sarah Mitin		74	Independent	No		
		V Thomas Rucktro	6			No		
		V Sarah Colman		20	Independent	No		
		V B. Brooks	50		Independent	No		
		V L. Brooks		50	Independent	No		
		V L. Brooks		18	Independent	No		
		do	1	Richard Deveson	46		Coachmaster	Y
				Theresa do.		45		No
				Mary Norris		19	Female Servant	Y
				V William Johnson	29		Lawyer	No
		V Mary do.		24		Y		
		V Percy Dunshill	28		Independent	No		
		V Mary do.		20		No		
		V William Watson	69		Independent	Scotland		
		V E. do.		68		Y		
		V John Smith	50		Innkeeper	Y		
		V Mary do.		22		Y		
Buenos Ayres	1	V Sarah Read		35	Independent	No		
		V Sarah do.		15		No		
		V Helen do.		10		No		
		V Margaret do.		10		No		
		V William do.	5			No		
		V Francis do.	4			No		
		V Thomas do.	2			No		
		V Sophia Hayes		35	Female Servant	No		

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
Hawley Square	1	William Goodburn	60		Ticket Porter	Y
		Elizabeth do.		55		No
		Elizabeth do.		25		Y
		Frederick do.	15		Apprentice Carpenter	Y
		Mary Hills		15	Female Servant	No
		V Eleanor Mitchell		35	Independent	No
		V Eleanor do.		14		No
		V A ? do.		12		No
		V Mary do.		11		No
		V Henrietta do.		5		No
		V Montagu do.		7 months		Y
		V Elizabeth Hast		35	Female Servant	No
		V Elizabeth Scrivener		20	Female Servant	No
Vicarage Terrace	1	Mary Stewart		55	Lets Lodgings	No
		Hannah do.		25		No
Vicarage Place	L	James Wood	20		Independent	No
		Simon Sullivan	40		Stone Sawyer	Y
		Harriet do.		40		No
		Sarah do.		15	Clerk	Y
		Henry Mitten	25		Clerk	No
		Marie do.		20		No
		Henry do.		3		No
		Benjamin Adams	35		Clerk	No
Ann do.		35		Y		

This distinguishing of visitors by a tick, cross or small 'v' or 'L' appears to be an unorthodox local variation, and certainly no instructions were specifically given as to whether such people should be distinguished, or how.¹ Nor did the Margate enumerators always follow the instruction requiring ages to be rounded to the nearest five years.² The Enumerators' Schedules confirm an important characteristic of Victorian holidaymaking, namely that few mid-nineteenth century holidaymakers stayed in hotels or boarding houses. Hotel occupancy was invariably temporary while alternative lodgings were sought.

1. Compare Walton and McGloin, op. cit., 323, "this seems to have been a unique piece of thoughtfulness".
2. On the instructions given to the 1841 enumerators see Abstract of the Answers and Returns Enumeration Abstract, M.DCCC.XLI England and Wales (1843), or Maurice Beresford, "The Unprinted Census Returns of 1841, 1851, 1861 for England and Wales", The Amateur Historian (Summer 1963), 262.

Most visitors resided with a lodging-house keeper, there being at least 97 to choose from in Margate in June 1841, as in the examples on the Parade and in Vicarage Terrace; or they occupied spare rooms or floors of a tradesman's house or business premises, as with the draper in High Street, or the grocer or coachmaster both in Bridge Street. A large and wealthy family rented a complete lodging house, with no resident owner or keeper on the premises, as in Buenos Ayres facing the sea. Isolated visitors, particularly single women, preferred sometimes the full-board accommodation offered by boarding houses, as Chambers's Edinburgh Journal was able to point out in 1833.

"Ladies ever form a considerable part of boarding-house society ... In the boarding house, the meals are announced by jingling a large bell in the passage or hall. At these meetings parties are made ... proposing a ride to Ferry Grove [Grove Ferry] - a trip to Pegwell Bay - a sail to the Reculvers - a stroll on the Parade - a walk on the Pier, or on the Jetty". (1)

The presence of visitors within the 23 Enumeration Schedules for Margate in 1841 is indicated in two other ways. Firstly, the enumerators were asked to state the cause of any increase in population since the 1831 census and their comments provide clear-cut evidence of the presence of holidaymakers; for instance, "Visitors from London principally for Sea Bathing or Pleasure".² Secondly, and yet another clear indication that the season had commenced in Thanet, was the enumeration of 72 people (68 males and 4 females) on board 7 vessels, 4 of which were steam packets within Margate Harbour.³ Three of the steam packets had on board crews numbering respectively 19, 18 and 15, making 52 in all.

There is no reason to doubt the residence of 1,297 visitors within Margate over the census night of 7 June 1841. In total they represented a high figure

1: Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1833), op. cit., 155.

2: P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/5.

3: P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

for so early in the season added to which 214 patients were receiving seasonal treatment in the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary. The 1851 Census, by contrast, was conducted on 31 March when the holiday season had not commenced, and there were no patients in the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary.

What information can be obtained from the 1841 census concerning the age, the social or occupational composition, and the geographical origins of early Victorian holidaymakers to Margate?¹ The following tables detail the sex ratio, age structure, occupational structure, residential location, and places of birth of the 1,265 visitors who are known to have been staying at Margate on 7 June 1841.

TABLE 56: THE SEX RATIO OF 1,265 MARGATE VISITORS, JUNE 1841.

<u>Males</u>	496
<u>Females</u>	<u>769</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u><u>1,265</u></u>

TABLE 57: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF 1,265 MARGATE VISITORS, JUNE 1841 (PERCENTAGES IN BRACKETS).

<u>Years</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
0-5	94	(19.0)	83	(10.8)	177	(14.0)
6-10	51	(10.3)	66	(8.6)	117	(9.2)
11-15	47	(9.5)	93	(12.1)	140	(11.1)
16-20	30	(6.0)	99	(12.9)	129	(10.2)
21-25	40	(8.1)	91	(11.8)	131	(10.4)
26-30	38	(7.7)	77	(10.0)	115	(9.1)
31-35	29	(5.8)	50	(6.5)	79	(6.2)
36-40	33	(6.7)	64	(8.3)	97	(7.7)
41-45	32	(6.5)	45	(5.9)	77	(6.1)
46-50	38	(7.7)	43	(5.6)	81	(6.4)
51-55	20	(4.0)	18	(2.3)	38	(3.0)
56-60	18	(3.6)	16	(2.1)	34	(2.7)
61-65	7	(1.4)	11	(1.4)	18	(1.4)
66-70	11	(2.2)	10	(1.3)	21	(1.7)
71-75	6	(1.2)	2	(0.3)	8	(0.6)
76-80	2	(0.4)	0	(0.0)	2	(0.2)
81+	0	(0.0)	1	(0.1)	1	(0.1)
<u>Total</u>	<u>496</u>	<u>(100%)</u>	<u>769</u>	<u>(100%)</u>	<u>1,265</u>	<u>(100%)</u>

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2-6.

61% of the visitors to Margate were females. Their preponderance over males in the age groups 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, and 26-30 is very noticeable. All these female age groups exceeded in total the female age group 6-10 and with one exception (26-30) that of 0-5. Children under 15 comprised 39% of the male visitors, 31% of the female visitors, and 34% of the total. Almost 37% of the female visitors were aged between 11 and 25 compared with under 24% for males. A predominance of children under the age of 15, and of females in the age groups up to 30, is explicable only partly in terms of a youthful structure of population or relatively lower female mortality. Female servants and governesses helped to swell the female age groups 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, and 26-30. 89 servants and governesses were brought down to supervise the domestic arrangements of lodgings.

The opportunity to take holidays, which were invariably unpaid holidays, varied with age and family circumstances. The expenses of running a home, or paying rent, rates and servants' wages, continued while paying for a holiday elsewhere. Relative affluence when young, single or newly married, without children, was reduced or negated while raising a family, depending, of course, on the number of children, and family income or alternative sources of wealth. When parents were middle aged and the family had grown up, relative affluence might return again, the grown-up children contributing perhaps to the running expenses of the home. The real crux was the family holiday, as Elizabeth Brunner's study of holidaymaking in 1945 pointed out.¹

Single people or brothers and sisters staying together were numerous among Margate's visitors of 7 June 1841. There were also the following combinations of visitors.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number</u>
Family groups containing a husband or father	90

1. Elizabeth Brunner, Holiday Making and the Holiday Trades (O.U.P., 1945), 18; she found that families with children bulked "large among the stay-at homes".

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number</u>
Husbands and wives with no children	63
Mothers and children, no fathers being present	71

The latter two categories are of interest. The husband and wife combinations were mainly either middle aged and elderly in their 50's and 60's, or they were still comparatively young in their 20's. The following are instances of mothers and children holidaying together unaccompanied by their fathers.

- 1) Sarah Read, aged 35, residing with three daughters (15, 10, 10), three sons (5, 4, 2), and a female servant, at Buenos Ayres, facing the sea. (1)
- 2) Lady Bathurst, aged 40, staying in Fort Crescent, with her daughter Caroline aged 15, and two female servants, and one male servant. (2)
- 3) Harriet Lyon, aged 40, with three sons (15, 13, 9) and five daughters (15, 14, 11, 11, 10) also staying at Fort Crescent. (3)
- and 4) Eleanor Mitchell, aged 35, her four daughters (14, 12, 11, 5), a son seven months, and two female servants, residing in Hawley Square. (4)

Fathers without guaranteed holidays would if they could afford it send their families away to the seaside, preferably not too far from London, where they could visit them at weekends. Margate linked to London by steamboats was able to cater for this kind of family arrangement, hence the late Saturday 'Hats' Boat' or 'Husbands' Boat'.⁵

Because of higher living standards, coupled with cheap steamboat communications between London and Thanet,⁶ Margate was attracting more holidaymakers from among the middle and trading classes. By the 1840's it was

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3; also noted above.
2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/4.
3. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/4.
4. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/5; also noted above.
5. See Chapters V and VI above.
6. See Chapter VI above.

claimed that Margate was 'vulgar' or had become 'unfashionable',¹ but what do these terms mean in the context of the 1840's? Who saw who as being vulgar or genteel is not an easy problem to sort out. Mid-nineteenth century contemporary observations of holidaymaking, which stressed gentility or vulgarity, are confusing to the social historian. It is fortunate that the 1841 census was the first to formulate details on the occupational structure of the country. Thus, to what extent do the 1841 census returns throw informative light on the social trends of Margate holidaymaking, by furnishing concrete details of the occupational status of visitors in June of that year? The following table lists the occupations of 601 Margate visitors, among whom were 98 different occupations.

TABLE 58: THE OCCUPATIONS OF MARGATE VISITORS ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY, JUNE 1841.

	<u>98 OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>601 PERSONS</u>
	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
A:	Accountant	1
	Agricultural Labourer	1
	Army	2
	Artist	1
	Auctioneer	1
B:	Barrister-at-Law	1
	Bill Broker	1
	Boiler Makers	3
	Booksellers	2
	Brassfounder	1
	Broker	1
	Builder	1
	Butcher	1
C:	Chemist	1
	Clergymen	3
	Clerks	7
	Cloth Factor	1
	Coachman	1
	Coal Merchant	1
	Collector	1
	Compositor	1
	Confectioners	2
	Conveyancer	1
	Coopers	2
	Coppersmith	1
	Cordwainer	1
	Cork Cutter	1

1. For instance, Mrs. E. Stone, Chronicles of Fashion, Volume II (1845), 298, also see Chapter VI above.

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
D:	Decorator	1
	Dentist	1
	Drapers	2
	Dressmakers	2
E:	Embossers	1
	Engineers	4
	Engraver	1
F:	Farmers	4
	Female Servants	79
	Florist	1
	Furnishing Undertaker	1
	Furrier	1
G:	Gas Engineer	1
	Goldsmiths	2
	Governesses	3
	Grocers	3
H:	Hat Maker	1
I:	Independent	351
	Independent Bart.	1
	India Rubber Merchant	1
	Innkeepers	2
	Ironmonger	1
J:	Joiner	1
L:	Lawyers	2
	Law Stationers	3
	Licensed Victuallers	2
	Linen Draper	1
M:	Male Servants	7
	Mariner	1
	Mechanics	5
	Manufacturer	1
	Merchants	12
	Milliner	1
	Missionary	1
N:	Navy Half Pay	2
	Nurseryman	1
	Nursery Seedsman	1
O:	Optician	1
	Outfitter	1
P:	Painters	2
	Paper Stainer	1
	Pattern Drawer	1
	Pianoforte Maker	1
	Picture Dealer	1
	Plasterers	2
	Plumber	1
	Publicans	2
	Publisher	1
R:	Railway Officer	1
S:	Saddler	1
	Schoolmasters	2
	Shell Merchant	1
	Shipowners	2
	Ship Surveyor	1
	Silk Mercer	1
	Solicitors	7
	Stationer	1
	Stockbrokers	2

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
S:	Surgeons	2
	Surveyors	2
T:	Tailors	3
	Tea Dealer	1
	Timber Merchant	1
	Tobacconists	2
U:	Upholsterer	1
V:	Vice Admiral	1
	Victualler	1
W:	Warehousemen	2
	Wax Chandler	1
	Wine Merchants	4
	Woollen Factor	1

TABLE 59: MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, JUNE 1841.

Independent	352
Servants and Governesses	89
Tradespeople	70
Merchants, Dealers, Factors	25
Professional, other than Legal	16
Legal Profession	11
Engineers and Mechanics	10
Manufacturers or Makers	7
Clerks	7
Armed Services	5
Farming	5
Church	4
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>601</u>

The social trends of holidaymaking as revealed by occupations suggest that the middle classes were strongly entrenched in Margate by 1841. Aristocratic and titled visitors, or the old category of nobility, gentry and clergy, were few in number, though gentry, were well represented among the 352 visitors of independent means. This is the hardest category to break down. While it is disappointing to find so many in this vague category, the instruction to enumerators in 1841 as to "Profession, Trade, Employment, or of Independent Means" stated that "men, or widows, or single women, having no profession or calling, but living on their means, may be inserted as independent, which may be written shortly thus, Ind."¹ Independent means could cover unearned

1. Abstract of the Answers and Returns, op. cit., 3.

incomes from inherited wealth, from urban or agricultural rents, or from investments. Industrialization, the growth of towns, and the construction of canals, railways, harbours and public utilities, particularly gas and water-works undertakings, had greatly widened investment income possibilities.

Of the 352 visitors of independent means no fewer than 222, or 63%, were women, who had a strong tendency to so record themselves. Some had only rather indirect links with the expanding middle classes and the investing public generally. Some were spinsters or widows of independent means, Some were wives and mothers whose husbands were left behind in London, perhaps only to come down at weekends as noted above. There is no means of knowing the occupational title which was appropriate to a married woman of independent means, but it may be presumed to have been middle class, professional, or commercial in the vast majority of cases. 130 male visitors of independent means, a proportion of whom were elderly or retired, compares therefore with 70 tradespeople, 32 merchants or manufacturers, and 27 drawn from the professions.

Although there were gentry among the visitors of independent means, titled visitors numbered no more than three, and the church and farming were also noticeably well down the list. The three titled visitors were Sir W. White, aged 50, Independent, staying near the Duke's Head;¹ Lady Bathurst, aged 40, Independent, residing with her daughter and servants,² and Sir Thomas Apreed, aged 45, Independent Bart.,³ both staying in Fort Crescent.

It is interesting to see that tradespeople constituted the third major occupational group coming after people of independent means and domestic servants and governesses. Shopkeepers and tradesmen multiplied in numbers and wealth during the first half of the nineteenth century, and noticeably so in London, that great centre of varied and ostentatious consumption, whose resident population doubled between 1801 and 1851.⁴ Already in the 1830's

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/4; also noted above.

3. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/4.

4. On the expanding prosperity of shopkeepers see Dorothy Davis, A History of Shopping (1966), 252, 256-7; or Alison Adburgham, Shops and Shopping 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well Dressed Englishwoman Bought her Clothes (1964), 42.

"there was a spirit of expansion in the air. Ambitious and intelligent young men were beginning to establish shops which were very soon to grow into much larger concerns. It was the dawn of a great era of retail adventurers". (1)

Shopkeepers prospered with the increasing affluence around them. Following the Napoleonic Wars they enhanced their wealth through better premises, more varied stocks and quicker turnover.² The 1830's in London saw the emergence in name at least of some of the well-known stores of today, including Peter Robinson, Dickens and Smith, Marshall and Snelgrove and Debenhams.³

Tradespeople, merchants, dealers and factors as a combined group of 95 exceeded the number of servants and governesses. Tradespeople, merchants, dealers, factors, the professions, engineers, mechanics, manufacturers, and clerks, numbering 146, exceeded in total the 130 male visitors of independent means. The professions, including the church and armed services, were outnumbered by tradespeople by about 2:1. Nineteenth century England may have remained an aristocratic country,⁴ but confronted by the commercial and industrial changes of the period, the aristocracy were unable to retain a commanding hold over the resorts and spas of England when faced with the growing material prosperity of the middle classes. Margate had become by 1841 one of the holiday resorts of an extensive and diverse middle class.

The 1841 Enumeration Schedules provide also some indication of the geographical preference and distribution of visitors in the town according to street or district. The cost of taking lodgings varied according to the period of the season and according to location, lodgings with a sea view being preferred but always being the dearer.⁵ By far the largest proportion of well-to-do visitors favoured lodgings with a close proximity to the sea front,

1. Adburgham, op. cit., 42.

2. See The Report from the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping /690/ (1833), or Davis; op. cit., 252.

3. Adburgham, op. cit., 42-3, 45-7.

4. Thompson, op. cit., 1.

5. As noted in Chapter III above.

as shown in the following table and accompanying map.

TABLE 60: THE RESIDENCE OF MARGATE VISITORS BY STREET AND DISTRICT, JUNE 1841.

<u>Street or District</u>	<u>Number of Visitors Staying Therein</u>
Lower Marine Terrace	192
Fort Crescent	108
Westbrook (A District)	75
High Street	49
Upper Marine Terrace	48
Bridge Street	46
Parade	37
Crescent Place	37
Buenos Ayres	31
Zion Place	31
Cliff Terrace	30
Garlinge (A District)	27
Hawley Square	24
Alby Place	24
Union Crescent	23
Fort Point, Paradise Street	23
Dane Hill Row	22
Market Place	21
Rancorn (A District)	19
Cold Harbour	19
Lansell's Place	19
Churchfield Place	17
West Cliff House/Lodge	17
Pleasant Place	16
King Street	15
Cecil Square	15
Vicarage Place	14
Andrew's Place	14
Clifton Place	12
Northumberland Crescent	12
Paragon	11
Albion Place	11
Trapham's Lane	11
Caroline Square	9
Paradise Place	8
Mill Houses	8
Lombard Street and Court	8
Dane Hill	7
Belle Mont	7
Neptune Square	6
St. James's Square	6
Addington Street	6
St. John's Street	5
New Inn Yard	5
Bamfield Houses	5
Bridge Terrace	5
Brunswick Place	5
New Cross Street	5
Flint Row	4
Fort Place	4
Mansion House Street	4
Castell's Gardens	4
Princes Crescent	4
Charlotte Place	4

<u>Street or District</u>	<u>Number of Visitors Staying Therein</u>
Clifton Street	4
Cecil Street	4
Union Row	3
Wellington Place	3
Brook's Place	3
Regent Place	3
Broad Street	3
Speller's Court	3
Garden Row	3
Hawley Street	3
East Crescent	2
Trafalgar Place	2
Garden Court	2
Draper's Almshouse	2
Angle Place	2
Bath Place	2
Bayley's Cottages	2
Prospect Row, Dane Hill	1
Princes Street	1
Vicarage Terrace	1
Holliday Court	1
Duke Street and Court	1

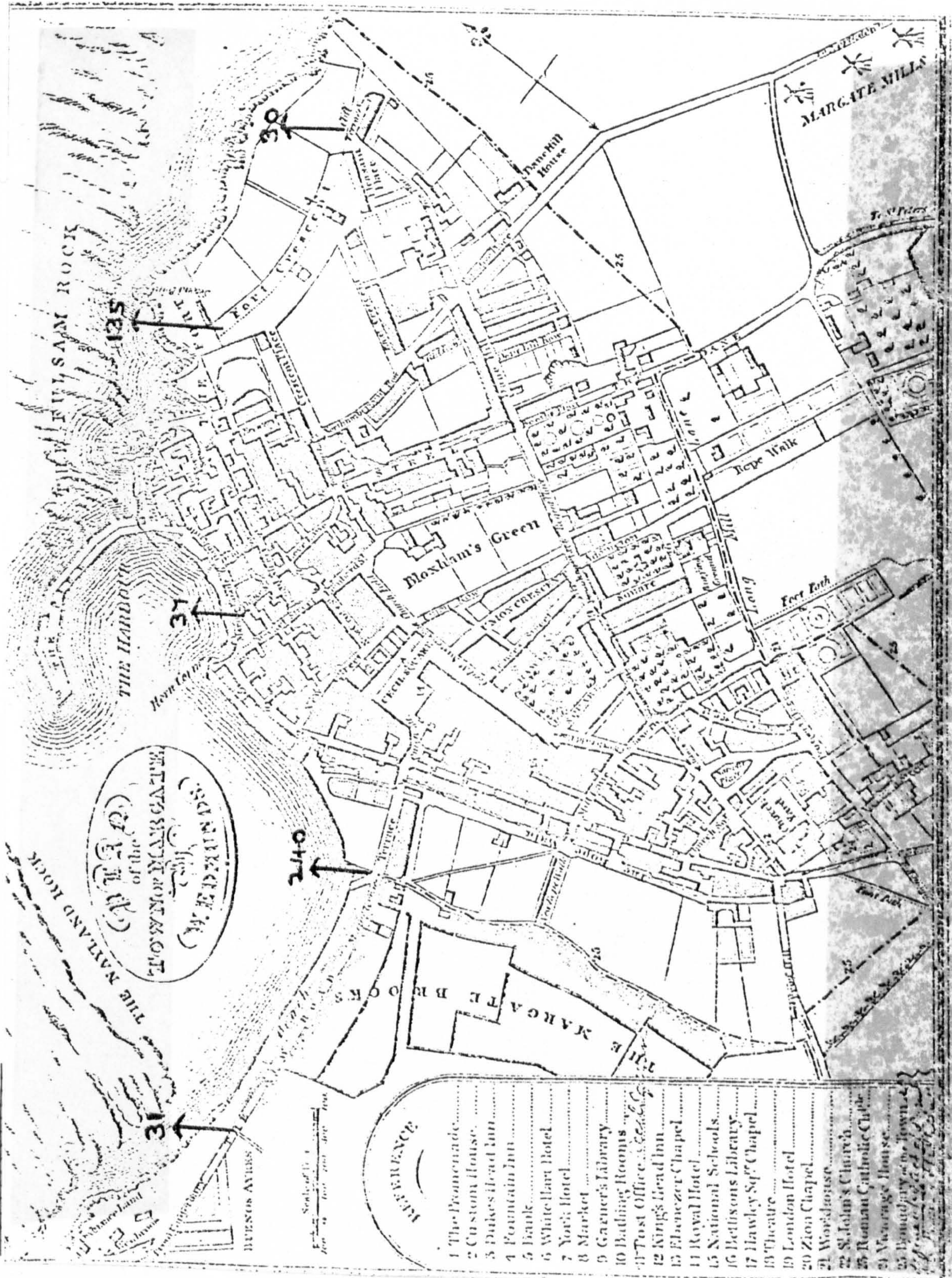
Visitors to Margate over the census night of 7 June 1841 were staying in 76 districts, streets, squares, terraces, crescents, rows, places and lanes, with a decided preference for sea front lodgings or lodgings in close proximity to shops, libraries, baths or the theatre, in the more fashionable streets or squares. Moving from west to east on the map 473 visitors were residing in lodgings or hotels with direct access to the sea front:

Buenos Ayres	31
Upper and Lower Marine Terraces	240
The Parade	37
The Fort Area including Fort Crescent	135
Cliff Terrace	30
<u>Total:</u>	<u>473</u>

Of these 473 visitors, 348 were concentrated in the Upper and Lower Marine Terraces and in Fort Crescent. The Parade contained two of the leading hotels of Margate, the White Hart Hotel and the York Hotel having between them 14 visitors. They were sizeable establishments, the White Hart employing a clerk, three female servants and two male servants,¹ and the York Hotel six female

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2.

473 VISITORS TO MARGATE STAYING IN SEAFRONT HOTELS OR LODGING HOUSES OVER THE CENSUS NIGHT OF 7 JUNE 1841.



- REFERENCE
- 1 The Promenade
 - 2 Customs House
 - 3 Duke's Head Inn
 - 4 Fountain Inn
 - 5 Bank
 - 6 White Hart Hotel
 - 7 York Hotel
 - 8 Market
 - 9 Garner's Library
 - 10 Bathing Rooms
 - 11 Post Office
 - 12 King's Head Inn
 - 13 Ebenezer Chapel
 - 14 Royal Hotel
 - 15 National Schools
 - 16 Bellisons Library
 - 17 Hawley Sq. Chapel
 - 18 Theatre
 - 19 London Hotel
 - 20 Zion Chapel
 - 21 Workhouse
 - 22 St. John's Church
 - 23 Roman Catholic Church
 - 24 Average House
 - 25 Boundary of the Town

Printed by W. Simpson, the Printer, Margate.

Published Dec. 1841, by R. Edwards, Margate.

servants and two male servants.¹

This residential pattern accords with the physical development of seaside resorts. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century seaside towns developed as terraces of tall houses and hotels strung out along the sea front,² behind which there was a mixture of areas and properties: some fashionable squares and streets; a High Street or other areas of shops selling necessities and good quality wares; residential parts containing some lodging houses, some of which were for poorer visitors; and rows of meaner streets, housing the working population, whose employment depended in large measure upon the money spent by visitors on the sea front.³ Settlement became increasingly agrarian on the outskirts or periphery of the town.

The residence of Margate visitors by street and district in 1841 reflects exactly this pattern. The sea front by and large was given over to visitors, including lodgings, amusement, and sea bathing. Slightly inland from the front there were concentrations of visitors in particular parts of Margate: for instance, 22 in lodging houses in Dane Hill Row; 49 residing in the main thoroughfare of the High Street, which was in close proximity to the circulating libraries, bathing rooms, bazaars, the assembly rooms and the Theatre Royal, as was the fairly fashionable district bounded by and incorporating Hawley Square, Union Crescent, Cecil Square, Cecil Street, Hawley Street, Churchfield Place, Princes Street, and Vicarage Place housing altogether at least 100 visitors.

Lying west of Margate, and indeed west of the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary⁴ were 27 visitors in Garlinge, 75 in Westbrook, and 19 in Rancorn, making a total of 121, most of whom were out patients of the Infirmary, containing among their number a high proportion of children. In Garlinge there

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2.

2. J. A. Williamson, The English Channel: A History (1959), 327.

3. Ibid., 327.

4. See Chapter VIII below.

were 13 children under the age of ten who were residing in lodgings or boarding houses independently of any other relatives.¹ In Westbrook there were 26 children similarly placed.²

1. Seven Cottage was a boarding house in Garlinge run by Phoeby Jezzard, aged 49, and her fifteen year old daughter, Elizabeth, accommodating:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>
Emily Alderman	11
Fanny Bryan	9
Jane Bissoby	3
Rosa Young	3
Grace Couldery	4
Thomas do.	3
William do.	2
Sophie Cramp	2
Elizabeth Gibson	9

Of these nine children only Emily Alderman was returned as having been born in Kent. (3)

and 2. In Westbrook, Jane Brook, aged 50, was a lodging house keeper having in her care:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>
Mary Miles	15
Elizabeth Stayes	5
Mary Young	5
Harriet Sutton	4
Sarah Jones	2
Mary Rushbrook	3
Edwin Hood	5
George Burnet	4
George Monger	4

Only two of these nine children were born in Kent. (4)

In 1841, Garlinge, Westbrook and Rancorn were settlements detached from Margate and were very much on the periphery of urban settlement. Westbrook contained among its inhabitants 12 coastguards,⁵ while the area known as Rancorn, Mutrix, Marsh Bay, Street and Street Green, Dandelion, Garlinge, Crowhill, and Hartsdown, had 48 agricultural labourers as one of the 25 occupations represented among 121 persons.⁶

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/6.

2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

3. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/6.

4. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

5. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

6. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/6.

The places of birth of Margate's visitors in June 1841 were as follows:

TABLE 61: 1,265 MARGATE VISITORS WHERE BORN, JUNE 1841.

<u>Where Born</u>	<u>Number</u>
In Kent	128
In another County	1,081
In Scotland	8
In Ireland	23
In Foreign Parts	20
? Don't Know	5
	<hr/>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1,265</u>

In another County includes, of course, London. Just about 10% of the visitors spending holidays in Margate in June 1841 had been born in Kent. The vast majority almost certainly came from London, which is abundantly clear from the enumerators' statements when they were asked to give the causes of any increase in population since the 1831 census.

- "Visitors generally from London". (1)
- "Chiefly Visitors from London". (2)
- "Visitors from London, etc.". (3)
- "Visitors from London principally for Sea Bathing or Pleasure". (4)

Margate in the 1840's attracted a few foreign visitors. There was Maurice Da Costa, aged 72, of independent means, staying in a lodging house in Lower Marine Terrace.⁵ A few had been born in foreign parts having returned to settle in England, such as Elizabeth Walker, aged 46, Ann Walker, aged 20, and six members of the Darby family, staying in the same house in Union Crescent;⁶ or Christopher Kreaft, aged 50, a merchant and his wife, Regina, aged 40, who were residing in Lower Marine Terrace, with their three children who had been born outside Kent.⁷

The 1841 census enumerated also 214 patients who were receiving seasonal

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2.
2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.
3. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/4.
4. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/5.
5. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.
6. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/5.
7. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/3.

treatment in the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary.¹ Conducted as it was in early summer, enumerating for Margate 1,297 visitors (1,265 + "Gentlefolk Visitors 32"),² and 214 patients in the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, can prove misleading when interpreting trends in the resident population over the decades, 1831 to 1851. A cursory glance at the census figures produces the following population figures.

TABLE 62: TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF MARGATE, 1831-51, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT VISITORS AND INFIRMARY PATIENTS .

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Increase or Decrease</u>
1831	10,339	-
1841	11,050	+ 6.9%
1851	10,099	- 8.6%

These totals have been accepted at their face value,³ but to do so is to include 1,511 persons (1,297 visitors and 214 patients), who but for the fact that it was the first week in June would not have been in Margate. Margate's population increase over the decade 1831 to 1841 allowing for them is as follows:

1841	11,050
1831	<u>10,339</u>
<u>Increase 1831-1841</u>	<u>711</u>

A quite different trend, a decrease in population, is produced by their exclusion:

1841	9,539
1831	<u>10,339</u>
<u>Decrease 1831-1841</u>	<u>- 800</u>

Visitors and patients to Margate in June 1841 were more than double the alleged population increase for the town since 1831.

1. See Chapter VIII below.

2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/2.

3. Notably by W.T.W. Morgan, The Development of Settlement on the Isle of Thanet, in its Geographical Setting, with Special Reference to the Growth of the Holiday Industry, London.M.Sc. (Econ) Thesis (1950), 54, 57-8.

An actual decrease of 800 people affects also any interpretation of population movement over the next decade 1841 to 1851. The actual overall position emerges, therefore, as follows:

TABLE 63: TRENDS IN THE POPULATION OF MARGATE, 1831-51, EXCLUDING VISITORS AND INFIRMARY PATIENTS.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Decennial Increase or Decrease</u>	<u>% Increase or Decrease</u>
1831	10,339	-	-
1841	<u>9,539</u>	- 800	- 7.7%
1851	10,099	+ 560	+ 5.8%

The effect of excluding visitors and patients, who were not residents of the town, from the 1841 total removes immediately any impression of a substantial and sustained increase in Margate's population.

TABLE 64: GROWTH OF POPULATION IN MARGATE 1801 TO 1871.

<u>Year</u>	<u>According to Census</u>	<u>Resident Population</u>
1801	4,766	4,766
1811	6,126	6,126
1821	7,843	7,843
1831	10,339	10,339
1841	<u>11,050</u>	<u>9,539</u>
1851	10,099	10,099
1861	10,019	10,019
1871	13,903	13,903

Before 1831 the population of Margate grew markedly. During the thirty years following 1801 it more than doubled. After 1831 there was a period of decline and stability for three decades. The resident population of Margate by 1851 had fallen compared to the 1830's and fell further between 1851 and 1861, thereafter reversing this decline with a substantial increase of 38.7% between 1861 and 1871, so that the resident population of the 1870's was considerably higher than for the 1820's and 1830's.

The conclusions which have been drawn from the 1841 census concerning visitors to Margate are unique, resulting from a human but unorthodox local

variation in methods of enumeration. The position regarding the neighbouring Thanet resorts of Broadstairs and Ramsgate is less satisfactory. The most relevant Broadstairs return covering the High Street, Charlotte Street, York Place, Chandos Place, and Nuckell's Place, where visitors resided during the nineteenth century, makes no attempt to identify them from residents. It merely attributes the computed increase of 72 persons since 1831 to "Gentry visiting Broadstairs during the Summer Season".¹ Since June was early in the season, and given the smallness of Broadstairs compared to Margate or Ramsgate, only a few visitors would have been staying there.

This deduction was less true of Ramsgate, where on 7 June 1841 visitors can be found in the leading hotels of the town, or in accommodation fronting the sea, as shown in the following examples selected from the Enumeration Schedules.

TABLE 65: EXAMPLES OF VISITORS STAYING IN RAMSGATE OVER THE CENSUS NIGHT OF 7 JUNE 1841. (2)

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means.</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
N.B. ?v indicates a possible visitor						
Albion Hill	1	Mary Watson		35	Lodging House Keeper	Y
		Margaret Castle		35	Lodging House Keeper	Y
	?v	James Leetor	30		Stationer	No
	?v	Mary do.		30		No
	?v	John Keaveley	5			No
	?v	Jane Hothway		30		No
	?v	Ann do.		5		No
	?v	Hannah do.		2		No
	?v	Robert do.	1			No
	?v	Emma Campbell		20	Female Servant	No
Wellington Crescent	1	Marie Sandford		40	Boarding House	No
	?v	Lady M. Maxwell		60		No

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/18.

2. P.R.O. H.O. 107/469/2, 107/469/3. Walton and McGloin, *op. cit.*, 323, observe that "most local historians will have to begin by trying to work out who was a visitor and who a resident", but "in an obviously complex household headed by a hotelier or lodging-house keeper, this will be easy enough".

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means.</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
Wellington Crescent		?v Elizabeth Betts		60		No
		?v Jane Martin		62		No
		?v M. Pratt		30		No
		?v S. Rose		27		No
		?v Kate Jarvis		22		No
		?v James Butler	35		Independent	Irish
		?v Robert Chapman	78		Independent	No
		?v Mark Woodhouse	60		Merchant	No
		?v Col. Nichols	52		Military	No
		?v C. Young	58		Merchant	No
		?v J. Pratt	30		Merchant	No
		?v William Grigg	40		Merchant	No
		?v Margaret Donets		35	Female Servant	Scots
		Sarah Finn		25	Female Servant	Y
		?v Elizabeth Carvey		35	Female Servant	No
		?v Ann Pitcher		45	Female Servant	No
		Mary Newman		19	Female Servant	Y
		Jane do.		17	Female Servant	Y
		Ann Wood		28	Female Servant	Y
		John Pring	16		Male Servant	Y
Wellington Crescent	1	Lord Forbes	75		Military	Scots
		Hon. Mrs. Forbes		35		Y
		Hon. Elizabeth do.		25		Foreign
		?v Baron Poelmittz	27		Foreign Military	Foreign
		?v Baroness do.		20		Foreign
		?v Baroness Vonde do.		1		Foreign
		John Cochrane	45		Male Servant	Scots
		?v Johan Schaftlain	30		Male Servant	Foreign
		Catherine Firlanger		50	Female Servant	No
		Elizabeth Woodley		24	Female Servant	Scots
		Elizabeth Chambers		17	Female Servant	Y
		?v Tugunde Rosellamch		24	Female Servant	Foreign
	Wellington Crescent	1	Sarah Redshall		26	Lodging House Keeper
		?v James Sutherland	57		Major General	Scots
		?v Marie do.		50		No
		?v Catherine do.		20		No
		?v John do.	17			No
		?v Emma do.		15		No
		?v Fanny do.		14		?
		?v Marie do.		8		No
		?v Robert Groome	30		Male Servant	No
		?v Sarah Lawson		40	Female Servant	No
	Susanna North		30	Female Servant	Y	
	?v Mary Vincent		25	Female Servant	No	

<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
Albion Hotel	1	Jane Beer		40	Hotel Keeper	Y
		Mary do.		40	Female Servant	Y
		Elizabeth do.		20		Y
		William do.	33		Hotel Keeper	Y
		Richard do.	18		Farmer	Y
		Mary Terry		50	Female Servant	Y
		Betsey Cadwell		20	Female Servant	Y
		Harriet Pritchard		30	Female Servant	Y
		Sarah Bishop		30	Female Servant	Y
		Anna Long		20	Female Servant	Y
		Elizabeth Frazier		30	Female Servant	Y
		John Shayn	32		Male Servant	No
		William Charles	22		Male Servant	No
		Matthew Wandby	22		Male Servant	No
		William Parrett	25		Male Servant	No
		Charles West	26		Male Servant	Y
		?v Sarah Salt		60	Independent	No
		?v William do.	30		Banker	No
		?v Emma do.		25	Independent	No
		?v Harriet do.		25		No
		?v George do.	20			No
		?v Mary Marlborough		20	Female Servant	No
		?v J. Parker	55		Independent	No
?v J. Barry	20		Independent	No		
?v L. Paile	55		Independent	No		
Royal Hotel	1	Frederick Hiscocks	60		Hotel Keeper	No
		Ann do.		65		No
		Bedford do.	31		Hotel Keeper	No
		Robert do.	29		Hotel Keeper	No
		?v Charles Townley	35		Independent	No
		?v Caroline do.		35		No
		?v Caroline do.		3		No
		?v Cath. Molynex		30	Independent	No
		?v Emily Townley		1		No
		?v Caroline Haster		18	Female Servant	No
		?v Analie Best		35	Female Servant	No
		?v Mary Williams		30	Female Servant	No
		?v Hannah Nichols		35	Female Servant	No
		?v Michael Cappel	45		Tobacconist	No
		?v Ann do.		35		No
		?v Charlotte Nicholson		45	Independent	No
		?v Susan Young		33	Female Servant	Y
		?v Thomas Heathcote	25		Independent	No
		?v Elizabeth do.		25	Independent	No
		?v John Sangster	41		Seedsman	Irish
		?v Thomas Roberts	31		Bookseller	No
		?v William Delure	24		Bookseller	No
		?v John Isaacks	35		Independent	No
?v George Cass	30		Independent	No		
?v George Brown	31		Independent	No		
?v Thomas do.	32		Independent	No		

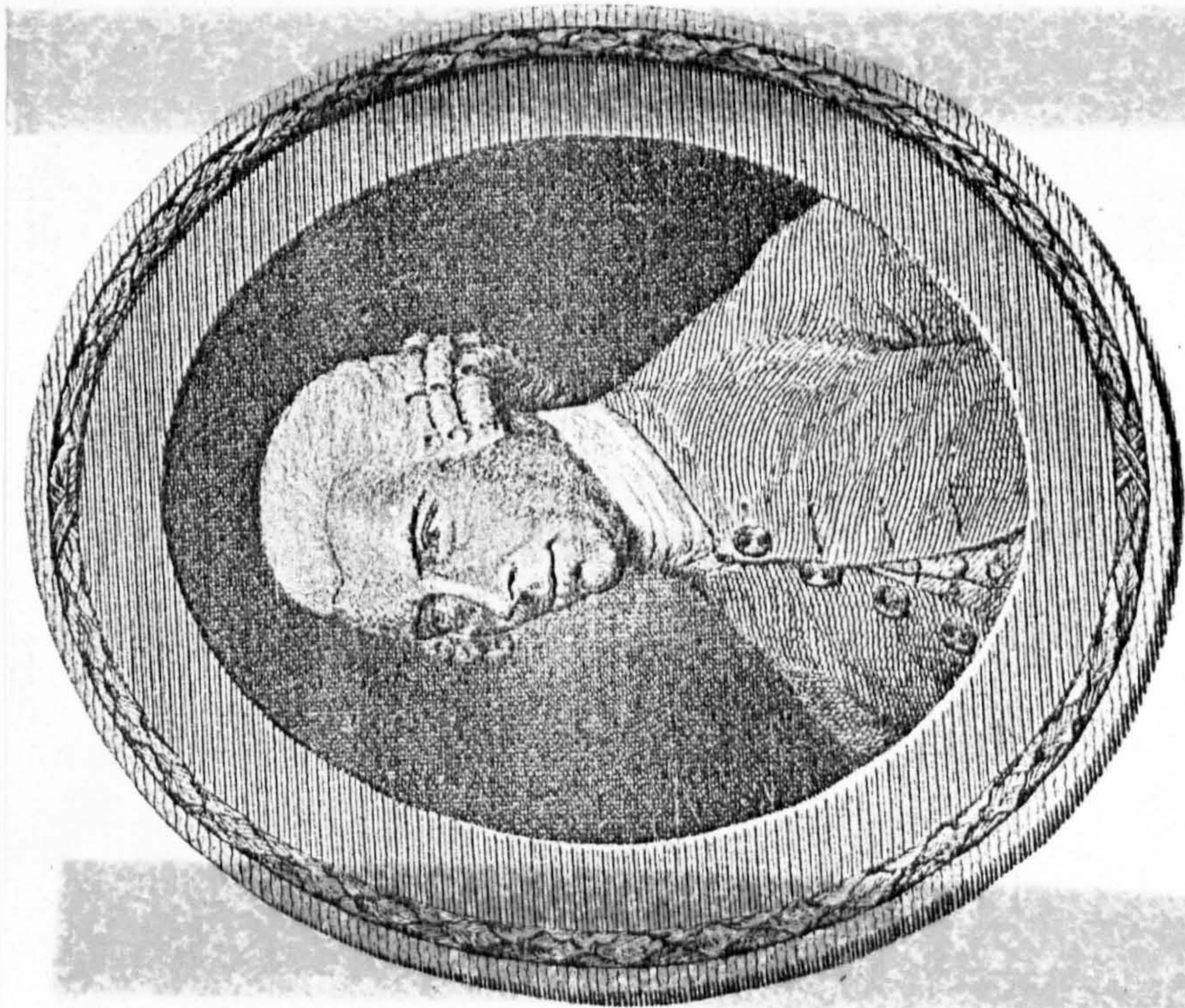
<u>Place</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Profession, Trade, Employment, Independent Means</u>	<u>Where Born. Y for Kent or No</u>
			<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
Royal Hotel	1	?v William Brown	33		Independent	No
		?v Henry do.	34		Independent	No
		George Hughes	34		Male Servant	Y
		George Gifford	19		Male Servant	Y
		?v Mary Mills		32	Female Servant	No
		Ann Beddell		28	Female Servant	Y
		Mary West		40	Female Servant	Y
		Mary Morris		19	Female Servant	Y
		Sarah Derris		25	Female Servant	Y
		Charlotte Hayes		25	Female Servant	No

The average visitor to Ramsgate was still of a higher social class than at Margate, but other firm conclusions cannot be drawn from this evidence to match those of Margate. Although it is possible to identify some visitors to Ramsgate and Broadstairs, by scrutinizing lodgings and hotels for wealthy and professional people who had been born outside Kent, such calculations of visitors represent no more than approximate estimates of holidaymakers to these resorts on 7 June 1841.

The details which emerge from the 1841 census returns provide only a static picture at one point of time. Because this source has identified more visitors by name, age, class and occupation than any other source, the 1841 returns provide a good insight into the patterns and extent of early Victorian holiday-making at Margate. It would be interesting to know what proportion of Brighton's large population at that time was composed of visitors, for Brighton, perhaps the most obvious and powerful rival to Margate, had by 1841 more than three miles of developed sea frontage, and the June census of that year counted 46,000 people,¹ as against Margate's 11,050.

1. Williamson, op. cit., 327.

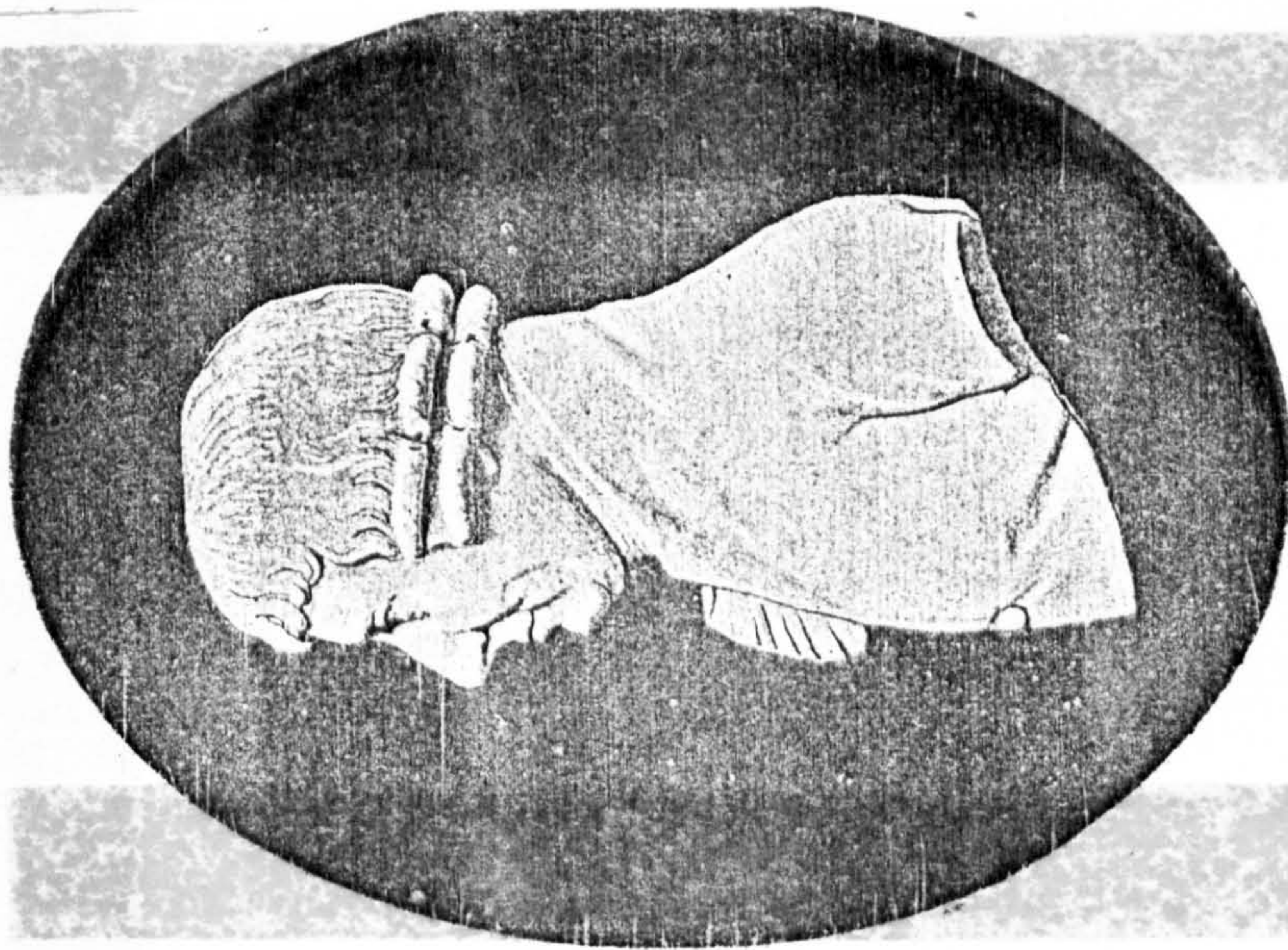
DR. JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM (1744-1815) IN 1792 AND 1810,
THE PRINCIPAL FOUNDER OF THE MARGATE OR GENERAL SEA BATHING INFIRMARY.



JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM,

1792.

(T. Holloway *ad vivum delin et sculpt.*)



LETTSON.

(From the War Medallion by Wm. Skelton, now in the possession of John Hugh Armstrong Elliot.)

Skelton knew Lettsom intimately, and made an engraving of this medallion, which was used as a frontispiece by Pettigrew when he published the *Memoirs and Correspondence* in three volumes in 1817. It represents what he looked like around 1810.

J.J. Abraham, Lettsom His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants (1933), Frontispiece and p. 408.



JAMES SIMS, M.D., PRESIDENT OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, 1786 TO 1808.

From the Painting by Samuel Medley, Engraved by Nathan Braswhite. Reproduced from Lettson's "Hints," 1801.

Sims was an ugly man who nevertheless liked to "sport his figure" in fashionable society. William Wadd is responsible for the following malicious epitaph on him:—

"Here lies in repose
The visage and nose
Of James Sims from the Lakes of Killarney;
Had I deem'd it my duty,
To call him a beauty,
You'd have thought I was dealing in Blarney."
Nugae Canorae, VIII, p. 15.

J. J. Abraham, *Lettson His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants* (1933), pp. 260, 396.



Drawn by J. Jackson

Engraved by Chas. Heath.

JOHN NICHOLS, PRINTER,

F.S.A. of Lon. Edin. & Perth.

Born Feb. 2 1744-5; living 1812.

OWNER AND EDITOR OF THE "GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE."

London: Drawn & Engraved for & Published by J. Britton. Engraved from July 1812.

(From Lettson's "Hints," 2nd Edit., 1816.)

CHAPTER VIII

AN IMPORTANT CHAPTER IN ENGLISH MEDICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY:

THE ROYAL SEA BATHING HOSPITAL AT MARGATE

Over 180 years ago the Margate or "General Sea Bathing Infirmary",¹ intended for poor people suffering from scrofula or tuberculosis, opened its doors during 1796 at Westbrook, as "the country's first hospital for tuberculosis",² when sixteen patients were admitted.³ Its foundation five years previously in 1791 owed much to a famous eighteenth-century Quaker physician, Dr. John Coakley Lettson (1744-1815), who firmly believed that fresh air, sea water, sunlight and regular habits were essential to the treatment of many diseases, especially those of the chest and all tubercular troubles.⁴ He was greatly assisted in his endeavours by two philanthropic friends, the Rev. John Pridden (1755-1825) and John Nichols who was editor and proprietor of The Gentleman's Magazine⁵ and locally within Margate by the physician, Dr. John Anderson.⁶

Dr. Lettson reasoned the case for such a charitable institution as follows in the third volume of one of his own publications: Hints Designed to Promote Beneficence, Temperance and Medical Science (1801), specifically on "Hints for Establishing a Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate for the Poor of London".

"Were a stranger cursorily to pass through the great streets of London, nothing would be more strongly impressed on his mind than the general appearance of wealth, health and plenty ... But were he to quit the spacious streets and squares, and penetrate into the little alleys and courts, the scene would be dismally reversed in the contemplation of poverty, sickness and want. With hard labour, and scant food, sickness will supervene; and this, aggravated by want of air and exercise ...

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1. Cited as such in The Original Minutes of the Margate Infirmary, 1791-1793, 15 June 1792.
 2. Courtney Dainton, The Story of England's Hospitals (1961), 93.
 3. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume LXXXVI, Part I (January 1816), 17.
 4. Dainton, op. cit., 93; also Arthur Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (1950), 311.
 5. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, The Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettson, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.S., etc. With a Selection from his Correspondence (1817), Volume I, 115; also J.J. Abraham, Lettson His Life, Times, Friends, and Descendants (1933), 282, 285.
 6. Noted in Chapter II above.

The humane mind views this scene of want and disease with some comfort, in recollecting the numerous establishments calculated to mitigate or relieve them. But among the poor, and particularly the children of the poor, there was a species of disease, for which no suitable aid had till lately been afforded: for scrophulous diseases and various others, well ascertained by medical men, wherein sea air and sea bathing are peculiarly requisite; and yet these remedies are procured with very little expense.

By the Thames, a cheap conveyance to sea water is commanded; and hence Margate, or its vicinity, seems peculiarly adapted for this salutary purpose". (1)

In proposing the foundation at Margate of a sea bathing infirmary in 1791

Dr. Lettsom envisaged a hospital where patients could be housed in 'solaria' open air shelters which offered the benefits of sea breezes and sunshine.²

According to his biographer, Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, he worked hard to effectively establish and sustain the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary from the 1790's through to his death on 1 November 1815.³ The same conclusion emerges from the excellent minute records of the Infirmary which have been deposited in the Kent Record Office in Maidstone.

The origins of the Infirmary can be traced to a meeting held on 2 July 1791 at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill, which was attended by Mr. Adams, Mr. Beaumont, Dr. Hawes, Dr. Muller, Mr. Deputy Nichols, Sir John Peter, the Rev. John Pridden and Mr. J. R. Syms, with Dr. John Coakley Lettsom in the chair. The minutes of this historic first meeting read as follows:

"the Chairman informed the above Gentlemen, that he had requested their attendance to impart to them an Idea he had long formed of establishing a Receptacle for the Relief of the Poor whose Diseases required Sea-Bathing ... Among the numerous places of resort on the Sea-coast none appeared to him, as well as to several others to whom he had intimated his design, so proper as Margate or its Vicinity, the extreme salubrity of that part of the coast, and the ready and cheap conveyance thither [4s. by the hoy],⁴ giving that Place a decided preference to all others ...

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1. John Coakley Lettsom, Hints Designed to Promote Beneficence, Temperance and Medical Science (1801), Volume III, Section 6, 235-7.
 2. Raistrick, op. cit., 311.
 3. Pettigrew, op. cit., Volume I, 115-116, 143; Abraham, op. cit., 286.
 4. J. Whyman, "A Hanoverian Watering-Place: Margate before the Railway", in Ed: Alan Everitt, Perspectives in English Urban History (1973), 151, or Chapter VI above.

At a Meeting held July 2^d 1791 at the London Coffee-House,
Ludgate-Hill, London.

Present

D^r Lettsom, in the Chair.

M^r Adams

M^r Beaumont

D^r Hawes

D^r Muller

M^r Deputy Nichols.

S^r John Peter

Rev. John Pridden.

M^r J. R. Syms.

The Chairman informed the above Gentlemen, that he
had requested their attendance to impart to them an Idea

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL MINUTES OF THE SEA-BATHING
INFIRMARY.

J. J. Abraham, Lettsom His Life, Times,
Friends and Descendants (1933),
p. 283.

In consequence of these superior Advantages, he had, together with Dr. Anderson, of Margate, endeavoured for a considerable time to procure an eligible Spot of ground for the purpose of erecting an Hospital upon ... He had lately been favoured with intelligence from Dr. Anderson informing him that Ground convenient for the Purpose was offered for Sale ... Considering these Circumstances, together with the important and increasing Use of Sea-Bathing, and the utter inability of the Poor to experience any Benefit from such a Remedy by the Expense attending a distant Residence from their Families and Occupations he conceived no Opportunity so proper as the present for forming such an Institution for the Relief of the Poor and therefore he submitted to their Judgements what Procedure would be most efficacious to expedite the Formation and Establishment of such a valuable and much wanted Institution". (1)

The meeting approved Dr. Lettsom's recommendation and all those present, together with John Milward, Esq., Dr. William Saunders and Dr. James Sims, formed themselves into a Committee "for managing the Affairs of an Institution to be called

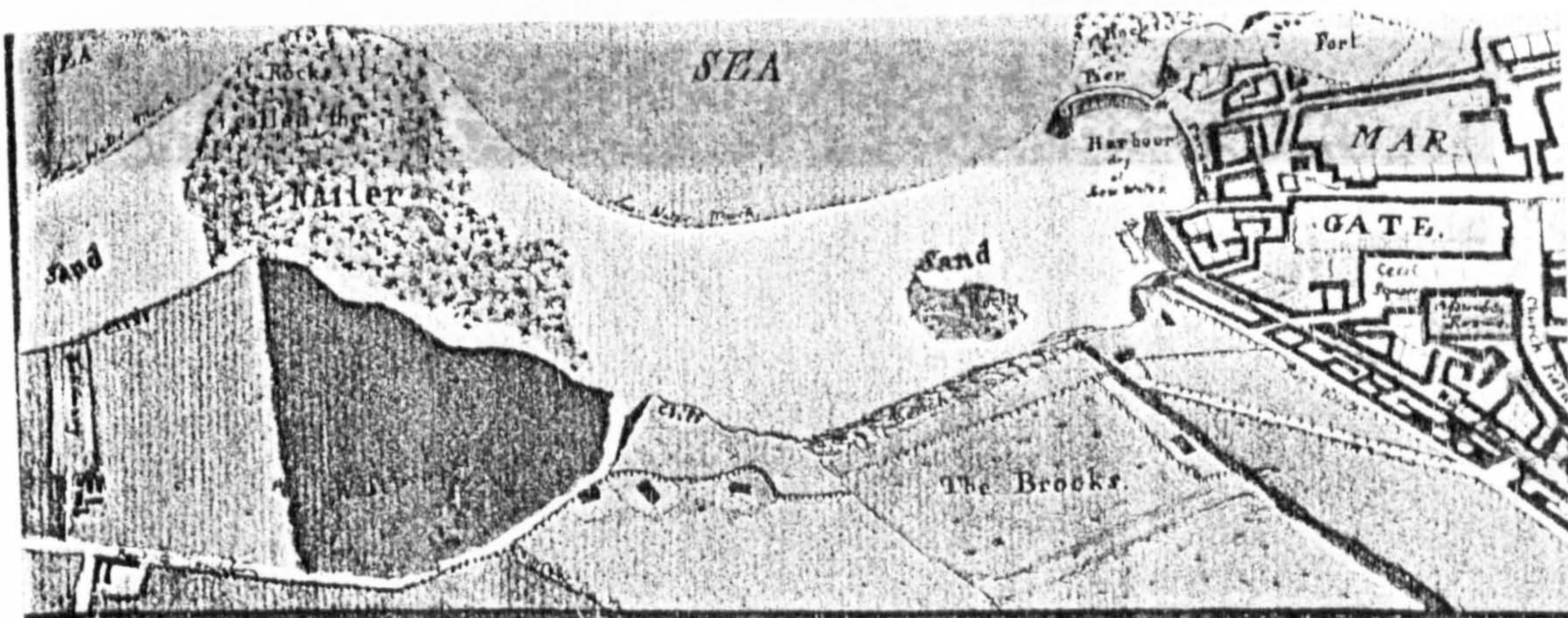
THE MARGATE INFIRMARY,
For the Relief of the Poor,
Whose Diseases require SEA-BATHING". (2)

It was further agreed that subscriptions should be solicited, to which end Dr. Lettsom was appointed Treasurer and the Rev. Pridden was appointed Secretary, and they along with Mr. Deputy Nichols were requested to view the ground offered for sale, as soon as they conveniently could, "and if it appears eligible for the Purpose to procure the Same".³

On 6 July 1791 Lettsom, Nichols and Pridden purchased a site at Westbrook, measuring 450 x 140 feet for £300, on which they paid an initial deposit of five guineas.⁴ It was left to the Rev. John Pridden, as an antiquary and amateur architect, to design the original building, provision being made for patients to sleep on verandas in the open air, which previously had been

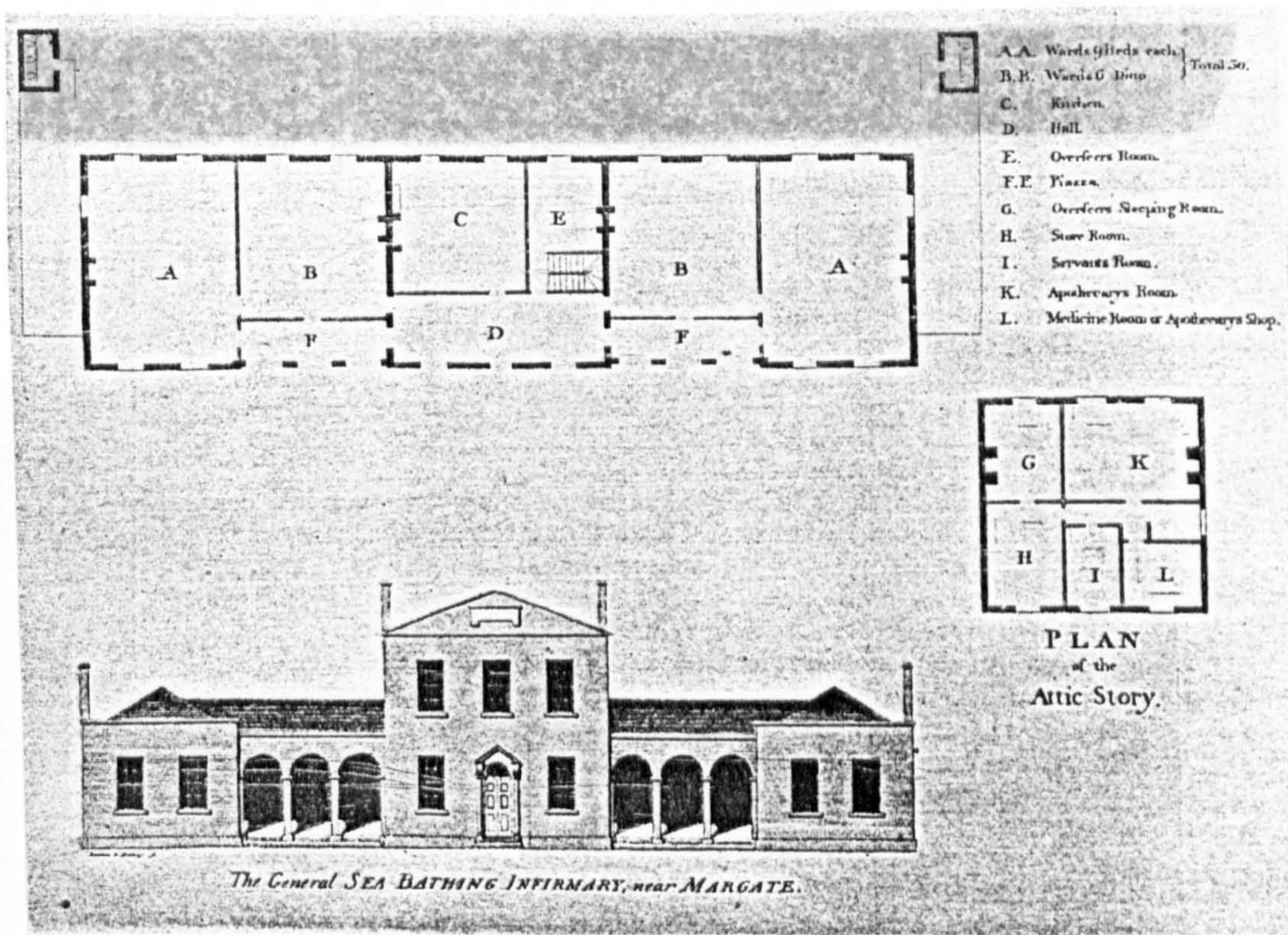
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1. The Original Minutes of the Margate Infirmary, 1791-1793, op. cit., 2 July 1791.
 2. Ibid., 2 July 1791.
 3. Ibid., 2 July 1791.
 4. Ibid., 11 July 1791.

THE SITE AND PLAN OF THE MARGATE SEA BATHING INFIRMARY.



*Plan of the intermediate Country betwixt Margate & the ground purchased.
 AB. The ground is distant about half of a mile from Margate.*

PLAN OF MARGATE, 1791, BY THE REV. J. PRIDDEN, SHOWING THE SITE BOUGHT FOR THE HOSPITAL BY LETTSOM, NICHOLS AND HIMSELF, JULY 6TH, 1791.
 (From the original in the minutes of the Sea-bathing Infirmary, by Permission of the Board of the Royal Sea-bathing Hospital.)



The General SEA-BATHING INFIRMARY, near MARGATE.

PLAN OF THE SEA-BATHING INFIRMARY.
 (From Lettsom's "Hints," 1801.)
 [Note the open-air piazzas "F.F."]

J. J. Abraham, Lettsom His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants (1933), pp. 284, 288.

Gentleman's Magazine.

A N D

Historical Chronicle.

For the YEAR MDCCXCVH.

VOLUME LXVII.

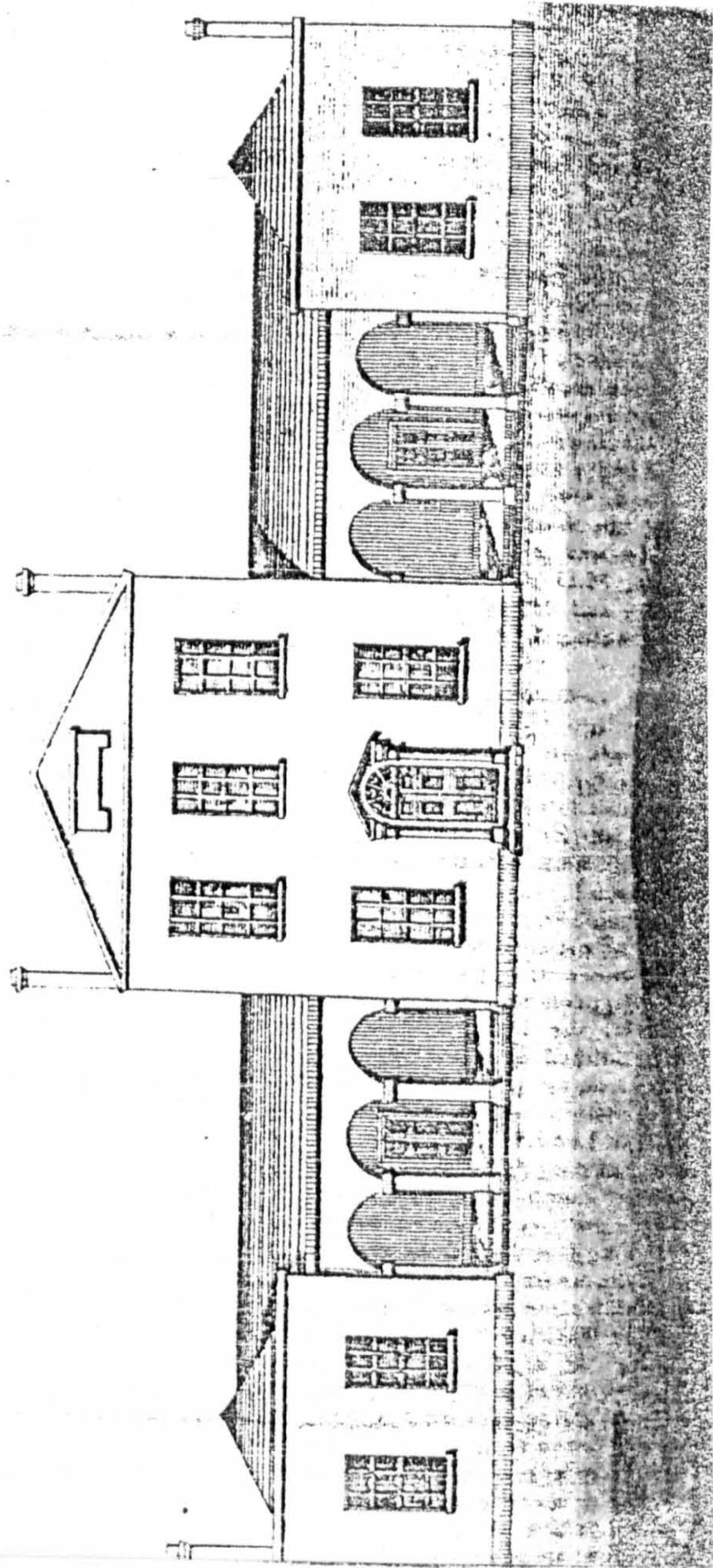
PART THE SECOND.

PRODESSE ET DELECTARE—
E PLURIBUS UNUM.

By SYLVANUS URBAN, *Genl.*

LONDON, Printed by JOHN NICHOLS,

GENERAL SEA-BATHING INFIRMARY, MARGATE.



unheard of in hospital architecture.¹ The "Plan of an Hospital to be Erected at Margate designed by John Pridden, M.A. June 5th", one month prior to the inaugural meeting, allowed for 92 beds which would be distributed over four wards (two male and two female) occupying two floors; a dining room "over which may be Apartments for the Female Servants"; a committee or meeting room, a medicinal room and an ante room, "over which may be Apartments for the Apothecary"; house-keeper's apartments, kitchen, storerooms, a laundry and a piazza. Additional land was purchased² and spare land was held in reserve for further extensions in the future.

Pridden's plan proved to be too ambitious, the Infirmary which opened in 1796 being designed for 30 beds, and having cost £2,357. The ground had cost £325 1s. 8d., the building £1,766 10s. 9d. and furniture and bedding £265 7s. 7d.³ The Gentleman's Magazine at the time of its opening noted how "the building is constructed in a very commodious manner, ... near the beach, ... and a bathing machine has been built for [the patients'] sole use".⁴ Few patients were admitted initially, no more than 16 between August and December 1796 and 25 in 1797.⁵ During October 1797 The Gentleman's Magazine, which was a good friend of the Infirmary in its fund-raising appeals, reviewed The New Margate Guide, which contained the following description of "the Sea-Bathing Infirmary at West-brook".

"This truly benevolent design originated from a desire to extend the benefit of sea bathing to the poor. Being made public, it met with the most strenuous encouragement from many of the Faculty in London and elsewhere ... The House was opened for the reception of patients in the summer of 1796, under the patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and under the direction of Dr. Anderson, assisted by a society of gentlemen residing in Margate, who act in

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1. Abraham, op. cit., 285-6; also Dainton, op. cit., 93.
 2. The Original Minutes of the Margate Infirmary, 1791-1793, op. cit., 20 July 1791, 28 January 1792, 13 April 1792.
 3. Abraham, op. cit., 286; Lettsom, op. cit., 250.
 4. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume LXVI (1796), 608-9.
 5. Lettsom, op. cit., 251.

THE FIRST OF MANY APPEALS FOR FUNDS.

MARGATE INFIRMARY

THE great Importance of Sea-bathing having suggested to several Gentlemen the Propriety of erecting an Hospital on the Sea Coast for the Benefit of the Poor; a Meeting of the Well-wishers to such an Institution was held, on Saturday the 2d of July, at the London Coffee House, Dr. LETTSOM in the Chair; when the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. That the great and increasing Use of Sea-bathing is a strong Proof of the Advantages derived from that Remedy to such whose Circumstances admit of their resorting to the Coast.

2. That many valuable poor Sufferers, who might be relieved by the same Remedy, are deprived of it by the Expence attending a Residence at a Distance from their Families and Occupations.

3. That, notwithstanding the many Charitable Institutions already so well supported in Great Britain, it cannot be deemed an Intrusion on the Benevolence of the Publick to request their Attention to one for the sole Relief of such Objects of Compassion whose Diseases require Sea-bathing.

4. That the Vicinity of the Town of Margate appears well calculated for such an Institution, on account of the well-known Salubrity of that Part of the Coast, the ready and cheap Conveyance thither, and the probable Residence, during the Summer, of many of the Subscribers, who may inspect the Management of the House, and be satisfied concerning the proper Application of their Contributions.

5. That Ground, convenient for erecting such an Hospital, be forthwith purchased in the Names of Trustees for that Purpose; and that a Committee be appointed in London, to correspond with another at Margate, to carry the Design into Execution.

6. That Subscribers of One Guinea, or upwards, annually, shall be considered as Governors, and have a Power of nominating a Patient whenever there is a Vacancy; and that Subscribers of Twenty Guineas, or upwards, shall be Governors for Life.

7. That Subscriptions be received at the following Bankers; viz. Baron DIMSDALE and Co. Cornhill; DOWNE and Co. Bartholomew Lane; Sir R. C. GLYN and Co. Birchin Lane; GOSLING and Co. Fleet Street; Sir R. HERRIES and Co. St. James's Street; LADBROKE and Co. Bank Buildings; MILDRED and Co. White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street; PRESCOTTS and Co. Threadneedle Street; RANSOM and Co. Pall Mall; Sir J. SANDERSON and Co. Southwark; by Dr. LETTSOM, Basinghall Street, Treasurer; and by the Rev. JOHN PRIDDEN, 61, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, Secretary.

* * * Subscription Books are also left at the Public Rooms and Libraries at Margate, Ramsgate, and Broad-stairs.

FACSIMILE OF FIRST APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR THE SEA-BATHING INFIRMARY, 1791.
(From the original in the minutes of the Sea-Bathing Infirmary, by Permission of the Board of the Royal Sea-bathing Hospital.)

J. J. Abraham, Lettsom His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants (1933), p. 287.

conjunction with a committee of trustees in London.

The building is formed on a neat simple plan; and, when its directors are enabled to raise the deficient wing (only one being finished), [it] will be an ornament to the surrounding country; but, being at present exceedingly restricted in their finances, they are not capable of completing their intention as it respects the building, or of giving that assistance to the patients that is really necessary; tho' they are not at any expense for medical advice or medicines, as Dr. Anderson and the rest of the faculty generally supply them gratis.

The list of subscribers [however] is truly respectable. The first donations were expended on the building; and some, seeing the utility of the institution, have continued them as annual subscriptions. Though many have been liberal, yet this charity still craves ... patronage and benevolent assistance ...

We have [also] peculiar satisfaction in assuring our readers, that the success of this humane and laudable design has far exceeded the expectations of its promoters, [for] all the patients hitherto admitted (many of whose cases were desperate) have received great benefit, and most of them perfect cures". (1)

Patients were admitted on the recommendation of a subscribing governor, having been first examined by a Medical Board which operated in London from the Court Room of the London Workhouse, in Bishopsgate Street, and from St. George's Hospital at Hyde Park Corner.²

They were admitted with a proper "Form of Admission" which, when completed, had to be handed "to the Steward of the Infirmary" on arrival.

"GENERAL SEA BATHING INFIRMARY AT MARGATE.

Recommended by

[Life or Annual] Governor.

Examined, and found a proper Object, by

Consulting [Physician or Surgeon].

Let the Patient be admitted,

Treasurer, Waterman's Hall.

N.B. No Patient can be admitted from London or its Environs without the Signature of a Governor, one of the examining Faculty, and the Treasurer". (3)

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1. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume LXVII (October 1797), 841.
 2. Abraham, op. cit., 286.
 3. Lettsom, op. cit., 248.

Patients were "provided with food upon the terms of 5s. a week for all above 12 years of age; and 2s. 6d. a week for children", and no patient may "continue more than six weeks in the Infirmary without a renewed recommendation, unless the Faculty at Margate should deem it necessary".¹ "A TABLE of Diet for the Patients in the SEA-BATHING INFIRMARY at Margate" had been drawn up "under the direction of the Medical Gentlemen".²

TABLE 66: MARGATE SEA BATHING INFIRMARY PATIENTS' DIET, 1801.

	<u>FOR ADULTS</u>			
	<u>BREAKFAST</u>	<u>DINNER</u>	<u>SUPPER</u>	<u>GENERAL ALLOWANCE</u>
Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.	Milk-porridge one pint.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. boiled mutton. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes.	Broth 1 pint.	12 oz. of bread. 1 quart of table beer.
Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.	Water-gruel one pint.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. boiled beef. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes.	Rice Milk 1 pint.	12 oz. of bread. 1 pint of table beer. 1 pint of porter.
Sunday.	Milk one pint.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. roasted beef. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of suet pudding.	Butter 2 oz. or cheese 2 oz.	12 oz. of bread. 1 pint of table beer. 1 pint of porter.

	<u>FOR CHILDREN</u>			
Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.	Milk-porridge one pint.	1 pint broth. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. suet pudding.	Rice Milk 1 pint.	10 oz. of bread. 1 pint of table beer.
Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.	Water-gruel one pint.	6 oz. of boiled mutton or beef. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes.	Broth 1 pint.	10 oz. of bread. 1 pint of table beer.
Sunday.	Milk one pint.	6 oz. roasted beef. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of suet pudding.	Butter 1 oz. or cheese 1 oz.	10 oz. of bread. 1 pint of table beer.

The General Sea-Bathing Infirmary was governed by a total of nineteen regulations which included the following:

"15. No persons to be deemed objects of this Charity but such as are really necessitous and of decent character.

1. Lettson, op. cit., 247.

2. Ibid., 247, 252.

"17. The patients are to procure their own linen, except sheets. They must conform strictly to the rules of the Institution; regularly attend Divine Service; and, when cured, return thanks in the parish church". (1)

Over the first five years, 1796-1800, 237 patients were admitted, the numbers rising annually from 16 in 1796, to 25 in 1797, 48 in 1798, 62 in 1799 and 86 in 1800.² Dr. Lettson concluded in 1801 that "the numbers admitted are annually increasing ... [thereby] reflecting its great utility in restoring to health many poor objects by warm and cold Sea-bathing, where all other means are ineffectual".³

Receipts and expenditures over a decade "from the origin of this Charity in 1791, to the beginning of 1801" showed that £3,305 13s. 6d. had been raised by benefactions and subscriptions, £1,348 5s. 8d. at Margate and £1,957 7s. 10d. in London. Total expenses over the ten years were £3,266 0s. 6d. which left a "Ballance in the Treasurer's Hands" of only £39 13s. Since the Infirmary had opened servants' wages had absorbed over £300; coals, soap and candles, £61 13s. 6d. and drugs, £31 17s. 9d.⁴

The general policy of the Infirmary was laid down by a Board or Court of Directors, which met in London, who were advised by a Medical Board which functioned also in London, and by a local Management Committee in Margate, the latter casting an eye over the day to day running of the Infirmary. The Margate Committee maintained close contact with the Infirmary staff, including a matron and a resident surgeon. The Medical Board in London was composed of an equal number of distinguished physicians and surgeons, whose duty it was to examine medically all potential patients who had been recommended to them for treatment, and to advise generally on medical care and diet. An annual visitation of directors, medical men and well wishers from London to Margate

1. Lettson, op. cit., 246-7.

2. Ibid., 251.

3. Ibid., 251.

4. Ibid., 250.

usually took place over the last weekend in August. It was an opportunity for the directors, members of the Medical Board and Life and Annual Governors to join with the Margate Committee and local physicians, surgeons and Governors in inspecting the fruits of their benevolence. Anniversary sermons were preached in the local churches and chapels which had as their primary object the collection of funds for the institution. Prominent clergymen were invited to preach these charity sermons. Monday was taken up with a visit to and inspection of the Infirmary, followed by an Annual Meeting in Margate and a dinner. The surviving minutes give details of the annual Medical Reports, which were drawn up by representatives from the Medical Board, during each annual visitation to Margate between 1812 and 1836. Each Medical Report was presented to an Annual Meeting.

The only holiday which Dr. Lettson allowed himself was an annual visit to Margate to attend the general meeting of the Infirmary, for which purpose he devoted 72 hours, travelling down to Margate on a Saturday night, so as to arrive in time to hear the annual charity sermon in the parish church. The rest of Sunday was partly spent in local courtesy calls. On the Monday he visited the hospital, examined every patient himself and attended the General Meeting of the Governors. At seven o'clock in the evening he departed for London, where he arrived on the Tuesday morning.¹

When he was already 69 years of age Dr. Lettson paid his customary visit to Margate taking the boat from London as his diary makes clear.

"28th August 1813.

At four o'clock in the afternoon sailed from Billingsgate in the packet, and got to Margate at nine on the 29th. Attended the new chapel at Ramsgate, where the Rev. David Garrow preached for the General Sea Bathing Infirmary: the collection £86. Dined at Pegwell with Sir William Garrow (2) and returned

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1. Abraham, op. cit., 286.
 2. Sir William Garrow was the Attorney General in 1813 and according to The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), 100, "adjoining to Pegwell, Sir William Garrow, the Attorney General, has erected a neat villa, to which he occasionally retires from the publicity of business". Dr. Lettson's second son Samuel Fothergill Lettson had married Sir William Garrow's only daughter Eliza Sophie, on 6 April 1802 at St. George's, Bloomsbury. The Rev. David Garrow was her brother, Abraham, op. cit., 288.

to Margate with Mr. Norris. (1) In the morning visited the Infirmary and made a report of the state of the patients jointly with William Norris. Afterwards dined at the Royal Hotel, Sir William Garrow being Chairman. The whole collection reported amounted to about £500; being a considerably larger sum than at any previous anniversary. Left Margate at nine in the evening of the 30th, and arrived in London by Chaises at ten o'clock in the morning". (2)

The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, which relates in great detail the minutes of the Margate Committee, has an entry under 1813 headed "At the Annual Meeting of this Institution held at the Royal Hotel, Margate, the 30th August, 1813", with one of the Vice Presidents, Sir William Garrow, M.P. in the chair. Three other Vice Presidents were also present, namely Sir Horace Mann, Bart., James Taddy, Esq., and Francis Cobb, Esq. ³ This was the second Francis Cobb (1759-1831) who, as the Town Deputy or civic leader of Margate, was in partnership with his son Francis William Cobb (1787-1871), as owners of the famous Margate brewery and bank which traded under the name of Cobb & Son. ⁴ Among the "Several other Gentlemen" who were present were Sir Christopher Pegge, the Hon. George Watson, the Rev. David Garrow, the Treasurer Michael Gibbs, Esq., and several other clergymen, surgeons and physicians. ⁵ It was due to the energy of the Margate Secretary that such a detailed account of the proceedings survives, who was none other than Zechariah Cozens, the author in 1793 of A Tour Through the Isle of Thanet and Some Other Parts of East Kent.

Francis Cobb, Esq., Francis William Cobb, Esq., the Vicar of St. John's Margate, the Rev. Frederick Bayley and prominent local physicians and surgeons,

-
1. William Norris, as a Consulting Surgeon to the Sea Bathing Infirmary on the Medical Board in London, was Surgeon to the Charterhouse and the General Dispensary in Aldersgate Street, Abraham, op. cit., 288. Dr. Lettson, as one of the pioneers of charitable medicine, had been among the benevolent founders in 1770 of "A Dispensary for the Relief of the Sick and Necessitous Part of the Community", which subsequently became well known as "The General Dispensary in Aldersgate". His election as one of the physicians of the charity had followed in 1773, Pettigrew, op. cit., 36-7.
 2. Abraham, op. cit., 288-9.
 3. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, 30 August 1813, 19.
 4. See Chapter V above.
 5. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, op. cit., 30 August 1813, 19.

such as Dr. Thomas Brown, Dr. Thomas Grey and George Slater, Esq., were elected on to the Margate Committee for the forthcoming year. The Rev. George Townshend reported that the Rev. Charles Townley, L.L.D., the Rev. Henry Townley and the Rev. Charles Mayhew by the hand of Mrs. Townley had paid into the Ramsgate Bank of Messrs. Burgess and Son £72 5s. 7d. on behalf of the Institution. The Treasurer reported that £245 0s. 5d. had been taken in collections at the different places of worship on the previous day:

<u>At</u>	£	s.	d.
Margate Church	101	7	2
St. Peter's Church (serving Broadstairs)	34	8	8
Ramsgate Chapel	86	15	0
Independent Meeting at Ramsgate	13	9	7
Baptist Meeting at Margate	9	0	0
	<hr/>		
<u>Total:</u>	£245	0s.	5d. (1)
	<hr/> <hr/>		

It was accordingly resolved that "the very sincere Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. Charles Hughes, the Rev. William David Garrow, M.A., and the Rev. Henry Ingley, D.D. for their able and successful exertions yesterday on behalf of this Institution", and further that "the grateful Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rt. Hon. Countess Mamey, the Rt. Hon. Lady George Seymour, the Rt. Hon. Lady Catherine Bricknell, Mrs. Neve, Mrs. Althorpe, Mrs. Forsyth [of Pierremont House, Broadstairs]² and Miss Boodle for their distinguished and kind attention to the interests of this Charity, by giving their attendance at the doors of the several Churches and Chapels yesterday, to receive the contributions of the respective Congregations, and that their Names be added to the lists of Ladies Patronesses of the Charity".³

The next item on the Agenda was to read and adopt the Medical Report which had been drawn up earlier that day by Dr. Lettsom and William Norris, who was a Surgeon to the General Dispensary in Aldersgate Street, in London.⁴

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1. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, op. cit., 30 August 1813, 19-20.
 2. See Chapters V and VII above.
 3. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, op. cit., 30 August 1813, 20.
 4. Abraham, op. cit., 288; also see a previous footnote.

As members of the Medical Board in London they reported as follows:

"upon a careful inspection of the General Sea Bathing Infirmary we find 120 Patients in the House, the greater part of whom are in a rapidly improving state of health.

Were we to notice individual cases, the most generally interesting objects of recovery that excited our attention were:

Mary Allen, Elizabeth Fryer, Agnes Service, Ann Cook, John Marston, Isabella Robson, Ann Mitchell, Elizabeth Frome.

Several of these were afflicted with Abscesses, Diseased Joints, with Shrinkened Ligaments, and Carious Bones, which are amongst the worst effects of that formidable disease Scrophula.

However pleasing our former visits to the Infirmary may have been, we have the satisfaction to report, that the present instances of improvement have still been more gratifying.

These cases afford a very happy illustration of the good effects arising from cleanliness, temperance and proper diet, aided by medicine judiciously applied, assisted by sea air and sea bathing.

Besides those in the House, there are 80 Out-Patients who receive the benefits of Sea Bathing and Medicine.

It affords us additional pleasure, upon this occasion, to testify our full approbation of the judgement, humanity, and skill of the Physicians and Surgeons of the Institution.

(Signed) J. C. Lettsom,

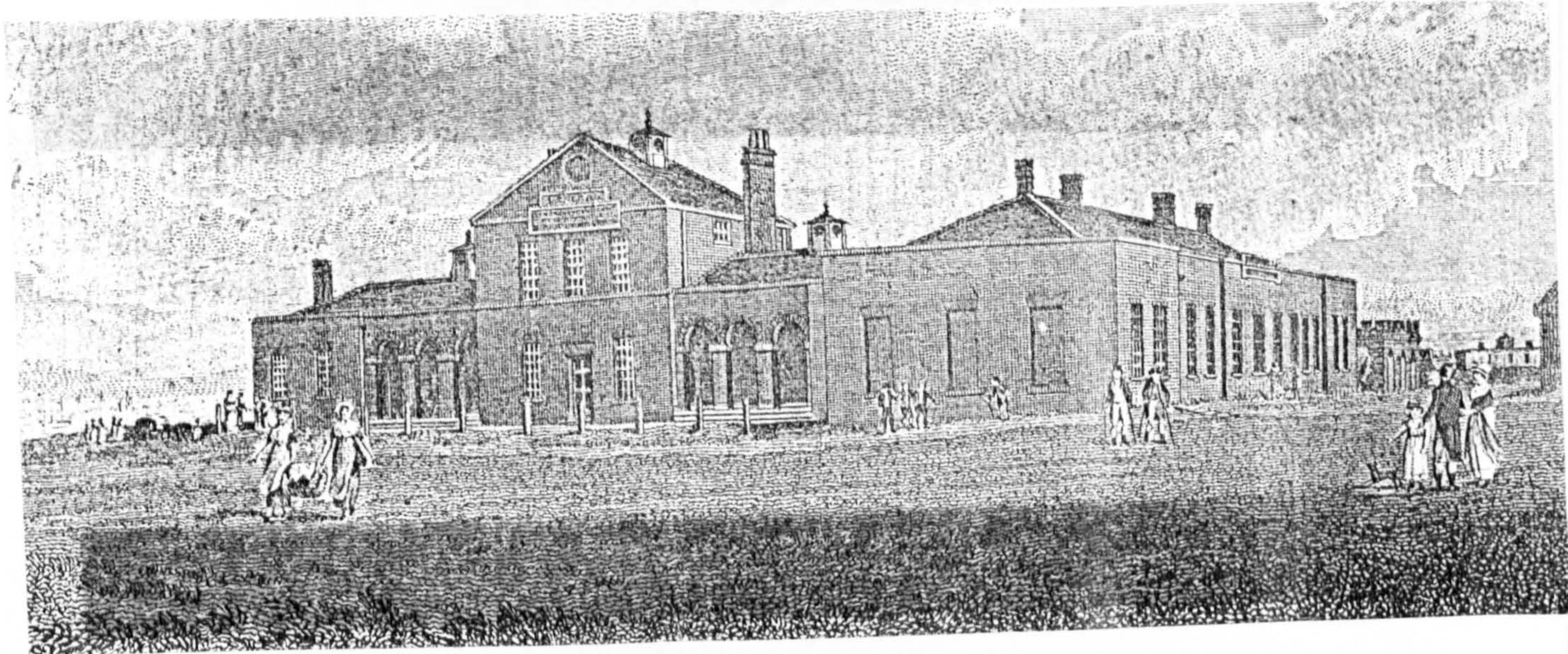
William Norris". (1)

Several Governors, who had also inspected the Infirmary on that same day, told how

"they had gone through the different wards, and found every thing much to their satisfaction; the House very clean, the Patients thankful for the treatment and care taken of them. Also Prayers were daily read in the respective Wards and ... such Patients as were able attended Divine Worship on Sundays. Further they had examined the Provisions and found them good and wholesome and were informed that those which had been supplied were satisfactory to the Gentlemen of the Margate Committee". (2)

The Annual Meeting was followed by the customary Annual Dinner, again with Sir William Garrow in the chair. All told the Annual Visitation of 1813 had raised £454 8s. 11d. which was made up of £245 0s. 5d. arising from the church collections, £184 8s. 6d. in donations and subscriptions, including

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1. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837, op. cit., 30 August 1813, 21.
 2. Ibid., 30 August 1813, 22.



GENERAL SEA BATHING INFIRMARY

The Gentleman's Magazine,
LXXXVI, Part I
(January, 1816), p. 17.

1816.] *General Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate.* 17

Mr. URBAN, *London, Jan. 1.*
WHOEVER has in any degree attended to the afflictions of their indigent fellow-creatures in the Metropolis or its crowded environs, must have observed, with feelings of regret, how many have been dragging on a miserable existence from the dread effects of a most loathsome disease, the debilitating nature of which is heightened by want of proper food, cloathing, and cleanliness. To the destructive powers of this disorder, many, very many, annually fall victims, notwithstanding all the aids refinement can suggest and wealth procure.

The experience of medical men of the first rank in their profession, founded on an extensive practice in the hospitals of this city and suburbs; as well as among the higher orders of society, proves that medicine can effect but little in this distressing complaint. It is therefore now universally advised to have recourse to that Ocean, at once the safeguard and the glory of the Nation, whose healing properties cannot be too much extolled for often alleviating, if not eradicating this corroding malady in the constitution, and restoring health to the body.

The numerous places on the coast, that now, at each returning summer, vie with each other in tempting the invalid of the interior to try the efficacy of Sea-Air and Sea-Bathing, are solid and convincing proofs of the importance of the offered remedy; and, of the numerous ills which flesh is heir to, none can be named that has been cured in more remarkable instances, than scrofulous affection, by the renovating properties of the sea.

If such advantages are constantly accruing to the rich, no wonder that the case of the poor should have interested the best feelings of the heart, and should, a few years ago, prompt some humane characters, by the establishment of a Sea-Bathing Infirmary, to aim at extending these benefits to their necessitous brethren who were pining to death under every circumstance of aggravated suffering.

The late Dr. Lettsom, whose labours for the benefit of the afflicted poor cannot be too highly estimated, with a few friends, founded in London, nearly twenty years ago, an In-

stitution, which it is the object of this letter to recommend to the notice of a benevolent publick. In looking for an eligible spot for the erection of the General Sea-Bathing Infirmary, their attention was, in the first instance, called to South-End, being a convenient distance from the metropolis; but the difficulty of access from the sea, and the circumstance of vessels sailing constantly to the Isle of Thanet (a passage by water being much cheaper and easier to the Patients than land-carriage) led them to prefer a part of the coast at Westbrook, near Margate, which accordingly was purchased by several charitable individuals. Dr. Lettsom undertook the office of Treasurer; and, under his auspices, the house was opened for the reception of patients in the year 1796, when sixteen patients were admitted.

From that period to the present, three thousand seven hundred and fifty-six patients have experienced, in various degrees, the salutary effects of this establishment; numbers of whom have gone from the close and confined chamber of poverty and disease, situated either in some lane or alley of a populous city; several from the poor-houses of out-parishes, the hospitals, and other charitable foundations, as well as many from various parts of the kingdom; the institution not being confined to any particular district, as its title, 'General,' testifies.

Shortly after the opening of the Infirmary, an architectural drawing of the building was given in your Magazine, vol. LXVII. page 841; but since that time there has been a new wing erected, and the whole appearance has been much improved, as will be easily perceived by a comparison of the former engraving, with the picturesque view now given, executed with much ability by an ingenious artist, from a drawing taken for the express purpose.

Every succeeding year from its foundation, the medical officers have had the pleasure to report the increasing good effects, from the rapid and extensive improvement in the health of the patients. As a proof how much its benefits are prized by the poor, each season produces an augmented list of applications.

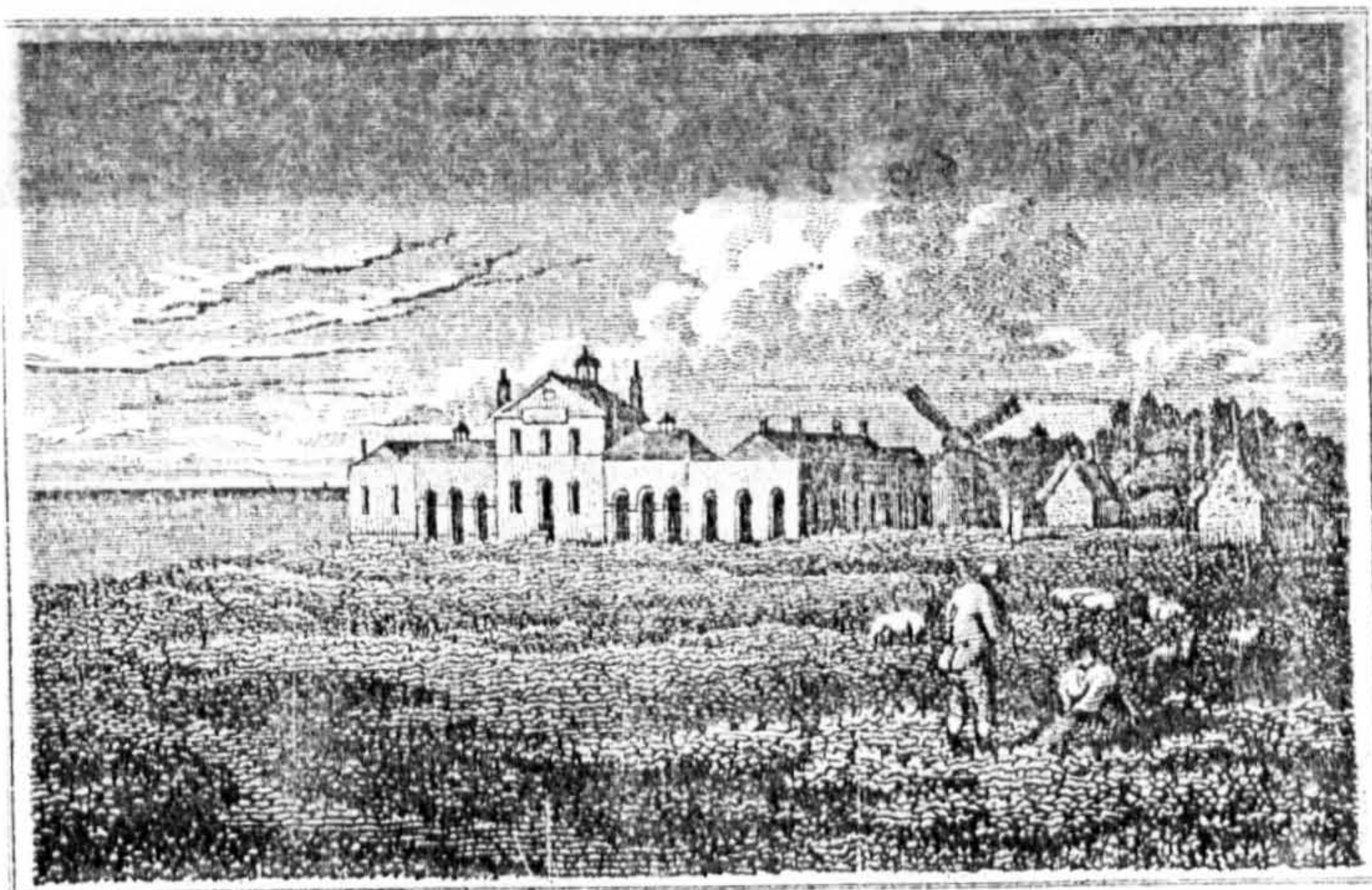
ten guineas from the Rt. Hon. the Lord Sondes, £10 from Lady Burton, with a £25 donation to the Permanent Fund from Wyndham Knatchbull, Esq.¹

By 1816 the deficient wing had been completed and the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary stood as "an ornament to the surrounding country", being "now sufficiently large to contain about 90 patients".² Already by January 1816 the Infirmary had treated 3,756 patients³ and the hope was expressed "that in a short time the funds may be equal to the house being kept open the whole year, and not merely during the summer", especially since "scrophula - the disease in which sea-air and sea-bathing are peculiarly, and indeed specifically useful - is never removed by the cursory visits of a few weeks".⁴ This wish unfortunately was not realized until 1858. Only then were the finances such that wards could be kept open during the winter months.⁵

Holidaymakers to nineteenth-century Thanet were encouraged to visit the Sea-Bathing Infirmary and while there to donate something to its financial support. A family party who were on holiday in Ramsgate proceeded to Margate on 5 August 1829, where they visited the Infirmary and "put into the Infirmary Box, 10s".⁶ "A Week at Margate", circa 1886, "seeing all the remarkable sights, visiting every principal place of interest in the Isle of Thanet, paying all your expenses, and taking home change out of a £5 note", included visiting the Sea Bathing Infirmary and making "up your mind that next year you will give more than 5s".⁷

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1. The General Sea Bathing Infirmary Margate Committee Minute Book, 1811-1837. op. cit., 30 August 1813, 22.
 2. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 63.
 3. The Gentleman's Magazine (January 1816), op. cit., 17.
 4. The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), op. cit., 63.
 5. The Dover Express and East Kent Intelligencer, 9 July 1859, 4c.
 6. Journal of an Excursion to Ramsgate in July and August 1829, uncatalogued MSS, Tyler Collection, Cathedral Library, Canterbury; also see Chapter IX below.
 7. Keble's Illustrated Penny Guide to the Isle of Thanet (Birchington, circa 1886).

TWO VIEWS OF THE GENERAL SEA BATHING INFIRMARY, MARGATE.

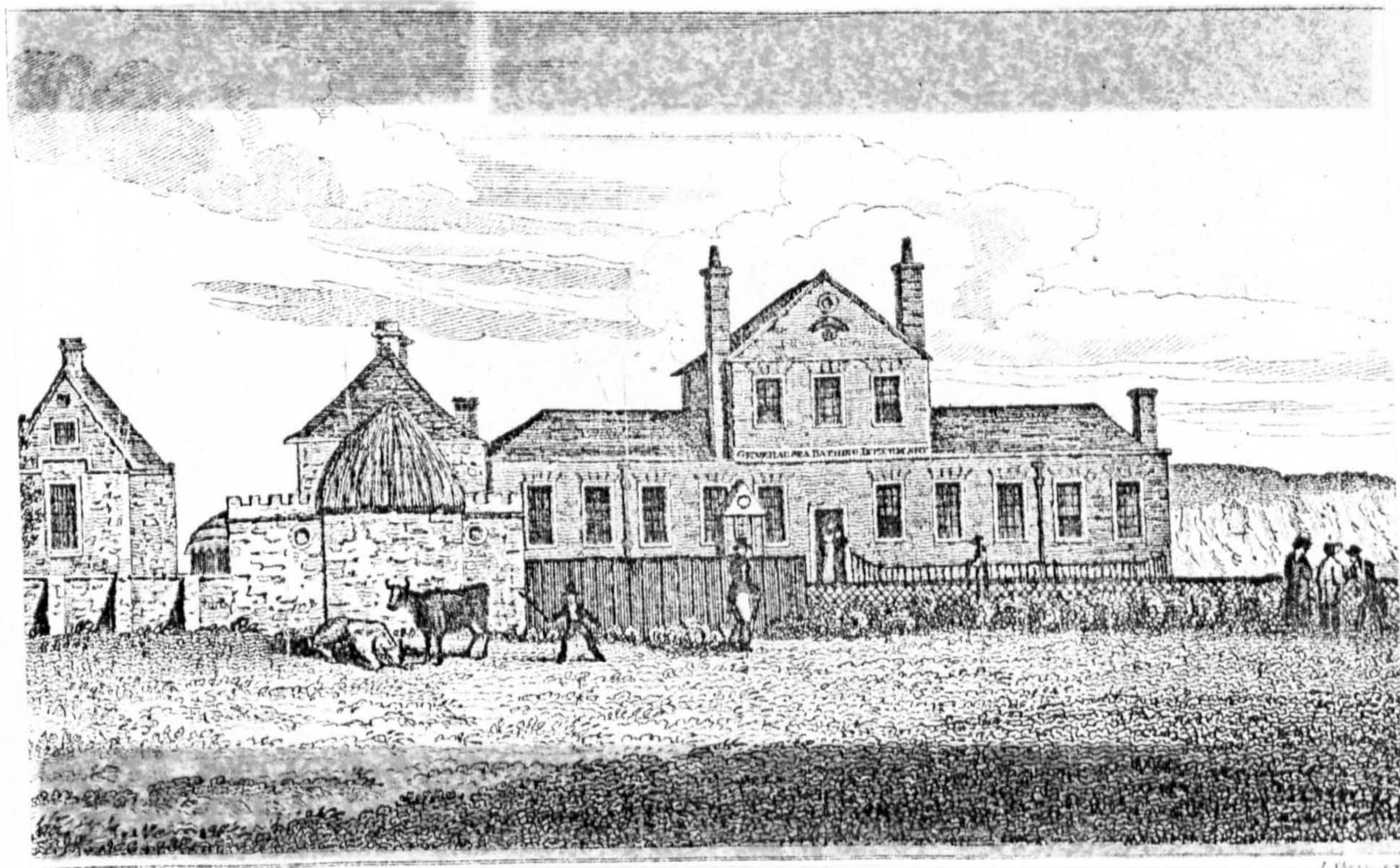


Eng^d by W. Decker from a Drawing by G. Shepherd.

General Sea-bathing Infirmary, Margate.

Published by the Proprietors, Messrs. Sturges & Co. 1817.

E. W. Brayley, Delineations, Historical and Topographical, of The Isle of Thanet and the Cinque Ports (1817), p. 73.



SEA BATHING INFIRMARY.

W. C. Oulton, Picture of Margate, and Its Vicinity (1820), p. 62.

Every financial contribution, however, small was welcomed, because problems of finance were pressing throughout the nineteenth century. Appeals for financial support were common, including a Christmas Appeal in The Gentleman's Magazine during December 1850.¹ Charity sermons continued to be preached in Thanet, London and elsewhere. On 13 May 1858 The Times reported on how "the Earl of Carnarvon presided last evening over a most influential meeting of the supporters of the Infirmary at the London Tavern, among whom were many members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons", when "upwards of £600 was subscribed".²

Despite financial stringencies the Sea Bathing Infirmary continued to extend its benefits to increasing numbers of in- and out-patients and almost universally was favourably commented upon. John Harrison Curtis visited the charity during the early 1840's and was much impressed by what we saw.

"[This] excellent institution ... puts within the reach of the poorer classes of patients a means of cure which, but for such charities, might otherwise be denied them. Several of my patients at the Dispensary have been sent there to complete their cures and with the most beneficial effect. The Institution is admirably conducted". (3)

London and other hospitals purchased rights to so many beds in the Infirmary. During 1828, for instance, patients were admitted from St. George's Hospital, as well as from the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford for the sum of £50.⁴ Six beds were allocated during the 1834 season for the use of the Radcliffe Infirmary,⁵ which hospital early in 1851 donated £600 to the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary.⁶

The Infirmary was operational over the census night of 7 June 1841, when there were 214 patients who were receiving seasonal treatment within its

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1. The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume CXX (December 1850), 632.
 2. The Times, 13 May 1858, 8f.
 3. John Harrison Curtis, Observations on the Preservation of Health in Infancy, Youth, Manhood and Age (1842).
 4. The Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary Court of Directors Minute Book, 1826-1851, 16 July and 8 October 1828.
 5. Ibid., 9 April 1834.
 6. Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary Court of Directors Minute Book, May 1851-March 1856, 8 May 1851.

walls. The details as given in the census Enumerators' Schedules for that year are best given in tabular form.¹

TABLE 67: THE MARGATE SEA BATHING INFIRMARY ON THE CENSUS NIGHT OF 7 JUNE 1841.

<u>BUILDINGS:</u>	The Infirmary
	The Resident Surgeon's House
<u>NUMBER OF PERSONS:</u>	Males 133
	Females 112
	<u>Total</u> 245
<u>NUMBER OF PATIENTS:</u>	Males 128
	Females 86
	<u>Total</u> 214
<u>THE OFFICERS AND STAFF OF THE INFIRMARY:</u>	

<u>10 OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>25 PERSONS</u>
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
Nurses	10
Housemaids	7
Steward	1
Matron	1
Surgeon	1
Assistant Surgeon	1
Bath nurse	1
Male servant	1
Female servant	1
Cook	<u>1</u>
<u>Total:</u>	<u>25</u>

Staff and patients totalled 239 which leaves 6 people unaccounted for. They were living or staying in the resident surgeon's house as follows:

<u>Names</u>	<u>Age & Sex</u>		<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Born in Kent</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>		
William Oliver Chalk	35		Surgeon	Yes
Emily do.		23		No
Susanna Easthope		25	Independent	No
Annette Connell		35	Independent	No
Jane Lowry		20	Independent	No
Elizabeth McTashill		8		Yes
Sarah Hill		60	Independent	No
Ann Bougson		25	Female servant	No

The four ladies of independent means were probably holidaymaking visitors.

1. P.R.O. H.O. 107/468/6; also J. Whyman, "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns: an attempt to look at the age and social structure of Victorian holidaymaking", Local Population Studies, No. 8 (Spring 1972), 30-4.

TABLE 68: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE 25 INFIRMARY STAFF, JUNE 1841.

<u>Years</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 20	1	2	3
21-30	1	6	7
31-40	1	4	5
41-50	1	6	7
51-60	1	1	2
61+	0	1	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>25</u>

The steward followed the instructions for 1841 in entering ages rounded to the nearest five years both as regards the staff and the patients. (1)

TABLE 69: THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE 214 PATIENTS, JUNE 1841.

<u>Years</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
5	7	2	9
6	3	4	7
7	10	9	19
8	10	5	15
9	14	3	17
10	10	6	16
11	8	4	12
12	3	2	5
13	4	9	13
14	10	3	13
15	15	13	28
<u>5-15</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>154</u>

<u>Years</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
20	15	8	23
25	4	12	16
30	4	3	7
35	8	1	9
40	3	0	3
45	0	1	1
50	0	1	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>214</u>

In enumerating the patients the steward entered year by year all the ages of the child patients from 5 to 15 years. Children aged 15 years and under constituted the bulk of the in-patients of the Infirmary in June 1841: 73% of males and just on 70% of females. The in-patients were cared for by staff over 50% of whom were aged 35 years and over. The Infirmary treated also out-patients, including a high proportion of young children, who were staying in Garlinge, Westbrook and Rancorn. (2)

1. Compare Chapter VII above.
2. For details see Chapter VII above.

The occupations of male patients only were recorded.

TABLE 70: THE OCCUPATIONS OF 43 MALE IN-PATIENTS IN THE SEA BATHING INFIRMARY, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY, JUNE 1841.

<u>31 OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>PERSONS</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>PERSONS</u>
Agricultural labourers	3	Ostler	1
Artist	1	Painter	1
Banker's clerk	1	Plumbers	2
Bricklayer	1	Ploughman	1
Bricklayer's labourer	1	Porters	2
Cabinet maker	1	Printers	3
Carpenter	1	Schoolmaster	1
Compositor	1	Shoemakers	3
Counting office clerk	1	Tailors	3
Druggist	1	Tea dealer	1
Footmen	2	Waiter	1
Gardener	1	Watch gilder	1
Lightermen	2	Wheelwright	1
Male servant	1	Whipmaker	1
Medical student	1	Wine porter	1
Nurseryman	1		

Compared to the predominantly middle-class visitors to Margate in June 1841,¹ the in-patients of the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital contained a working class element. Only 6 of the 49 male in-patients aged 15 years and over were entered without occupations, and since 30 out of the 49 were given as aged 15 and 20 years it seems reasonable to conclude that they were journeymen or labourers. The following rough classification shows that the in-patients of the Infirmary were of a much lower income and social strata than the average 1841 holidaymaker to Margate.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Journeymen or Self-employed Tradesmen	25
Labourers, Porters, Lightermen	9
Servants	5
Clerks, Teacher, etc.	<u>4</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	43

The ability of these people to benefit from sea air, sea bathing and convalescence depended solely on the existence of a charitable institution like the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital.

The overwhelming majority of the staff and patients of the Infirmary had been born outside Kent.

TABLE 71: THE OFFICERS, STAFF AND RESIDENT SURGEON'S HOUSEHOLD WHERE BORN, 7 JUNE 1841 - 31 PERSONS IN TOTAL

<u>Where Born</u>	<u>Number</u>
In Kent	8
In another county	<u>23</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	31

1. See Chapter VII above.

TABLE 72: THE 214 PATIENTS, WHERE BORN, JUNE 1841.

<u>Where Born</u>	<u>Number</u>
In Kent	9
In another county	204
In Ireland	<u>1</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	214

No disease was felt to be more deplorable in 1853 than that of "Scrofula" but "when the virtues of sea air and sea bathing can be provided, ... it is found to be more susceptible of alleviation and cure than many other diseases" and fortunately

"for nearly 60 years the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, situated at Margate on the seashore, and surrounded by a country celebrated for the peculiar dryness of its soil and bracing atmosphere, has been opened for about six months in every year for the reception of poor scrofulous patients from all parts of England. Upwards of 200 beds are made up within the house for indoor patients: and outdoor patients, in considerable numbers, partake during the summer months of the benefits of the Infirmary in medical advice and medicines and in the free use of cold and hot sea-water baths. A chaplain is daily in attendance, and there are morning and afternoon services every Lord's day". (1)

At that time the Infirmary's funds, depending "entirely upon charity for support" were almost exhausted,² but the public had come to the hospital's rescue, and as against the 30 beds and 16 patients of 1796, the number of patients treated in 1852 was 536 and the wards by 1853 could accommodate 220 patients.³ By December 1850 it was claimed that the Infirmary had bestowed relief on "no less than 22,000 persons".⁴ By April 1853 over 23,000 in- or out-patients had been treated since 1796, and

"all sorts of baths are fitted up in the Hospital, with apparatus to force up water from the sea. Private grounds surround the building, and the patients get access to the sands below, through gates upon the premises. The site is one of the most favoured in the neighbourhood". (5)

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1. Appeal Letter and Explanatory Supporting Document, signed by the Thanet Vicars as Honorary Secretaries, 5 and 20 April 1853.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The Gentleman's Magazine (December 1850), op. cit., 632.
 5. Appeal Letter and Explanatory Supporting Document (1853), op. cit.

On 14 January 1847 the Court of Directors had introduced a more liberal diet as set out in the following table.¹

TABLE 73: MARGATE SEA BATHING INFIRMARY PATIENTS' DIET, 1847.

DIET TABLE

ADULTS

1 pint of Ale or Porter, and 1 pint of Table Beer, per day.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sunday	1 pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. beef or mutton baked or roasted, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. pudding.	2 oz. butter or cheese, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.
Monday	1 pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Tuesday	1 pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. beef, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Wednesday	1 pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Thursday	1 pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. beef, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Friday	1 pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	8 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Saturday	1 pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	1 pint stewed meat and soup with vegs, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.

1. The Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary Court of Directors Minute Book, 1826-1851, op. cit., 14 January 1847.

CHILDREN under 10 years of age.

$\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Ale or Porter, and $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Table Beer, per day.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sunday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. beef or mutton baked or roasted, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. pudding.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. butter or cheese, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread.
Monday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Tuesday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. beef, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Wednesday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Thursday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. beef, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Friday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint milk porridge, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	6 oz. mutton leg or shoulder, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint broth, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.
Saturday	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint cocoa, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	$\frac{3}{4}$ pint stewed meat and soup with vegs, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.	1 pint rice milk, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bread.

N.B. Extras to be specially ordered, by the Medical Officers - mutton chop, beef tea, milk, eggs, pudding, jelly, wine, brandy, etc.

2nd That in future the contracts for meat be taken for the supply of Hind Quarters of Beef (excluding the sirloin) and of mutton legs and shoulders only.

3rd That hereafter the brewing of Table Ale and Table Beer be discontinued, that there be brewed instead one good wholesome beverage, and that in the place of the Table Ale a supply of Porter be sent from London.

(Signed) Michael Gibbs,
Wm. Coulson,
Robt. Pugh,
J. B. Curling.

As a result of the new diet "nutritious meat" was provided daily for the in-patients, and "each of them is allowed a proper quantity of wholesome ale and table beer".¹ While it was felt to be "highly desirable that the hospital should be made a free Hospital hitherto this has been found to be impossible, from want of funds; and patients are, therefore, required to pay towards their board", and the payments "have varied from 6s. 6d. to 5s. and 4s. per week".²

Medical attention was provided by a resident surgeon, assisted by a dispenser, who were paid salaries.³ Medical reports on individual patients included four interesting medical cases in 1855-6.

"1. FOWLER, Fredk., 9, from London.

Admitted on 10 May. Parents living. An old case, here in 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853 and 1854. Has been a patient here for the last five seasons. Suffers from debility and specially weak knee and ankle of right leg. Discharged much benefited on 7 July.

2. BADLAND, John, 15, from Whitechapel.

Admitted on 12 May from 'the Boys' Refuge' - parents both dead. Father died at sea. No brothers and sisters. Has always suffered from weak eyes since the age of 7, when he had scarlet fever, but enjoyed good health till five months ago when he became very weak, lost his appetite, slept badly, bowels constipated and his eyes also became worse.

Discharged greatly benefited on 5 July.

3. WHITE, Thomas, 14, 9 September 1856.

Very delicate looking boy. About four years ago began to complain of some pain and swelling about his knee ... He was six weeks out-patient under Mr. Calloway at Guy's Hospital ... A splint was applied and tonic medicines administered, but it got no better. Then he went to St. Thomas's under Mr. South ... Last February again went into St. Thomas's under Mr. Le Gras Clarke and remained there until the turn of his admission to the Sea Bathing Infirmary ... An abscess which formed about five months ago was opened in two places ... He was allocated here.

Port Wine - Daily

2 Eggs

Porter - 2 pints daily

Special Dinner.

Discharged greatly benefited on 27 October".

1. Appeal Letter and Explanatory Supporting Document (1853), op. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Some patients were found to be hopeless cases as in the fourth example.

"4. MILLS, Charles, 8, 20 September 1856.

Fat stupid looking boy with a stolid vacant expression. Is very little removed from idiocy and can therefore give no history of his case. Has suffered from swelling and ulceration of the glands under the chin "ever so long". In other respects appears healthy enough and by desire of the surgeons here is to be removed as an unfit object for the Institution requiring constant attention". (1)

The Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary was the subject of a report in The Dover Express and East Kent Intelligencer during July 1859, which described a hospital standing "on a cliff, overlooking the sea, open to healthy breezes on all sides, with access to the shore through a cutting in the cliffs, so that patients might walk, or sit, or lie at their ease on the sands when the tide was out". The Infirmary now offered beds and accommodation to 250 patients and all the beds were occupied. While 2/3 of the patients came from London, there were others from sixteen counties in England, so that it was "a national hospital, with claims to national support". Supervising the medical care of the patients were three honorary surgeons, two of whom lived in Margate and the third in Ramsgate. They offered their attendance and advice gratuitously. Constantly in attendance was a resident surgeon, who lived in a furnished house in the grounds, assisted by a dispenser. The charity owned machines "for open sea bathing", which were in use every morning, and "there was every sort of warm and cold bathing in the hospital". It was equally essential to healthy recovery from scrofulous diseases that "a nutritious dietary should be continually kept up". This included "a great consumption ... of ale and porter and of wine and brandy among the patients".²

Up to 1858 the hospital "was kept open for the six summer months only, but the importance of retaining improving cases ... during the winter had been for so many years apparent that wards were kept open during last winter".

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1. Kent Record Office, Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary Medical Reports on Individual Patients, MH/T1 MC1, pages 4-5, 69.
 2. The Dover Express and East Kent Intelligencer, op. cit., 9 July 1859, 4c.

This change of policy was achieved, however, at a considerable expense. Expenditure was also rising because of a decision to receive fifty additional patients. Total expenses for 1859 were estimated at between £4,000 and £5,000,¹ compared to the £3,266 spent over the first ten years, 1791-1801, which had included the purchase of the site, and the construction and furnishing of the original building.² In 1855, in order to cover rising expenses,

"an attempt was made to obtain enlarged means by asking for numerous subscriptions of 5s. annually, and, mainly owing to the assistance derived from nearly 100 ladies, it had been eminently successful. The list now (1859) contained about 4,590 names. Many of the nobility, many bishops, some of the judges, many officers of the army and navy, many clergy, many tradesmen, and not a few servants in families, and others of a low degree, whose relations and friends had benefited by the charity, had enrolled themselves as subscribers". (3)

The Royal Sea Bathing Hospital, by now under the patronage of "The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty",⁴ continued to offer relief to poor patients who suffered from scrofula or tuberculosis. Opening the Infirmary during the winter months continued, and on 1 January and 31 December 1872 there were 99 and 119 in-patients respectively.⁵ The resident surgeon, Mr. W. E. Dixon, noted how

"through a particularly rough and wet winter the Infirmary has been free from any epidemic [which said much] for the efficiency of sanitary arrangements. [Also] the double windows put up on the sea front in the autumn serve their purpose well". (6).

The resident surgeon's Anniversary Report for the eleven months ending on 6 July 1888, which was submitted to the Chairman and Board of Directors of the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, Margate,⁷ read as follows:

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1. The Dover Express and East Kent Intelligencer, op. cit., 9 July 1859, 4c.
 2. As already noted in this Chapter above.
 3. The Dover Express and East Kent Intelligencer, op. cit., 9 July 1859, 4c.
 4. Appeal Letter and Explanatory Supporting Document (1853), op. cit.
 5. Kent Record Office, Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, Resident Surgeon's Reports, 1872-1889, MH/T1 Mr , 1872.
 6. Ibid., 1872.
 7. Ibid., 1887-8.

"Gentlemen,

In handing you the report for the above mentioned period it affords me great pleasure to place on record the large amount of benefit which this Hospital has conferred on the many patients who have been admitted within its walls ...

Patients in the Hospital, 6 August 1887.

42 Men, 53 Women, 55 Boys, 60 Girls = 210.

<u>Admitted since</u>	<u>452</u>
<u>Total:</u>	<u>662</u>

Discharged 456.

Died 7, viz: 2 Men, 2 Boys, 1 Woman, 2 Girls.

Patients in the Hospital, 6 July 1888.

42 Men, 51 Women, 48 Boys, 58 Girls = 199.

Results of Treatment

	Total	Benefited	Greatly Benefited	Cured	Not Cured	Died	Operations
Men	94	20	31	25	16	2	57
Women	97	21	39	31	5	1	79
Boys	133	18	63	38	12	2	56
Girls	139	29	53	46	9	2	59
	<u>463</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>140</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>251</u>

NOTE only seven deaths. These were those of very advanced diseases, and offered but little hope of recovery, six of them being quite hopeless when they came down. Anaesthetics have been administered for operations 251 times, and the results obtained afterwards have been excellent, as may be gathered from the number of patients who have been discharged either cured or greatly benefited. The operations consisted for the most part of excissions of glands, amputations, gland scrapings ... A case of measles came down from London in the incubation stage, he soon developed a rash and was immediately isolated.

Nursing - since the re-organization of this department, things have worked very smoothly, and the staff have performed their duties in an efficient manner. The sisters one and all have performed their various duties with cheerfulness and thoroughness; and the staff nurses and probationers have given every satisfaction...

To the [honorary] Surgeons I tender my best thanks for their able advice in all cases of difficulty".

During the 1890's the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital at Margate celebrated its centenary. Further enlargements to the buildings had occurred in 1837, 1858 and 1882.¹ What had been only 30 beds when the Infirmary opened in

1. Abraham, op. cit., 289.

1796¹ expanded tenfold to 300 beds by 1898.² Nineteenth-century charities, including this hospital, relied very much on benefactions secured from fortunes made in industry, trade or the professions. Later Victorian benefactors included 'captains of industry', physicians, lawyers, university dons and an occasional architect, engineer or artist. Sir Erasmus Wilson, who died in Westgate in 1886, was one of the great philanthropists of the century. As a dermatologist, surgeon and author of a history of the Middlesex Hospital, who met the cost of bringing Cleopatra's Needle to London, he added a chapel and wing at the Margate Sea Bathing Infirmary.³ Viewed from the Canterbury Road, this chapel competes for attention with the graceful and Georgian facade which, for almost 180 years, has been the entrance to a hospital devoted largely to curing scrofula or tuberculosis among the poor of the metropolis and other parts of the country.

That is was correctly situated was all too clear to Mr. Knight Treves, the Borough Medical Officer and "one of the surgeons to the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary for Scrofula", when, during the Spring of 1885, he was interviewed "by an Invalid" who, in turn, wrote about "Margate in Winter" in The Daily Telegraph. The secret of Margate's immense popularity at that time was attributed to the air of the town, so that

"infantile paralysis is much benefited by the air and sea bathing. ... This is a grand climate for chronic diseases; sluggish wounds heal, the circulation is stimulated, etc" (4)

Moreover, Margate, in particular, was a famous place for the treatment of scrofulous ailments.

"The Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary was founded for scrofula because Margate was the best place in England for the treatment of this disease. Indeed, the results obtained are sometimes almost marvellous". (5)

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1. As already noted in this Chapter above.
 2. Raistrick, op. cit., 312; Abraham, op. cit., 289.
 3. David Owen, English Philanthropy, 1660-1960 (1965), 473.
 4. 'By an Invalid', "Margate in Winter", The Daily Telegraph, 2 April 1885.
 5. Ibid., 2 April 1885.

The history of the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital at Margate represents an important chapter in English medical and social history. Its fame was national, early and unique. It was a pioneer in charitable medical specialization. Dr. Lettson's work in founding such a hospital was not followed by any widespread provision elsewhere for the many tuberculosis sufferers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ It is therefore all the more fitting that wards in the Margate Sea Bathing Hospital were named after Dr. John Coakley Lettson as a monument to his efforts in this direction.² Although medical emphasis has changed from curing scrofula in the poor to the modern treatment of tuberculosis, one aspect of the original treatment has remained unchanged since the 1790's, namely exposing patients to the benefits of sea breezes on verandas in the open air. In 1933 James Johnston Abraham noted that although "the name Sea Bathing is something of a misnomer, ... it has not been changed for sentimental reasons".³

1. Dainton, op. cit., 95.

2. Abraham, op. cit., 289.

3. Ibid., 289.

CHAPTER IX

SOME EXAMPLES AND EFFECTS OF HOLIDAY EXPENDITURE, 1763-1850

Introduction

Every time a traveller leaves his home, for purposes of pleasure,

"he inevitably spends a considerable sum of money on fares, on hotels, in restaurants, in shops, on entertainment and for personal services of many kinds. Every expenditure contributes to the prosperity and the development of the travel industry". (1)

Holidays and excursions are closely bound up with the travel trades including long distance transport. The travel industry is best defined as that part of the national economy which caters for the traveller who, having money to spend, is visiting places outside the locality where he normally resides or works.² Hopefully an examination of some examples and effects of holiday expenditure between circa 1763 and circa 1850 provides a logical conclusion to this study of aspects of holidaymaking and resort development within the Isle of Thanet.

It is obvious that the total expenditure of holidaymakers has important repercussions not only on the immediate economy of a resort and its hinterland, but also over wider areas; but in analyzing these repercussions it has to be conceded that present day statistical techniques, incorporating the tools of modern economics and the use of far reaching socio-economic enquiries, best enable the multiplier effects to be thoroughly analyzed, so far as holiday-making and the modern resort are concerned.³ Although comparable statistics and techniques are not available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some attempt to tell the story in economic terms seems worthwhile.

In any study of the economics of holidaymaking it is essential to find out if possible how the visitor spends his money. There has always been

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1. L.J. Lickorish and A.G. Kershaw, The Travel Trade (1958), 1.
 2. Ibid., 2.
 3. This is very well illustrated in ibid., 55-71, in the Regional Travel Survey for Jersey based on the Report of a Survey carried out for the Tourism Committee (of Jersey) in 1954 by the British Travel and Holidays Association and the British Institute of Public Opinion.

variety in holiday expenditure as well as many beneficiaries from it. The City Press noted perhaps somewhat extravagantly how in August 1857

"London... is left unpeopled except by postmen and police. What a rush by a dozen railways, a hundred steamboats, and sailing craft out of number! ... One sees nothing but moving panoramas of portmanteaus... and overloaded cabs ... Now you will mark this as a fact, that whatever the prevailing passion, somebody will profit by it. Railways make 'dividends'; cab drivers, extra sixpences; boatmen, new jackets; hotel keepers... open their doors wide... and publishers provide no end of books to tell you where to go, what to do, and to amuse you on the way". (1)

Another writer observed a few years later that

"visitors make trade wherever they go, and often where there would be no trade without them. Look at the trays of little curiosities on the jetty or on the beach, from the tempting piece of polished amber to the commonplace shell, ... look at the marble knickknacks and the pebble brooches - they would never find customers except among people on a holiday. Fifty little trades are maintained by small pleasuring, for pleasuring in the end means spending, and where money is spent there is always somebody who gains". (2)

The holiday industry is not easy to define, because it consists of so many trades which together satisfy the needs of the visitor. A detailed examination of what an average holidaymaker might spend his money on, in the chain of expenditure extending through from the time he leaves to the time he returns home, underlines both the scope of holiday expenditure and the range of trades which it calls into being.

"First of all he might take a taxi to the railway station. When he arrives there he will summon a porter to look after luggage for himself and his family, and when he boards the train he gives the porter a tip. He will have bought his railway tickets. He will probably also buy newspapers or magazines to entertain him during the journey ... When he arrives at the seaside or holiday resort he has chosen, he will again need the services of porters and taxis to take him to his hotel .. During his stay in the holiday resort he will spend a considerable amount of money on such things as entertainment, deck chairs,... swimming,... local trips... to the surrounding countryside. He may visit the local inns for a few drinks and almost inevitably he - and certainly his wife - will look at the shops and buy articles which may be a speciality

1. The City Press, 15 August 1857, 4.

2. "Results of Excursion Trains", The Times, 30 August 1860, 6.

of the locality to take home with them as souvenirs. Local crafts and manufactures will find a ready patron in Mr. _____ and his fellow visitors. He will certainly be a customer of the Post Office to buy stamps ... He may need the services of the local laundry ... His wife and daughter and possibly he himself may need the attention of the hair-dresser or barber. He will certainly visit the ... tea shops, not only in the resort, but in the surrounding country. He will be a good customer of the local tobacconist. He might be interested in local guides and in special local events. He may visit the local bank. At the end of his stay he will have the largest item of expenditure to meet : the hotel or boarding-house bill". (1)

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this last item was more likely to be represented by the combined expenditure on lodging, food, and perhaps service.

Some Examples of Holiday Expenditure, 1763-1829.

Historical data on the costs to individuals of holidaymaking during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are, however, very sparse. Letters, diaries and travel journals often tell liberally of the scenery of a place or describe fully its amusements or company, but rarely comment on details of expenditure except to point out some exorbitant anomaly. While it is often possible to know the cost of a particular item it is rare to be confronted with a detailed breakdown of holiday expenditure which, when put together, gives a complete picture. Yet there are one or two valuable exceptions and the first occurs in The Diary of John Baker. During September and October 1777 he spent five weeks in Margate accompanied by Mrs. Woodington. The occasion for this exception probably arose from the fact that his diary comes down through the centuries as a record of small people and small events which was never intended to see the light of day and written solely for the writer's own use.

The table which follows shows how he itemized some of his holiday expenditure.

1. Lickorish and Kershaw, op. cit., 1-2.

TABLE 74: THE HOLIDAY EXPENDITURE OF JOHN BAKER, MARGATE, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1777.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description of Item</u>	<u>Cost</u>		
		£	s.	d.
11 September ⁽¹⁾	Library subscription to Mr. Hall, the Bookseller.		5	0
26 September	Haberdashery purchased at Draper's Hospital. (2)		4	3
14 October ⁽³⁾	Local bills paid to:			
	Samuel Bloxham, Stable-keeper.	10	13	6
	William Powell, Postillion.	4	0	6
	Mr. Mitchener for bathing.	1	1	0
	Mr. Stamp, Barber, and for his children.		12	6
	Mr. Geo. Slater, Apothecary.	4	4	0
16 October ⁽⁴⁾	Postillion, plus also "a shilling per diem from the time we came to Margate this day 5 weeks".	1	1	0
		1	15	0
18 October ⁽⁵⁾	Wm. Weston, "balance for 3 horses and postillion to, from, and at Margate, 38 days".	15	1	11
	<u>TOTAL</u>	£38	19s.	2d.

Although the diary fails to record expenditure on lodging, food and entertainment, which increased the total cost of their stay, enough emerges to give some idea of the cost of a holiday in the later eighteenth century, and moreover the items listed and the remainder of the diary confirm the variety in holiday expenditure which has been noted above.

On one occasion during his stay at Margate, Baker dined "on lamb chops and lobster";⁶ on another occasion he "ate a pretty smart dinner : soupe, mackrell, skate, and a little bit of roast pork".⁷ Mr. Slater's advice on sea bathing

1. Ed. Philip C. Yorke, The Diary of John Baker (1931), 417; also see Chapter IV above.
2. Yorke, op. cit., 420. Drapers was a Quakers' almshouse just outside Margate, housing eight old ladies who entertained Thanet visitors to tea and sold haberdashery and other small souvenirs to them, George Keate, Sketches from Nature, Taken and Coloured in a Journey to Margate (5th Ed., 1802), 81-2; also see Chapter IV above.
3. Yorke, op. cit., 421; also see Chapter II above.
4. Yorke, op. cit., 422.
5. Ibid., 422.
6. Ibid., 13 September 1777, 418.
7. Ibid., 28 September, 420.

was counselled on more than one occasion.¹ Visits were made locally to Kingsgate;² "through a pleasant village, good church and good houses called St. Peter's, then on to South East to Broadstairs a tolerable village, close by seaside";³ also to Birchington,⁴ to Mount Pleasant,⁵ to Draper's Hospital⁶ and a second time to Broadstairs.⁷ Before leaving London Mrs. Woodington had hired a maid: she arrived subsequently by hoy and was maintained during their stay in Margate.⁸ A visit was paid to the play-house.⁹ Baker on having returned to London recorded how he had

"voluntarily allowed the postilion 1s. a day from my arrival at Margate till I came to London which was 36 days, and gave him a guinea when came home, besides maintaining him up to London, and always when rode out at Margate, treating him with drink in the way". (10)

All told, therefore, this holiday for three people (including the maid) came to a considerable sum. The items alone which were costed worked out at £12 19s. 9d. per person; £7 15s. 10d. per week; or £2 11s. 11d. per person per week.

Some idea of the cost of hotel food at the New Inn, Margate, at this time

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1. Yorke, op. cit., starting with the first evening in Margate, 11 September, 417; also, 2 October, 420; 4 October, 420; 11 October, 421. This was in accordance with recommended practice as noted in Chapter II above.
 2. Yorke, op. cit., 12 September, 418. The first Lord Holland had built a magnificent marine villa and estate at Kingsgate between Margate and Broadstairs to which reference is made in Chapter VII above.
 3. Yorke, op. cit., 15 September, 418.
 4. Ibid., 17 September, 418.
 5. Ibid., 18 September, 419. Mount Pleasant was a famous Thanet public house renowned for its splendid scenic views, Margate Guide in a Letter to a Friend (1770), 44.
 6. Yorke, op. cit., 26 September, 420; also noted in this Chapter above. It was here that the 4s. 3d. noted in the table of expenditure was incurred.
 7. Ibid., 7 October, 421.
 8. Ibid., 12 September, 417-8, including buying for her a pair of red garters for 1s. from Draper's Hospital, 26 September; also see Chapter VI above.
 9. Yorke, op. cit., 23 September, 419.
 10. Ibid., 422, but he also records 17 September, on the occasion of the trip to Birchington, "fresh dispute with postilion at door, and on road he still grumbling", ibid., 418.

FOOD PRICES IN THE NEW INN
AT MARGATE IN 1763.

*At the New-Inn, Margate, a house
I have long used, the prices of pro-
visions, &c. are as follow.*

	s. d.
Each person	
Bread, cheese, or butter	0 1
Welsh rabbit	0 2
Beef stakes, veal cutlets, mutton or pork chops	0 9
Veal or beef collops	1 0
Tripe boiled or fried	0 9
Ditto in fricafée	1 0
Eggs and bacon	0 9
Cold meat	0 8
Servant breakfast, dinner, or supper	0 6
Breakfast, tea, coffee, &c.	0 8
Pigeon roasted or boiled	0 8
Ditto boiled with bacon and greens	1 0
Ditto stewed	1 0
Chicken or fowl roasted or boiled	2 0
Ditto broiled with mushroom sauce	2 6
Ditto white or brown fricafée	2 6
Ditto roasted with egg sauce	2 6
Ditto boiled with bacon and greens	3 0
Duck roasted	2 0
Ditto with onion sauce	2 6
Capon roasted or boiled	3 0
Turkey roasted with sauces, &c.	5 0
Ditto boiled with oyster or lemon sauce	5 0
Goose roasted with sauces, &c.	5 0
Wild duck and dressing	2 6
Teal and dressing	1 6
Woodcock and dressing	2 6
Eels and dressing, by the pound	1 6
Trout and dressing by the pound	2 0
Cray fish, by the hundred	6 0
Ditto buttered	8 0
Other fish, as it shall be in season, at a reason- able price.	
Rabbit roasted or fried	1 6
Ditto smothered with onions	2 0
Neck of mutton and broth	3 6
Ditto roasted	2 6
Ditto in chops	2 6
Shoulder of mutton and dressing	3 6
Leg of mutton and dressing	4 0
All other joints of beef, veal, pork, &c. at six pence by the pound dressed.	
Made dishes, soups, puddings, tarts, fruits, asparagus, pease, beans, potatoes, greens, cucum- bers, pickles, &c. as they come in season at rea- sonable prices.	
Wines, &c. as usual.	

is given by John Lyons in A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and particularly of the Town of Margate (1763)¹ as reproduced by means of an illustration. Hotels adopted the practice of charging separately for individual items and services on their bills; so much for bed or apartments, for breakfast, dinner, supper, wine, spirits, tea, coffee, fire, candles or for servants' expenses. All those expenses when put together soon mounted up. Sir Moses Montefiore and his wife, Judith,² were staying in Brighton early in 1827 when prices were considerably higher³ at the Old Ship, and he recorded the expenditure on their hotel bill as follows:-

TABLE 75: HOTEL EXPENSES JUDITH MONTEFIORE AND SELF, OLD SHIP, BRIGHTON, JANUARY 1827. (4)

Item or Service	1-1-1827			2-1-1827			12-1-1827			13-1-1827			14-1-1827		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bed and Apartments	6	0		3	0		3	0		6	0		3	0	
Breakfast	6	0		6	0					6	3		6	3	
Dinner	13	4								9	0				
Wines, Spirits, Fruit	12	6		1	0		1	0		11	0				
Tea or Coffee	4	0					4	0							
Supper							5	3		1	0				
Fire and Candles	5	10		1	0		5	4		5	10		1	0	
Waiters, Boots, etc.				11	10								10	7	
<u>Daily Total</u>	£2	7s.	8d.	£1	2s.	10d.	18s.	7d.	£1	19s.	1d.	£	0s.	10d.	

The total for the five days worked out at £7 9s. 0d. for two people.

1. John Lyons, A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and particularly of the Town of Margate (1763), 69-70.
2. Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885), the famous Jewish philanthropist, became related to the Rothchild family by marriage, 10 June 1812, to Judith, second daughter of Levi Barent Cohen, whose sister Hannah was married to Baron Nathan Meyer de Rothchild (1777-1836), The Dictionary of National Biography (1894), 278-80. He was "the outstanding Jewish figure of a great part of the nineteenth century", Paul Goodman, Moses Montefiore (Philadelphia, 1925), 11; also see Chapter VII above.
3. Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1959 (1964), 12, while admitting that until after the Napoleonic Wars, and possibly until the beginning of the railway age, the movements of individual prices are so divergent and so variable as between different regions of the country, that any attempt to measure changes in terms of a general price index is a highly dubious procedure, nevertheless suggest that at the peak of the Napoleonic Wars prices may have been double what they had been fifty years earlier, ibid., 17. Their graph of long term trends in British prices, 1661-1959, at the end of their book, shows a rising trend from 1760 onwards, and although prices fell after 1815 the general level of the later 1820's roughly equalled that of the mid-1790's.
4. Hotel Bills, 1827-9, Montefiore MS, Mocatta Library, University College, London.

At the end of June 1829 Moses and Judith Montefiore, accompanied by Baron Anselm, Charlotte de Rothchild, Nathaniel and Meyer Rothchild, and a Mr. Schlemer, stayed at Hale's Pier Hotel at Ryde on the Isle of Wight,¹ the hotel bill for a stay extending over two nights coming to a total of £11 14s. 6d. for seven people, as follows:²

TABLE 76: HOTEL EXPENSES, PIER HOTEL, RYDE, JUNE 1829.

<u>Item or Service</u>	26-6-1829			27-6-1829			28-6-1829		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bed and Apartments	17	6		17	6				
Breakfast				1	5	0	1	4	0
Dinner				2	9	0			
Wine, Spirits, Beer, Fruit					16	0			
Tea or Coffee					10	6			
Supper	16	6		7	0				
Fire and Candles	2	6		2	6				
Waiters, Boots				1	11	0			
Sundries (3)				15	6				
<u>Daily Total</u>	£1	16s.	6d.	£8	14s.	0d.	£1	4s.	0d. (4)

One of the best examples of recorded holiday expenditure also dates from the end of the 1820's and relates to a holiday spent in Ramsgate. This particular example is so unique as to deserve a whole section of this chapter to itself.

A Three Week Holiday in Ramsgate during July and August 1829.

In 1955 and 1966 Archaeologia Cantiana published two examples of holidays which had been spent specifically touring the county of Kent, both of which were edited by Dr. Felix Hull and have been reproduced subsequently in Essays in Kentish History. They were "A Tour into Kent, 1759", undertaken by members of the Mount family of London, and "A Kentish Holiday, 1823", which was enjoyed by Charles Powell, the second son of Baden Powell of Speldhurst and Hester, when

1. See a previous footnote above on Montefiore's relationship to the Rothchilds.
2. Montefiore MS, Mocatta Library, op. cit.
3. Probably on account of two servants who accompanied the party.
4. In this MS there are many other examples of recorded hotel expenditure over the years 1827-9, referring to stays in Kent, Harrogate, Dawlish, Weymouth, Devonport, Truro, Penzance, Ilfracombe, the West Country, Wales and abroad.

he was sixteen years of age.¹ The purpose of this section is to reproduce with some commentary and assessment an 1829 diary account of a three week holiday to Ramsgate² which, in stark contrast to the earlier examples for 1759 and 1823, is somewhat unique in providing details of daily expenditure. All three examples share, however, one interesting feature in having been discovered among family papers deposited in archive or record offices.³

Contemporary historical sources on eighteenth and nineteenth century holidaymaking are noticeably silent on the costs involved. They rarely, with one or two exceptions,⁴ comment on the expenses incurred. To Kent belongs one of the best examples of pre-Victorian recorded holiday expenditure. It dates from the end of the 1820's and relates to a holiday spent in Ramsgate, the journey from London and back using Thames steamboats which were then plying with great regularity.⁵ In this Journal of an Excursion to Ramsgate in July and August 1829 there is not only a day-by-day diary account of how the holiday was actually spent but in addition every detail of expenditure incurred right down to the cleaning of shoes is entered from 20 July to 10 August 1829. Here was a middle-class seaside holiday, taken at the height of the season, which recorded very meticulously the amounts of money spent on it. It is the expenditure which most calls for analysis and assessment rather than the clearly stated text of the diary which requires only a short introduction and a little elaboration by way of footnotes.

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1. See Archaeologia Cantiana, LXIX (1955), 171-8 and LXXI (1966), 109-17; or Ed: M. Roake and J. Whyman, Essays in Kentish History (1973), 185-92, 283-91.
 2. Journal of an Excursion to Ramsgate in July and August 1829, uncatalogued MSS Tyler Collection (Ramsgate Scrapbook), Cathedral Library and Archives, Canterbury.
 3. Respectively Berkshire Record Office, D/EMt F5; Kent Record Office, U 934 F8; and among the papers of Frank Walter Tyler (1871-1955) in the Tyler Collection, the Cathedral Library, Canterbury. I am grateful to Dr. W. Urry for having drawn my attention to this source when he was Cathedral Archivist at Canterbury.
 4. A good but general exception occurs in V.J.B. Torr, "A Tour through Kent in 1735", Archaeologia Cantiana, XLIII (1931), 279-80, or in Roake and Whyman, op. cit., 183-4, where for the Kentish portion of a long tour undertaken on horseback by four Cambridge gentlemen there is an overall account of expenditure "settled and signed by all four gentlemen" for individual days and periods falling between 26 July and 9 August 1735.
 5. See Chapter VI above.

The author, Mr. Benham, was keen on sketching and copying church monuments and inscriptions and had been to Ramsgate before in 1826.¹ The other members of his party included his wife, Charlotte, who was often referred to as Mrs. B. or Mrs. Benham, their infant child and a servant and nursery maid, Betsy Thornton. The diary suggests that Mr. Benham had married a somewhat younger wife and yet while he did not join her in sea bathing he walked almost every morning at an early hour to and from the church of St. Lawrence. It is possible too that he might have married beneath his station, judging by the numerous references to Mrs. Benham and her consumption of porter, but equally there are few clues to the author's own occupation except that he was engaged in business in London.

The Benhams in selecting Ramsgate for their holiday in 1829 patronized a prosperous, well developed and expanding steamboat resort which in 1831 was described as "an extensive, well-built, and fashionable watering place, frequented by some of the first families in the kingdom", and being "somewhat smaller, and less populous than Margate, ... its amusements are not so lively and numerous, but are equally inviting to that grade of society who resort thither for a short relaxation from the anxieties and cares of a metropolitan life".² A few years previously The Times had noted how "the introduction of steamboats [since 1815] has given the whole coast of Kent, [and] the Isle of Thanet in particular, a prodigious lift".³

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1. According to the Journal of 705 inscriptions relating to the parish of St. Lawrence, 99 dated from a previous visit to Ramsgate in 1826. Resulting from the two visits were 770 inscriptions:

St. Lawrence	705
The New Church (St. George)	9
Monkton Church	30
Birchington	12
St. Nicholas	<u>14</u>

Total:- 770

2. G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), 146-7.
3. The Times, 28 September 1824, 2c.

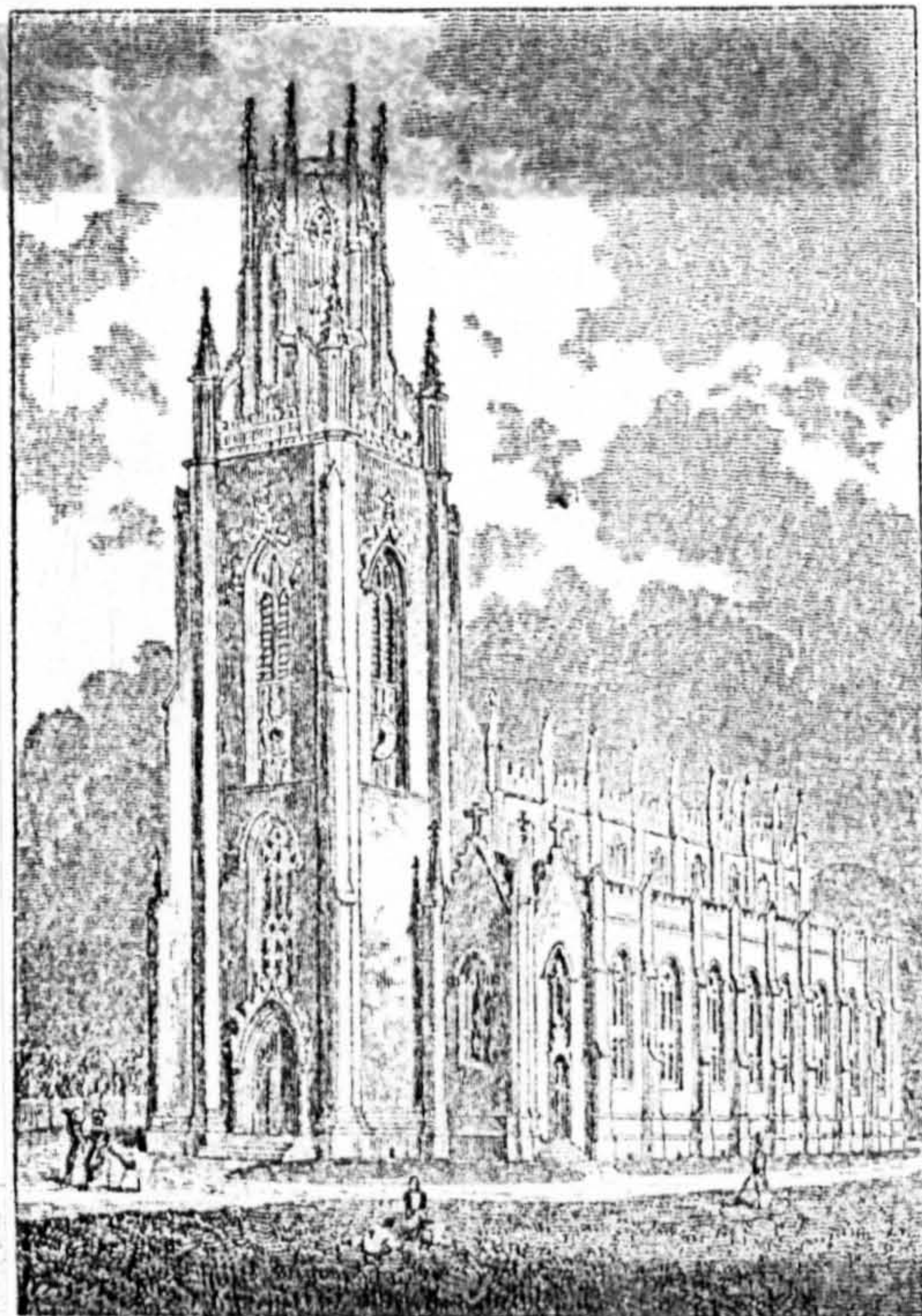
July 20 (Monday)

Started at 9.12 from off the Tower Stairs London in the Magnet Steam Boat and after a pleasant journey arrived at Margate at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 precisely, thence in a coach to Ramsgate which we reached at precisely $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5.¹ Found our old lodgings engaged,² therefore took a sitting room and 2 bedrooms at Mr. Cullen's in Hertford Place which place was erected in 1813. After having given my friend Hunt of Burgess's Library³ a call and taken some refreshment we retired to rest greatly fatigued by the day's exertion.

	£	s.	d.
Paid Coach from 3 New Millman St. to Tower Stairs		3	6
Paid Waterman at the Stand for putting in the Luggage			6
Paid Porterage of Luggage from Coach to the Wherry		1	0
Paid Waterman to the Steam Boat the Magnet		1	6
Paid for <u>Times</u> Newspaper			9
Paid fares for Mrs. B. and myself 24s., Servant 10s., infant nothing	1	14	0
Paid Sailors' Box 1s., 1 bottle of Port 1s., Woman 6d.		2	6
Paid Porterage of Luggage to Ramsgate Coach			6
Paid Coach fare to Ramsgate		3	0
Paid Porterage of Luggage from the Crown Hotel to our Lodgings		2	0
Total Expense of the Journey	2	9	3

1. Until well into the nineteenth century passengers bound by water from London to Broadstairs or Ramsgate chose to disembark at Margate thereby avoiding what was seen to be a hazardous voyage around the North Foreland. This point was confirmed by Capt. Large, who commanded the City of Canterbury steamboat belonging to the Herne Bay Steam Packet Co. in evidence on 8 April 1851, to the House of Commons Select Committee on the London and Blackwall Railway Extension to Tilbury Fort, etc. Bill, House of Lords Record Office, Committee Office Evidence, Volume 15. Also see Chapter VI above.
2. A reference to the previous visit in 1826.
3. Burgess & Hunt's circulating library in Queen Street, Ramsgate is listed in trade directories of the 1820's and 1830's; for instance, on page 406 of Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial New Commercial Directory, for 1823-4, or on pages 857 and 858 of Pigot & Co.'s National, London and Provincial Commercial Directory, for 1833-4. According to Bonner, op. cit., 162, Messrs. Burgess & Hunt operated in "a very convenient and handsome building", which contained in 1831 "a choice and valuable collection of books, which have been selected with much care and a proper regard both for amusement and instruction". In addition "the proprietors have also an extensive establishment, where printing is performed in all its branches", apart from selling "all sorts of jewellery, trinkets, music, stationery, Tunbridge ware, perfumery, etc."

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, RAMSGATE, COMPLETED IN 1827.



St. George's Church, Ramsgate. Erected by H. F. KESBELL, Esq. from designs prepared by him, and approved by his Majesty's Commissioners.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH

is one of those buildings which have arisen out of the liberal grant made by parliament, and placed at the disposal of commissioners. It is a handsome Gothic structure, computed to have been erected at an expense of more than 24,000*l.*, which was partly produced by the church commissioners, and partly by subscriptions and parochial rates. This church was designed by Mr. Helmsley, who however, it is to be regretted, did not live to witness it's completion, and to enjoy the fame which he would certainly have derived from it's elegance and beauty. The tower forms a very prominent feature, and is very generally admired for it's boldness of design and chasteness of execution.

G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), p. 157.

July 21 (Tuesday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Walked round the cliffs, up High Street to the new Church¹ which people were cleaning. Went in and copied the only Inscription there The following odd Notice is on a board outside the Church:

Notice
it is particularly
requested that no
nuisance be
committed against
the walls of the Church
or in the Churchyard
under pain of
punishment as
the act directs.

Returned to the Lodgings. Charlotte, myself and the Servant each took half a pint of Warm salt Water - Breakfast at 9 - Mine was the Yolks of 2 Eggs mixed in a Pint of milk and Tea - After Breakfast walked with Charlotte to Market Dinner at 2 o'clock consisted of roasted Lamb, Peas and Currant and Raspberry Pie After tea Charlotte and I with the child and Servant walked on the Pier until 8 o'clock Supper at 9. To bed at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10. This morning wrote to my wife's eldest Sister Phyllis Dueroz of 27, Brook Street, Holborn, London to let them know of our safe journey and arrival here.

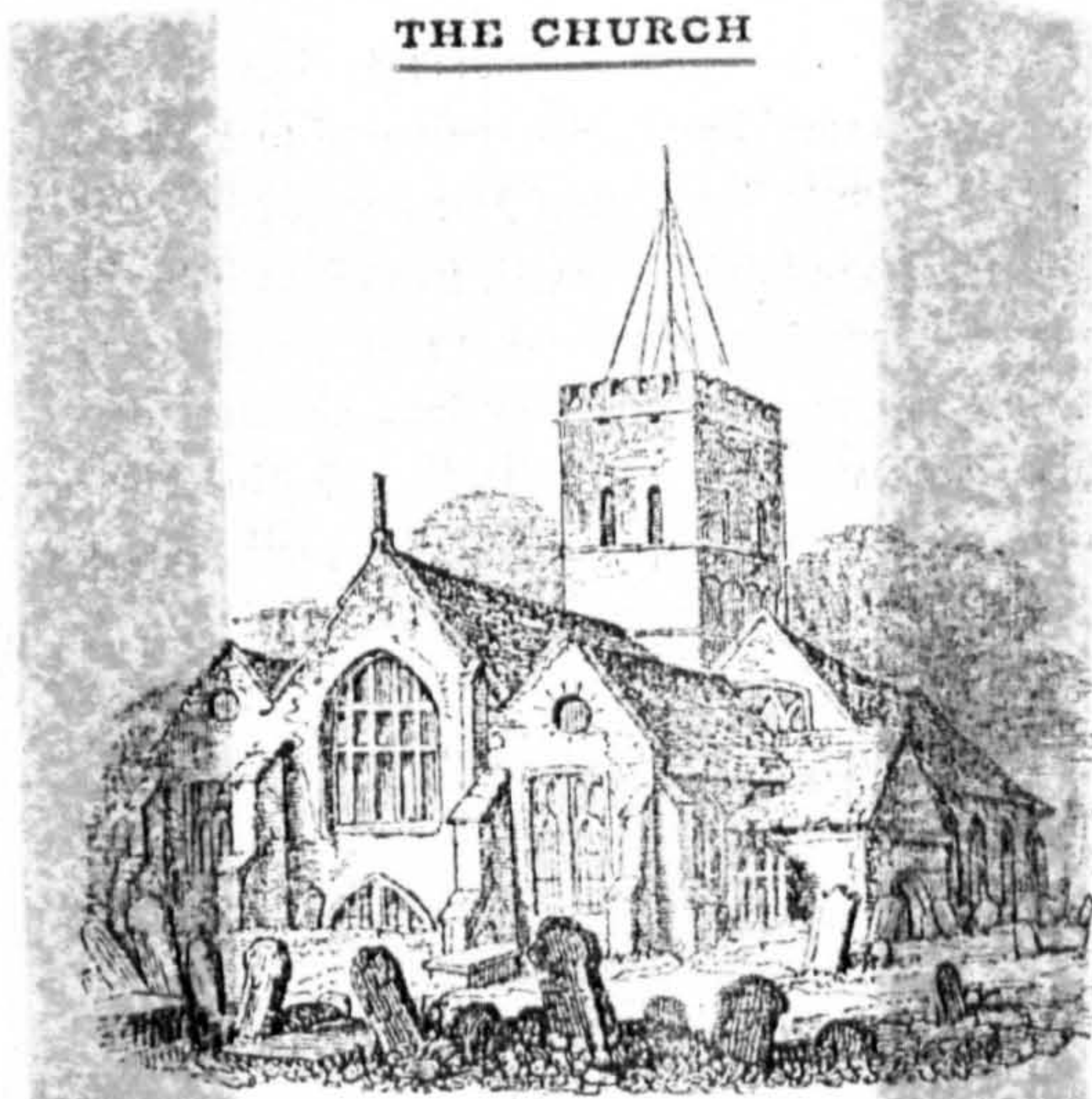
	£	s.	d.
Paid:			
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Butter fresh			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 lb. Candles - $\frac{1}{2}$ common $\frac{1}{2}$ Rush Lights			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Mould Candles			4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 lb. Figs			9
Anniseed Cordial for the Child			3
2 lb. Loaf of Bread			5 $\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ Pint of Milk			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pint do.			3

1. Following the creation of Ramsgate as a separate parish from the old parish of St. Lawrence by Act of Parliament in 1826, St. George's Church, Ramsgate, was completed in the Gothic style in 1827 to hold 2,000 persons, at a cost of £27,000, financed from subscriptions and parochial rates apart from £9,000 donated by the Church Commissioners. Its tower, 137 feet high, was "generally admired" as "a very prominent feature, ... for its boldness of design and chasteness of execution", Bonner, op. cit., 146, 157; Picture of Ramsgate, or A Guide to the Various Amusements, Public Libraries, Building Improvements, etc. of that celebrated Watering Place (Ramsgate, 1833), 35; and The Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1851), 399.

ST. LAWRENCE

is a pleasant village, half a mile from Ramsgate. It stands on a tolerably high hill, and therefore commands a delightful view of the bay in front, and of the picturesque country and scenery around it. The parish derives its name from the saint to whom

THE CHURCH



is dedicated; this is a very ancient building, particularly the tower, which is of Saxon architecture of the earlier ages. It was formerly one of the chapels belonging to Minster, but in 1275 it was made parochial, by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, upon certain condi-

tions, one of which was, that the burial fees should be paid to the mother church, at Minster. The chancel contains many ancient monuments of the Spracklings and Thatchers.

G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), pp. 169-71.

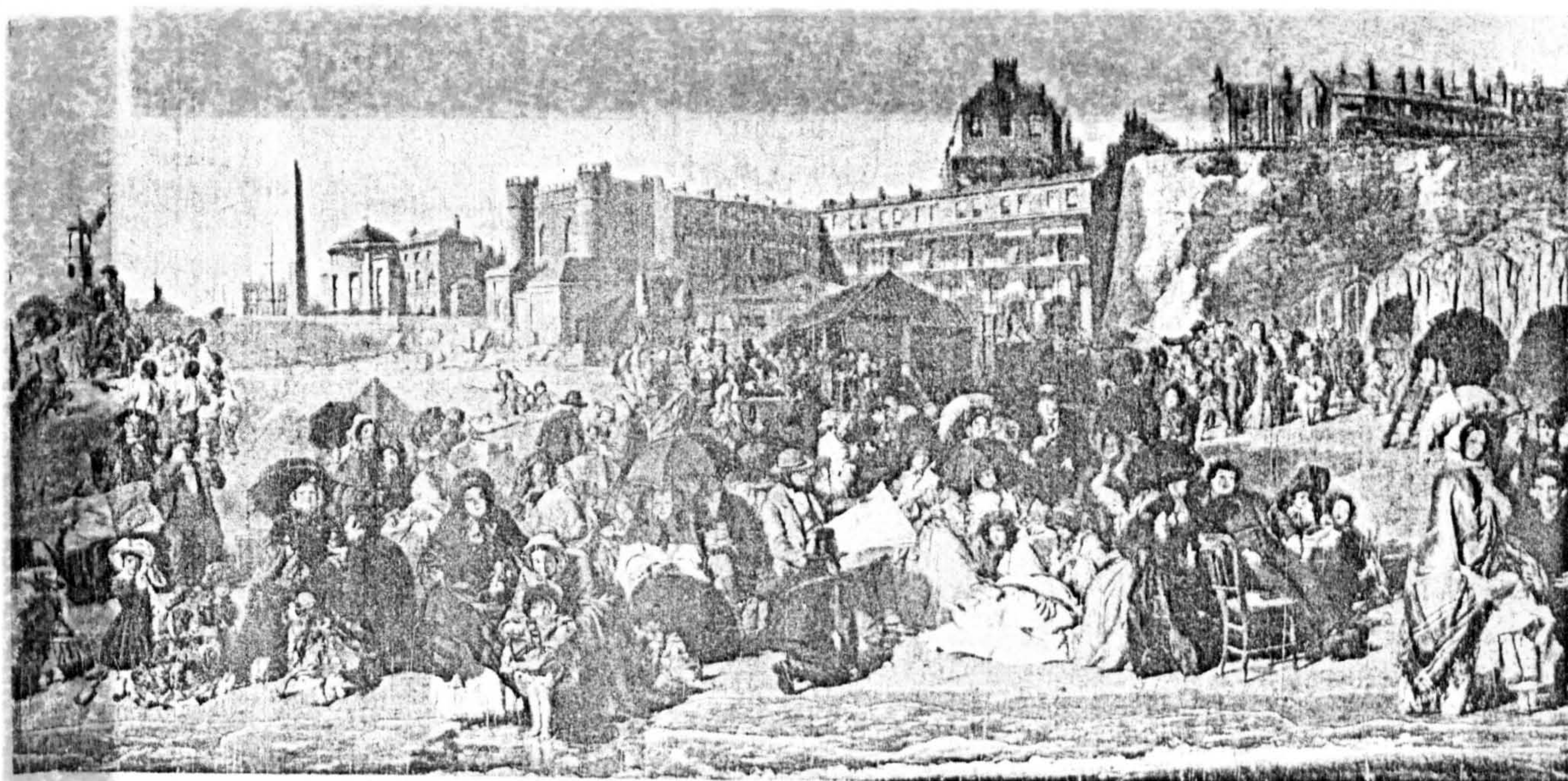
	£	s.	d.
5 English Eggs			6
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Lard for Pie and Pudding Crust @ 10d lb.			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 lbs. Flour			10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1 Pint of Porter (Mrs. Benham)			3
Baking Pie			1
2 lb. Loaf of Bread			5 $\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ Peck of Peas (Prussian Blues)			4
1 lb. Black Currants			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ Gallon of Potatoes			3
1 Leaf of Raspberries			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 lb. red Currants			4
Cake of Brown Bread			2
1 lb. Brown Sugar			7
Salt and Pepper			3
Goosberries ripe			1
$3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. Ribs of Lamb @ 9d per lb.		2	10
		<u>11</u>	<u>6$\frac{3}{4}$</u>

N.B. William Alexander Hunt born 15th Jan. 1789 at Ostend now of Burgess's Library, Ramsgate.

July 22 (Wednesday)

Rose at 5 and walked to St. Lawrence - turned out Philpot the Sexton who let me into the Church at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 where I copied the following Inscriptions At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 returned to Breakfast after which went with Mrs. B. - to market and thence to the Beach where we each took a chair for half an hour,¹ thence returned to our lodging. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 to 1 called on my friend Hunt and bought red ink, pencil and rubber - At 2 returned to dinner which was Soles fried and Cold Lamb and potatoes and currant and raspberry Pie. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 after my

1. Ramsgate was one of the first seaside resorts to provide visitors with an early form of the deckchair. Circa 1835 a valetudinarian noted "I must not omit to notice Ramsgate Sands [where] for the accommodation of visitors, a number of chairs (some hundreds) have been placed on them, to a considerable distance - the charge being only 1d. per day, for each person", Sea Side Reminiscences: A Collection of 'Odd Thoughts' picked up at the Chief Watering-Places on the South Coast of England, and designed to Assist Strangers and Visitors in their Rambles (circa 1835), 15. The chairs seem to have been attached to a Subscription Marquee it being observed in The Visitor's Guide to the Watering Places, or a Summer Excursion Round the Coast of England, in Pursuit of Health and Recreation (1842), 179, that "chairs are placed on the Bathing Sands for the sole use of subscribers [with] an attendant to remove them to any situation". Certainly Pigot & Co. ... for 1833-4, op. cit., 856, pointed out that the bathing proprietors, Messrs. Barling, Foat & Wells, opposite the pier gates, possessed "a splendid marquee upon the bathing sands, furnished with the London and other journals and approved periodicals". A subsequent source also observed how "near the pier, the visitors who fill the houses in the terrace and crescent ... do congregate, seated for their customary three hours on their penny chairs; the ladies working or reading their well worn novels", MacKenzie Walcott, A Guide to the Coast of Kent (1859), 112-3.



Ramsgate Sands, 1854

Reproduced by gracious permission of His Majesty the King)

H. G. Stokes, The Very First History of the English Seaside (1947), p. 96.

nap we went on the Pier and saw the Royal Sovereign Steam Boat from London come into the harbour and land its passengers.

Paid:	£	s.	d.
For the cleaning of 1 Pair of Boots 2d. and Shoes 1d.			3
1 pint Milk last evening			2
1 oz. Coffee			3
1 pint of Porter for Mrs. B.			3
Bread			5 ³ / ₄
Milk 1 ¹ / ₂ pints			3
Gooseberries 1d., cherries 1d.,			2
Red Ink 6d., Indian Rubber 3d., Blacklead Pencil 9d.,		1	6
Paid for sitting on Chairs on the Beach			2
1 pair of Soles		1	0
Strawberries			4
		4	9 ³ / ₄

July 23 (Thursday)

Rose at 5 and proceeded to St. Lawrence Churchyard ... Returned at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 to breakfast of Tea and Eggs - after which walked one hour on the Cliff opposite the Royal Crescent Dined at 2 off Skate and potatoes and black-currant pie After the Service walked to see the Gas Co.'s Works.¹

Paid:	£	s.	d.
2 lbs. Blackcurrants			4
Gooseberries			1
1 Quart of Milk			5
5 Eggs			6
A Poor man who had lately lost his leg by accident		1	0
A Dish of Skate			6
1 lb. White Sugar - very indifferent			10
1 lb. Brown Sugar			7
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Fresh Butter			7
$\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Shrimps for Charlotte at tea			2
For a Gauze and Hankerchief for Charlotte's Neck		1	5
For a Gauze and Veil for the Child		1	0

1. It was on Monday evening, 30 August 1824, that "the town of Ramsgate was lighted with gas for the first time", The Times, 2 September 1824, 28. This improved source of lighting was supplied by the Isle of Thanet Gas Light and Coke Company, the Chairman, Mr. N.A. Austen, reporting to the general half yearly meeting of shareholders on 17 March 1828, that "the progress of the Company's works during the last six months has been regular and progressively improving", with an increase of sixteen private customers at Ramsgate, Kent Record Office, Cobb MSS. Thomas Francis Cobb, of the Margate brewing and banking family, was then the proprietor of twenty shares. The Ramsgate Gas Works were listed in Pigot & Co... for 1833-4, op. cit., 858 at Hardres Street, John Wilkinson, superintendent.

	£	s.	d.
Bottle of Ginger Beer			3
Pint of Porter			3
For Baking the Pie			1
Loaf of Bread			11½
			<hr/>
		8	11½
			<hr/>

July 24 (Friday)

Rose at 5 and walked to St. Lawrence Churchyard ... At 8 returned to Breakfast of Tea, Eggs and Rolls, after which walked to market with Charlotte about one hour ... For dinner shoulder of Lamb, potatoes and blackcurrant pie. At ½ past 2 went with Mrs. Hunt and her 8 children to Cliffsend Farm beyond Pegwell where we had tea, and our party 15 in number, including ... 2 servants, all enjoyed themselves for several hours upon the grass of one of the fields ... Reached our lodging before 9 o'clock all highly delighted by our treat.

Paid:	£	s.	d.
Gooseberries 1d, Currants 3d.			4
Shoulder of Lamb 4 lbs. 14 oz. @ 9d per lb.		3	8
1 Gallon of Imperial Blue Peas			4
4 hot Rolls for Breakfast			3½
Cleaning 1 pair boots and 1 pair shoes			3
Milk			3
1½ pints of London and other porter			4½
4 New Laid Eggs			6
			<hr/>
		6	0
			<hr/>

July 25 (Saturday)

Rose at ½ past 5 and walked to St. Lawrence Church ... After breakfast went to Market with Charlotte and walked for about an hour. This being Market day we had an opportunity of observing its extent - It has 3 divisions - Meat - Vegetables - Fish - and these were well stocked with every common thing in season.¹ After dinner at 2 which consisted of Lamb Pie and blackcurrant pie walked and saw the Steam Vessel from London arrive in the Harbour - After tea

1. In 1833 Ramsgate market, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, was said to be "well supplied with excellent meat, poultry, fish and vegetables", being "frequently attended by persons from the French coast with fruit, eggs and other articles", Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 37, and Pigot & Co. ... for 1833-4, op. cit., 856. Imported French eggs poured into Ramsgate in great quantities during June 1828 and were sold in Canterbury at thirty for 1s., according to The Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 17 June 1828, 3c.

hired a carriage and taking up Mr. Hunt by the way we were conveyed to Birchington, whose Church containing some old Brasses and monuments we went into, but there was not sufficient time to allow of my copying anything. Took a glass of sherry wine at the Powell Arms on account of the coldness of the evening

Paid:	£	s.	d.
Currants 1d., Gooseberries 1 pint 2d.			3
2 lbs. of Blackcurrants			5
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Rump Steak to put in the pie @ 1s. per lb.			6
$\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Peas - Imperial Blues			3
Quarter of French Beans			3
Lettuce			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Milk			5
Cleaning Shoes 1 pair			1
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of London fresh butter at 1s 6d per lb.			9
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Lard @ 10d per lb.			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quarter of Flour			10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Black Ink			1
1 pint of Porter			3
Baking 2 Pies			2
1 Pint Bottle of Sherry Wine	2		6
Biscuits at Birchington			2
1 Pint of Ale for the Man			4
Paid the Ostler			2
The Sexton for viewing the Church	1		0
The Carriage	5		0
Washing - Drapery			4
2 pieces of flannel			2
1 long white frock			2
1 long white petticoat			1
1 child's cap			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 coloured apron			1
			<hr/>
		15	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
			<hr/>

July 26 (Sunday)

It being a very wet and stormy morning did not rise till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, and the weather continuing extremely boisterous and wet prevented Charlotte and myself from attending God's house - Our servant however was not to be kept from the duty, she therefore went to the New Church,¹ thus exhibiting a faithfulness which ought to shame and stimulate me Dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 off cold Lamb pie and French Beans and Lettuce dress'd with vinegar, sugar and pepper and Blackcurrant pie.

1. St. George's Church, Ramsgate.

**SHALLOWS,
St. Peter's**



is in the parish of, and very near to, St. Peter's. Here we find the first Baptist chapel erected in the island; it is now only used as a baptistry by the Rev. W. T. Cramp, the worthy, highly respected, and truly Christian minister of the congregation of Baptist dissenters, who now assemble in a new chapel at St. Peter's, which was purchased for them by their very liberal and wealthy pastor.

Here are also tea gardens, which, though of a much humbler character than Ranelagh, possess many, and perhaps equal, attractions for the lovers of quiet scenes and country joys.

G. W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), pp. 196-7.

July 27 (Monday)

Rose at 6 Went to St. Lawrence Churchyard ... Returned at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 and took Mrs. B. to see the Steam Vessel go out of the Harbour for London - the weather very rough - At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 breakfast on Rolls, Tea and Eggs. After breakfast the weather cleared and we walked on the Pier. After dinner walked on the Plains of Waterloo and the atmosphere being remarkably clear saw the Coast of France very plainly ... After Tea walked on the Royal Crescent. I wrote to the Gas Works this day ... Took for my supper $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. figs and milk and after it $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Gruel - to bed at 10.

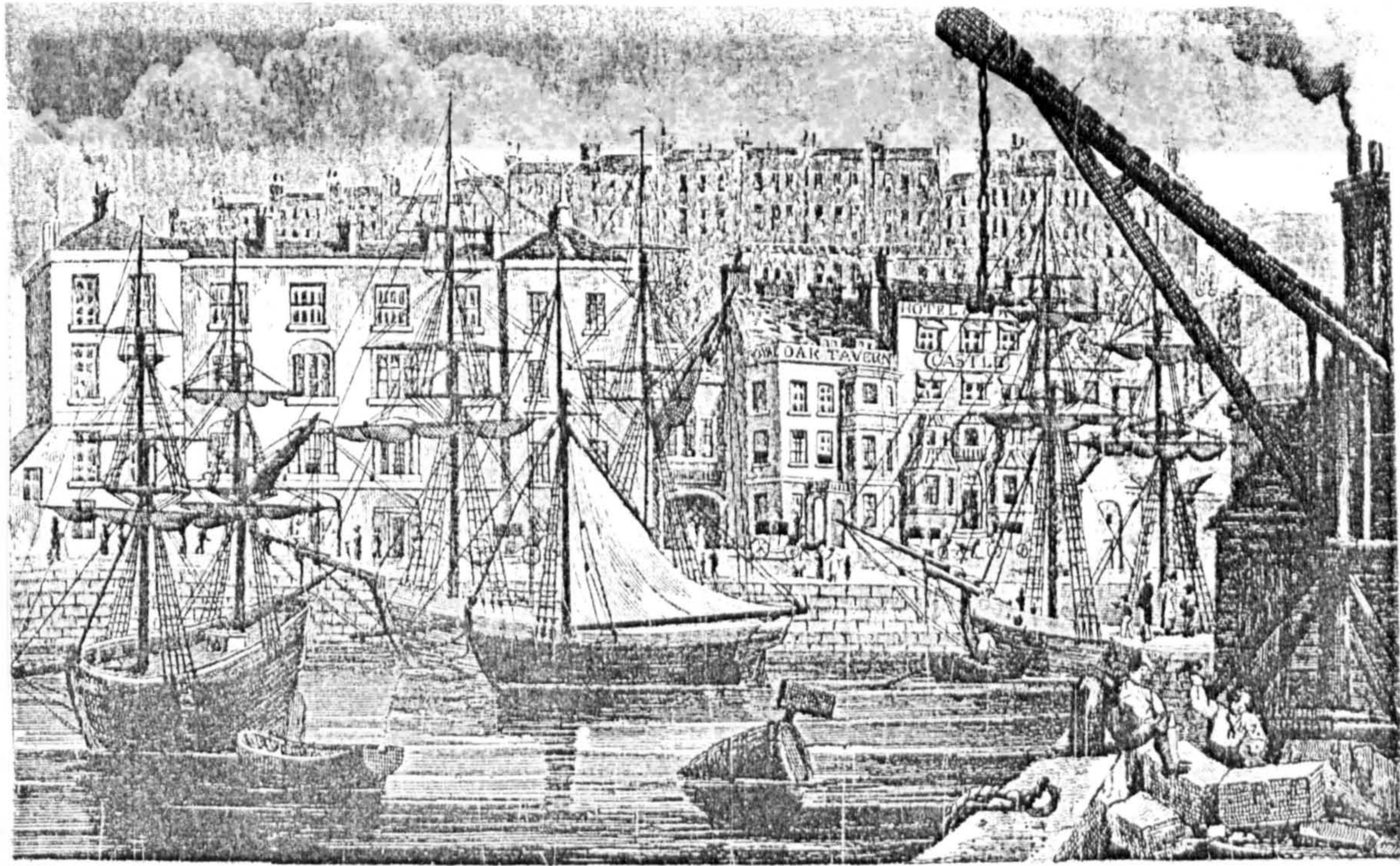
Paid:	£	s.	d.
Milk yesterday and to-day			10
Porter yesterday and to-day			6
Cleaning Boots and Shoes			4
5 Eggs			6
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Lard for Pie Crust			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rush Lights and Common Candles			7 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Salt Butter			6
Mould Candles			4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Baking Pie			1
Red Currants for Pie			5
Potatoes			3
Brick Loaf of Bread			2
4 lb. Bread			11 $\frac{1}{4}$
A fine fowl for boiling		3	0
Red Currants in the morning			1
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of Pickled Pork @ 9d.		1	8
One Week's Lodging	1	11	6
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

July 28 (Tuesday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6. Went to St. Lawrence Churchyard ... Returned at 8 to Breakfast After Dinner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 joined Mrs. Hunt and her 8 children and proceeded to Shallows Tea Gardens near St. Peters¹ where we enjoyed ourselves until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 playing and swinging with the children ...

Paid:	£	s.	d.
Currants			3 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 pair of small Soles for Dinner - very sweet		1	0

1. Described in 1830 as "a favourite resort with juvenile parties", who "may bring their own tea and sugar", where "8d. each is charged for the other accompaniments of the tea table", G.A. Cooke, A Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Kent (New Ed., 1830), xxx.



Designed by J. Fussell, and a sketch by J. Horsfall.

Engraved by J. Horsfall.

THE QUAY AT RAMSGATE.

Published 1828 by Geo Virtue, 26, Ivy Lane.

A Treasury of Kent Prints contained in

W. H. Ireland, A New and Complete History of the County

of Kent (1828 - 31) (Sheerness, 1972), Plate 24.

	£	s.	d.
1 lb. Lump Sugar 10d and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tea 1s 9d for the Shallows	2		7
Bread, Butter and Water and the Use of Table, etc., in the Shallows Gardens, 6 Adults @ 8d and 8 children @ 4d each	6		8
For attendance at the Shallows tho' not demanded	1		0
A Box of Anderson's Scot's Pills	1		$1\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$ pints Milk			3
Cleaning Shoes and Boots			3
1 pint of porter			3
3 Hot Rolls for Breakfast			3
	13		8

July 29 (Wednesday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 and walked to St. Lawrence Churchyard ... Returned at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 to breakfast Dinner of Boiled Leg of Lamb and Turnips. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 walked on the pier to see the steamboat from London arrive and the duke of Wellington happening to be also on the pier we had the opportunity for the first time of seeing his grace.¹ After tea at 6 walked to St. Lawrence's and returned round by the Mills and the Royal Crescent by 8 o'clock when we found the house locked up and all its inmates out - After walking a short time found the Servant who let us in Received a Letter from Miss Phillis Dueroz of Brook St., Holborn, my wife's sister.

	£	s.	d.
Paid:			
Leg of Lamb 5 lbs. @ 10d per lb.		4	2
Bunch of Turnips			3
Letter from London			8
Fruit 3d. - 2 qts. of Red Currants 5d			8
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. brown Sugar for the Pie			$3\frac{1}{2}$
Gave a Beggar for Charlotte			1
Milk			5
Cleaning Shoes			2
Pint of Porter			3
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Lard @ 10d.			$7\frac{1}{2}$
Baking a Pie			1
4 lbs. Loaf of Bread			$11\frac{1}{4}$
Washing - 2 pairs of cotton hose			2
2 child's pellises			5
1 do. White Frock			2
1 do. Pinafore			1
1 do. Shirt			1
6 Neckerchiefs			6

1. The Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830 and also Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, of which Ramsgate was a limb of Sandwich, as noted in Chapter I above.

	£	s.	d.
14 Draperies			9
1 Child's Flannel			1
1 do. Nightgown			1
			10 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

July 30 (Thursday)

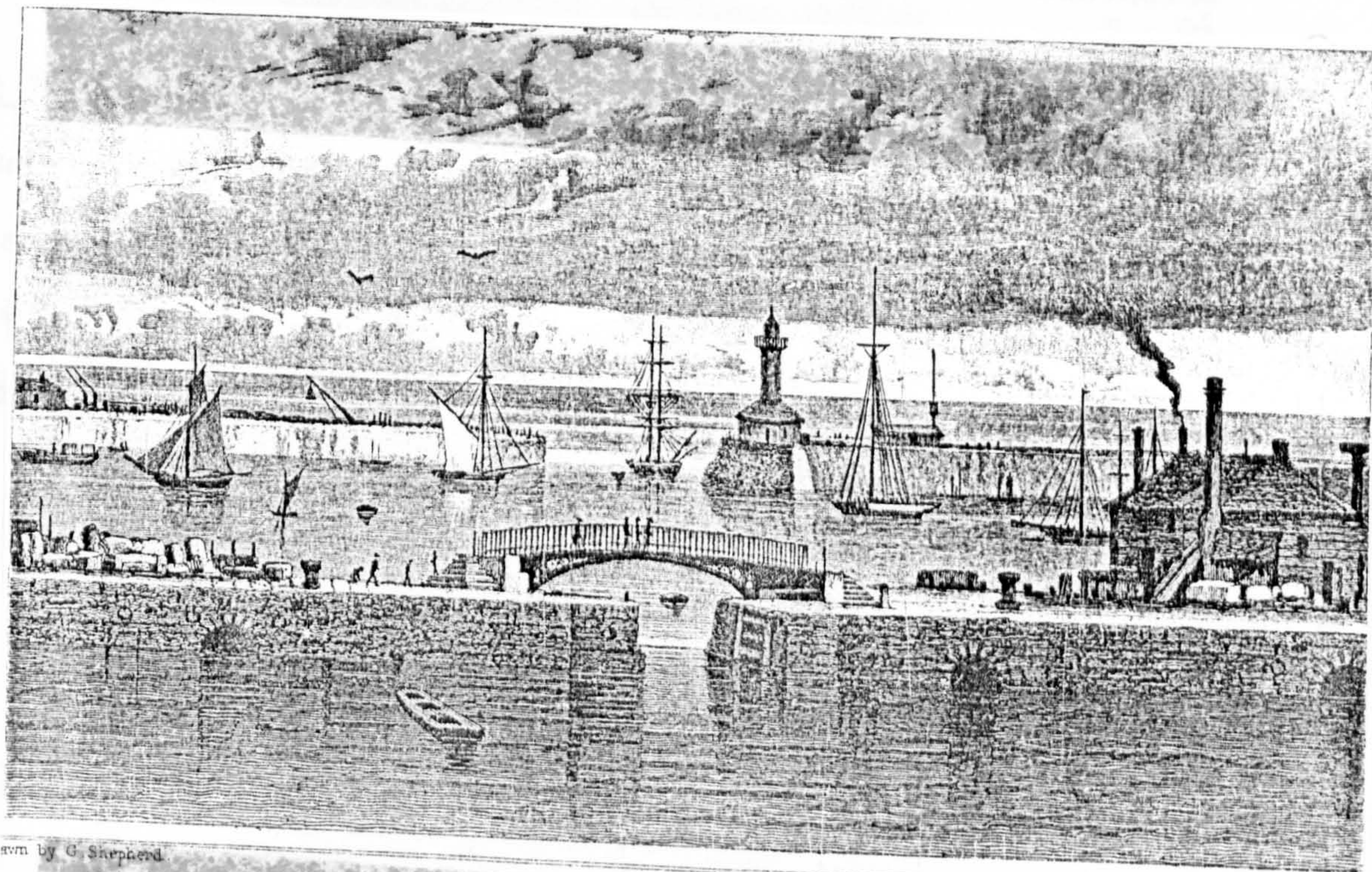
Rose at 5 and walked to St. Lawrence Churchyard, ... but had to wait till 10 minutes past 6 before I could wake the Sexton to give me the Key ... At 12 walked to Mrs. Hunt's at Effingham Place, and thence walked to the pier. Took a boat and were rowed out of the Harbour for an hour ... At 5 went to Mr. Hunt's and drank tea with him and his family.

	£	s.	d.
Paid:			
Gave a poor man with one arm only - but suspicious			1
Boathire - one hour	2		0
Blackcurrants			2
A Lettuce			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 lb. Brown Sugar			7
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Salt Butter being preferred before fresh			5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Quart Milk			4
Porter			3
4 lbs. of Flour			10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Cleaning One Pair of Shoes			1
			4 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

July 31 (Friday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 and went to St. Lawrence's but failed to make the Sexton hear me knock at his door and, as the Rain came on very heavily, I thought it better to return ... Received a Letter from London stating that business would not recall me home till Monday week. Wet and windy the whole of the day therefore Charlotte and I went only to see the sluices opened in the Harbour.¹

1. Owing their origin to the celebrated eighteenth century civil engineer John Smeaton who constructed in 1779 an inner basin as a backwater to cleanse the outer harbour which was silting up, by means of a cross wall, in which were two sluices, "the operations of which were amazingly powerful", such that "they entirely cleared away the sullage from it down to the chalk, besides carrying out of the harbour's mouth great quantities of sand", E. Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Volume X (2nd Ed., Canterbury, 1800), 393. Subsequently Smeaton's wooden sluices "got very much out of repair, and at last were closed", causing dredging to be an ever recurring problem, when Sir John Rennie, as Civil Engineer to Ramsgate Harbour, presented evidence on 11 July 1850, to The Select Committee on Ramsgate and Margate Harbours [660] (1850), 90.



Drawn by G. Shepherd.

Engraved by C. Bodley

RAMSGATE HARBOUR AND LIGHT HOUSE.
KENT.

A Treasury of Kent Prints contained in
W. H. Ireland, A New and Complete History of
the County of Kent (1828 - 31) (Sheerness, 1972),
Plate 23.

	£	s.	d.
Paid			
Milk			5
Porter			3
5 Eggs			6
4 lb. Loaf			11 $\frac{1}{4}$
2 Mutton Chops $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.			5
Cleaning Shoes			2
A Plate of Raspberries			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
For showing us and explaining the Steam Engine			6
Waiting at the Inn at Birchington [?]			3
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck Windsor Broad Beans			3
			3
			9 $\frac{3}{4}$

August 1 (Saturday)

Rose at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ and walked to St. Lawrence Churchyard - Returned at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 and after Breakfast went to Market with Charlotte and thence to the Beach where we took a chair for an hour After dinner walked in Frazer's Nursery Garden¹ and thence on the pier to see the Steam Boat come in.

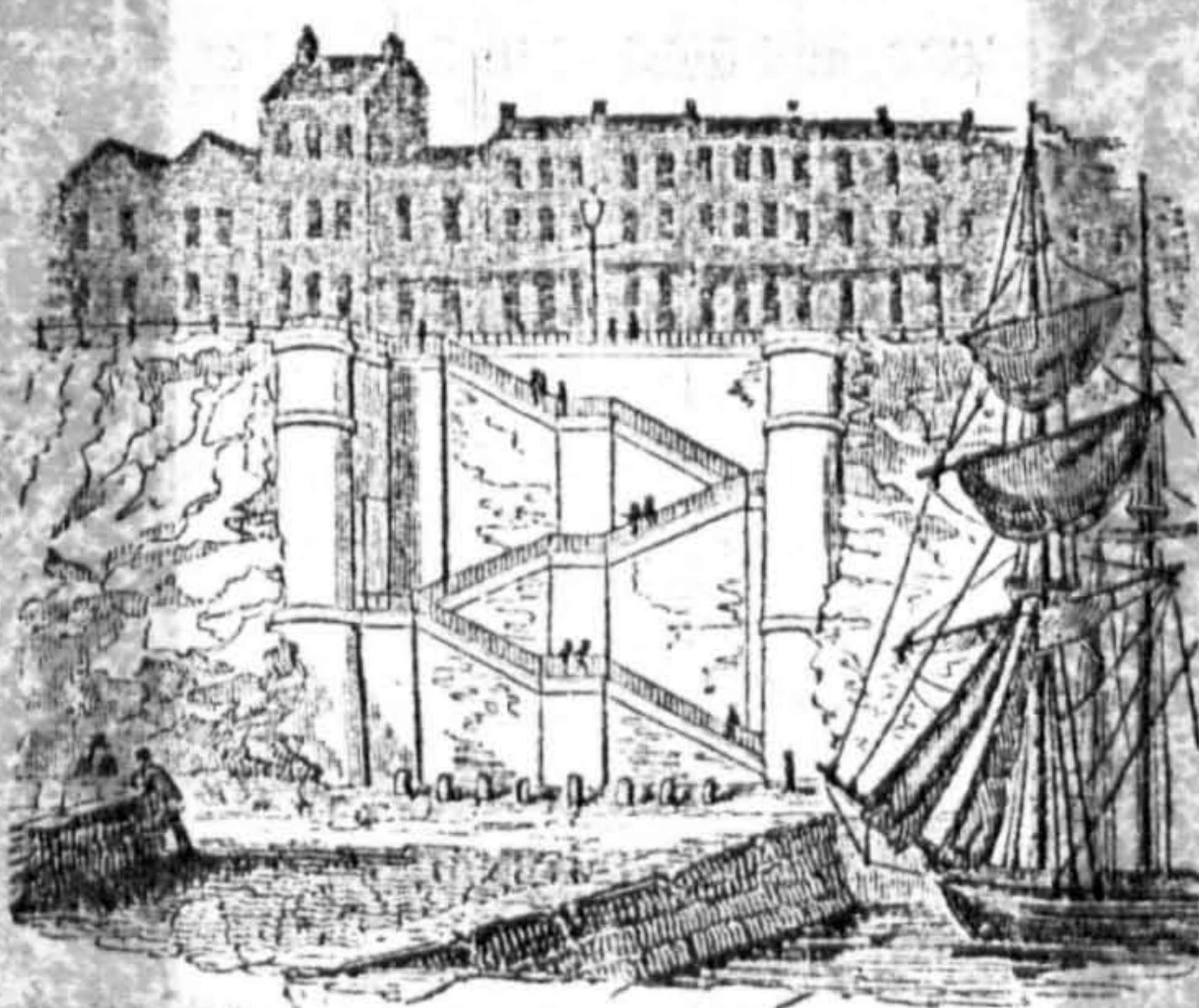
	£	s.	d.
Paid:			
Cleaning Shoes			1
Milk			5
1 Pint Porter			3
Baking a Pie			1
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of London fresh butter			9
5 Eggs			6
Fish		1	6
Gallon of Potatoes			5
3 Pints of Gooseberries for the Pie			4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Breast of Lamb 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. @ 10d. per lb.		4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chairs on the Beach			2
Fruit at the Nursery			5
			9
			4

August 2 (Sunday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7 ... In the morning and afternoon heard the Rev. Mr. Elvin at St. Lawrence Church and in the evening Mr. Townsend at his Meeting House.²

-
1. Listed in Pigot & Co. for 1833-4, op. cit., 858, under "Nursery and Seedsmen" as Alex. Fraser, Hermitage Nursery.
 2. Apart from the established Anglican churches of St. Lawrence and St. George visitors to Ramsgate in 1828 could also elect to worship at "a handsome chapel of ease" in Chapel Place which had been consecrated in 1791 by Archbishop Moore, near to which "the Independents have a meeting-house", W.H. Ireland, A New and Complete History of the County of Kent, Volume 1 (1828), 549. Among the dissenting places of worship were chapels supported by Methodists, Anabaptists and High-Calvinists.

JACOB'S LADDER



is the medium of communication between the pier and Nelson's Crescent, but its very great convenience can only be properly appreciated by those who are well acquainted with the localities of Ramsgate. It is an elegant and substantial stone structure, and is, in truth, well worth examination: it consists of ninety-two steps, the fatigue of ascending which, and reaching the top of the cliff, which is here more than fifty feet high, is greatly diminished by an occasional landing-place. This structure was begun in March, 1826, and finished in September following, at an expense of several thousand pounds; and while it reflects the greatest credit upon the liberality and public spirit of the Pier and Harbour Trustees, is equally creditable to the clever architect by whom it was designed. The old ladder was an ingenious wooden one, of curious construction, but being unsafe and decayed, it was very properly removed. It was built to shorten the journey of the workmen employed on the Western Head. Among the traditions of this place, we find that a daring smuggler, while pursued by Excise riding officers, and seeing no other way to escape capture, boldly galloped up these stairs,—most certainly a very hazardous, but by no means impossible, performance.

August 3 (Monday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 and went to St. Lawrence Churchyard Returned at 8 to breakfast after which walked to the sands where Charlotte bathed Walked round by Jacob's Ladder. After dinner it came on to rain and this continued the whole afternoon and evening confining us to the house.

Paid:	£	s.	d.
Cleaning Shoes			2
2 Days Milk			10
2 Days Porter			6
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Lard $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., Baking 1d., Rhubarb for the Pie 6d.		1	$2\frac{1}{2}$
2 lbs. Brown Loaf from the Calais Cottage - very good			$4\frac{1}{2}$
A 4lb. Common Loaf - very good			$11\frac{1}{4}$
Bathing Machine for Charlotte (1)		1	0
Fruit for Mrs. Hunt's children on the Beach			2
Medicine for myself and the Infant		1	0
Week's Lodging	1	11	6
	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>$8\frac{1}{4}$</u>

August 4 (Tuesday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 and proceeded to St. Lawrence Churchyard Returned

1. Bathing arrangements and terms were given much publicity as would be expected in a Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 32-3, where it was noted how the building of a new harbour at Ramsgate had improved the sands, which afforded "a delightful parade for the company upon leaving the machines after bathing", with "upwards of twenty machines [being] employed every morning during the season". Direction posts were placed on the sands "to prevent persons bathing openly from approaching the machines or offending the decency of those who use them". Bathers waited their turn in "several convenient waiting rooms" before entering "cleanly and comfortable machines, with careful and experienced guides, under whose protection the most delicate and timid may bathe in safety". The 'Terms of Bathing' were as follows:

	s.	d.
A lady taking a machine, guide included	1	3
Two or more ladies, guide included, each	1	0
A child taking a machine, guide included	1	3
Two or more young children, ditto, each		9
A gentleman taking a machine, guide included	1	6
A gentleman bathing himself	1	0
Two or more gentlemen, guide included, each	1	3
Two or more gents, bathing themselves, each	0	9

No bathing on Sundays after 10 o'clock.

Judging from these terms, Mrs. Benham would have shared a bathing machine with at least one other female bather.

to breakfast at 8 after which walked on the Pier - Dinner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1.

Confined most of the day on account of the weather Walked with Mr. Hunt to the Library, staid till 8 when Charlotte called for me and we returned to our Lodging - Supper at 9, to bed at 10.

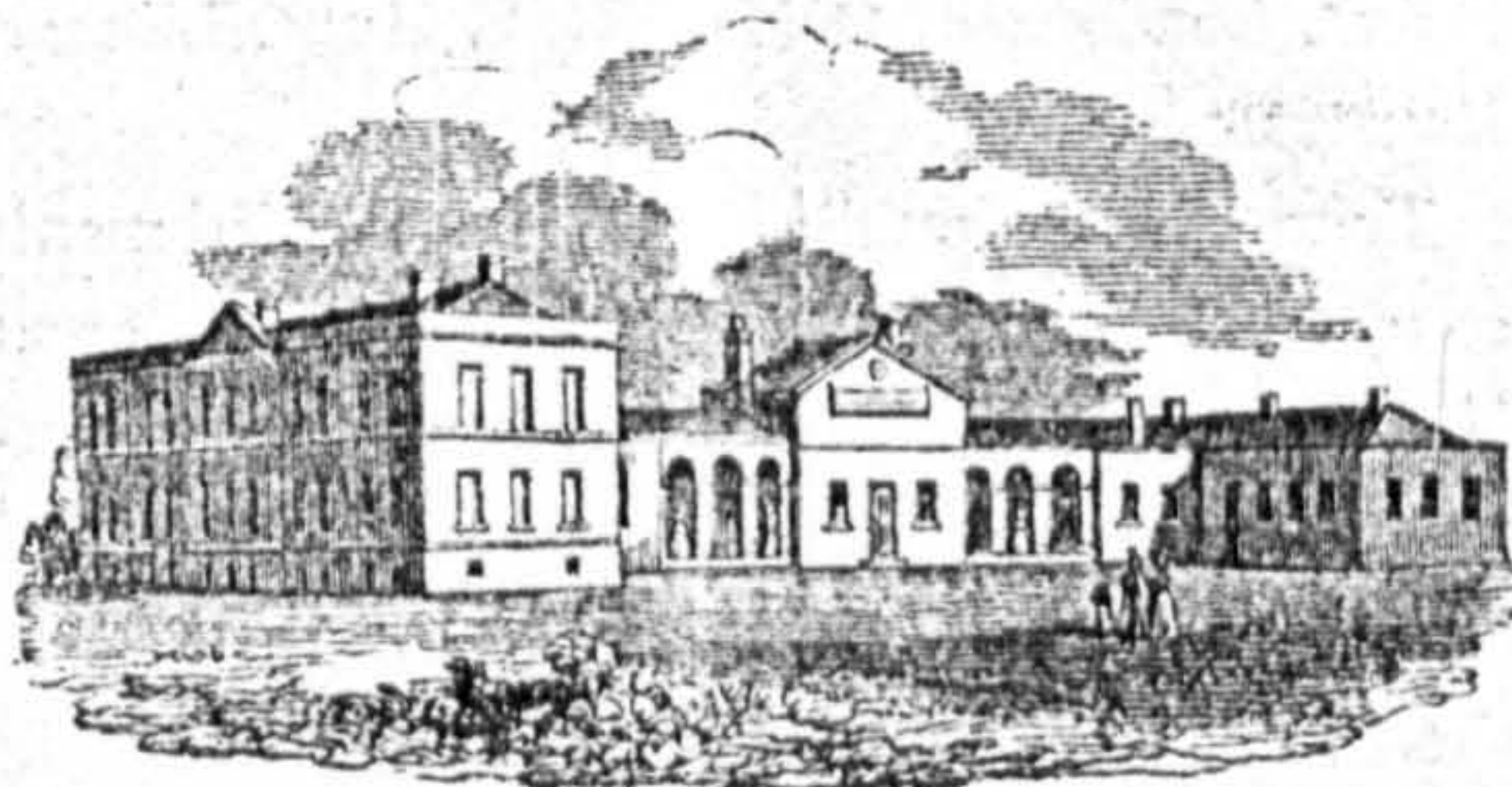
Paid:	£	s.	d.
A Pair of fine Soles 1s. 6d. and a Weaver fish 3d.		1	9
1 lb. of White Currants - Wall fruit			3
Paid an aged woman			3
Paid for washing a Shirt 3d., a chemise 2d., etc.		1	6
A Memorandum Book		1	0
Fine Cabbage - omitted yesterday			1
A Letter from Ann Balfour			8
1 lb. Figs			8
A Packet of Robinsons Patent Groats for Gruel			6
7 Captains Biscuits for Mrs. Hunt			6
Copy of Burgess & Hunt's Ramsgate Guide (1)		2	0
Milk			5
Porter			3
Shoes			1
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Salt Butter			6
Coffee 1 oz.			3
Salt			1
4 lb. Loaf of Bread			11 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<u>11</u>	<u>8$\frac{1}{4}$</u>

August 5 (Wednesday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6, [and] proceeded to St. Lawrence Churchyard. Returned at 8. After Breakfast accompanied Charlotte to the Beach where she bathed after which walked on the Pier and then at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 returned. After dinner took a Chaise and proceeded to Margate. Went over the Infirmary² and the New Baths on

1. All over the country but especially in seaside resorts circulating library proprietors branched out into publishing maps and guidebooks relevant to their localities. Some librarians displayed a great interest in and knowledge of the antiquities and topography of their area even though commercial gain was the prime motivating force behind publications of this sort, as noted above in Chapter IV. Ownership of printing works proved to be a considerable asset in this respect as with Messrs. Burgess and Hunt, as noted above.
2. Meaning the Margate Royal or 'General Sea Bathing Infirmary' or Hospital, intended for poor people, suffering from scrofula or tuberculosis, coming mainly from London, which having been founded in 1791 had opened its doors during 1796 as noted above in Chapter VIII. By 1833 it was able to accommodate over 200 patients during the summer months, in "a neat and plain building of considerable dimensions, ... supported by voluntary contributions", Bonner, op. cit., 103-4; Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 67.

THE
ROYAL SEA BATHING INFIRMARY



situate at Westbrook, was opened in 1796, under the patronage of the King, and was then called simply the Sea Bathing Infirmary; but in 1821, his late Majesty commanded it to be called by the present name, accompanying his desire with a donation worthy of George the Fourth. This building has been from time to time enlarged, and is at present capable of affording accommodation to more than 200 scrophulous patients, who are admitted for the summer months; but it is to be hoped that ere long, the benefits of this very valuable institution will be continued for a longer period, and then the curative effects of sea air and bathing will be more durable and certain.

The mode of obtaining admission may be known by application to Mr. J. Rainbow, 35, Cannon Street, London; or to Mr. W. A. Hunt, Library, Ramsgate.

There are few public charitable establishments so extensively useful, or which afford so great blessings to the indigent sick; and when we consider the dreadful malady which sea air, and sea-bathing, are alone calculated to relieve, we shall easily understand why the wealthy,—having themselves, perhaps, experienced their restorative power,—should have kindly hastened to extend their sanative influence to the suffering and necessitous poor.

G.W. Bonner, The Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent (1831), pp. 103-4.

the Fort of which Baths I bought a view.¹ Met our friend Mrs. Hagger of London on the Pier and accepted her invitation to tea. Returned through Broadstairs by 9 o'clock.

August 6 (Thursday)

Rose at 6 and continued to copy the inscriptions at St. Lawrence from $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 Returned at 8 to breakfast. The following are the expenses of yesterday.

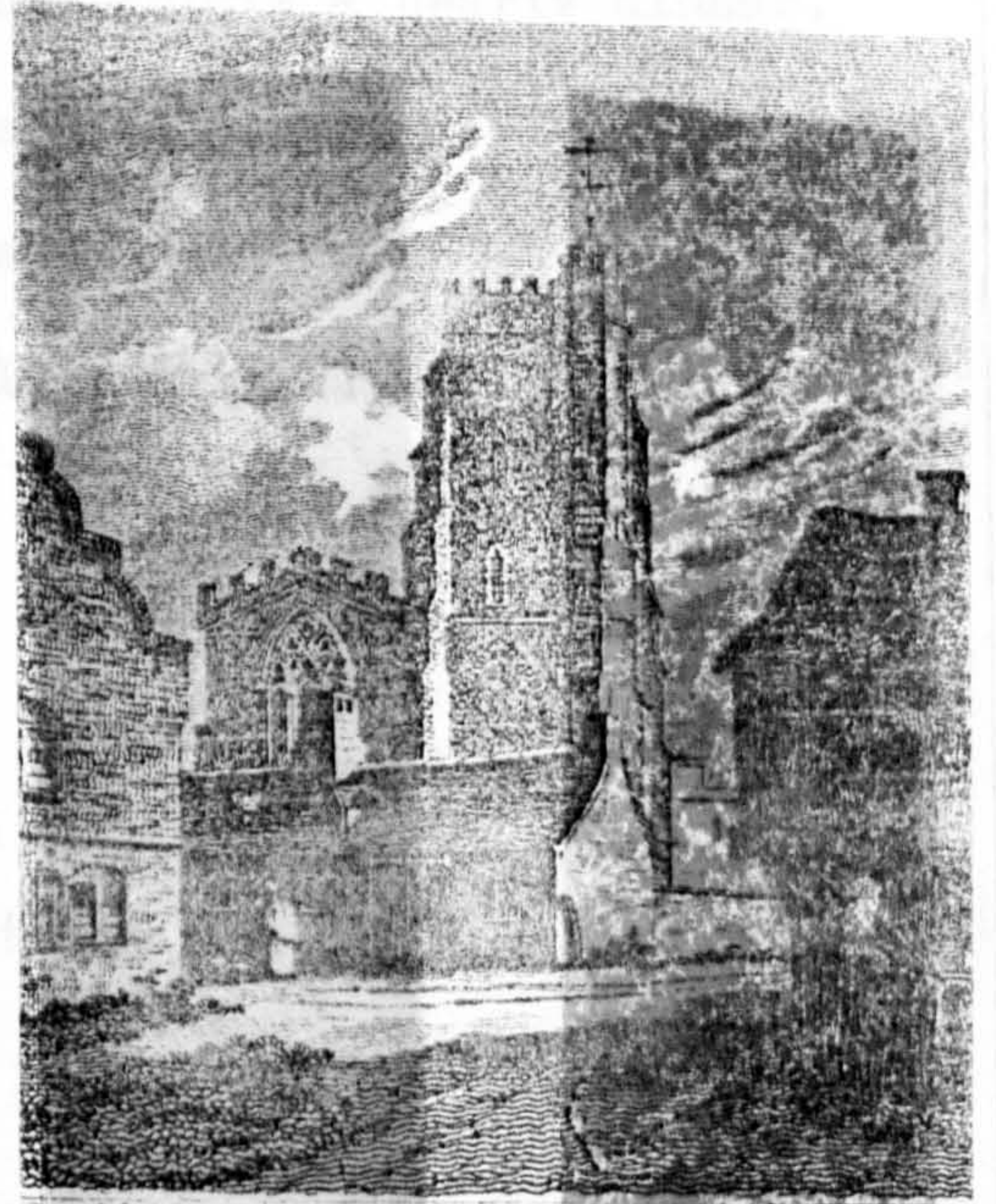
	£	s.	d.
Bathing - Mrs. Benham		1	0
A 4 Wheeled Single Horse Carr. for afternoon		9	0
Man Driver		1	0
Turnpike			4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Put into the Infirmary Box (2)	10	0	
Paid for Walking on the Pier at Margate 1d. each (3)			3
A View of Clifton Baths	1	6	
View of do.			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Milk			4
Beer			3
Cleaning Shoes			1
Biscuit			1
5 English Eggs			6
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck of Broad Rodney Beans			3
Apples for Pie			4
Baking			1
$\frac{1}{2}$ a Shoulder of Southdown Mutton 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. @ 8d. per lb.	2	10	
Quarturn of Flour			10 $\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Candles			3 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

1. The reference here is to Margate's Clifton Baths which a guidebook of 1828 described as being "well worthy of notice, being equally novel and extraordinary", R.B. Watts, A Topographical Description of the Coast between London, Margate and Dover (1828), 66. These famous baths were constructed during the 1820's. For a detailed description of the Clifton Baths as they appeared in 1830 see Cooke, op. cit., xxx-xxxii, or Chapter IV above.
2. Problems of finance were ever pressing throughout the nineteenth century so far as the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital was concerned, and every financial contribution, however small, was welcomed. Holidaymakers to nineteenth-century Thanet were encouraged to visit the Infirmary and while there to donate something for its financial support, as noted above in Chapter VIII.
3. Under Margate's fourth Pier and Harbour Act of 1812, 52 Geo. III c. 186, it was enacted "that every visitant to Margate during the months of June, July, August, September and October, who might resort to the promenade on the Pier, should for that liberty pay one penny per day", clause 1xiv. For the Margate Pier and Harbour Company, which was constituted under the same Act, this 1d. toll was one useful way of cashing in on Margate's profitable summer trade from 1812 onwards.

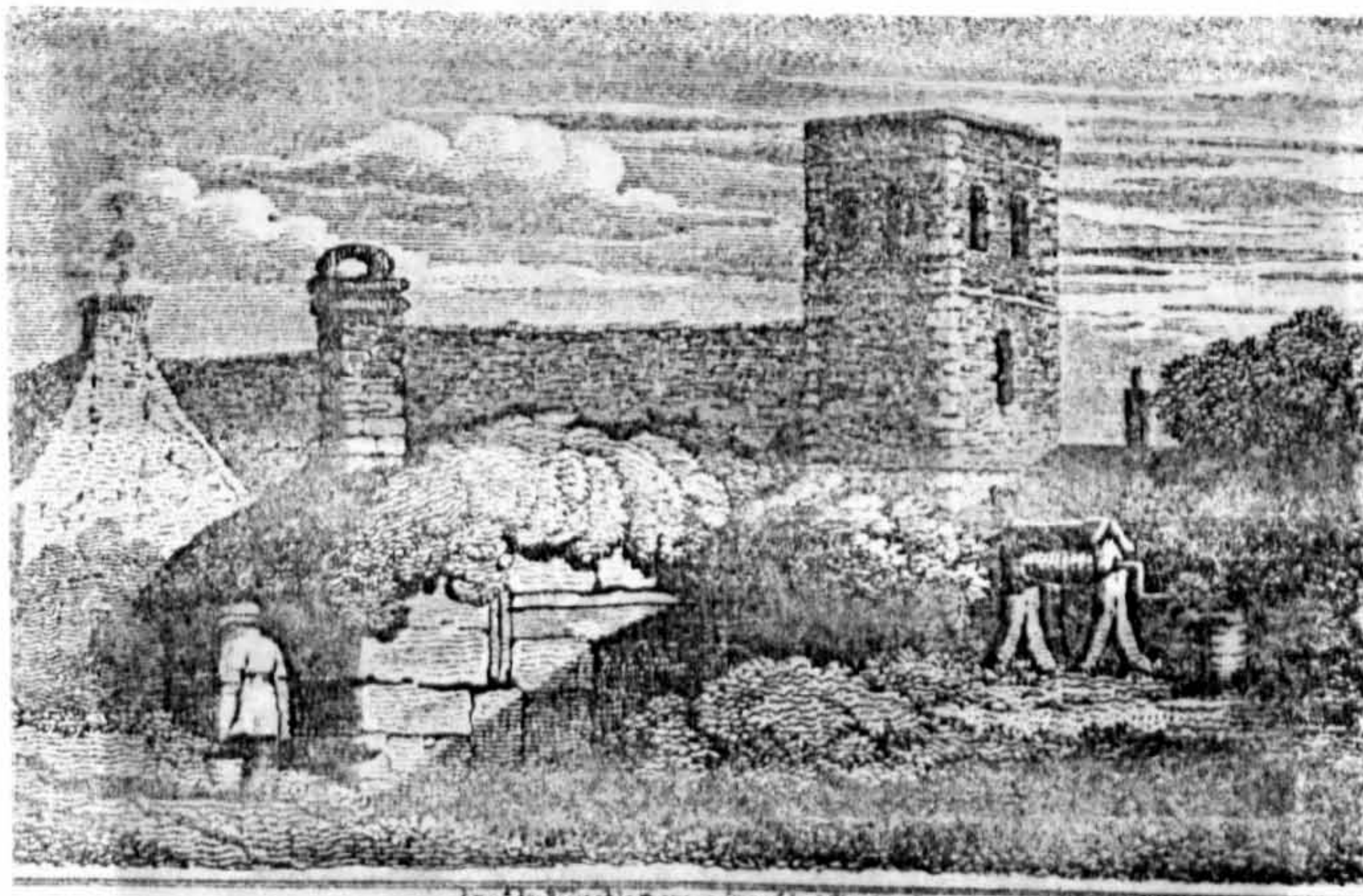
THE RURAL CHURCHES OF THANET WHOSE INSCRIPTIONS
WERE COPIED BY MR. BENHAM IN 1829.



Drawn & Eng'd by Deane.
N.E. View of Birchington Ch. Thanet. Kent.



Drawn & Eng'd by Deane.
W. View of S. Nicholas Church, Thanet.



Drawn & Eng'd by Deane.
N.W. View of Monkton Church, Thanet.

E.W. Brayley, Delineations, Historical and Topographical,
of the Isle of Thanet and the Cinque Ports (1817), pp. 24,
134, 136.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 proceeded in the Carr we had yesterday (which we hired for the day) through Cliffsend and Minster to Monkton and copied the following Inscriptions in the Church From Monkton proceeded to St. Nicholas and put up at the Bell where the host furnishing us with plates and knives and forks and a clean Table Cloth, and supplying us with Bread and excellent Ale, we enjoyed the cold mutton with which we were already provided, and our appetites exceeding our provision a few slices of excellently flavoured Ham boiled, although cut rather clumsily, enabled us to complete a hearty dinner. That done went to the Church where the Monuments were so numerous that I was obliged to content myself with tracings of the Brasses that were at all curious and such other memorials as a very hasty visit would permit..... Continuing our intended tour we proceeded to Birchington where at the Powell Arms we were regaled with Tea, doubly grateful to us on account of the warmth of the weather.

Paid:	£	s.	d.
Carriage for the Day	14	0	
Driver	2	6	
Entrance into Monkton Church and for getting the Key	1	2	
Drawing Paper $\frac{1}{2}$ quire			9
Leather for the Tracings			2
7 Currant Buns			6
Gave an old Shepherd			2
For accommodation at St. Nicholas	5	0	
For attendance do.			6
Entrance into St. Nicholas Church			6
Tea at Birchington	4	0	
Man do.			8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Attendance			3 $\frac{1}{2}$
For getting into Birchington Church	1	6	
Cleaning Shoes			1
Milk			4
Beer			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

August 7 (Friday)

After breakfast accompanied Charlotte to the Beach where she bathed - Dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1, after which hired a boat by which we, i.e. : Mrs. Benham, myself and our little one, Mrs. Hunt and 2 of her daughters, viz: Ann and Anise, and our Nursery Maid Betsy Thornton were conveyed to Shellness near Sandwich. Drank tea at the Red Lyon on the Sandwich Road near the Saltpans, now left to decay there happily being no longer an opportunity of defrauding the revenue

of the duty.¹ On our return landed to pick up shells of which we collected a great number but none curious.² Got to Ramsgate Harbour at 8 o'clock all pleased with a charming excursion..... This Day I wrote to the Works at Salisbury Square to say we would return on Monday.

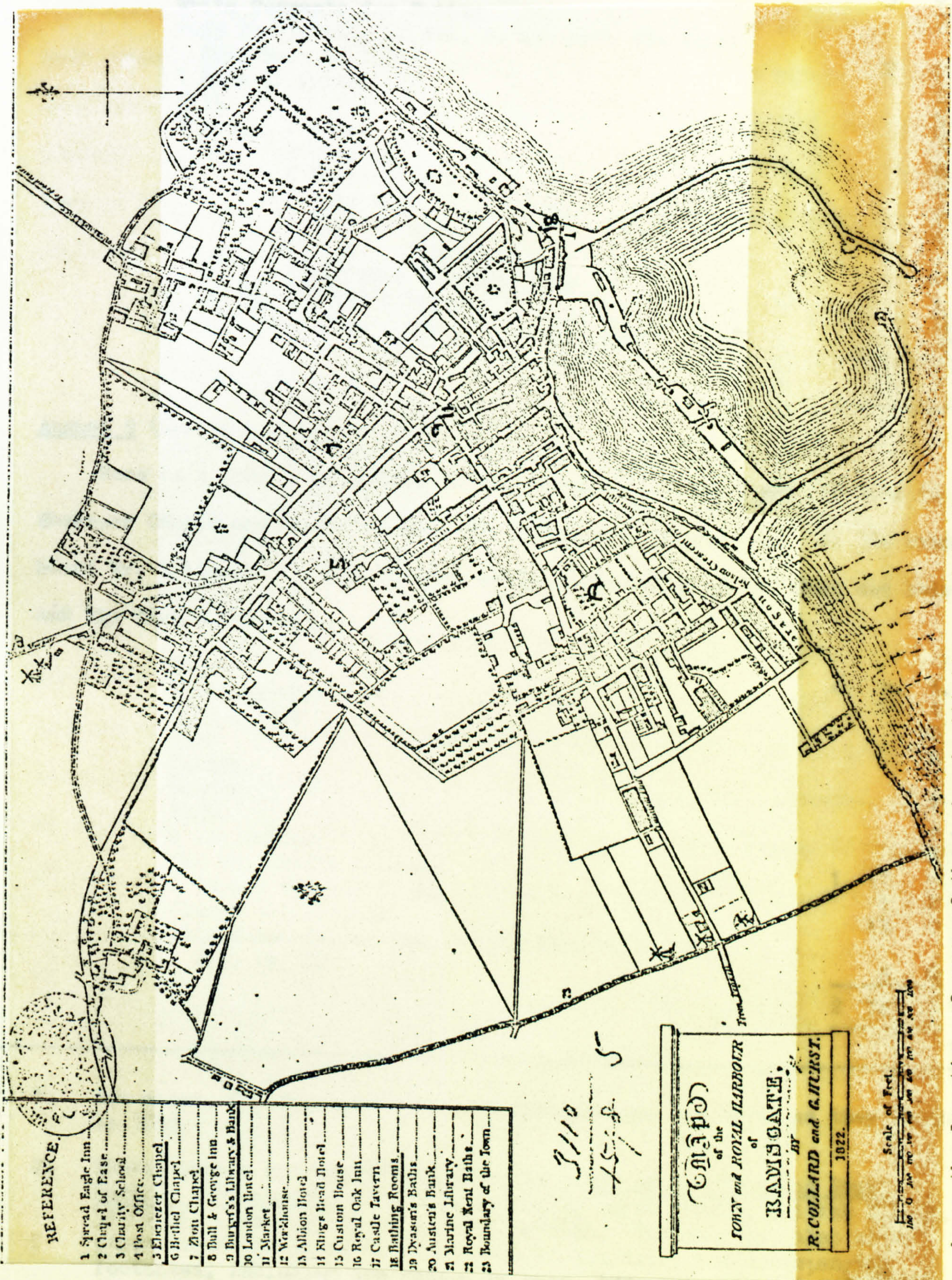
Paid:	£	s.	d.
2 Pairs of Soles		1	6
Cleaning Shoes			1
Milk			5
1 Pint of Porter			3
5 English Eggs			6
1 lb. of Brown Sugar for Pie			7
1 lb. Lard do.			10
Potatoes			2
1 lb. Red Currants			3
Baking			1
2 lb. Loaf			5 $\frac{3}{4}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. London fresh Butter			9
Boathire and 6d. extra	5		6
Tea with 6d. for Attendance	5		6
Beer for the Man			6
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Gingerbread Cakes			6
			<hr/>
			17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
			<hr/>

August 8 (Saturday)

Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 and walked till $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 accompanied Mrs. B _____ to the Beach where she bathed. Wrote to Charlotte's eldest sister Miss Phillis Dueroz to say we should return on Monday if all well.

Paid:	£	s.	d.
$\frac{1}{2}$ peck of very fine peas			6
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of Red Currants			3
1 lb. Cherries			3
Lettuce			1 $\frac{1}{2}$

1. According to The New Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs Guide (6th Ed., Margate, 1816), 126-7, salt works had been established at Stonar, being "excellently constructed", where "the sea water is drawn during the summer months into open broad shallow pans of great extent, where having continued till its more watery particles are exhaled by the sun, it is conveyed into large boilers, and after being further evaporated, is crystallized in the usual manner". Fifteen years later Bonner, op. cit., 179, confirmed that these works had ceased to operate some three years previously, "when the duty on this useful article of general consumption was abolished", whereupon "the works were taken down, and the crystallization of salt [was] discontinued [because] the profits would no longer yield a remuneration for the capital employed in its production".
2. Bonner, op. cit., 86, observed how "with the visitants and their children the search after shells is a fashionable and daily amusement", and though there may be "no splendid specimens of conchology, shells may be found of such exquisite smallness, that many hundred may be stored in a very small bottle".



REFERENCE.

- 1 Spread Eagle Inn
- 2 Chapel of Ease
- 3 Charity School
- 4 Post Office
- 5 Ebenezer Chapel
- 6 Bethel Chapel
- 7 Zion Chapel
- 8 Bull & George Inn
- 9 Burker's Livery & Bank
- 10 London Hotel
- 11 Market
- 12 Warehouse
- 13 Albion Hotel
- 14 Kings Head Hotel
- 15 Custom House
- 16 Royal Oak Inn
- 17 Castle Tavern
- 18 Bathing Rooms
- 19 Treasurer's Baths
- 20 Austen's Bank
- 21 Marine Library
- 22 Royal Kent Baths
- 23 Boundary of the Town

3110
 1518.5

Map
 of the
 TOWN and ROYAL HARBOUR
 of
 RAMSGATE.
 BY
 R. COLLARD and G. HURST.
 1822.

Scale of Feet.
 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

This map shows the location of some of the major institutions and facilities of Ramsgate which are mentioned specifically in the diary. A = Hertford Place where Mr. & Mrs. Benham took lodgings.

	£	s.	d.
Sirloin of Beef 4 lbs. @ 9d.		3	0
White Currants for Eating			2
Paid for Bathing of Mrs. B. who gave the Guide			
Mrs. Epps 1s. (1)		2	0
1 Pint of Porter			3
Milk			5
Washing: 1 shirt			3
2 Chemise			4
6 Neckerchiefs			6
2 pair Hose			2
1 Child's Apron			2
1 do. Nightgown			1
29 Drapers @ 8d per doz.		1	7
1 Child's Frock			2
1 do. Cap			1½
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		10	4
		<hr/>	<hr/>

August 9 (Sunday)

Rose at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 5 and walked to St. Lawrence ... At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 went to Ebenezer Chapel and heard the Rev. Mr. Young from Margate In the evening heard Mr. Goldsmith at Zion Chapel² after which called on Mr. Hunt and bade him and his family farewell.

	£	s.	d.
Paid:			
Cleaning Shoes			1
Milk 2 Days			10
Beer			6
Baking			1
Candle			1
Eggs			4
2 oz. Coffee			6
For the Week's Lodging	1	11	6
A Broken Tumbler Glass		1	2
Church Collections		13	0
Attendance during the 3 Weeks Miss C. 7s. 2d.,			
Girl 1s. 6d.			
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		8	8
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	2	16	9
		<hr/>	<hr/>

1. See above, for Ramsgate's bathing arrangements and terms as they existed in 1833.
2. These chapels are listed and shown on a Map of the Town and Royal Harbour of Ramsgate by R. Collard and G. Hurst (1822), British Museum, 3110. (5.), as reproduced in this section. The same map also shows other amenities which are mentioned in the diary and accompanying footnotes, including the chapel of ease, Burgess's library and bank, the market, and the bathing rooms.

August 10 (Monday)

Rose at 5 and prepared for our return home by the City of London Steam Boat, commanded by Mr. Martin,¹ whom we joined at 5 minutes before 8. Started at 8 and after a journey, which was exceedingly wet till 12 o'clock, we arrived without accident at the Tower at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 whence, taking a Coach, we reached home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, thankful for the kind protection of providence during our whole excursion.

Expenses of Journey Home:	£	s.	d.
Porter for Carrying Luggage to Steam Vessel (2)		1	0
Passage in the Steam Vessel 2 @ 12s. and 1 @ 10s.	1	14	0
Gave the Ship's Crew		1	6
Bottle of Porter		1	0
Wherry to the Custom House		1	0
Porter for carrying Luggage to the Coach No. 476		1	6
Boy for getting a Coach			1
Jack at Waterside			2
Coach hired by mistake		1	0
Coach really hired		4	6
	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>

The whole tone of the above diary and the meticulous attention to detail portray a fully mature character in the person of the author, who consistently rose early from his bed in order to pursue his hobby of copying church inscriptions, especially at the old parochial church of St. Lawrence, no doubt to the understandable annoyance of the sexton who on the morning of Wednesday, 22 July was "turned out" so that Mr. Benham might enter the church at 5.45 a.m.

1. Capt. K. B. Martin, as author of Oral Traditions of the Cinque Ports and Their Localities (1832), commanded The City of London Steam Packet in July 1832, 30-1, as noted in Chapter VI above. The City of London Ramsgate steamer subsequently finds mention in Charles Dickens, Sketches by Boz (1836) in his story of 'The Tuggses at Ramsgate'.
2. Ramsgate possessed officially appointed porters for conveying passengers' luggage to and from the steam vessels in the harbour; passengers in 1833 were advised at the London end to have their luggage "safely deposited in its proper place", as "the Proprietors of the Steam Vessels are not answerable for the loss of any of the luggage, as they make no charge for its conveyance; so it behoves the Passenger to look after his own property", which at Ramsgate involved seeing "your luggage safely in possession of one of the appointed ticket porters", Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 4, 8.

incurred to how the time was spent on this holiday, so that on the downward journey, for instance, money was paid for a coach to Tower Stairs; to a porter for handling the luggage from the coach to a wherry which was the means of reaching a steamboat prior to the subsequent establishment of passenger wharves;¹ to a waterman for conveying the party and luggage to the Magnet steamboat;² The Times newspaper was obtained to read on the journey; the steamboat fares were paid and money was put into the sailors' box. The party disembarked at Margate and paid portage on luggage taken to the Ramsgate coach, which for three shillings conveyed them to the Crown Hotel in that town, whereupon further portage was paid to the lodgings, which consisted of a sitting room and two bedrooms at Mr. Cullen's in Hertford Place, situated away from the seafront. On the return journey the City of London steamboat was taken direct from Ramsgate, but firstly a porter was paid one shilling for conveying Mr. Benham's luggage to the steam vessel; money was again paid out in fares and towards the ship's crew³ and a bottle of porter was purchased for one shilling. At Tower Stairs further expenditure was incurred on a wherry to the Customs House, to a porter for carrying the luggage to a coach and on coach fares and incidentals. The infant was conveyed both ways on the steam vessel free of charge and the servant ten shillings either way "attending the family".⁴ The total cost of travelling to Ramsgate and back, amounting to £4 15s., accounted for 22 per cent of the total holiday expenditure.

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1. Passenger wharves may well have been under construction in the summer of 1829 since Bonner, op. cit., 3-4, could report by 1831 that in order "to facilitate the embarking and landing of passengers, two commodious wharfs have recently been formed: one close to London Bridge, and the other at St. Katherine's Docks, near the Tower", whereby "the public are now enabled to go on board and land with perfect safety, without the aid of boats".
 2. The Magnet is mentioned specifically in ibid., 6.
 3. By 1831 the London/Thanet steamboats had acquired a reputation for comfort and luxury; see Bonner, op. cit., 6-7; also Chapter VI above.
 4. Certainly The Times during the 1820's quoted lower fares for "servants attending families", one such advertisement on 28 June 1826, inserted by the General Steam Navigation Company on behalf of The Royal Sovereign, stating a 10s. single fare for servants.

The total cost of accommodation comprised two major items, lodging and food and drink. Rent for a sitting room and two bedrooms was paid at the weekly rate of £1 11s. 6d. at weekly intervals on 27 July, 3 August and 9 August. Three weeks basic lodging plus attendance during the stay and making good the cost of a broken tumbler glass absorbed £5 4s. 4d., or almost a quarter (24%) of the total holiday expenditure. 7s. 2d. out of the 8s. 8d. attendance money was paid for three weeks service to a Miss C., who possibly was Miss Cullen, the daughter of Mr. Cullen who owned or occupied the house in Hertford Place where the Benhams stayed.

Food and drink, as the second major item of accommodation expenditure, cost £4 16s. 0³/₄d., or just over 22 per cent of the total holiday outlay. Such is the detail of this diary that even the smallest items of expense under this category were recorded. Breakfast and an early afternoon dinner taken at around two o'clock were the two major meals of the day. Breakfast at nine on the first day consisted of "the yolks of 2 Eggs mixed in a Pint of milk and Tea"; on the other days breakfast was taken between 7.30 and 8.30 on "Tea, Eggs and Rolls". Dinner was a much more varied meal, consisting on the first day of "roasted Lamb, Peas and Currant and Raspberry Pie", the ingredients for which cost about 5s. On the following day the Benhams dined on "Soles fried and Cold Lamb and potatoes and currant and raspberry Pie", the cost of which was reduced by using the cold left-overs of the day before, which suggests a careful attention to the details of daily household management. The entries for 21 and 22 July reveal how the Benhams took advantage of the soft fruit season and of the custom of having pies baked locally for a penny apiece. Overall the daily accounts of expenditure are interesting for their dietary information and for the prices paid for bread, milk, eggs, meat, fruit or vegetables at that time. The entries are such as to make it possible to calculate approximately the cost of individual meals and more specifically the distribution of total expenditure over the three weeks between different food items as shown in the following table.

TABLE 78: EXPENDITURE ON FOOD DURING THREE WEEKS SPENT IN RAMSGATE, JULY AND AUGUST 1829.

<u>Items</u>	£	s.	d.
Meat	1	6	5½
Bread and Flour		12	11¾
Butter and Eggs		9	3
Fruit		8	10½
Milk		8	1½
Fish		7	5
Beer and Porter		6	3
Vegetables		3	11½
1 Bottle of Sherry Wine		2	6
		<hr/>	
	£4	5s.	9¾d.
On other items, viz: Salt, Sugar } Coffee, Lard, etc. }		10	3
		<hr/>	
	<u>TOTAL</u>		£4 16s. 0¾d.
		<hr/>	

It is often claimed that the point of a holiday is lost unless it offers comforts and opportunities superior to those experienced normally in everyday life.¹ Diet and excursions are two indicators of this fact which seems to have been no less true of the nineteenth century than of more recent times. The Benhams enjoyed obviously a varied diet during their holiday, a diet revealing a high animal protein content, with the consequence that meat formed the highest item of food expenditure, accounting for 27 per cent of the total food bill. Total expenditure on bread and flour did not greatly exceed that on butter and eggs, or fruit, or milk. Not only were several visits made to the market² but the diary entries comment on the quality of some of the goods purchased, such as 10d. spent on a pound of white sugar which was "very indifferent",³ as against 4½d. for a "2 lbs. Brown Loaf from the Calais Cottage - very good",⁴ or 6d. for a half peck "of very fine peas".⁵

The total cost of accommodation in Ramsgate embracing lodgings, food and

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1. Thus, "the point of a holiday is lost unless it is a period of higher living standards", Elizabeth Brunner, Holiday Making and the Holiday Trades (O.U.P., 1945), 19; while people when travelling away from home "tend to spend at a relatively far higher rate than when they remain at home and this characteristic has a vital effect on the industry", Lickorish and Kershaw, op. cit., 5.
 2. On 21 July, 22 July, 24 July, 25 July and 1 August. No doubt unrecorded visits by the servant to the market occurred on other days.
 3. On 23 July.
 4. On 3 August.
 5. On 8 August.

drink, lighting at 2s. 4½d. and washing at 8s. 2d.¹ amounted to £10 10s. 11½d., or just over 48% of the total outlay. Without the 8s. 2d. for washing, £10 2s. 9½d. was allocated to board and lodging which is a reasonable total to set against the boarding house terms at that time. Weekly boarding house terms in Ramsgate in 1833 varied from two to three guineas per person,² while for Margate "the charges for board and lodging, where both are good, are about two guineas per week - wine, spirits, or ale exclusive".³ Two adults in a boarding house at two guineas a week for three weeks would have cost twelve guineas, without even allowing for the infant or the domestic servant in this case. Calculations along these lines suggest that a family could save on expenditure by taking furnished lodgings and providing their own food, compared to the cost of hotel or boarding-house accommodation.

Excursions or outings absorbed £3 4s. 2½d., or 15 per cent of the total holiday expenditure. Nineteenth century holidaymakers were often more energetic and adventurous than some of their counterparts today. Sea bathing and sitting on the beach occupied relatively little time compared to exploring the neighbourhood, meaning both Ramsgate and the Thanet hinterland. The diary shows that several varied outings were taken, and they too can be costed from the details of expenditure. The carriage excursion to Birchington on 25 July cost 9s. 2d. and involved expenditure on

	s.	d.
1 Pint Bottle of Sherry Wine	2	6
Biscuits at Birchington		2
1 Pint of Ale for the Man		4
Paid the Ostler		2
The Sexton for viewing the Church	1	0
The Carriage	5	0

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1. Washing bills were settled on 25 July (11½d.), 29 July (2s. 4d.), 4 August (1s. 6d.) and 8 August (3s. 4½d.).
 2. Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 17, with two guineas being quoted for Broadstairs, ibid., 50.
 3. "Amusements at Margate", Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (Edinburgh, 1833), 156, while terms from 30s. to £2 12s. 6d. per week were quoted for Margate in a Picture of Ramsgate (1833), op. cit., 61.

The first four items were incurred at the Powell Arms in Birchington amounting in total to 3s. 2d. The visit to the Shallows Tea Gardens on 28 July, when the Benhams were joined by Mrs. Hunt and her eight children, involved expenditure on sugar, tea, bread, butter and water, the use of a table and service "tho' not demanded" at a total cost of 10s. 3d. The afternoon visit to Margate on 5 August proved to be much more costly as the following details show:

	s.	d.
A 4 Wheeled Single Horse Carr	9	0
Man Driver	1	0
Turnpike		4½
Put into the Infirmary Box (1)	10	0
Paid for Walking on the Pier at Margate 1d. each		3
A View of <u>the</u> Clifton Baths	1	6
View of do.		2½
	<hr/>	
<u>TOTAL</u>	£1.	2s. 4d.

An even larger expenditure was incurred on a day tour around Thanet taking in Monkton, St. Nicholas and Birchington, with visits to the Bell at St. Nicholas and the Powell Arms at Birchington, which took place on 6 August.

	s.	d.
Carriage for the Day	14	0
Driver	2	6
Entrance into Monkton Church and for getting the Key	1	2
7 Currant Buns		6
For accommodation at St. Nicholas	5	0
For attendance do.		6
Entrance into St. Nicholas Church		6
Tea at Birchington	4	0
Man do.		8½
Attendance		3½
For getting into Birchington Church	1	6
	<hr/>	
<u>TOTAL</u>	£1.	10s. 8d.

The final outing of the holiday assumed quite a different form on 7 August when Mr. and Mrs. Benham, their infant and servant, together with Mrs. Hunt and two of her daughters, indulged in an aquatic excursion by hiring a boat which conveyed them to Shellness near Sandwich and included taking tea at the

Red Lion on the Thanet/Sandwich road. On this occasion a total of 12s. was involved with the hire of the boat from Ramsgate harbour and tea and service each costing 5s. 6d.

All these excursions when put together illustrate very well the diversified nature of holiday expenditure, some of it benefiting places outside the resort in which particular visitors might be staying. This is an important point because this diary confirms historically the following general observation on the economics of holidaymaking: "the tourist industry can only be seen through the eyes and the actions of the visitor", and "it is only by obtaining a distribution of expenditure that the importance of the tourist movement to individual trades and businesses can be clearly shown".¹ There has always been variety in holiday expenditure as well as many beneficiaries from it and the Benhams were no exception in 1829, particularly since their expenditure on outings did not exhaust their total outlay on entertainment or amusement. The 3s. 8½d. spent on guidebooks and views and part of the 3s. 6d. spent on stationery was money spent with outings in mind. Yet another fairly sizeable item of expenditure under the broad heading of entertainment was the 13s. 3d. spent on bathing, the beach, boating and the pier. On two occasions chairs were hired for sitting on the beach,² while being rowed out of the harbour for an hour on 30 July cost 2s., not forgetting the twopence spent on fruit on the beach for Mrs. Hunt's children on 3 August. Adding together the money spent on outings, bathing, the beach, boating, piers, guides and views a total sum is reached of £4 1s. 2d., equal to almost 19 per cent of the Benham's total holiday expenditure.

Miscellaneous expenditure on medical items (3s. 9½d.), stationery (3s. 6d.), mail (1s. 4d.), shoe cleaning (2s. 3d.), charitable donations to individuals (1s. 7d.), a 10s. donation to the Margate Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary, church collections (13s.) and 7s. 6d. to the sexton of St. Lawrence Church, absorbed

1. Lickorish & Kershaw, op. cit., 57.

2. On 22 July and on 1 August.

£2 2s. 11½d. The diary fully relates how and why some of these smaller outlays came about. The stationery purchases included red ink, an Indian rubber, a blacklead pencil, black ink, a memorandum book, drawing paper and "Leather for the Tracings".¹ Among the medical items purchased was a box of "Anderson's Scot's Pills" for 1s. 1½d. on 28 July. The 1s. 4d. for mail was paid on two letters from London which were delivered on 29 July and 4 August. Among the charitable donations to individuals was 3d. to "an aged woman" on 4 August, followed two days later by 2d. to "an old Shepherd", as against only a penny on 30 July to "a poor man with one arm only - but suspicious". Generosity prevailed in the shilling given on 23 July to "a Poor Man who had lately lost his leg by accident".

Finally shoe cleaning was a lowly occupation which by no means was bypassed in the expenses of a holiday. Sums varying from 4d. to a penny were spent on having boots and shoes cleaned on fifteen of the twenty days actually spent residing in Ramsgate.² This was no isolated phenomenon for during July 1795 The General Evening Post had noticed how the humble profession of shoe-cleaning had benefited from the expenditure incurred in holidaymaking, for "there is, we are told, a man at Margate exercising the profession of a shoe-black who contrives every season to lay up somewhat more than £100!!!"³ This interesting revelation obviously caught the paper's fancy, for a few days later it remarked that "this may literally be said to be picking money out of the dirt".⁴

Having now analysed the expenditure details of this three week holiday to Ramsgate during July and August 1829, the following table shows how the overall expenditure was allocated in percentage terms.

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1. On 22 July, 25 July, 4 August, and 6 August.
 2. On 22 July, 24 July, 25 July, 27 July, 28 July, 29 July, 30 July, 31 July, 1 August, 3 August, 4 August, 5 August, 6 August, 7 August and 9 August.
 3. The General Evening Post, 9-11 July 1795, 4d.
 4. Ibid., 14-16 July 1795, 3d.

TABLE 79: PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THE HOLIDAY EXPENDITURE INCURRED DURING THREE WEEKS IN RAMSGATE, JULY AND AUGUST 1829.

	%
The Journey there and back	22
Accommodation:	48
Lodgings (24%)	
Food and drink (22%)	
Lighting	
Washing	
Entertainment:	19
Outings (15%)	
Bathing, boating, etc.	
Guides and views	
Miscellaneous - medical items, stationery, shoe-cleaning, charitable and church donations	11
	100%

It is interesting to compare how the findings in the above table closely match those of the mid-twentieth century.

TABLE 80: A MODERN ANALYSIS OF TOTAL HOLIDAY EXPENDITURE. (1)

	<u>British Holidaymakers in U.K.</u>	<u>Overseas Visitors in U.K.</u>
	%	%
Accommodation, meals and drinks	52	45
Inland transport	21	20
Entertainment and miscellaneous	15	20
Shopping	12	15
	100%	100%

This detailed and unique diary which has been the subject of this section is an important document of nineteenth century English social history. It shows how a holiday for three people, taking that is the servant and the infant in this case as one person, for three weeks in Ramsgate in 1829 cost £21 10s. 0³d., which averages out at £7 3s. 4¹d. per person; £7 3s. 4¹d. per week; and £2 7s. 9¹d. per person per week.

1. I.U.O.T.O., International Travel Statistics (1951), quoted also by Lickorish & Kershaw, op. cit., 57.

An Estimate of Total Holiday Expenditure, circa 1830.

In the previous two sections of this chapter the individual holiday expenditures of John Baker at Margate in 1777 and of the Benham family at Ramsgate in 1829 indicated the many possible avenues through which such expenditure could pass, but these were only two holidaymaking groups out of many prior to 1830, so that in order to assess the total amounts and effects of holiday expenditure the outlay of a single holidaymaker has to be multiplied many hundred times over in the eighteenth century, and many thousand times over before the middle of the nineteenth century. Ideally the historian needs to know approximately how much money was pouring into expanding seaside resorts at intervals over the previous two hundred years.

This kind of economic information is not always readily at hand today,¹ and yet is more plentiful than for the eighteenth century. For 1830, however, and specifically for Margate, it is possible to provide one rough estimate of the total amount of money spent by resident holidaymakers both weekly and during the two high season months of July and August, to the direct advantage of seaside commercial interests.

The basis of any such calculation must rest on some acceptable figure of the cost of a holiday per person per week, multiplied by a known estimate of the number of resident visitors reckoned to be staying in the resort at that time. The calculation which now follows is based on information dating from 1829-31. The previous section of this chapter ended by noting how the total cost of a three week holiday for three people in Ramsgate as between 20 July and 10 August 1829 involved a total expenditure of £21 10s. 0³/₄d., which reduces itself to £2 7s. 9¹/₂d. per person per week. It is presumed that a week's stay in Margate could have been enjoyed for the same financial outlay. An estimate relating to resident visitors can be deduced from statistical information

1. Lickorish and Kershaw, op. cit., 54-103 provide some indication of post-war holiday expenditure up to 1958 by item and distribution.

provided in G. W. Bonner's, Picturesque Pocket Companion to Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, and the Parts Adjacent, which was published in 1831. He reckoned that the population of Margate, when crowded with visitors, fluctuated between 20,000 and 30,000¹, as against an 1831 Census population for Margate parish of 10,339.² Taking the mean between 20,000 and 30,000 and subtracting 10,000 permanent residents, leaves a balance of 15,000 resident visitors at the height of the season. A weekly expenditure of £2 7s. 9d. per capita from 15,000 visitors gives a weekly total of £35,812 10s. pouring into Margate, on the basis of £2 7s. 9d. x 15,000. When multiplied further by the eight peak weeks of July and August, the £35,812 10s. amounts to total takings over these two months of £286,500. For a season in its entirety, or by including the weeks of June and September preceding and following the two busy peak months of the holidaymaking year, the total outlay of Margate's summer visitors in 1830 would have exceeded by a comfortable margin £300,000. Indeed, over a fourteen week season the corresponding total would be £501,375.

As the nineteenth century progressed, so holiday income accruing to Margate was expanded still further, not only from increasing numbers of resident holidaymakers, staying for any time beyond a few days, but also from rising numbers of weekend visitors³ and day trippers, so that by 1885 it could be claimed that Margate represented "a great business", earning "gross receipts ... [of] about a million a year ... from visitors".⁴ In 1878 it was reckoned of day excursionists to Margate that they "do not spend less than 10s. apiece during their brief sojourn in the place, so that the town is certainly none the

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1. Bonner, op. cit., 42; compare estimates for seasons as a whole during the 1820's and 1830's, Chapter VII above.
 2. J. Whyman, "Visitors to Margate in the 1841 Census Returns: An Attempt to look at the Age and Social Structure of Victorian Holidaymaking", Local Population Studies, No. 2 (Spring 1972), 35; or see the final section of Chapter VII above.
 3. As conveyed on "The Husbands' Boat" or by railway on "Saturday to Monday at the Seaside" weekend tickets, as noted above in Chapter VI.
 4. Keble's Margate and Ramsgate Gazette, 1 June 1885, 5f, as quoted in (Miss) F. M. Stafford, Holidaymaking in Victorian Margate, 1870-1900, Kent M.Phil. Thesis (1979), 214.

poorer for their advent".¹ Apart from steamboat excursions, such high per capita spending by "small tradesmen, mechanics, and others from London and its suburbs", or by "working men, and their wives and children",² at a 72 mile radius from London, was predominantly a by product of cheap and speedy railway excursions, which by 1878 for a 5s. 3rd Class railway ticket, covering 140 miles of railway to Margate and back, were being accomplished in times which permitted eight hours at the seaside.³ In 1830, however, day excursion traffic from London over such a distance was still in its infancy, for although the Hero steam packet was scheduled on 25 June 1829 to run from London to Margate and back in the same day, departing from Tower Stairs at 7.30 a.m., the entire journey there and back occupied 13-14 hours,⁴ which left potential day visitors with no time to spend money in Margate itself.

The Holiday Trades and Some Major Effects of Holiday Expenditure.

A build up of holidaymaking to Margate since the 1730's, measured one hundred years later by seasonal gross takings of between £ $\frac{1}{2}$ m. and £ $\frac{1}{3}$ m., was accompanied inevitably by the foundation and growth of specifically holiday industries, apart from long-distance transport. During that intervening century capital was invested into transport improvements, commercial and business firms, a vast array of amusements and an extension of accommodation, particularly in the form of lodging houses. Previous chapters have examined some of the income and capital implications of these developments.

The annual presence of growing numbers of holidaymakers, spending sizeable amounts of money, produced certain trades which wholly or partially satisfied their requirements. Any analysis of any individual's holiday expenditure, as

1. "Islington-Super-Mare", All the Year Round, 14 September 1878, 253.

2. Ibid., 253.

3. Ibid., 253.

4. The Times, 24 June 1829; also see Chapter VI above.

shown in this chapter, serves to illustrate the existence of certain primary holiday trades, as well as a great number of secondary trades, which were respectively entirely dependent on the visitor for their development, or were boosted by his presence. In terms of any occupational classification these trades were predominantly tertiary, performing services rather than actually producing commodities. When, in 1945, Miss Elizabeth Brunner examined those "holiday trades" which were directly affected by the presence of the holiday-maker, she classified them naturally into two classes, primary and secondary.¹

As seaside resorts, Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs developed primary holiday trades which were very largely dependent on the visitor, with the consequence that many of them closed down out of season. In this category were many coaches, sailing packets and steamboats, alongside hotels, boarding houses, lodging houses, catering establishments, fancy repositories, assembly rooms, circulating libraries, tea gardens or the theatre. These trades, in the words of Miss Brunner, catered "directly for the holidaymaker in his role of one who has money to spend on leisure and luxuries".² Hopefully it has been shown how the primary holiday trades offer one of the best means of measuring the financial contribution of holidaymaking to the expanding and changing economies of tourist areas, such as in the Isle of Thanet between circa 1736 and circa 1830.

The secondary trades, several of which were common to all developing towns, serviced holidaymakers' needs more indirectly, including building, decorating and contracting; the distributive and wholesale trades, supplying hoteliers or caterers; markets and retail outlets; banking and postal services; laundries or hairdressers; advertising and publishing concerns; and such local public services or amenities as water supplies, the provision of gas, or piers, harbours and highways. These and other secondary trades did not shut down

1. Brunner, op. cit., 25.

2. Ibid., 25.

completely out of season. Despite being stimulated by holiday traffic, they were basic services in any town community. They met everyday demands out of the holiday season. They were necessary to the daily working lives of permanent town residents. However, from the person on holiday they enjoyed an additional consumer demand, such as to swell their normal operations during the summer months.

Insurance societies are easily overlooked as a secondary holiday trade until it is remembered that not only did holidaymakers insure their lives and luggage, but the primary holiday traders themselves looked to insurance societies to carry some of the inevitable risks in their business. Thus, as early as 1792 there were insurance agents in Margate for the Sun Fire Office and the Royal Exchange, and for the Phoenix both in Margate and Ramsgate.¹

Indirectly tourism gave to permanent residents the advantages of high quality shops, more varied entertainment, more extensive medical practices, and better public utility and transport services than might otherwise have been the case. As the primary holiday trades prospered, so the secondary trades too expanded their trading operations. The physical enlargement or alteration of seaside premises, financed out of the profits earned from holidaymakers, benefited indirectly the building trades. As and when trade was good building contractors and associated trades were occupied in erecting new premises or improving and extending old ones.

The economics of present-day holidaymaking shows that visitors' money is often turned over very quickly. To take but one instance: hoteliers had to spend a considerable proportion of their takings on buying food and drink from local shops and suppliers, not to mention having to meet other bills for repairs and decoration, for fuel, or for publicity and advertising. It is worth noticing how each holiday service or industry had its own trading hinterland varying from infinity to zero, so that long-distance holiday

1. The Kentish Companion for the Year of Our Lord, 1792 (Canterbury, 1792), 183-4.

transport had obviously a much more extensive income-earning hinterland than local excursion traffic, than the local fly or omnibus proprietor, than the local dairyman or cowman. Lodging houses, seaside entertainments, and provision retailers acquired profits from the expenditures of visitors staying in the immediate hinterland in which they themselves operated. Local publishers of Thanet guidebooks competed, on the other hand, with publishers operating from London and elsewhere in the country for the patronage of the inquisitive visitor.¹ Fashion houses, patent medicine or luggage manufacturers, and producers of aids for sea bathing,² just to mention three among many suppliers of accessories for holidaymaking, competed one with another all over the country for the custom of holidaymakers going to Margate, Ramsgate or Broadstairs.

In 1945 Miss Brunner observed how the primary holiday trades "shut down completely out of season",³ and this fact was equally apparent to John Poole in 1839.

"I am not aware that [Margate] is remarkable for its natural productions - if we except shrimps, cockle-shells, bathing women, and a few other marine curiosities To see how Margate looked in the winter, I paid the place a visit ... All was closed!, not a living creature was to be seen!, not a sound was to be heard, save the melancholy echo of my own footsteps as I paced the desolate streets!" (4)

Yet, by contrast, "the accidental population of Margate (the visitors), at the height of the season [is] utterly incalculable".⁵

It is obviously the case, and is observable from the individual holiday outlays cited for 1777 and 1829, that income flowed into the hands of and was welcomed by the proprietors of sailing packets, steamboats, coaches, bathing

1. As noted above in Chapter IV.

2. See Chapter II above.

3. Brunner, op. cit., 25.

4. John Poole, "Margate", The Amaranth (1839), 70.

5. Ibid., 70.

rooms, circulating libraries, hotels, lodgings, boarding houses, inns or shops. During August 1799 the holiday trades of Margate must have derived considerable satisfaction from visitors being "eased of their money as quickly as usual".¹ On 10 September 1804 it was reported that

"the visitors to Margate have certainly no reason to be reproached for want of liberality in their expenses while here ... A hoy came in loaded this morning. Between comers and goers, we still strike a considerable balance in favour of our population, and still more in favour of our innkeepers and boarding houses, our billiard tables and bathing machines". (2)

Merely a few days later it was further reported from Margate that

"We are now getting in a most plenteous harvest. Ship and coach loads of cockneys are arriving every day so that we are fuller than we have been all this season, which is one of the fullest we have ever known. Our lodging houses can with difficulty muster an extra bed for a new visitor; and all the provisions in our market are bought up early in the morning by the inn and boarding house keepers; our libraries are filled with people who never dreamt of the folly of throwing away hard money upon books, till they found 'the love of letters' fashionable at Margate. Our bathing machines are all in a state of constant requisition". (3)

Doctors pioneered an everlasting craze for sea bathing and seaside holidays from the 1750's onwards. It is fitting to conclude this thesis with a neat summary of the direct multiplier effects of holiday expenditure, as given in a recent historical study of the British seaside holiday.

"Half a dozen visitors make a pleasant change. Half a hundred visitors are an event. A thousand visitors mean hotels, extra shops, wider streets. Half a million visitors are an industry, with a cash turnover running into nine figures and a heavy capital investment to match. This is what has happened to the English holiday in little more than a century and a half". (4)

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1. The Morning Post and Gazeteer, 31 August 1799, 2c.
 2. The Times, 10 September 1804; 3f.
 3. Ibid., 13 September 1804, 2d.
 4. A. Hern, The Seaside Holiday: The History of the English Seaside Resort (1967), 124.

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