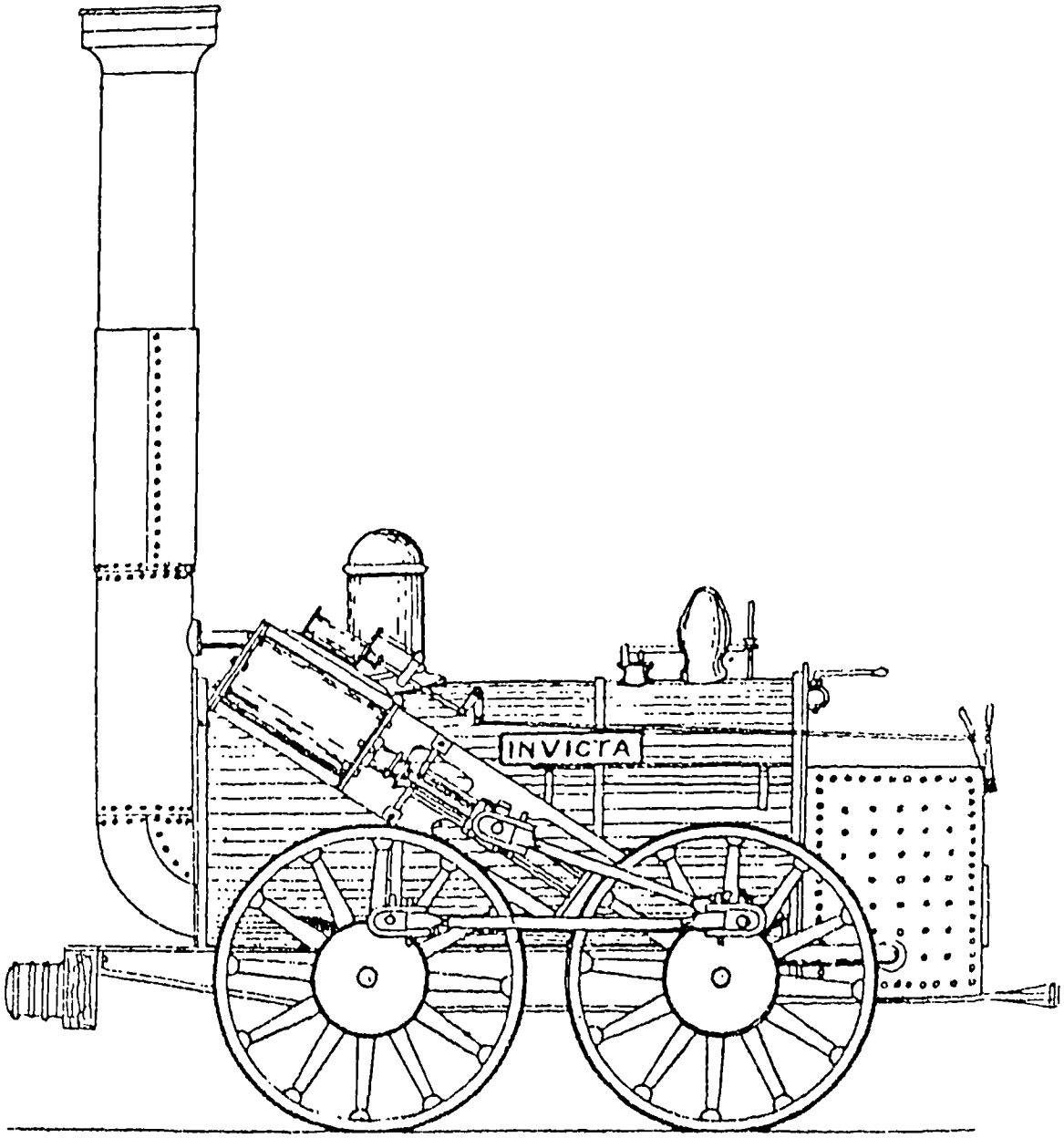
# Chapter VII:

# THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.



# CHAPTER VII: THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.

> *"Alice ... had come to the general conclusion that, wherever you go to on the English coast you find a number of bathing machines in the sea, some children digging in the sand with wooden spades, then a row of lodging houses, and behind them a railway station"*
>
> "Alice in Wonderland", Ch. 2.

Though other towns in East Kent, e.g. Dover, Folkestone and Deal, have a claim to be considered as holiday towns, it has been felt best to deal with the Thanet complex as a unit since it was so much more dominated by the holiday industry than any other part of East Kent, and to deal with the other towns in other chapters. There is the further consideration that these five towns were all affected by the steamboat traffic from London; none of the other Kent coastal towns were.

The holiday towns considered in this chapter are therefore Ramsgate (with St. Lawrence), Margate (with Westgate and Cliftonville), Birchington, Broadstairs, and finally westwards along the coast, though not actually in Thanet, Herne Bay, together with its parent village, Herne. Ramsgate was created as a separate parish from St. Lawrence in 1827, but it would be pedantic to try to treat the two as separate entities: in the text which follows, therefore, "Ramsgate" may be taken as referring to "Ramsgate and St. Lawrence" unless specifically otherwise stated. Similarly, Westgate developed as a parish in its own right in the 1880s, but for much of the period under review was a part of Margate so rural as not even to justify an individual directory entry.

Thus, "Margate" may be taken as meaning "Margate with Westgate and Cliftonville", Cliftonville being that area of Margate east and south of the old town which saw much expansion in the last third of the nineteenth century, and which then and since has spent much time and energy in trying to pretend that it is not really part of Margate at all.

During the Regency Ramsgate had been a smart, if modest, watering-place, as the pleasant terraces which still grace the streets north of the commercial centre of modern Ramsgate still bear witness; Margate had become the first seaside resort to be "popular", certainly by the beginning of the century.[1]

## TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

When the railway first came to Thanet, the district was served by road (coaches and carriers' vans) and sea (passenger ships and carriers' hoys), which between them provided services to London, Canterbury and Dover. The very extensive transport network noted round Ashford and Faversham, and to a considerably lesser degree round Folkestone and Dover, did not exist. To some extent, this was a factor of the local geography. Margate and Ramsgate being where they are, on the Isle of Thanet, almost all land traffic must go westwards over what used to be the Wantsum Channel, or eventually southwards in the direction of Dover. None of the five towns considered in this chapter was a major

[1] Whyman, J., *The Early Kentish Seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 20-22.

market centre, as Ashford, and to a lesser extent Faversham, were, and again geography dictated that there were very few settlements within six or eight miles which were not in Thanet itself: the low-lying area which used to be the bed of the Wantsum, covered with a network of drainage channels is, even today, largely devoid of settlements.

These factors, combined with the fact that the demand for transportation from London to Thanet was extremely seasonal, meant that the pattern of transport which existed when the railway came was, even to begin with, very much less complete than that which existed round the railway towns, and was to be even more of a contrast after the railway had come.

The long-term effect of the coming of the railway was to decimate the transport services from Thanet [Tables 7.1 to 7.3]. The steamboat services from Thanet to London survived - they were to last until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 - and even expanded, but the road services all but vanished. By 1887 the only survivors were a daily van from Margate to Ramsgate (where Pickford's and Sutton's both had depots) and a daily omnibus from Herne Bay to Canterbury, partly it may be assumed to serve the scattered settlements along the way, and partly to provide a more direct (and probably faster) service between Herne Bay and Canterbury than a journey to Whitstable and a change on to the Canterbury and Whitstable branch could provide.

Table 7.1: THE PATTERN OF TRANSPORT FROM MARGATE.

| Destination | 1840 | 1887 |
|---|---|---|
| | Service details | Service details |
| London | 2 coaches daily, via Canterbury<br>2 steam packets daily, (summer) or<br>1 packet weekly (winter)<br>1 goods hoy weekly | GSN's steam packet, daily (summer)<br>1 goods hoy, alternate weeks |
| Canterbury | 3 vans daily | |
| Sandwich, Deal and Dover | 2 coaches daily | |
| Ramsgate | Vans hourly, summer only | 1 daily van |

Table 7.2: THE PATTERN OF TRANSPORT FROM RAMSGATE.

| Destination | 1840 | 1887 |
|---|---|---|
| | Service details | Service details |
| London | 2 coaches daily<br>1 steam packet daily (summer)<br>1 goods hoy, occasionally | Daily steamboat (not Sunday) to Tilbury, calling at Margate<br>Daily steamboat to Thameshaven, summer<br>GSN steamboat, daily, summer (not Sunday) |
| Boulogne and Calais | Every other day, to either port | |
| Sandwich, Deal and Dover | 3 coaches daily | |
| Margate | Coaches every half-hour | |

The disaster which befell the road services was even more immediate than the tables suggest. By 1852 no coach services to London were listed from Margate or Ramsgate, though a daily coach and omnibus service to Canterbury from Ramsgate survived, and an hourly omnibus service to Margate. Not everybody came to Thanet by train though: Ramsgate still boasted four posting houses, and Margate three. At Herne Bay [Table 7.3] the coach services which had acted as a feeder to the

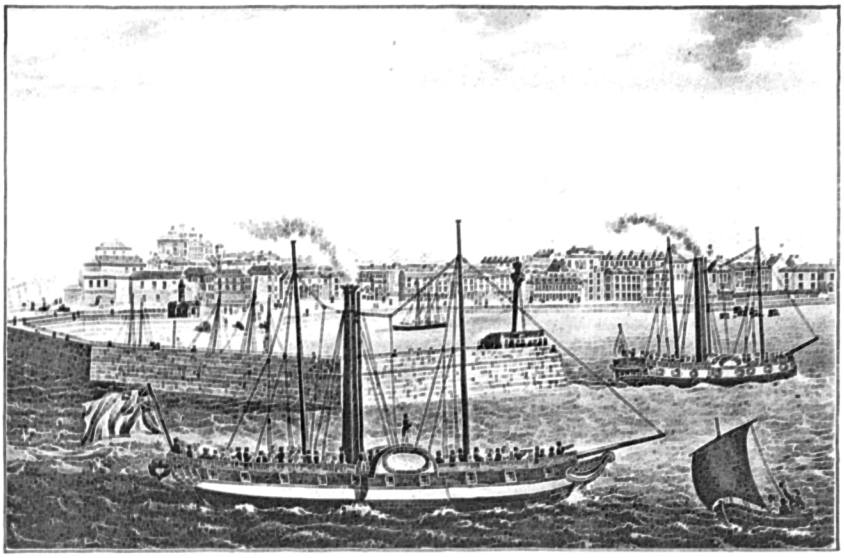
Table 7.3: THE PATTERN OF TRANSPORT FROM HERNE BAY.

| Destination | 1840 | 1887 |
|---|---|---|
| | Service details | Service details |
| London | Several steam packets, en route London/Margate/Ramsgate, daily.<br>1 weekly (hoy??) | |
| Deal | Daily coach, on arrival of steam packets. | |
| Dover, Sandgate and Hythe | 2 coaches daily, on arrival of steam packets. | |
| Canterbury | Daily coaches and buses on arrival of steam packets.<br>1 daily coach.<br>1 daily van, winter only. | 1 daily omnibus. |

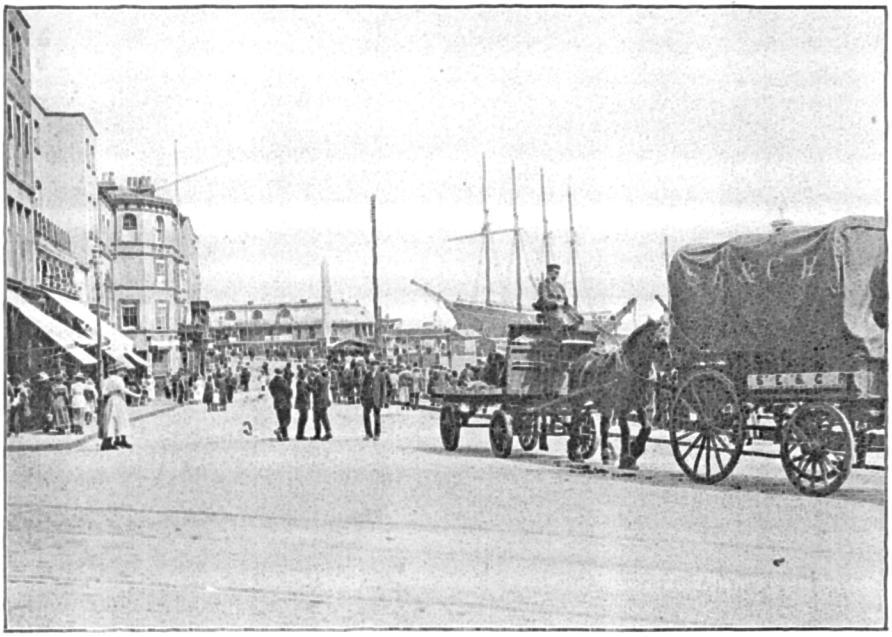
steam packets had gone by 1862; only an omnibus to Canterbury survived.

Broadstairs' road transport facilities were only ever local, to Margate or Ramsgate and Sandwich: these were almost immediately casualties. Birchington only ever had a daily van service to Margate (though the Margate-Canterbury services passed through the village): this still survived in 1874, eleven years after the railway came, but it had gone by 1887.

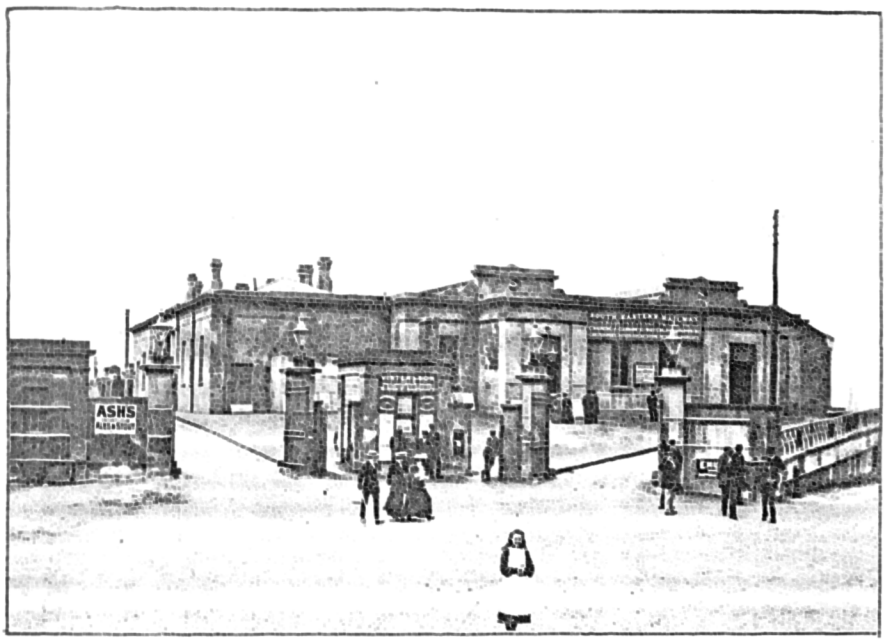
The picture is clear: the almost immediate effect of the coming of the railway was to kill off all but the most minor road services based on the Thanet resorts. Round Ashford a new network of suburban van and omnibus services grew up to feed the railway; to a lesser extent the same was true of Faversham and Folkestone (see Chapter VI above), but nothing of the kind happened round the holiday towns. Partly this was because (as pointed out above) there were no local settlements to serve,



Margate pier and steam packets, c. 1830.



SECR cart (on extreme right) at Ramsgate harbour.




The SER station at Ramsgate, c. 1910.

but the net result was in effect that, if you wished to visit Thanet or Herne Bay in the years after the railway came, you came by sea or by rail: unless you were able to use your own carriage, you no longer had the option of arriving by road. It is of further interest that the effects discussed in the sections below on the commercial structure, and the commercial geography of the towns were not really felt until the LCDR arrived (1861-63), but the effect on road transport came hard on the heels of the arrival of the SER in 1846.

## PASSENGER TRAIN SERVICES

The train services the towns enjoyed is obviously of great significance in any discussion of the effect of the railway.

In July 1857 there were six SER trains down from London to Ramsgate and Margate each week day, and six up services. Length of journey varied between 5hrs. 30 minutes (the Parliamentary train[1]) and 3hrs. 15 minutes. All but one down train called at Sturry (for Herne Bay), but only four up trains called there.

In July 1865 there were nine LCDR down daily trains, all of which called at Herne Bay, Margate, and Broadstairs on their way to Ramsgate; seven

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[1] To have to ride in a Parliamentary train was one of Gilbert and Sullivan's Mikado's punishments to fit the crime.

"Idiots who in railway carriages/ Scribble on window panes/ We only suffer/ To ride on the buffer/ Of Parliamentary trains", *Mikado*, Act II: the Mikado's song.

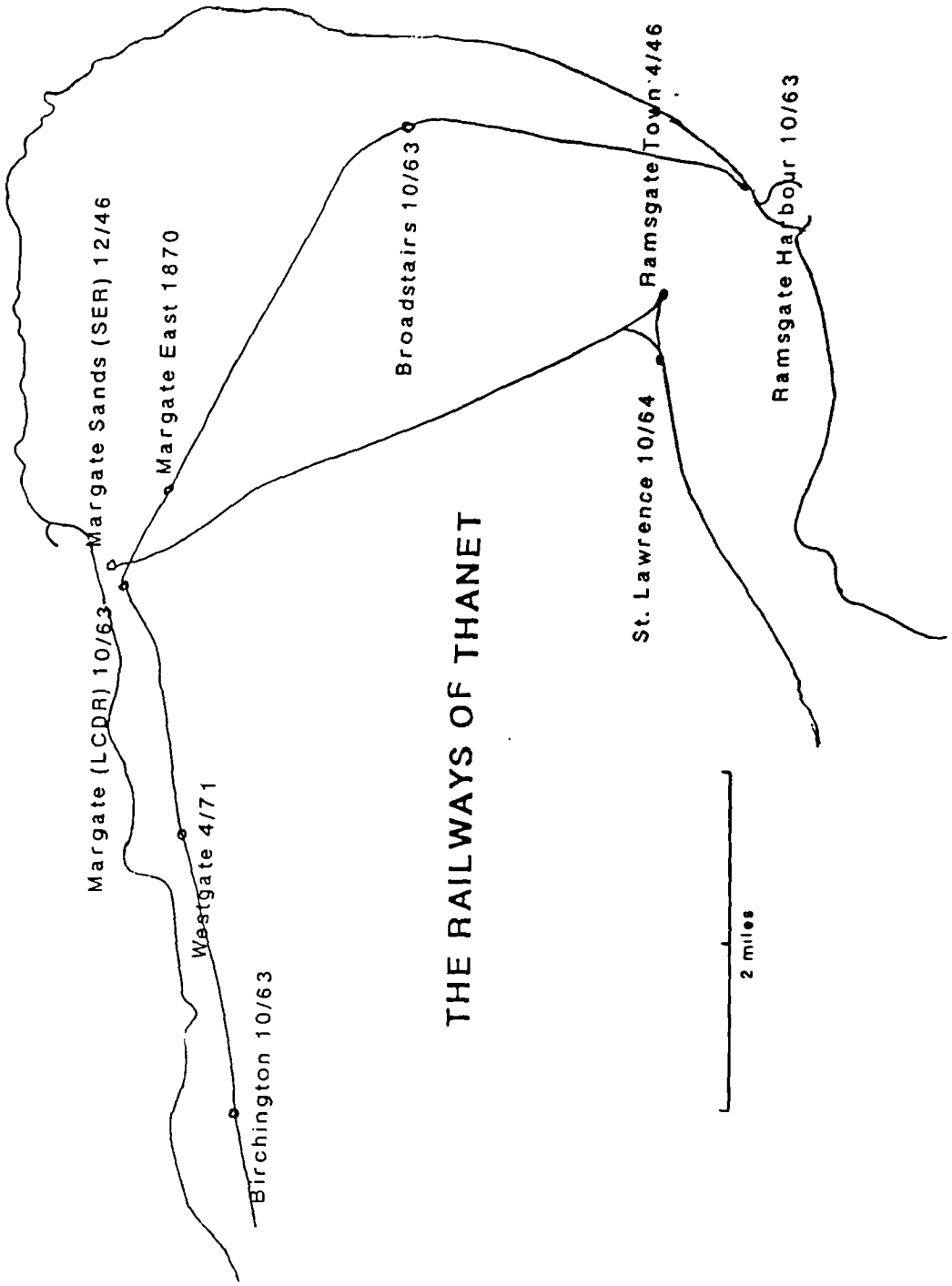
of them also called at Birchington. The fastest journey to Ramsgate took 2hrs 30 minutes for the 80 mile trip; the slowest 3hrs 40 minutes.

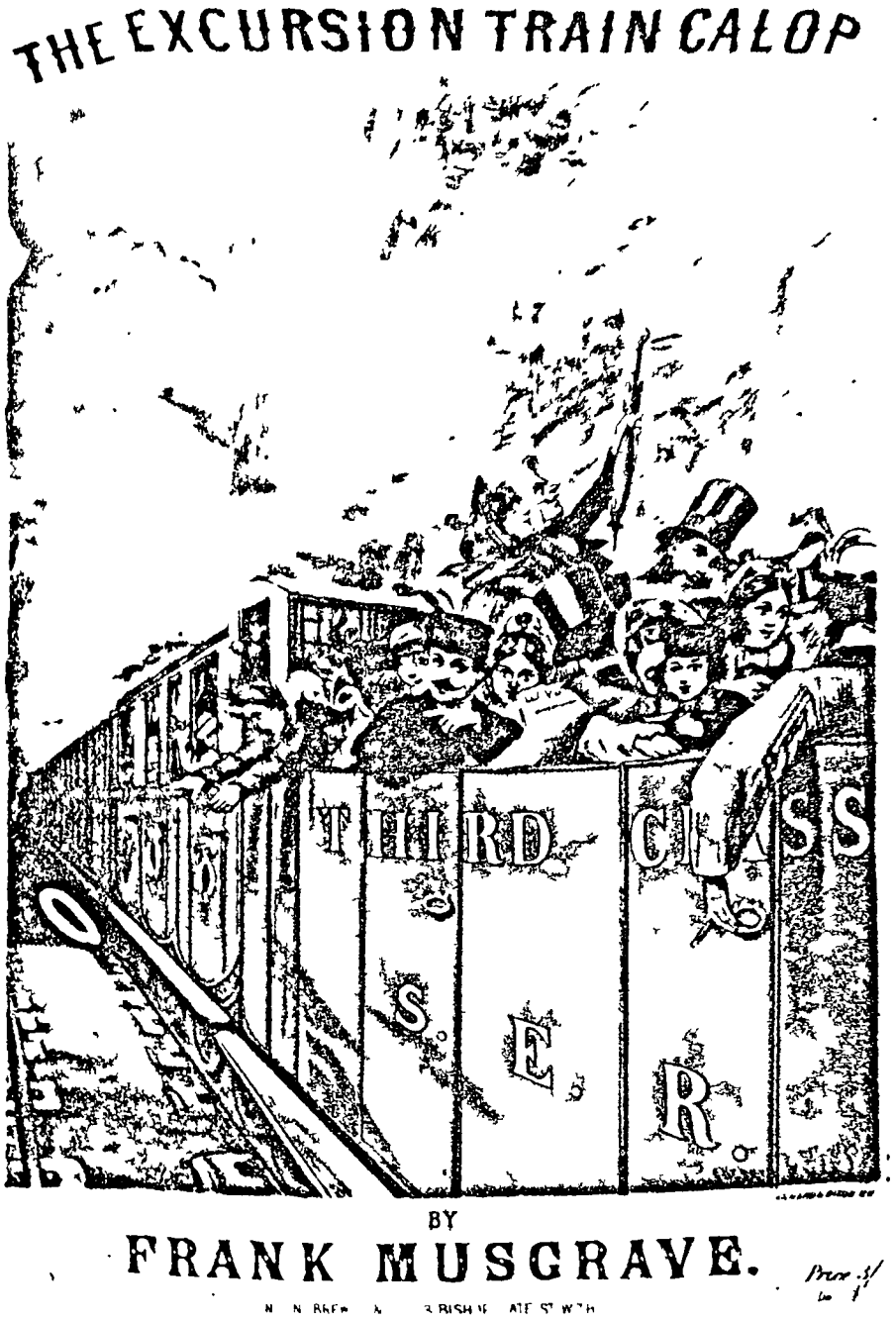
By August 1887 the SER provided eleven down trains, but the fastest train took a few minutes under three hours, and the slowest four. There were eleven up trains, but the last of the day went no further than Ashford. Timings were as for down trains. The LCDR also provided eleven down trains daily: the Parliamentary train took 3hrs. 35 minutes and the "Granville Special express" two hours exactly. All called at the now-open station at Westgate-on-Sea as well as Margate and Broadstairs before stopping at Ramsgate; nine called at Birchington as well. A twelve train up service was provided, with similar timings; only eight up trains called at Birchington.

In April 1910 the two warring companies' working agreement was eleven years old, but the pattern of train services was much as before. The SER ran seven down trains, plus a through train from the Great Western Railway which started its journey at Holyhead. There were eight up trains, plus the return GWR service. LCDR services were reduced to ten down workings, and rather surprisingly in view of the way unbalanced workings had been distributed previously, only eight up trains. The LCDR's fastest down journey was now completed in 1hr. 58 minutes[1]; the fastest SER trip in a minute under three hours. In other

[1] In 1991 the fastest journey over the same route took one and three quarter hours, an average speed of almost 45 mph.

Map 7.1: THE RAILWAYS OF THANET.






A highly idealized view of a journey on an excursion train in third class "coaches". Though the train is shown as being on the down line, it appears to be travelling between Dover and Folkestone, that is, up to London.

words, during the forty years after the coming of the LCDR, there were between eighteen and twenty-two trains each weekday each way serving Margate and Ramsgate, and about half that number serving Broadstairs, Birchington and Herne Bay.

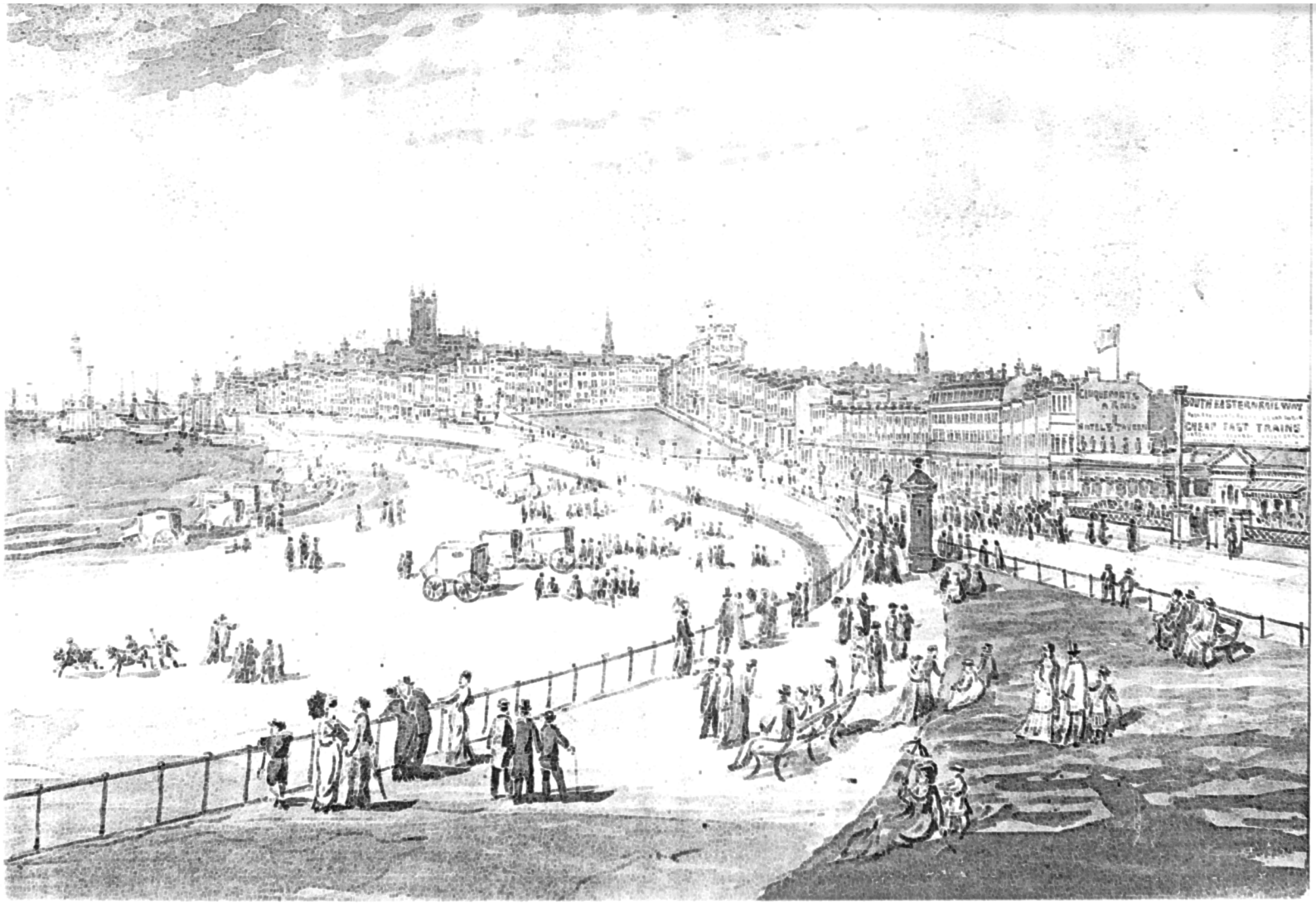
In addition to these regular weekday services, there was a good deal of excursion traffic, but information about these services is, to say the least, patchy. In 1857 the SER's timetable for July (price one penny) listed various service trains on which excursion rates were available, and gave details of special excursion trains, including a week-end excursion to Thanet (which left London on the Saturday afternoon, and left Thanet for the return journey early on the Monday morning, cheapest fare 7s. 6d.), a day trip from Bricklayers' Arms station to Thanet or Dover every Monday, for 3s. 6d., (which included free admission to the Tivoli Gardens at Margate), and a day trip on the second and fourth Sundays in the month from New Cross to Dover or Thanet. The cheapest fare for this excursion was 5s., in a "covered carriage", which suggests that those who went from Bricklayers' Arms, and went to the Tivoli Gardens all for the princely sum of 3s. 6d. must have had to do without the cover[4]. There were certain Sunday excursions from Croydon to Thanet, others from Redhill and yet others from Tonbridge. There was a day excursion on Monday 20th July from Reading to Thanet ("covered carriages, 5s."), on Tuesday 14th from Croydon and on Monday 27th from New Cross. It seems reasonable to

[4] See the reproduction of the cover of the sheet-music "Excursion train Galop" in Bucknall, R., *Boat Trains and Channel Packets* (1957) , p. 175, for a somewhat idealized view of such an excursion, copied here in front of p. 269.

assume that the SER ran a not dissimilar pattern of excursions during that August, and perhaps during at least part of the June and September as well; certainly the LCDR must eventually have had its own pattern of excursion traffic to tap this potentially rich source of revenue.

Certainly by the winter of 1912-13 there was enough revenue in prospect to justify the provision of some sort of winter excursion service. The SECR's *Programme of New Cheap Excursions from London to Country and Seaside Stations, October 1912 to May 1913, inclusive*[5] quoted a range of season ticket prices: a year's first-class season ticket between Margate and London was priced at £35; second class was £26. Cheap fares were available on Sundays by normal train services; a third-class return to Margate was 7s. 6d., but a special excursion, leaving London (Victoria) at 8.00am and returning from Margate at 6.58pm would only have cost 4s., third class. The National Sunday League ran an excursion every Sunday to Thanet for 3s. 6d., but as the train did not leave Charing Cross until 11.35am, and left Ramsgate on the way back at 6.50pm, it must have been a short day out. Restall's Excursions ran a train on Wednesdays, with timings similar to the Sunday League's, and at a similar price. May 1913 clearly saw the beginning of the summer excursion season, there were cheap Sunday, Wednesday and Thursday afternoon excursions to Whitstable and Herne Bay (2s. 6d.), as well as a Thursday excursion which started in south

[5] Issued at London Bridge station, 1912. It appears to have been free: the author's copy cost £16.




**MARINE TERRACE, MARGATE, c. 1880.**

The South Eastern Railway station is at the extreme right, and advertises "cheap fast trains".

London at Addiscombe Road. There were also winter weekend excursions to London (8s. third class from Margate), as well as cheap long period excursions - 8 or 15 days - to the seaside (by specified trains) for 7s. 6d. or monthly third class returns ("to the seaside") for 10s. To some extent these schemes were attempts to fill seats on trains which would have otherwise have run half-empty[6], but clearly they indicate that there was, just before the First World War, a year-round demand for cheap seaside travel.

To return to a consideration of the normal, weekday services, there was in addition a local service between Ramsgate and Margate on both the LCDR and the SER lines. Both companies opened additional stations to take advantage of this "suburban" traffic; in 1864 the SER opened St. Lawrence station very close to Ramsgate, and at the same time completed a triangular junction which made it possible for trains to run directly to Margate without reversing in Ramsgate, a clear response to the arrival a few months previously of the LCDR at both towns. In 1870 the LCDR opened Margate East on the line from its main Margate station to Broadstairs.

Quite how much traffic the Thanet towns can have attracted from other towns in the area is very difficult to determine. The LCDR had no intermediate stations between Birchington and Herne Bay, and only Whitstable between Herne Bay and Faversham. Whitstable residents were more likely to visit Canterbury than Thanet for market purposes, either

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[6] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 129.

walking the six miles concerned, or using the rather spasmodic services offered by the Canterbury and Whitstable line: the same might well be true of Herne Bay. The SER was little better situated: between Ramsgate and Canterbury (before St. Lawrence was opened) stations were only at Minster, Grove Ferry and Sturry. Sturry was within easy walking distance (two and a half miles) of Canterbury, and Grove Ferry, in any case nearer Canterbury than Ramsgate, served such a scattered population that it is difficult to see why the SER built a station there at all, other than as a popular destination for boating and angling parties on the Stour. In view of the relative distances, Grove Ferry folk were surely more likely to go west to Canterbury than east to Thanet. Certainly the poor rail service to and from Grove Ferry cannot have helped; only four down trains called there daily in August 1887, and five up. When it was first opened (1847) the Deal branch from Minster was very difficult of access from Ramsgate as there were no through trains; a change at Minster was involved and a wait for an unbooked connection. When the joint SER/LCDR line between Deal and Dover was opened in 1881 a through service was provided, with eleven trains daily each way by August 1887, some of which made the trip to or from Folkestone West, and others began or ended their journeys at Walmer. By April 1910 there were still only eleven services a day on this route. It seems unlikely on the face of it therefore, that there was any great "suburban" traffic in the Thanet area, except for traffic between Margate and Ramsgate, and the intermediate stations.

Bearing in mind the rapid growth of Margate and Ramsgate as holiday resorts in the last quarter of the century[7] it is at first sight surprising that the regular train service, in the terms of the number of trains arriving each day from London and the north-west Kent towns, remained more or less constant. The explanation would appear to lie in the very large number of people who arrived by day excursion traffic. The steamboats, which had done so much to popularize Margate as a resort in the years before the railway came[8] continued to run, and in a period when relatively few people could afford to stay away from home for a number of days together, these boats, together with the numerous railway excursions, must have brought in a very large influx of day trippers during the season.

Whilst it is easy enough to discover how many trains arrived and departed each day, it is much less easy to determine how many people travelled by them. Contemporary evidence simply does not exist: Victorian railway companies seem to have taken no real interest in the statistics of their business[9]. Evidence from various accident reports suggest that passenger trains in the period 1860-80 and probably beyond were not normally more than nine or ten carriages in length[10],

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[7] Stafford, F. and Yates, N., *The Later Kentish Seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 51-2.

[8] Whyman, J., *The Early Kentish Seaside*, (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 23-28 and 57-87.

[9] This lack of crucial information was lamented as long ago as 1902: see Acworth, W.M., "English railway statistics", in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol LXV (1902), pp. 613-52.

[10] *Invicta* (Journal of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Society), 35 (Autumn, 1990), pp. 90/32 to 90/35.

which suggestion is supported by contemporary photographs[11]. The earliest carriages were four-wheeled, later versions six-wheeled. The long, eight-wheel bogie carriage of today appeared quite late on the scene, and not into regular SECR service, other than on the boat expresses, until the early years of the century, if then[12].

The four-wheel coaches were likely to comprise three first-class compartments, probably seating three abreast, 18 people in all. Second-class carriages, with seats four abreast, would have had capacity for 24; third-class carriages four compartments over the same wheel-base, five a side[13]; total capacity 40. Later six-wheel third-class carriages had six compartments[14], capacity 60[15]. The seating capacity of a ten-carriage

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[11] See for example the photographs 2 and 4 between pp 72-3 in Kidner, R.W., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (Blandford Forum, 1963). Both are express trains and might be expected to be full-size. By the early 1900s the number of coaches was still unlikely to be more than eleven (photograph 6, of Ramsgate Sands station). An excursion train of the same period comprised eleven coaches: Dendy-Marshall, C.F., *A History of the Southern Railway* , revised by Kidner, R.W., (one volume edition, 1968); photograph 5 between pp. 328-329.

[12] See the bitter comments on SER and LCDR coaches in the 1870s and 1880s in Ahrons, E.L., *Locomotive and Train Working in the latter part of the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 3-5 (SER) and 25 (LCDR). These chapters originally appeared as articles in the *Railway Magazine* in 1917 and 1917-18.

[13] See the photograph of carriages at Ashford works (SER) in 1885 in Jenkins, A., *Along South-Eastern lines* (Maidstone; Kent County Council, 1986), p.14. In 1842 the SER's return to a Parliamentary enquiry gave the [overall] width of their third-class coaches as 8ft. 2ins., only 4ins. narrower than Brunel's broad gauge stock for the Great Western. These coaches must have been able to accommodate five a side, possibly even six. Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914: Volume 1, The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 183, note 14. Details of the whole range of SE and CR coaching stock is given in Gould, D., *Carriage Stock of the SE & CR* (Blandford, 1976).

[14] Photograph opposite p. 73 in Kidner, *op. cit.* See also plates 10 and 21 in Ellis, C. Hamilton, *Railway Carriages in the British Isles, 1830-1914* (1965). See also Gould, op. cit.

train, four-wheel stock, third class only will therefore have been some 400. Later trains of eleven carriages of six-wheel third-class stock could have held up to 660, rather more if six passengers squeezed into each side of a compartment[15].

Whilst the companies could certainly have increased the length of their trains, the engines could haul only so much[17], and the complications of double-heading (two engines to one train) meant that generally these formations were not greatly exceeded: if demand was great enough, an advertised train would run in a number of portions. Demand sometimes was very great: in 1871, *Keble's Gazette* reported on traffic over the August bank holiday weekend at Margate

> "on Saturday there was a heavily laden excursion train on the LCDR, conveying about 1,200 holidaymakers, and another conveying 500. The cheap fast trains on this line were so

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[15] The passenger capacit, of a modern British Rail second-class express passenger trailer coach is 64, but this includes corridor and toilet facilities.

[16] Neither company appears to have built any third-class coaches in which it was intended that passengers should ride six abreast. Gould, op. cit. *passim*, though the Southern Railway did so in 1941 for its London suburban services, Jenkinson, D., *British Railway Carriages of the Twentieth Century, Vol II: The Years of Consolidation, 1923-53* (1990), p. 126-7. There is a discussion on SER and LCDR coaching stock in Kidner, R.W., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (1963), pp. 43-45 (SER) and 87-88 (LCDR). A thirteen-coach suburban set built for the SER in about 1890 had a capacity (all classes) of 478: the calculations above therefore err on the side of generosity in considering train capacity. Ahrons' famous account of SER stock, cited above (note 12) unfortunately fails to give any idea of the number of people who were expected to ride in the dep'orable vehicles described.

[17] Locomotives became more powerful as time passed, but this tended to be offset by the increasing weight of the coaching stock. If anything, the additional power was more likely to be used to secure increased speed rather than increased loading capacity.

> heavy they all had to be divided into two parts, and the last up (7 o'clock) went in three parts. On Monday over 5,000 people were conveyed by this line in four excursions ... the first return excursion was despatched at about a quarter past 8, and between that time and about 25 minutes to 10 o'clock, 5,000 people were cleared out from Margate and Ramsgate....The South Eastern line was also as equally well patronised, the cheap fast trains being heavily laden and of great length."[11]

If these figures are correct, each excursion (apart from the one with 500 passengers) must have held 1,200 passengers; they must have been very uncomfortably crowded. Such gargantuan trains were not new: some early trains appear to have been even more crowded. In August 1840 an excursion from Leeds to Hull and back conveyed 1,250 passengers in 40 carriages: a train from Nottingham to Leicester comprised 67 carriages, drawn by four engines. In 1844 an excursion (in several parts) conveyed a total of 6,600 passengers in 240 carriages

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[11] Quoted in Stafford, F. and Yates, N., *The Later Kentish Seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), p. 52.

drawn by nine locomotives from Leeds to Hull[19]. In June 1846 *The Illustrated London News* reported that

> "the 8 o'clock Brighton train consisted of 44 carriages and was propelled by three powerful engines. It extended nearly half a mile in length, and the carriages contained nearly 4,000 persons."[20]

There is some evidence to suggest that these figures may have been very considerable exaggerations: in 1867 the SER declared in its return to Parliament that the average number of passengers in a train to Margate was 590 on Sundays (presumably excursion traffic, though not apparently Bank Holiday traffic) and 292 on weekdays[21]: assuming these averages held good four years later, even on these lower figures the "four excursions" mentioned must have carried nearly 2,400 visitors.

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[19] Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (1991), pp. 272-3, 278. In the earlier excursions, passengers appear to have been jammed into the carriages about thirty a time: if this figure is true of SER and LCDR excursions to Thanet, the total capacity of each train will have been approximately as calculated above. The general subject of railway excursior is covered at length in Jordan, A. and E, *Away for the Day: the railway excursion in Britain, 1830 to the present day* (Kettering, 1991), but despite its title the coverage is almost exclusively of the area served by the railways which eventually came to comprise the London, Midland and Scottish, and the London and North-Eastern Railways.

[20] *The Illustrated London News, 6 June 1846,* quoted in the *Southern Railway Magazine*, (May, 1931), p. 181. The accurancy of these figures is rather suspect: on the face of it, nearly 100 persons must have been in each carriage (which at that time were probably only open trucks), which seems unlikely, and for the train to have been nearly half a mile long each carriage would have had to be about 60ft. long: at that time SER carriages were about 20ft. long, and it seems unlikely that the LBSCR was operating with carriages three times as long.

[21] *PP HoC (1867), XXXVIII, part 2,* p. 644.

If *normal* traffic in (say) 1875 is considered, assuming that:

a. there were at least 18 trains a day from Thanet to London, and that

b. each train had a maximum seating capacity of 300 (allowing for the lower capacity of first and second class accommodation), and that

c. over the day each train was loaded to half capacity

there may have been as many as 2,700 persons arriving in Thanet each day. Even if the capacity of the train is halved (to account for short trains at the beginning and end of the day) and the load factor is reduced to a quarter capacity, this still implies that nearly 700 people may have arrived in and departed from Thanet every day, perhaps nearly a quarter of a million a year[22]. Even if some of those people are deemed to have alighted at Herne Bay, the implications for the holiday service industry in Thanet are enormous. By 1912 the demand was evidently to some extent at least, year-round.

A further point for consideration is the cost of a railway ticket. In June 1852 the SER declared in its annual *Railway Return* that the average cost of a mile of third-class travel was 0.85d. Second class cost 1.42d.

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[22] One authority suggests that "[in 1878]...both companies carried during the season 12,000 - 18,000 passengers on day trips to Margate, and about 20,000 every Sunday." Whyman, J., "Kentish Railways: their construction and impact" in *Cantium, Vol V* (1973-74), p. 80. The Sunday figure seems reasonable, in view of the number of excursions run, but the weekday figure seems very high unless there were almost as many excursions on week days as on Sundays.

and first 2.29d., both on average[23]. In 1867 the charge on the SER's boat express trains to Dover was 28s. 6d. for a first-class return and 21s. for second class: there were no third-class seats on boat expresses. Even the least expensive standard return fare from London to Margate (thirteen miles further than Dover by SER in 1867) cost 8s. 6d. (third class), at a declared rate of fractionally under 1d. per mile, though excursions cost 3s. 6d.[24] Third-class fares were still 1d. per mile single fare in 1907[25] with return fares twice the price; first-class fares were in the order of 2d. a mile and second rather under 1½d., with return fares in the order of three-quarters of the double fare.

Railway fares therefore do not seem to have changed a great deal, in absolute terms, for at least 50 years, and probably for 60. Granted that real wages rose steadily during the period studied[26] so that there was more disposable income available, with agricultural workers' wages generally under 20s. a week even as late as 1898 and London carpenters earning about 38s. 6d. a week in 1906[27] a cheap 3s. 6d. excursion to

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[23] *Railway Returns for the half-year ending 30th June, 1852: PP HoC (1852-53), XCVII*, p. 287.

[24] All 1867 figures on SER fares are derived from *PP HoC (1867), XXXVIII, part 2*, p. 644.

[25] *The Official Guide to the South Eastern and Chatham Railway (1907)*, passim.

[26] Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 343-44.

[27] Hunt, E.H., *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 62-64 and 70.

Margate was not likely to be a regular feature even of a carpenter's life[28]. Whilst rail travel was far quicker and cheaper than stage coach travel had been, and the capacity of the services far greater, rail travel was still not cheap in the sense that even the lowest-paid could lightly afford a railway journey. For many of those who came to Margate by one of those crowded excursions it must have been one of their very few days out, or even their only day out, of the year.

There is some indication however that more people were travelling at a price lower than standard fare - eg by excursions, by workmens' trains and by season ticket. If the total income all railways derived from passenger traffic is divided by the number of passenger miles run, the resultant figure would appear to be the income the railways received for each mile run. It declined: the figure dropped irregularly from some 5s. 6d. in 1856 to 4s. in 1885 and then stabilized, not making significant change again before 1913[29].

Since the number of passenger miles increased, the decline was not due to a falling-off of demand, but, as suggested, may represent easier access to rail travel by excursions. Certainly the Kent railways were offering, by 1913, cheap fares between various stations and by selected trains every day, and numerous mid-week and week-end excursions to

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[28] See Winstanley, M.J., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), pp. 205-6.

[29] Barker, T.C. and Savage, C.I., *An Economic History of Transport in Britain* (Third edition, 1974), give slightly different figures, but the general level and shape of the graph is the same.

the coast: there was much more *opportunity* to take a cheap trip to the seaside; whether there was money available to take advantage is a different question.

These excursion trippers were, however, not always very popular at the resorts: those who had come to stay for a week or so did not welcome the crowds of those who had come only for the day, and in any case the day-trippers tended to bring their own food, and to spend very little money in the town's shops[30].

The point is worth making that the coming of the railway did not destroy the steamboat traffic which had done so much to popularize the Thanet resorts. Following a dual policy of cutting fares (at one point in 1855 the fare for a journey in the saloon was 1s. 6d., and in the forecabin 1s., fares which undercut even the 3s. 6d. excursion SER fare) and improving the quality of service on the ships, the steamship companies continued in service throughout the period considered here, having as a clientele those to whom price was a greater consideration than speed or convenience[31]. Just how many continued to travel in this way is uncertain: even when the steamboat was almost the only way of getting to Thanet, estimates for the number who came that way varied wildly: one witness suggested that in 1836 75,000 people had come to

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turn of the century (Folkestone, 1978), p. 206.

[31] Stafford, F. and Yates, N., *The Later Kentish Seaside* (Maidstone, 1985), pp. 13-14.

Margate or Ramsgate by steam packet, whilst another put the figure for 1830 at only 40,000[32].

## FREIGHT SERVICES

Information about the details of the freight services on the SER and LCDR is even more sparse than for the passenger services. Neither line was built as a major freight line[33], but there was some regular freight working, especially in the north-west Kent area.

In June, 1862 a complex pattern of freight working was in operation, involving five "roundabout" services, which (with the exception of the service that went from London to Ramsgate and back) went out from London (Bricklayers' Arms) and returned by different routes. These services only stopped at major stations; a "pick-up", or feeder service was provided from the smaller stations to the major. In the present context it is significant that only one train served Thanet, taking 7hr. 20min. for the 96 mile trip from London (Bricklayers' Arms) to Ramsgate. By 1877 the pattern had changed to a set of twelve direct workings, plus a further three branch workings, but none of these served Thanet[34]. In the following year the LCDR had a similar pattern of

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[32] Bagwell, P.S. and Armstrong, J., "Coastal shipping", in Freeman, M.J. and Aldcroft, D.H., *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester, 1988), p. 196.

[33] Even as late as the year 1913 three-quarters of the two companies' traffic receipts were earned by passenger traffic, and only a quarter from freight, Pratt, E.A., *British Railways and the Great War* (1921), p. 1074.

[34] Bradley, D.L., *The Locomotive History of the South Eastern Railway* (Second edition, 1985), pp. 93-5.

working, starting from Blackfriars or Battersea, with ten down goods services daily and ten approximately balancing services up. Ramsgate was served by one of these pairs, the outward service leaving Battersea at 1.15am, and the return leaving Ramsgate at 7.25pm[35].

In other words, when both railways were well established in Thanet, all the freight that was generated could be catered for by a single daily train, of not more than about 30 trucks[36], most certainly not all of which would have been filled when the train left Ramsgate. In fact, the train was unlikely to have been at its full strength or length on leaving Ramsgate, but would have picked up additional trucks up to its maximum load *en route*. There would of course have been additional freight traffic in the form of covered vans attached to passenger trains, but these were never numerous on the SER or the LCDR systems, and the amount carried that way was probably negligible, except perhaps for the fish traffic - see below. A photograph of the LCDR's Ramsgate Harbour station, dating from about 1910, shows only five goods trucks in the station area; these all appear to contain only coal, which was presumably for use by the passenger train engines. There is no sign of other freight stock[37]. The minor place which freight occupied in the

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[35] Bradley, D.L. *The Locomotive History of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (second edition, 1979), p. 95. I owe both these references to Mr. David Monk-Steel of the Railway Correspondence and Travel Society.

[36] Bradley, D.L., *The locomotive history of the London, Chatham and Dover railway* (second edition, 1979), p. 96.

[37] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 130. A similar, rather better-known photograph appears in Mitchell, V. & Smith, K., *Southern Main lines: Sittingbourne to Ramsgate* (Midhurst, 1991), illustration 112: there are again three coal trucks, in the same siding, and no sign of other freight stock except what

Thanet railways is further indicated by the small size of the goods depot buildings at the stations[38].

As late as the summer of 1912 the SECR's Goods Working Book[39] still showed very little traffic with Thanet as a destination or source. Over the old SER route the newspaper train arrived at Ramsgate Town from Bricklayers' Arms at 6.14am daily with a portion for Margate Sands, arriving there at 6.30am; there was a train at 12.55am from Redhill which arrived at Margate Sands at 7.45am, but that only ran on Mondays if required. On alternate Mondays there was a cattle train run in conjunction with Sandwich market which left Margate Sands at 4.50am, arrived at Sandwich at 5.36am, and came back to Margate to arrive at 4.30pm, and lastly there was the 9.30pm train, starting from Ashford which arrived at Ramsgate Town at 12.30am, but that did not run on Saturdays. Up services were no more generous, though a train described as "Fast Market" train left Margate Sands each day at 7.15pm for London (Blackfriars) where it was due to arrive at 12.40am; it appears to have been an important train to judge from the notes about it, which suggested that it may well have been a long train, and emphasized that this was essentially a London market train, presumably carrying produce for Covent Garden market.

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appears to be a brake van behind the coal trucks.

[38] See for example the plans of the SER stations at Ramsgate and Margate in Mitchell, V. & Smith, K., *South Coast Railways: Dover to Ramsgate* (Midhurst, 1990), plates 97a (Ramsgate Town) and 90a and b (Margate Sands).

[39] South Eastern and Chatham Railway: Goods working book for July, August and September, 1912. Issued at London Bridge station, 25th June, 1912.

On the old LCDR route the mail train (which also seems to have conveyed cattle) left London (Stewart's Lane) at 12.05am, to arrive at Ramsgate Harbour at 7.50am, but that appears to have been the only freight train over this route in the day which started in London and finished at Thanet. The only up train was the equivalent of the SER route's "Fast Market", which left Ramsgate Harbour at 6.50pm and arrived at Blackfriars at 1.50am.

Details of what was actually carried by these trains do not seem to exist. Margate had been a port for the export of Thanet grain to London[40] but this trade had declined in the seventeenth century, and only the development of a bathing season in the years after 1730 rescued the town from decay[41]. As a head customs port Ramsgate must have had a quantity of imports, but it seems reasonable to assume that the only items discharged would have been those for the immediate hinterland: there was no point in discharging cargoes in Ramsgate that were bound for any area of the north or south Kent coasts. In any case, there was no direct rail connection between any of the stations and the harbours[42]: there would have been little point in discharging cargoes into carts in order to re-load them into rail trucks.

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[40] Gras, N.S.B., *The Evolution of the Metropolitan Corn Market* (Harvard, 1915), p. 100.

[41] Walton, J.K., *The English Sea-side Resort* (Leicester, 1983), p. 49.

[42] Other than at Dover and Folkestone, there was direct rail connection to the quayside only at Whitstable and Faversham among East Kent's ports.

Table 7.4: TONS OF FISH CARRIED BY RAIL FROM EAST KENT FISHING PORTS IN THE YEARS 1879 TO 1887[43].

| Year | Ramsgate LCDR | Ramsgate SER | Margate LCDR | Margate SER | Herne Bay | Broad-stairs | Birch-ington | Total | All Kent fish traffic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879 | 1,925 | 805 | 38 | 85 | 22 | 2 | | 2,877 | 6,390 |
| 1880 | 2,026 | 592 | 8 | 117 | 47 | 2 | | 2,792 | 5,869 |
| 1881 | 2,318 | 303 | 31 | 170 | 25 | 2 | | 2,849 | 6,693 |
| 1882 | 1,864 | 342 | 13 | 65 | 5 | | | 2,289 | 6,583 |
| 1883 | 1,972 | 362 | 20 | 144 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 2,513 | 7,037 |
| 1884 | 2,052 | 793 | 50 | 405 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 3,320 | 10,294 |
| 1885 | 1,777 | 773 | 20 | 168 | 21 | 7 | 2 | 2,768 | 9,864 |
| 1887 | 1,849 | 103 | 13 | 704 | | | | 2,669 | 4,214 |

[The figures for 1887 are taken from a different series of statistics, and so may not be strictly comparable.]

A fair amount of fish went from Kent to London, and some 40% of it went from Ramsgate, as might be inferred from Table 7.4. Not very surprisingly, in view of the relative position of the two stations, the LCDR carried the greater part of the Ramsgate fish traffic; by 1881 seven times as much fish left Ramsgate by the LCDR as by the SER. Ramsgate had about 75% of the Thanet fish traffic: no other Thanet port could rival it, though further round the coast, in the SER's undisputed territory, some ports made a fair showing. Assuming that the average van or truck carried about five tons[44] of fish, this suggests that about

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[43] *Return of the quantity of fish conveyed inland by railway, PP HoC (1882), LXIV,* pp. 161-76 for the figures for 1879, 1880 and 1881; *Return of the quantity of fish conveyed inland by railway, PP HoC (1886), LX,* pp. 231-249 for the figures for 1882 to 1885. *Return by the principal railway companies ... showing rates charged by them for the carriage of fish ... for 1887, PP HoC (1888), LXXXVIII,* pp. 511-573.

[44] Calculation based on information about goods trucks and their various loads in Bradley, D. L., *The Locomotive History of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (second edition, 1979), p. 97.

520 truck-loads, about ten a week, of fish left Ramsgate by both routes, very possibly by vans attached to passenger trains: fish is, after all, a cargo that demands speed in transit.

Though the tonnage of fish leaving the Thanet ports remained at a more or less constant level over the years, the relative importance of Thanet fell until the 1890s as Whitstable became the principal fish port for Kent[45]: in 1885 more fish left Whitstable by rail than from all the Thanet ports combined, though the value of fish landed at Ramsgate was generally the highest in Kent. In terms of the local economy, however, fishing must have declined in relative importance as the tourist industry increased. In any case, in national terms Thanet's fishing industry was never large: during the years covered by Table 7.4 the North-Eastern Railway was carrying between 45,000 and 50,000 tons a year.

An obvious freight for the railways was coal, but until 1867 the volume arriving in London by rail was exceeded by that arriving by sea, and the sea traffic regained the upper hand in the mid 1890s[46]. Almost certainly virtually all the coal used in Thanet, apart from that used by the railways themselves, would have arrived by sea. The lack of direct rail access to the quaysides must be very relevant here. On present

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[45] A position it had lost to Ramsgate by 1892, and which (except very briefly in 1899) it did not recover, Winstanley, M.J, *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), p. 95.

[46] Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962): Bagwell, P.S., and Armstrong, J., "Coastal shipping", in Freeman, M.J. and Aldcroft D.H. (eds), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester, 1988), p. 185.

evidence, it seems unlikely that the coming of the railway made a great deal of difference to coal traffic through the ports, though coal landed at Dover, Faversham and Whitstable, all of which had direct rail access to the quays, must have been the more easily distributed by the railways. Though the number of coal merchants and dealers in the five towns considered increased in gross terms, the number per thousand people, never very high, dropped everywhere but at Broadstairs and Birchington, where a single coal merchant had appeared by 1887: each trader must have been doing appreciably more business year by year.

It is possible that the railways took from the harbours local supply traffic. Bagwell and Armstrong instance the cases of Poole, where the coming of the railway destroyed the coastal trade bringing groceries[47] into the town within five years, and of Bridport, where the output of net and rope was sent by rail as soon as a rail link was established[48]. There was, in Thanet, no equivalent of the net and rope industry, but it seems most likely that a fair proportion of consumer goods came to the area by sea before 1846, and probably ceased to do so shortly afterwards. However, on a national scale, the coastal carriers fought back with a price war and survived many years; railway customers complained that freight rates were much higher where there was no

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[47] Hoy traffic, much subject to the weather, was liable to long and unexpected delays: the reliability, as well as speed, of rail traffic was a great point in its favour from the viewpoint of those whose livelihood relied on a reliable supply of their stock in trade, Whyman, J., "Kentish railways: their construction and impact", in *Cantium, Vol V* (1973-74), p. 75.

[48] Bagwell, P.S. and Armstrong, J. in *loc. cit.*, pp. 181-2.

competing water service[49]. Some specialist traffic continued to be carried by water even long after railway transport was available: Huntley and Palmer of Reading sent their biscuits to London by rail, but then transhipped them to hoys by which they were carried, among other places, to "the Medway towns, Faversham and other places on the Kent coast"[50], but this was exceptional.

**Table 7.5: TONNAGE OF VESSELS CLEARING RAMSGATE WITH CARGO TO NEAREST 1,000 TONS.[51]**

| Year | Inward or outward | Foreign trade | Coastwise trade |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1841 | Inward | 4 | 80 |
| | Outward | 0 | 17 |
| 1900 | Inward | 11 | 61 |
| | Outward | 0 | 11 |

This story, of a decline in coasting trade, occasioned by the appearance on the scene of a faster bulk carrier, the railway, can be traced in the figures for shipping entering and leaving Ramsgate harbour (Table 7.5): Ramsgate, being a Head Port, had as "creeks" Sandwich and Margate, so these figures include shipping into and from those ports, but the point of the figures is not invalidated thereby. For practical purposes, Ramsgate had no outward foreign trade at all, though the amount of inward trade almost tripled over the period. Coastwise trade was a

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[49] Bagwell, P.S. and Armstrong, J., *loc. cit.*, p. 182-83. This competition may have affected as many as 60% of all railway stations in the United Kingdom.

[50] Bagwell, P.S. & Armstrong, J. *loc. cit*, p. 195.

[51] Jackson, G, "The ports", in Freeman, M.J. and Aldcroft, D.H. (eds), *Transport in Victorian Britain*, (Manchester, 1988), Table 19, pp. 246-49.

different story, with a decline of inward trade to about 75% of what it had been sixty years before, and outward trade dropping to about 66% of the earlier figure. It is very difficult not to associate that decline of coastwise trade with the arrival of the railway in Thanet. Ramsgate and its creeks were not alone in this problem of course, and were not the worst hit: Jackson lists 70 ports which had an element of coasting trade in 1841 and 1900; of those, 32 showed a percentage decrease in inward trade over that period of years, and another 32 a decrease in outward trade. Ramsgate stood 43rd in descending order in the percentage ranking in the inward trade listing, and 44th in descending order of the outward trade listing. Some towns' coastal trade had vanished almost entirely, e.g. along the south coast, Arundel, Bridport, Chichester and Rye[51].

In sum, therefore, it is clear that whilst Ramsgate's import trade survived, and even prospered in a modest way, presumably serving the hinterland, the coastwise trade suffered badly at the railway's hands, though for practical reasons the coal traffic may very well have survived almost intact. All the same, information about the actual extent of a railway freight service to or from Thanet does imply that the total amount of freight which was moved on a day to day basis cannot have been high. Fish traffic certainly increased: in 1887 there were eleven smack owners in Ramsgate and one fish merchant; in 1855 there had

[51] Jackson, *loc.cit.*

been none of either[53]. Just what the year by year volume of fish traffic from Thanet actually was, immediately before or after the coming of the railway, is not known, but certainly the consumption in the major cities of England increased as the supply of cheap fresh fish increased[54], though after the initial impact on fish prices in the major conurbations, the price of fish at inland points of sale did not become any cheaper[55]. One effect of this increased demand by inland centres was to increase the retail price of fish at the point of landing: previously all fish had to be sold locally, at whatever price it would fetch; after the coming of the railway this was no longer so.[56] However, in so far as there was an increased inland demand for fish, Ramsgate seems to have had a modest share in this new prosperity: by 1866 the boats fishing out of Ramsgate were not only more numerous (about 50), but half as large again (45 to 55 tons, against an earlier figure of 28 to 30 tons)[57].

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[53] By 1874 there were 215 fishing boats working from Ramsgate, Whyman, J., "Kentish railways: their construction and impact", in *Cantium, Vol V* (1973-74), p. 83.

[54] A supply of fresh fish from Hull and the east coast ports brought the price of fish in Manchester down from 8d. to 1½d per pound, Robinson, R., "The evolution of railway fish traffic policies, 1842-1866", in the *Journal of Transport History, Third series, Vol VII* (1986-87), pp. 32-44.

[55] *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Sea Fisheries of the United Kingdom, Vol I*, PP HoC 1866, (XVII), Report, p. xiv.

[56] *Ibid., Report*, p. xii.

[57] *Ibid: Minutes of evidence*, Qns. 10,098-100: evidence of James Gravells.

## POPULATION

The actual population figures are shown in Table 7.6, and these figures are illustrated in Graph 7.1.

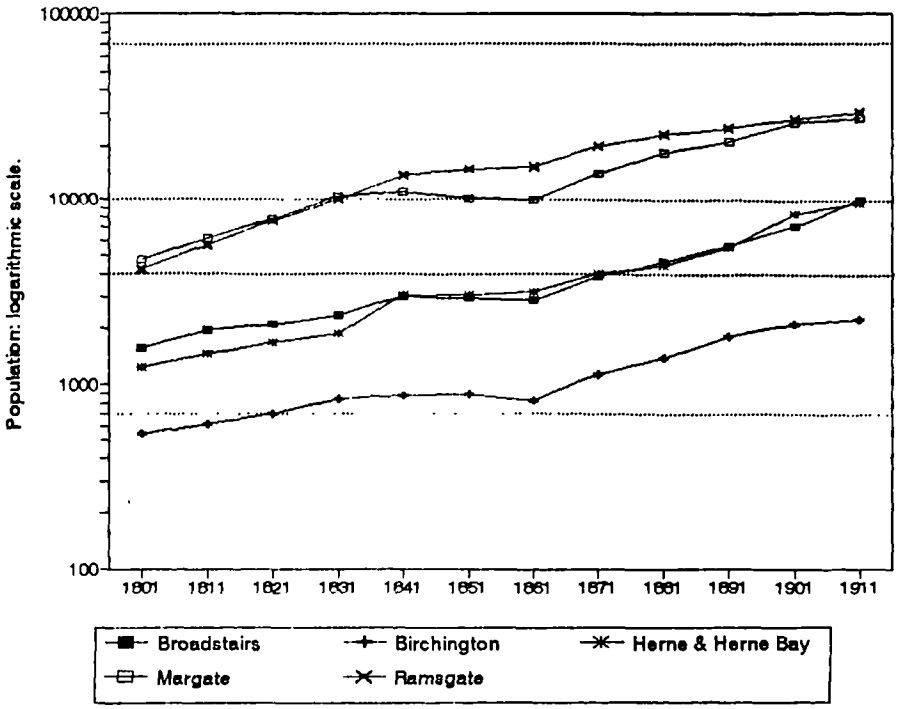
Table 7.6 THE POPULATION OF THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.

| TOWN | 1801 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Broadstairs & St. Peter's | 1,568 | 1,943 | 2,101 | 2,342 | 2,978 | 2,975 |
| Birchington | 537 | 614 | 700 | 843 | 874 | 885 |
| Herne & Herne Bay | 1,232 | 1,442 | 1,675 | 1,876 | 3,041 | 3,094 |
| Margate | 4,766 | 6,126 | 7,843 | 10,339 | 11,050 | 10,099 |
| Ramsgate & St. Lawrence | 4,178 | 5,637 | 7,632 | 10,009 | 13,603 | 14,853 |
| TOTALS | 12,281 | 15,762 | 19,951 | 25,409 | 31,546 | 31,906 |
| TOWN | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| Broadstairs & St. Peter's | 2,855 | 3,847 | 4,597 | 5,661 | 7,193 | 10,095 |
| Birchington | 813 | 1,137 | 1,393 | 1,822 | 2,128 | 2,275 |
| Herne & Herne Bay | 3,147 | 3,988 | 4,410 | 5,482 | 8,442 | 9,680 |
| Margate | 10,019 | 13,903 | 18,226 | 21,367 | 26,734 | 28,458 |
| Ramsgate & St. Lawrence | 15,152 | 19,986 | 23,068 | 25,141 | 28,295 | 30,161 |
| TOTALS | 31,986 | 42,861 | 51,694 | 59,473 | 72,792 | 80,669 |

Of these five towns, only Margate and Ramsgate were directly affected by the opening of the SER in 1846. The SER claimed that their station at Sturry, some six miles to the south of Herne Bay, and across the bleak Blean plateau, was an adequate railhead for the town, but within the definition of a town having a station, Herne Bay cannot be said to feature till the coming of the LCDR in 1861.

As may be seen from Graph 7.1, both Margate and Ramsgate were growing steadily in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Margate was already recognized as a watering-place[11] and Ramsgate was

Graph 7.1: THE POPULATION OF THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.




a considerable commercial port, as well as a watering-place of Regency interest, as some of its architecture, and the names of some of its streets, such as La Belle Alliance Square, and the Plains of Waterloo, testify. Both towns increased their population at about the same rate for the first thirty years, but after 1831 the pattern changed.

Margate's population showed little increase 1831-41, fell 1841-51, fell again, but very slightly, 1851-61, but showed a major increase 1861-71,

[11] See Whyman, J., "A Hanoverian watering-place: Margate before the railway", in Everitt. A. (ed), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (1973), pp. 138-60.

and though this rate of increase was not maintained, it remained at a very respectable level until the end of the century. The rate of growth of the population of Ramsgate continued at a respectable level until 1841, but the expansion, though continued, was by no means so great in percentage terms 1841-51, and as at Margate, the decade 1851-61 saw virtual stabilization, with only a very small increase in absolute and percentage terms. The decade 1861-71 saw a large increase, though not such a spectacular recovery as Margate staged in the same decade, and though the shape of the two graphs (Graph 7.1) remains very similar, Margate's population grew at a faster rate than did Ramsgate's until the decade 1901-11.

What part did the railway play in influencing these population changes? It is very clear that the coming of the SER in 1846 made no positive contribution to the population growth of either town. Margate's population declined in the fifteen years after the SER arrived; at Ramsgate the small increase achieved 1841-51 was only just maintained 1851-61. It may be significant that the SER's passengers from the London direction would have to pass through Ramsgate (where the train had to reverse) on their way to Margate: perhaps they chose to get out at the first resort they came to, assuming that they had not already alighted at Folkestone. Even more significant is the fact that by 1846 the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway had been running trains to Brighton, only fifty miles from London compared to Ramsgate's almost

one hundred, for five years. Quite simply, the Thanet towns had been left at the post[59].

The arrival of the LCDR in 1863 had a far more marked effect on both towns. Though Margate's actual population was smaller than that of Ramsgate in 1861, and remained so until after 1911 (Graph 7.1), the rate of *increase* at Margate in the decade 1861-71 was faster than at Ramsgate, and continued to be so in every decade until 1911. The rapid rise of 1861-71 was not maintained, and that rate of rise declined until a brief recovery 1891-1901, but then declined again.

As far as the other holiday towns are concerned, the populations of Broadstairs and Herne Bay did not differ very greatly. Both towns showed steady gains in the years up to 1831, though the rate of growth was less than that for Ramsgate or Margate. Both showed a (relatively) large increase 1831-41, especially at Herne Bay, where the population increased by 60%, which growth can be directly attributed to the opening of the pier in 1833, meaning that the ships which served Margate and Ramsgate from London could now call at Herne Bay. However, this new level of population was barely maintained in the next two decades, Broadstairs showing a small decline. Easier access to other Kent resorts, and even more significantly easy access to the south coast resorts must have affected Herne Bay in the same way that Margate and Ramsgate were affected. Broadstairs' growth over the same period may be associated with the contemporary growth of Ramsgate, the centre of

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[59] Stafford, F. & Yates, N., *The Later Kentish Seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), p.6.

which is only about two miles away: whilst Ramsgate's population was increasing by over 35%, that of Broadstairs rose by just under 30%.

At Birchington the population, having increased at about the same rate that the other holiday towns had done 1801-31 suffered a period of population stagnation and subsequent decline in the years up to 1861, also attributable to the fact that other seaside resorts were easier to reach from London. With a population in 1861 of only just over 800, Birchington was just a tiny village, with no harbour, rather stranded between the considerably larger Herne Bay and the very much larger Margate, too far from either to justify a walk and lacking sufficient attractions to warrant the expense of a carriage.

The size of all three of these towns was changed dramatically by the arrival of the LCDR, at Herne Bay in 1861, and at Birchington and Broadstairs in 1863. All three grew by 30% or more 1861-71, and with the exception of Herne Bay (1871-81) maintained a growth rate in excess of 20% each decade for the rest of the century. By 1891 the population of Birchington had more than doubled from the 1861 figure (though in absolute terms it was still a fairly small village) and the same was true of Broadstairs; Herne Bay was lagging slightly, but by the end of the next decade the population was more than two and a half times what it had been before the railway came. As at Ramsgate and Margate, the initial boom was not immediately sustained, though Herne Bay put on another spurt 1891-1901. At Broadstairs, however, after the rate of increase fell back 1871-81, it increased again 1881-91, and was to go on

increasing: in terms of the rate of population increase, Broadstairs enjoyed a bigger boom than any of the other towns considered in this chapter.

The big jump 1861-71, and the towns' failure to maintain that high rate implies very clearly that the arrival of the LCDR was a primary causal factor in that growth. Why did the LCDR's arrival have an effect the SER's clearly did not? The most obvious answer is that by the time the LCDR came the railway, as a means of popular transport, may be said to have arrived. When the SER arrived, the Rainhill trials had been held only seventeen years previously; by the time the LCDR arrived, railways had become accepted and almost commonplace[60]. Secondly, on a more local level, the LCDR passed through the increasingly densely populated parishes of south-east London and north-west Kent, and to this very large potential catchment area offered a shorter, and rather faster, route to Thanet than the SER did[61]. This time, the line passed through Margate before it reached Ramsgate; this may be why after the LCDR came, Margate's population rise tended to be faster than Ramsgate's: people arrived there first.

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[60] In 1846 the total number of mile of line open in Great Britain had probably been under 4,000; by 1863 there were 10,581 miles open, almost half what was to be the eventual maximum, Mitchell, B.R., and Deane P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 25-26.

[61] When first opened, the LCDR's route from Bromley to Rochester lay in still largely open countryside, but from the beginning could pick up passengers from the SER's North Kent line at Strood. Certainly the population of the area through which the LCDR passed grew rapidly after the line opened: the population of Bromley alone more than doubled from 5,505 in 1861 to 10,674 in 1871. Page, W. (Ed.), *Victoria Country History of Kent, Vol III* (1932), p. 368.

But these reasons account for why more people came to visit and to holiday in Thanet, they do not explain why more people came to *live* there. For people to move into an area in large numbers there would appear to be three possible reasons:

1. there was work to be had there while it was not available elsewhere;

2. there were the possibilities of major commercial growth, or large potential economic opportunities;

3. improvements in life-style, which might mean either a more pleasant place, or a cheaper place, in which to live, especially perhaps for those who had retired.

(1) would not appear to apply to the East Kent holiday towns; there was no industry in the area to attract a floating workforce, but (2) and (3) would appear to be very relevant, as will be seen below, in a discussion on the changes in the commercial pattern of all the holiday towns. If holiday makers came to the town, profit was to be had in providing what they wanted, be it lodgings, a temperance hotel, a fancy shell shop, or a supply of essence of shrimp. Equally, if the railway made it easier to journey from or to an area, that area might be far more desirable as a dwelling place - and the rising number of "private residents" testifies to the number of Victorians who believed this to be true of Thanet.

## CHANGES IN THE PATTERNS OF COMMERCE

The changes in the patterns of commerce in the holiday towns can be seen in Table 7.8[62] The first and most obvious point of interest in these tables is that in every case the number of units in Group 3 (Drink and lodging) - that is the hotels, lodging houses, boarding houses, dining rooms, coffee rooms, etc., businesses which accommodated or fed the holidaymaker, expanded very greatly. At Ramsgate the number of outlets per thousand of the population [OPT] almost trebled, at Margate it increased sixfold. The smaller towns showed smaller increases: at Broadstairs it doubled, and at Herne Bay it increased by one third. Birchington showed a fourfold increase. In the year before the railway came, the town with the greatest OPT in this group was Herne Bay (27.55), followed by Broadstairs (15.23), Ramsgate (11.38), Margate (7.12) and Birchington (1.86). After twenty-five years the order was Margate (42.17), Herne Bay (36.31), Broadstairs (33.62), Ramsgate (29.74) and Birchington (6.33). The growth of the holiday industry in Thanet was clearly enormous: real wages were rising fairly steadily from

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[62] The actual directories used were:

| | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birchington | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 |
| Broadstairs | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 |
| Herne Bay | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 |
| Margate | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 |
| Ramsgate | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 |
| Westgate | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1895 |

The composition of the various groups is described in Chapter V, p. 164-65.

## Table 7.8, part 1.

OUTLETS PER THOUSAND OF THE POPULATION IN THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.

| TOWN | BIRCHINGTON | | | | BIRCHINGTON | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 |
| Population | 3,231 | 3,652 | 4,115 | 5,053 | 3,231 | 3,652 | 4,115 | 5,053 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.20 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 6 | 7 | 8 | 32 | 1.86 | 1.92 | 1.94 | 6.33 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 11 | 13 | 15 | 29 | 3.40 | 3.56 | 3.65 | 5.74 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 3 | 3 | 8 | 19 | 0.93 | 0.82 | 1.94 | 3.76 |
| Gp 6: Others | 11 | 13 | 15 | 26 | 3.40 | 3.56 | 3.65 | 5.15 |

| TOWN | BROADSTAIRS | | | | BROADSTAIRS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 |
| Population | 2,954 | 3,450 | 4,072 | 5,235 | 2,954 | 3,450 | 4,072 | 5,235 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0.68 | 0.58 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0.34 | 0.29 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 45 | 64 | 119 | 176 | 15.23 | 18.55 | 29.22 | 33.62 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 47 | 47 | 58 | 103 | 15.91 | 13.62 | 14.24 | 19.68 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 23 | 21 | 27 | 46 | 7.79 | 6.09 | 6.63 | 8.79 |
| Gp 6: Others | 46 | 43 | 48 | 63 | 15.57 | 12.46 | 11.79 | 12.03 |

| TOWN | HERNE & HERNE BAY | | | | HERNE & HERNE BAY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 |
| Population | 3,231 | 3,568 | 4,326 | 5,053 | 3,231 | 3,568 | 4,326 | 5,053 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0.31 | 0.28 | 0.23 | 0.40 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.31 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.79 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 89 | 88 | 79 | 185 | 27.55 | 24.66 | 18.26 | 36.61 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 64 | 62 | 67 | 128 | 19.81 | 17.38 | 15.49 | 25.33 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 32 | 37 | 27 | 49 | 9.90 | 10.37 | 6.24 | 9.70 |
| Gp 6: Others | 60 | 51 | 49 | 76 | 18.57 | 14.29 | 11.33 | 15.04 |

**Table 7.8, part 2.**

| TOWN | MARGATE | | | | MARGATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 |
| Population | 10,670 | 10,090 | 10,067 | 20,110 | 10,670 | 10,090 | 10,067 | 20,110 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 0.47 | 0.79 | 0.50 | 0.40 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 0.56 | 0.40 | 0.40 | 0.25 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 76 | 190 | 316 | 848 | 7.12 | 18.83 | 31.39 | 42.17 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 247 | 235 | 218 | 419 | 23.15 | 23.29 | 21.65 | 20.84 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 69 | 92 | 80 | 184 | 6.47 | 9.12 | 7.95 | 9.15 |
| Gp 6: Others | 100 | 97 | 86 | 133 | 9.37 | 9.61 | 8.54 | 6.61 |

| TOWN | RAMSGATE & St. LAWRENCE | | | | RAMSGATE & St. LAWRENCE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 |
| Population | 14,235 | 15,291 | 15,291 | 21,485 | 14,235 | 15,291 | 15,291 | 21,485 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 18 | 14 | 12 | 38 | 1.26 | 0.92 | 0.78 | 1.77 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 0.35 | 0.20 | 0.26 | 0.19 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 162 | 190 | 321 | 639 | 11.38 | 12.43 | 20.99 | 29.74 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 322 | 309 | 314 | 525 | 22.62 | 20.21 | 20.53 | 24.44 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 97 | 118 | 111 | 215 | 6.81 | 7.72 | 7.26 | 10.01 |
| Gp 6: Others | 145 | 109 | 83 | 210 | 10.19 | 7.13 | 5.43 | 9.77 |

| TOWN | WESTGATE & GARLINGE | | | | WESTGATE & GARLINGE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1895 | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1895 |
| Population | ? | ? | 1,770 | 3,070 | ? | ? | 1,770 | 3,070 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | ? | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | ? | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 13 | 24 | 47 | 76 | ? | ? | 26.55 | 24.76 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 5 | 15 | 31 | 57 | ? | ? | 17.51 | 18.57 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 5 | 10 | 24 | 27 | ? | ? | 13.56 | 8.79 |
| Gp 6: Others | 26 | 21 | 23 | 31 | ? | ? | 12.99 | 10.10 |

**Table 7.8, concluded.**

| TOWN | TOTAL OF ALL HOLIDAY TOWNS | | | | TOTAL OF ALL HOLIDAY TOWNS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Date | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
| Population | 34,321 | 36,051 | 37,871 | 56,936 | 34,321 | 36,051 | 37,871 | 56,936 |
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 26 | 25 | 19 | 48 | 0.76 | 0.69 | 0.50 | 0.84 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 13 | 8 | 8 | 14 | 0.38 | 0.22 | 0.21 | 0.25 |
| Gp 3: Drink and Lodging | 378 | 539 | 843 | 1,880 | 11.01 | 14.95 | 22.26 | 33.02 |
| Gp 4: Retailers and service | 691 | 666 | 672 | 1,204 | 20.13 | 18.47 | 17.74 | 21.15 |
| Gp 5: Public service & profession | 224 | 271 | 253 | 513 | 6.53 | 7.52 | 6.68 | 9.01 |
| Gp 6: Others | 362 | 313 | 281 | 508 | 10.55 | 8.68 | 7.42 | 8.92 |

1850 to 1900, and though to begin with that rise was a function of increased wages, which benefitted those who were best able to bargain for them, the skilled workers.- from the mid 1880s it was a function of *falling prices* - which were to everybody's benefit, providing more general disposable income. The growth of the holiday industry nation-wide, and not just in Thanet, must be one of the side-effects of that rise in real wages[63]. Thanet's visitors do not seem to have been bent on drink: the OPT of the drink interest in the holiday towns generally fell steadily from 5.13 in Year 1 to 3.90 in Year 4.

The point is worth making that, though there was a massive increase in the number of lodging and boarding houses, running such an establishment does not appear to have been a recipe for instant wealth. There was a very much greater turn-over among boarding and lodging house operators than one would expect. Those establishments which were in the hands of the same person (or husband/wife/son/daughter of the original operator) in Years 2 and 3, are surprisingly few in number [Table 7.9]. In five years, almost 70% of those people who were running lodging or boarding houses in Ramsgate had given up doing so, more than 70% in Broadstairs, and just over a half in Herne Bay. Even in Margate, where if the proliferation of the seaside landlady over the next twenty years is any guide, there was much money to be made in letting rooms, over a third of those who were letting accommodation in Year 2

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[63] Dingle, A.E., "Drink and working-class living standards in Britain, 1870-1914", *Economic History Review* Second series, Vol. XXV, (1972), p. 616. Dingle points out that the percentage of disposable income spent on drink was falling 1870-1914; some at least of the money may have been spent on holidays,(*ibid*), p. 611.

were not doing so in Year 3. Perhaps the missing ones had made their fortune and retired, but it seems more likely that they *had failed to do* so, and had given up[11]. Even to the expanding lodging industry, the railway did not necessarily bring prosperity as one of its *passengers*. Notwithstanding this, the character of Margate as a holiday resort clearly underwent more change than the other resorts; just before the SER came it had apparently been a town which catered either for the short-stay visitor, who did not need accommodation, or for the visitor who hired a set of rooms, and who certainly did not think of himself as

Table 7.9 CONTINUITY OF TENURE AMONG BOARDING AND LODGING HOUSE OWNERS.

| Town | (a) Year II Total establishments | (b) Year III Establishments in the same hands. | Percentage (b) of (a). |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ramsgate | 103 | 33 | 32.0 |
| Margate | 120 | 70 | 58.3 |
| Broadstairs | 44 | 12 | 27.3 |
| Herne Bay | 57 | 27 | 47.4 |

living in a boarding-house, or who stayed in one of the eight hotels. Twenty-five years after the arrival of the LCDR, the accommodation was concentrated in lodging houses for the visitor who planned to spend at least a few days in the town. There were in 1845 eight hotels; by 1887 there were 22; in 1845 there had been seven lodging or boarding

[11] In view of the nature of the landlady's work it is hardly surprising that those who could give the work up did so as soon as they could: see the account of the life of a Margate landlady at the turn of the century in Winstanley, M., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), pp. 212-18.

houses; in 1887 there were 824[65]. None of the other towns in this group saw quite such a growth in the number of hotels and boarding houses as did Margate. Comparative figures for the other holiday towns are given in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10 INCREASE IN BOARDING ACCOMMODATION IN THE HOLIDAY TOWNS.

| Town | Date | Hotels | Lodging houses |
|---|---|---|---|
| Margate | 1845 | 8 | 7[66] |
| | 1887 | 22 | 824 |
| | | | |
| Ramsgate | 1845 | 4 | 78 |
| | 1887 | 18 | 492 |
| | | | |
| Broadstairs | 1862 | 2 | 25 |
| | 1887 | 5 | 147 |
| | | | |
| Herne Bay | 1862 | 4 | 61 |
| | 1887 | 4 | 151 |

It is noteworthy that whilst Ramsgate's hotels multiplied more than four-fold, Margate's multiplied less than three-fold; at Broadstairs they more

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[65] One contemporary estimate of the number of visitors to Margate at any one time was "from 10,000 up to 60,000; it is a very large number indeed," W.D. Pickering, Mayor of Margate, speaking in 1877, quoted in Walton, J.K., *The English Seaside Resort* (Leicester, 1983), p. 235, note 49.

[66] This figure seems far too small in the light of contemporary comment about the availability of accommodation in Margate at a much earlier date. See for example Whyman, J., *The early Kentish seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), pp. 132-33, referring to 1796 and 1797.

than doubled, but at Herne Bay there was no increase. At Margate the lodging houses multiplied more than one hundredfold; at Ramsgate, starting from a considerably higher base level, the increase was six-fold. At Broadstairs it was almost six-fold, but at Herne Bay less than two and a half times. Herne Bay's need for residential accommodation had almost been filled in the years before the railway came, and (if these figures are a good guide) those people who came to stay at Ramsgate - nothing like as numerous as those who came to stay at Margate - were rather more likely to want hotel accommodation than boarding or lodging house accommodation: the same seems to have been true of the consciously select Broadstairs. Clearly Ramsgate had a large excursion traffic, as did Margate; Frith's painting is after all of Ramsgate Sands, not Margate. Did the lower number of boarding establishments available at Ramsgate by 1887 compared to the number available at Margate, a town of a very similar population level, indicate that Ramsgate was generally less popular and prosperous as a resort than Margate, or that Ramsgate's holiday prosperity lay in excursion traffic, rather than in short or long stay holidaymaking?

Ramsgate was a town with a more diverse economy than Margate: there was a harbour of refuge, it was a Head Customs Port, (though the traffic through the port was in decline, as discussed above) and had a fishing fleet which landed some 2,500 tons of fish each year (see Table 7.4)[61]. The OPT in Group I (Sea) was always higher at Ramsgate

[61] Despite this, by 1887, 18 fishmongers were trading in Margate, whilst there were only 10 in Ramsgate (7) and Broadstairs (3) combined.

than Margate (Table 7.8); by 1887 there were, proportionately, more than four times as many so engaged at Ramsgate than at Margate. In general terms, Ramsgate appears to have been less dependent on the holiday industry[66], and to that extent was less affected than Margate by the coming of the railway[67].

This also appears true of Herne Bay. Herne Bay was well established as a holiday resort before the railway came: though much smaller than Margate, there was in the year the railway arrived a higher OPT in Group 3 (drink and lodging) than at Margate when the railway first arrived there, and this was also true for Groups 5 (public service and professional) and 6 (others). By 1887 Group 3 had developed at both towns, but Margate now far outstripped Herne Bay in this respect, but Herne Bay was now better supplied with retailers (Group 4) and maintained its lead in Groups 5 and 6. Herne Bay's economy appears to have diversified after the railway came away from a concentration on the holiday industry in contrast to Margate's which went just the other way. On the other hand, Broadstairs, having had a more diverse economy than Margate or even Ramsgate when the railway came, lost some of that diversity as the years passed. By 1887 the pattern of Broadstairs' economy was, hardly surprisingly, very similar to that of its close neighbour, Ramsgate.

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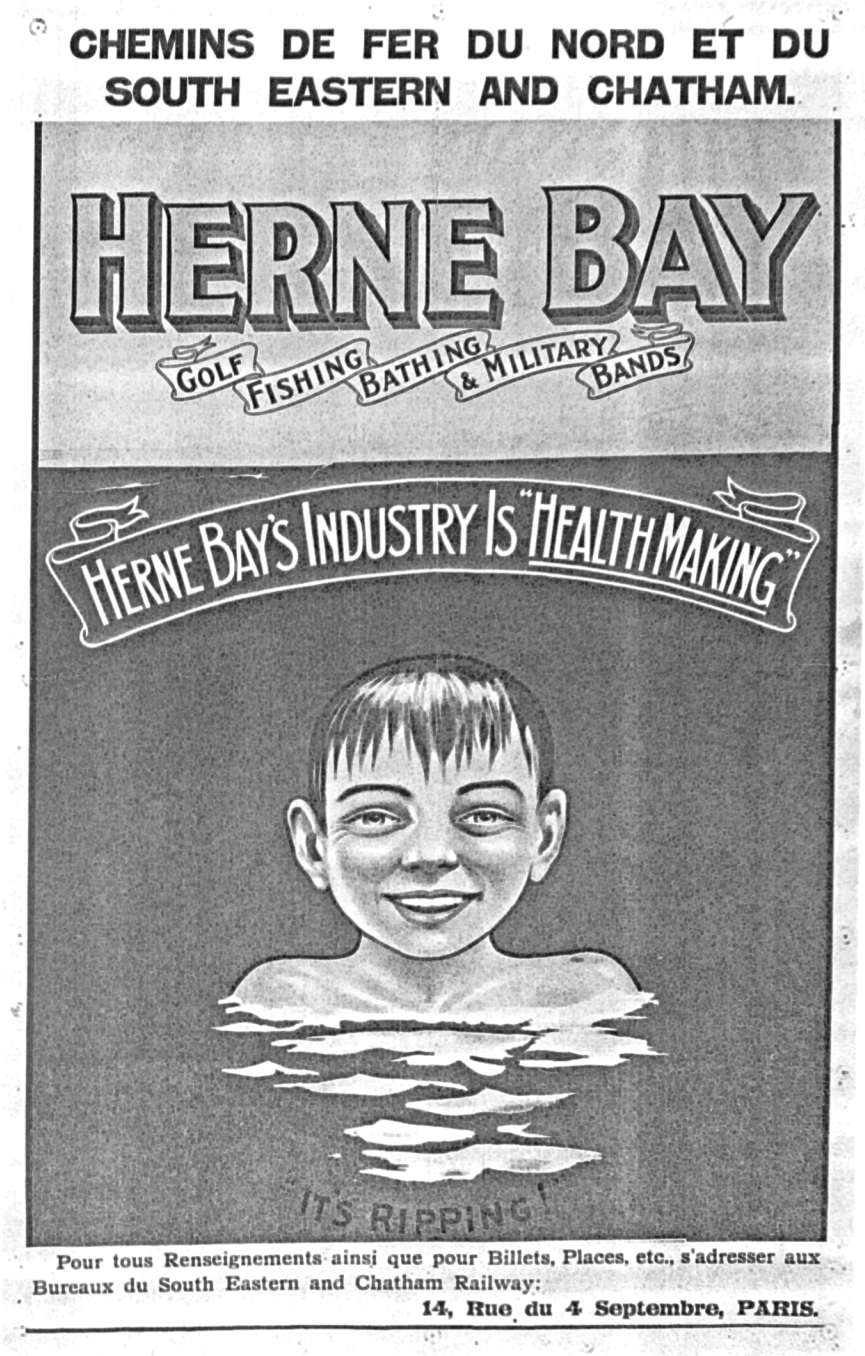
[66] Walton, J.K. *The English Seaside Resort* (Leicester, 1983), p. 49.

[67] Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 51 speaks of Margate as a "specialist" holiday town as early as 1851.




The SECR advertised in France as well as in Britain and typically economised by using English-language posters with the very minimum of alteration.

One professional group which certainly enjoyed a boom was that of the private schoolmaster [Table 7.11]. Margate clearly did best here, with the number of private schools more than tripling; Broadstairs' figure doubled, whilst those of Ramsgate and Herne Bay rose by a half. Thanet's climate, together with the easier access to London, and via London to the rest of the country, was clearly a great attraction to schoolmasters and parents alike.

Table 7.11 NUMBERS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS APPEARING IN THE DIRECTORIES.

| Town | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ramsgate | 24 | 17 | 22 | 33 |
| Margate | 20 | 24 | 19 | 69 |
| Birchington | | | 1 | 3 |
| Broadstairs | 5 | 4 | 7 | 12 |
| Herne Bay | 6 | 5 | 8 | 9 |

As might be expected in towns where the proportion of private residents rose steadily in the period, the number of doctors also increased, at a rate roughly proportional to the increase in the proportion of the private residents in the community (see Table 7.13 below): only at Ramsgate was the increase far below the growth rate of the private residents [Table 7.12].

There are other points of interest in Table 7.8. In almost every group, except at Margate, the OPT figure declined in the immediate five years

after the railway came. A few of these staged a recovery in the next five years, though most of them had done so by Year 4. This is exactly the reverse of the situation in the railway towns, where (except at Ashford) there was a post-railway boom, which was not sustained. Since there was no major population growth immediately after the railways came the suggestion is that the coming of the railway did nothing to promote an increase in outlets in the holiday towns; in fact, the population could not immediately sustain as many outlets, with the corollary that those outlets must, individually, have been doing better business to supply the wants of the extant population. A detailed

Table 7.12 NUMBERS OF MEDICAL MEN APPEARING IN THE DIRECTORIES.

| Town | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ramsgate | 15 | 13 | 9 | 18 |
| Margate | 9 | 11 | 10 | 16 |
| Birchington | | | 2 | 2 |
| Broadstairs | 3 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Herne Bay | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 |

examination of three main retail classes - food, clothing and household is of interest, and enables these comments to be expanded (see the Statistical Appendix, pages 519-25).

Except at Birchington, the proportion of retail food outlets dropped in the first five years after the railway came (by Year 2), a trend which was still continuing at Herne Bay, Broadstairs and Birchington in Year

3, though it had been reversed at Margate and Ramsgate. The trend was, however, upwards everywhere except at Margate by Year 4: at Margate and Broadstairs the figure was lower than it had been in Year 1. In fact only at Herne Bay was the Year 4 figure significantly bigger than the Year 1 figure. In other words, though the demand for seaside accommodation and day-vists had grown enormously in the period between Year 1 and Year 4, the food trade had not proportionately increased - which suggests that they must have been very busy indeed at the height of the season, and further reinforces the idea of a very seasonal holiday: trade in the low season was not enough to justify an expansion to cope with the demands of the high season. Taking into account the number of day excursionists who came to Thanet, and who presumably needed to be fed, the pattern of the food-supply trade is more surprising still.

The proportionate number of *clothing outlets steadily declined between* Years 1 and 3: only Herne Bay and Broadstairs showed very modest gains in Year 3 over Year 2. Herne Bay, Broadstairs and Birchington showed modest growth in Year 4 over Year 3, but progressed little further than the original Year 1 figure. At Margate and Ramsgate the decline continued, in both cases to a final figure of about two-thirds of what it had been in Year 1. The implication is that the Year 1 figure in Herne Bay, Broadstairs and Birchington was about what the three communities could support in the way of clothing outlets, and though some businesses had not withstood the initial effect of the railway, by Year 4 normality had re-asserted itself. At Ramsgate and Margate the

assumption must be that the size, in economic terms, of the outlets had increased, presumably not only to accommodate the increased demand of the residents, but perhaps also an increased demand from the visitors.

In all four towns the long-term effect on the household class was a considerable expansion by Year 4, though at Margate and Ramsgate this followed a dip during Years 2 and 3. This class, it will be recalled, included what might be called "luxury" trades, such as jewellers, watchmakers and piano warehouses, as well as the more mundane ironmongers and retailers of china and glass. The class "Service at domestic level" (for figures, see Table A7.1 in the Statistical Appendix) which included photographers, bathing machine owners and sellers of fancy shells and seaside souvenirs, such as the Goss ware[10] which became very popular in the last quarter of the century, as well as sweeps followed an almost exactly similar pattern.

Put rather differently, the implication is that, apart from those trades which comprised the lodging group, with a massive new emphasis on the holiday industry, the private residents, and the numerically small group of private schools, the coming of the railway did not fundamentally alter the commercial <u>character</u> of the towns: trades and professions were present in roughly the same proportions, one to another, at the end of the period, as they had been at the beginning. An attempt was made to

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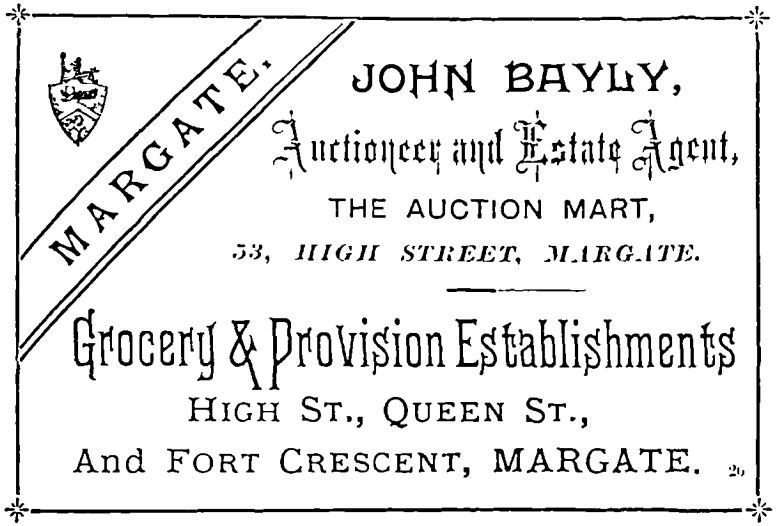
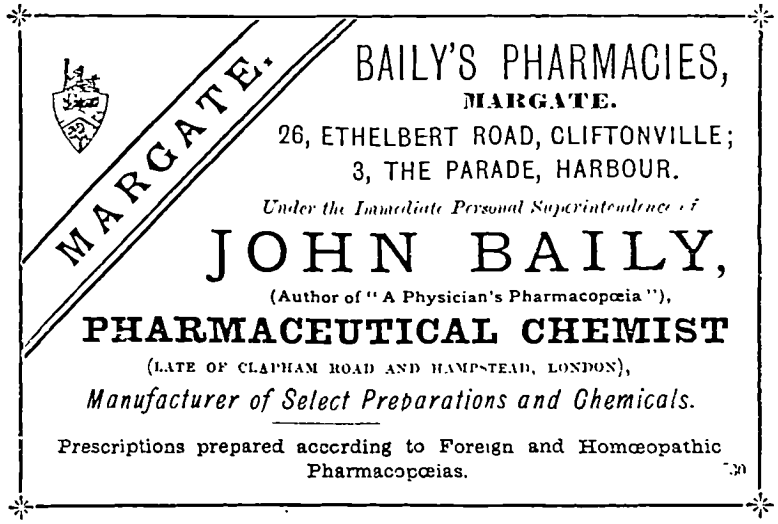
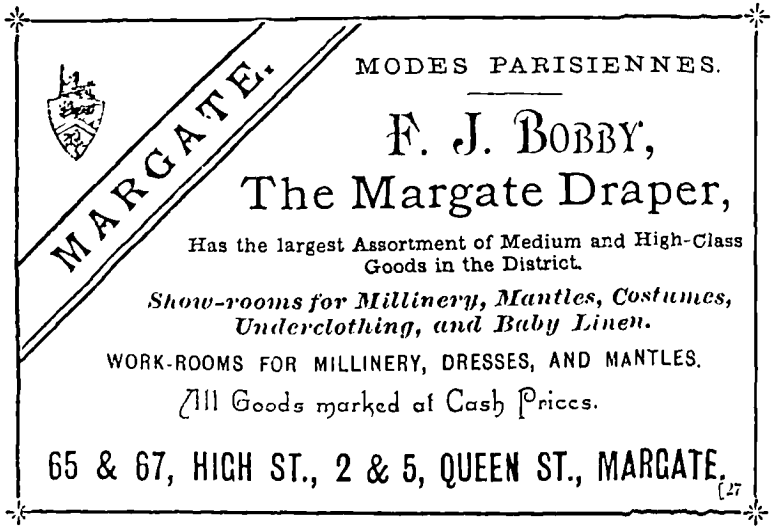
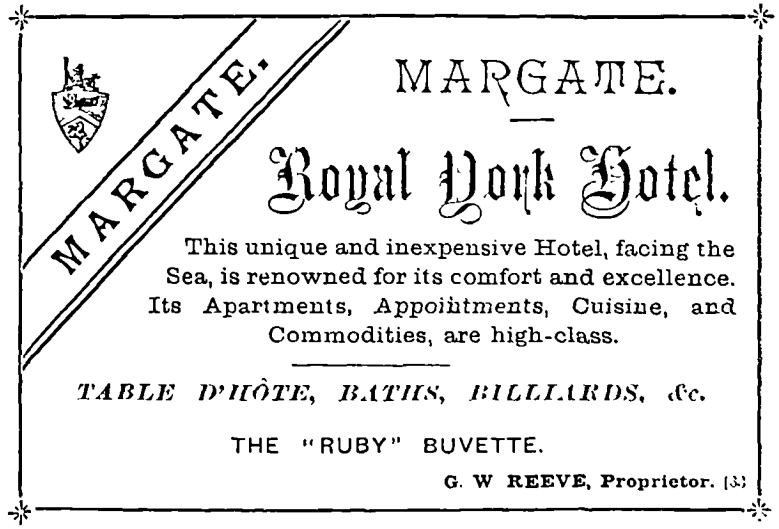
[10] Goss ware comprised small pieces of china-ware, usually in the shape of some familiar object - a shoe, a grandfather clock - which carried the coat of arms of the town in which it was sold. Sometimes the ware had local connotations: the author possesses a Goss ware "Mons Meg" cannon from Edinburgh.




Typical advertisements for Margate traders, dating from 1892.

confirm this impression by statistical correlation, but so many qualifications had to be made for the tests to be even reasonably valid that the results are not presented here, though they did confirm the hypothesis as far as they went. The situation may be summarized as follows.

> "Actual railway influence was, however, less pervasive than this might suggest. A few resorts were called into being by the railways, but almost invariably these were incidental by-products of schemes for commercial ports, and railway companies hardly ever played an active part in the creation of holiday towns themselves. *Generally the railways accentuated existing trends rather than creating new ones* (my italics), or provided incidental opportunities which were often grasped by landowners and speculators *long after the* initial *opening of the line.*"[11]

## THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS

If Thanet became increasingly attractive as a place for a holiday, it also became increasingly attractive as a place in which to live[12]. As a result the relative position in the towns of those described as "private

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[11] Walton, J.K., *op. cit.*, p.61.

[12] There were even a few commuters: in April 1910 there was a "City Fast Train" from Holborn Viaduct at 5.10pm, which ran non-stop to Margate West, arriving at 6.47. Curiously, there does not seem to have been a matching up service. *Bradshaw's Railway Guide, April, 1910* (new edition, Newton Abbot, 1968).

residents" changed very much over the period (Table 7.13). In every case the proportion of people so described resident in the town had increased considerably, though there is a danger of reading too much

Table 7.13: THE CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE RESIDENTS.

| PRIVATE RESIDENTS | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of directory entries | | | | Directory entries per 1,000 people | | | |
| Ramsgate | 189 | 223 | 206 | 1,135 | 13.28 | 14.58 | 13.47 | 52.83 |
| Margate | 145 | 140 | 148 | 435 | 13.59 | 13.88 | 14.70 | 21.63 |
| Birchington | 8 | 9 | 10 | 50 | 2.48 | 2.46 | 2.43 | 9.90 |
| Broadstairs | 65 | 80 | 128 | 243 | 22.00 | 23.19 | 31.43 | 46.42 |
| Herne and Herne Bay | 82 | 67 | 67 | 194 | 25.38 | 18.78 | 15.49 | 38.39 |

into those figures, owing to the unsolved problem of who was qualified to appear, as discussed in Chapter V. In the year before the railway came, Year 1, Herne Bay had a higher proportion of private residents than the other four towns, with 25.38 per 1,000, followed by Broadstairs (22.00), Margate (13.59), Ramsgate (13.28) with Birchington bringing up the rear with only 2.48. Twenty-five years after the LCDR arrived (Year 4), the situation had changed out of recognition. Ramsgate now led the way with 52.83 per 1,000, an increase by a factor of four, followed by Broadstairs (46.42, more than double the Year 1 figure), Herne Bay (38.39, half as much again as Year 1) Margate (21.63, an increase of almost two-thirds on the Year 1 figure), and Birchington again at the rear, with 9.90, an increased factor of four. In terms of an order of the factor of increase, Ramsgate and Birchington tied for first place, followed by Broadstairs, Margate and at the rear, Herne Bay, a further

hint that Herne Bay had perhaps "peaked" as a resort before the arrival of the railway.

There is a strong hint here that easier communications meant that more people were able to live in Thanet for the mere pleasure of doing so, that the railway had a considerable effect on the social structure of the towns, as well as on their holiday town economy and status. It may be noted, however, that throughout the later Kent directories of the nineteenth century the number of private residents listed rose dramatically; this rise may be, at least in part, an evidential quirk as well as a social barometer.

## THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLIDAY TOWNS

Of the five towns considered in this chapter, three show growth which is clearly identifiable on the 6" Ordnance Survey maps of the period; these are Ramsgate, Margate and Herne Bay. Even by 1914 Birchington was, on the map, little more than a huddle of houses, and though Broadstairs had indeed grown, the change is not very obvious on the map.

The extent and degree of the changes in the three main towns are shown on Maps 7.2 to 7.5. One thing is immediately clear: just as in the railway towns considered in the previous chapter, the railway station did not become the focus of a new town growth. The only stations which were in the newly built-up area were the LCDR's Margate East, which

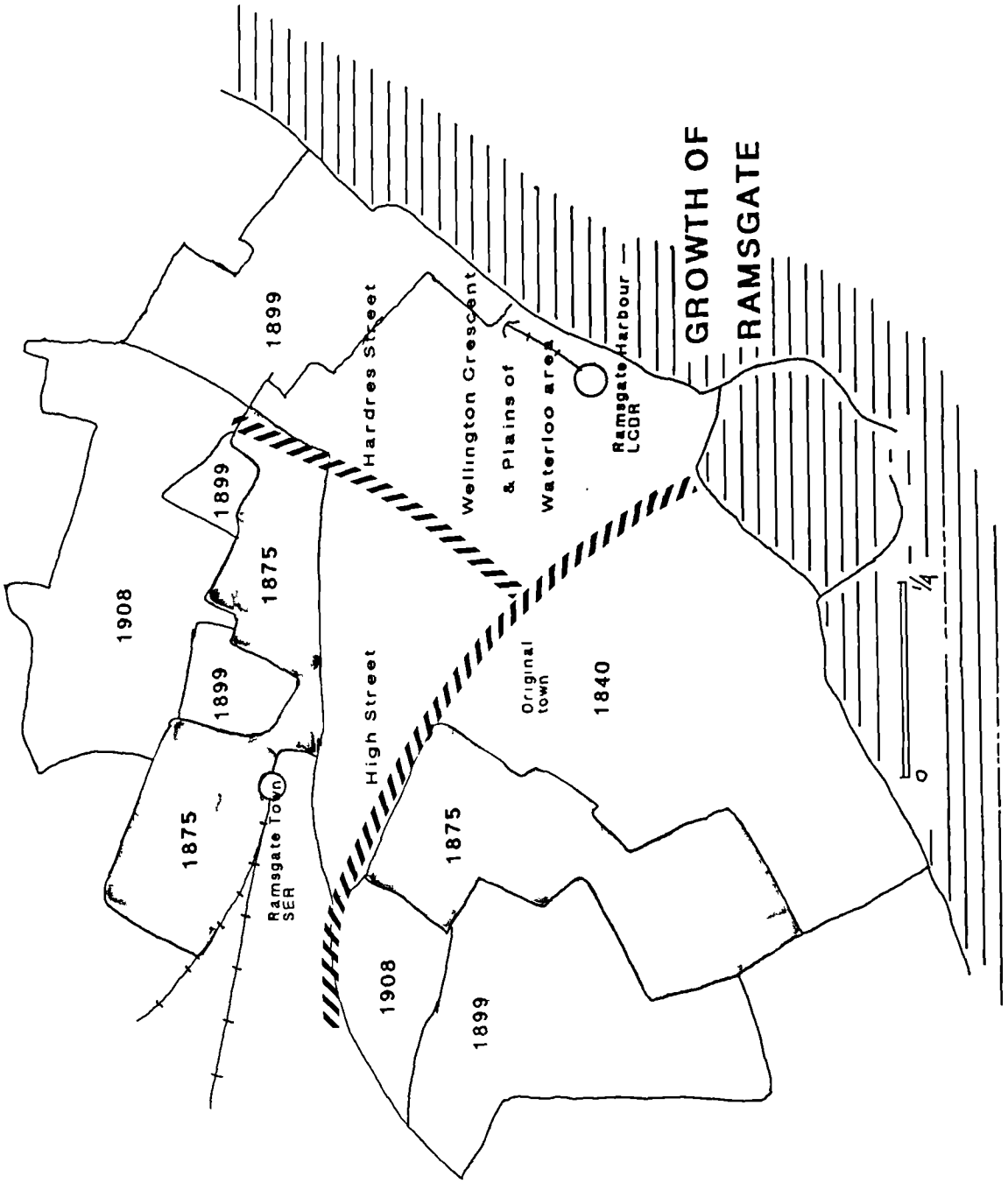
was opened to serve the area, and to catch the "commuter" traffic from the south of the old town of Margate, rather than the other way about, and Westgate, opened to serve what was a wholly new settlement. Ramsgate (Map 7.2) spread north-eastwards along the top of the cliff from the old town: the LCDR's line passed under it in the tunnel by which it reached the sea-front and Ramsgate Harbour station, but by 1914 the northern portal of the tunnel was still in open countryside. Building had also taken place on the other side of Ramsgate, south of the nucleus of the original settlement of St. Lawrence, but the SER's Ramsgate Town was in 1914 still on the extreme edge of the built-up area, more or less as it had been when the station was originally opened, though there had been some building on the other (eastern) side of the Margate Road. St. Lawrence station, opened by the SER in the hopes of attracting the commuter traffic from St. Lawrence may have been successful in that respect, but certainly it had not attracted any residential, or even industrial, growth: in 1914 it too was still in wholly open countryside.

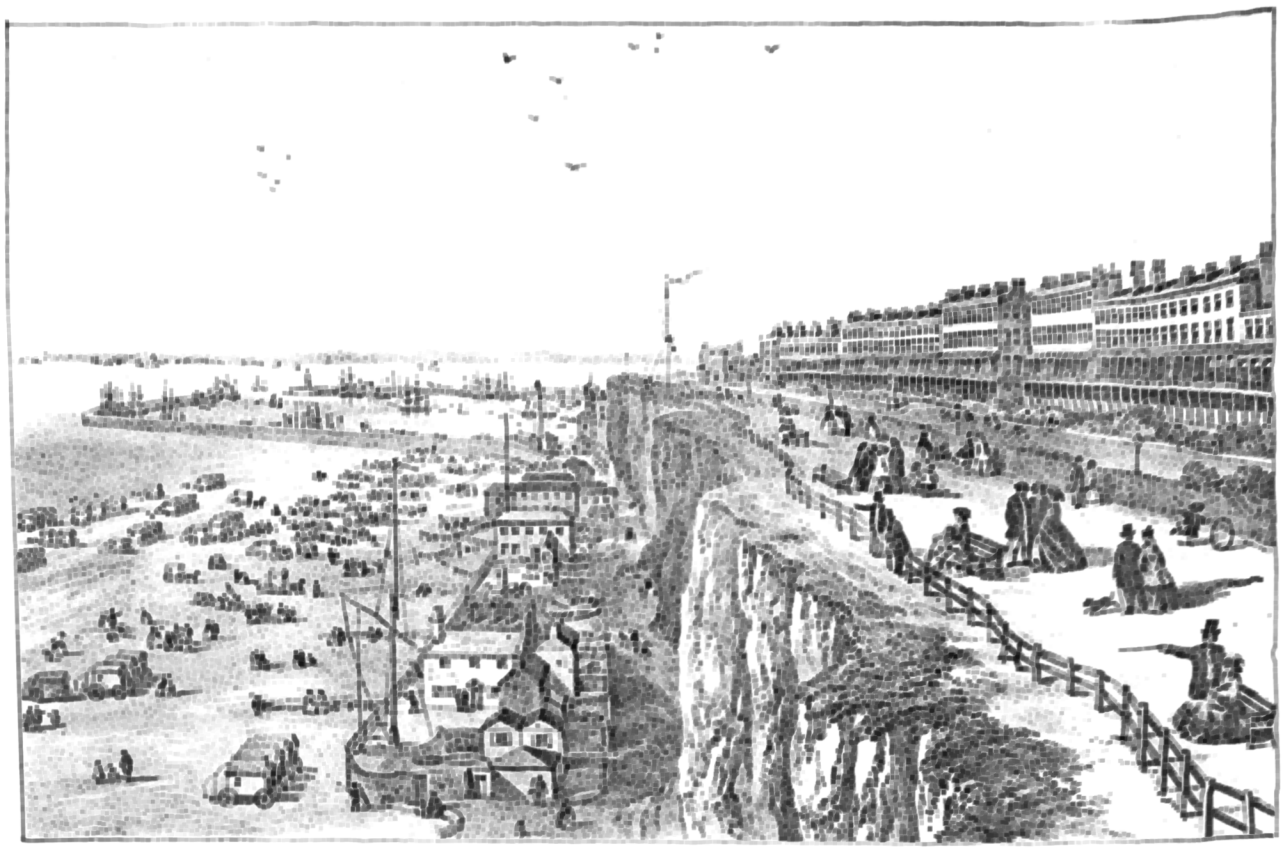
The coming of the railway brought about changes in the commercial structure of the towns, as we have seen: these changes are reflected in changes in the commercial geography and patterns of the streets themselves, in Ramsgate and in towns studied from this angle.

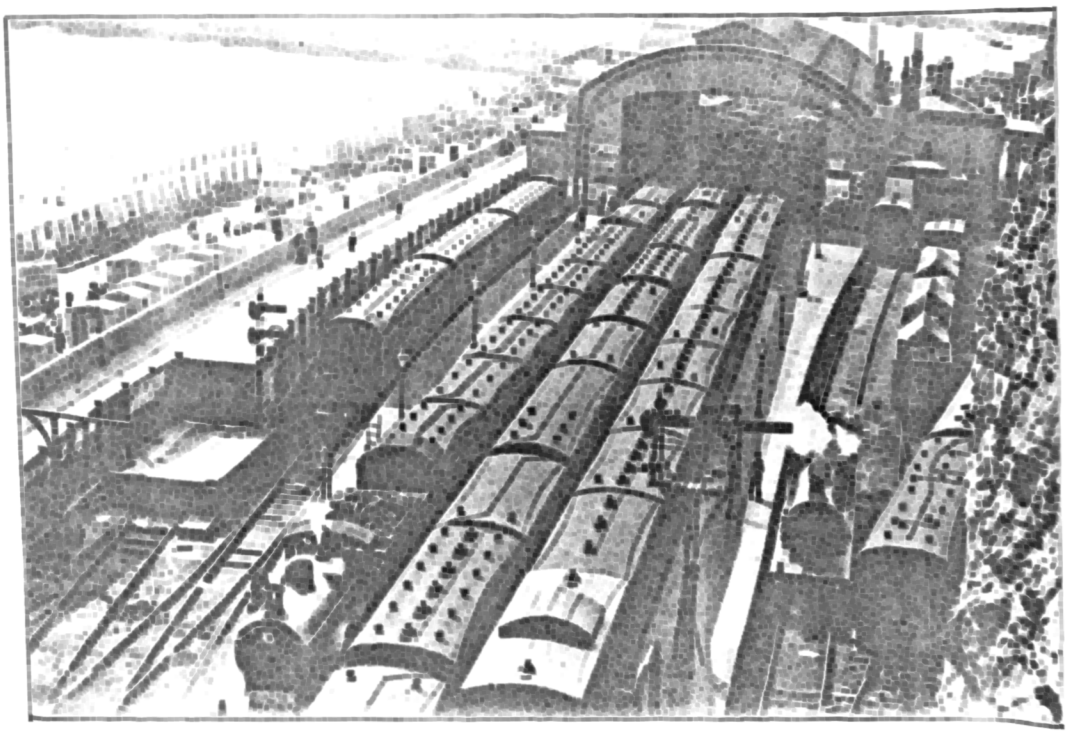
### Ramsgate

In 1845 there were in the directory 27 commercial entries for Hardres Street, a major street in Ramsgate, running off the High Street, and

Map 7.2: THE GROWTH OF RAMSGATE.







**RAMSGATE**

These two views were taken from more or less the same place. The LCDR station at Ramsgate was superbly sited to attract traffic, but was very difficult to work.

parallel to the road leading to Broadstairs. These included a school, two beer retailers and a publican, one cabinetmaker and two carpenters, two coal merchants, four milliners and two straw bonnet makers, a registrar, two surgeons and a solicitor, and a lodging house. In 1852 the number of commercial entries had dropped to 22, but by 1855 the figure had risen to 42. However, in 1887 the picture was a very different one. There were then 82 entries, including three publicans and a beer-seller, slightly offset by the Victoria Temperance Hotel, but no less than 48 lodging-houses. The houses of the surgeons, the coach proprietor, the solicitor and the registrar, and the academy were all now lodging houses. An exactly similar situation is seen in the street with the splendid name of Plains of Waterloo, and also in La Belle Alliance Square, which opens off it: these two lie between the Broadstairs road and the sea: at the seaward end of the Plains of Waterloo is Wellington Crescent, which stands on the cliff below which used to lie the LCDR's Ramsgate Harbour station. In 1845 there were just four commercial entries, a pilot, a boat-builder, a baker, and a lodging-house; seven years later in 1852 the figure was still four, which increased by 1855 to thirteen. By 1887 there were 56 entries, including two bakers, three beer retailers and two publicans, three dressmakers and 26 lodging houses. There were 30 houses in La Belle Alliance Square, and at least 81 in the Plains of Waterloo, so that one half of what had been, forty years before, almost wholly a residential area was now commercial in character. Perhaps the fact that the railway was so near had had the effect of driving out half the residential population to make way for commerce.

Wellington Crescent itself, even today a most handsome range of buildings, contained 28 houses. In 1845 eight were given a commercial listing, six as lodging houses and two as boarding houses; a not very surprising development, perhaps, given the splendid view over the sea and harbour. In 1852 there were five entries, four as lodging houses plus a boarding house, and in 1855 six entries, this time five lodging houses plus a boarding house. By 1887 21 of the 28 were lodging houses, with a boarding house as well, making 22 in this category. It would be perhaps unfair to insist that the Crescent had gone down in the world, but in view of the changing nature of the streets behind it, it seems not unreasonable to argue that the lodging houses of 1887 were probably rather less select than those of 1845 had been.

While all four of these streets came to be dominated by the holiday trade - Wellington Crescent only ever had holiday trade representation - the increasing diversity of the commercial nature of the other three streets is clear from the tables. In Hardres Street the actual number of units, other than lodging houses, rose only from 26 in 1845 to 34 by 1887, but whilst twelve trade classes had been represented among that 26 in 1845, by 1887 the 34 units included representatives of fifteen classes. The same expansion was even more evident in the Plains of Waterloo and La Belle Alliance Square. In 1845 the three entries other than the single lodging-house had represented three trade classes; in 1887 the 30 units other than lodging houses represented no less than twelve trade classes.

A further indication of the changes in the commercial pattern of Ramsgate is the changing distribution of the shopkeepers, that is, those for whom no more specific indication is given, and who presumably operated local, small-scale general stores [Map 7.3]. The actual number of such increased over the years from only five in 1845 to 27 in 1887, but none appear in all of Years 1 to 4; two appear in years 1, 2 and 4, one in 1 and 2, one in 1 and 4 and one in 2 and 4; the others appear in one directory only: the failure rate appears to have been a high one. It is very evident though that as the years passed these general shops were to be found on the edges of the town; as what might be called the commercial area of the town expanded, so the general shops went forward as the skirmishing troops of the advance[13]. Partly this may have been because the customers were in general those who had not the time or opportunity to go to the main shops of the town, and who by definition lived in what for the lack of a better term may be called the inner-suburban area, and partly also it may have been that as the fully commercial area expanded, so the small shopkeepers were priced out of the rental market.

Overall, the implication is clear that the rapid increase in the holiday trade occupational group occasioned by the coming of the LCDR resulted in a concentration of accommodation trades as near to the sea as might be, with the result that what had been a residential area became a commercial one, producing further changes in the retailing pattern. It

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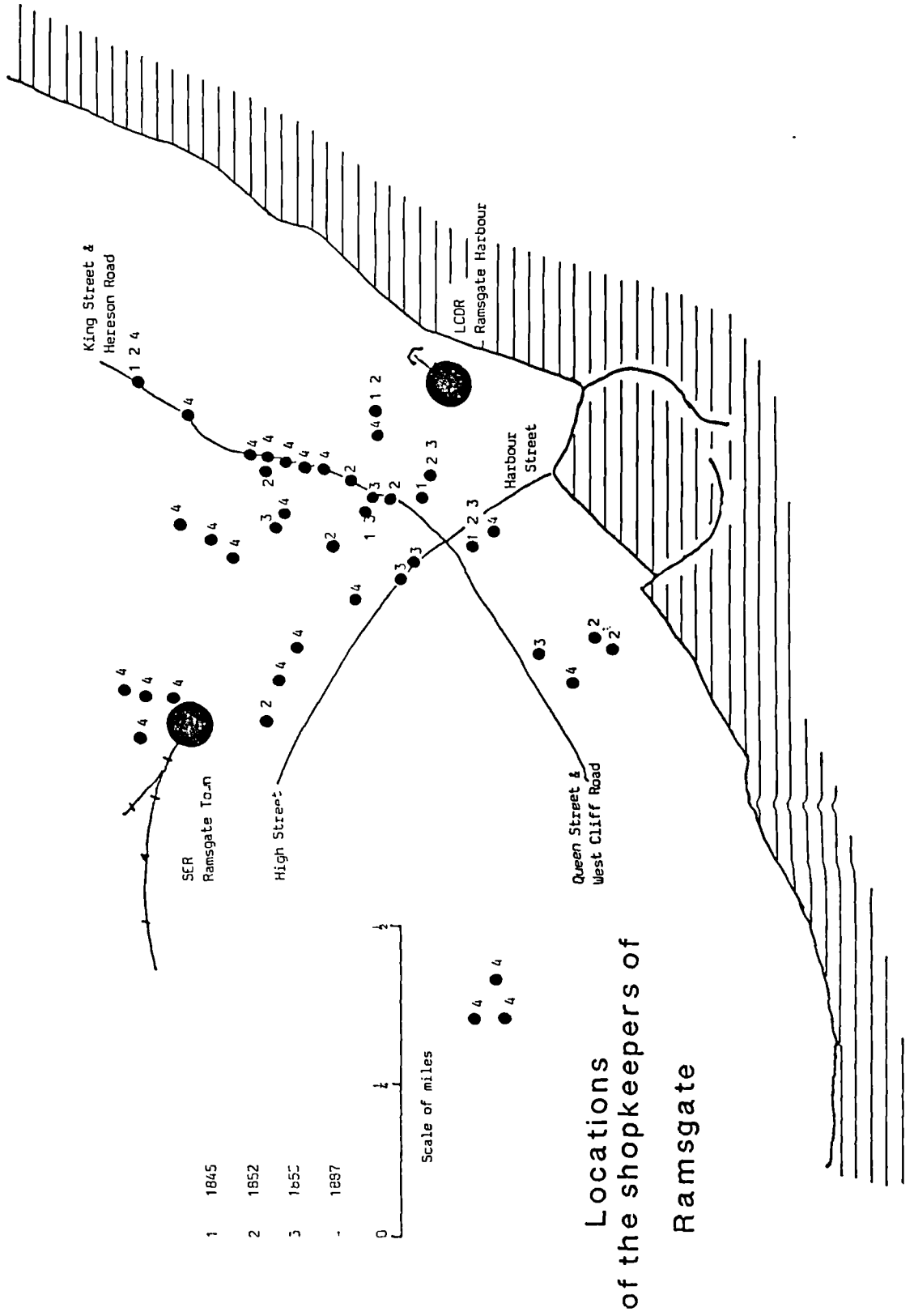
[13] The same phenomenon was noted in Manchester, Scola, R., *Feeding the Victorian City: the food supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 238 and 246.

Map 7.3: THE SHOPKEEPERS OF RAMSGATE.

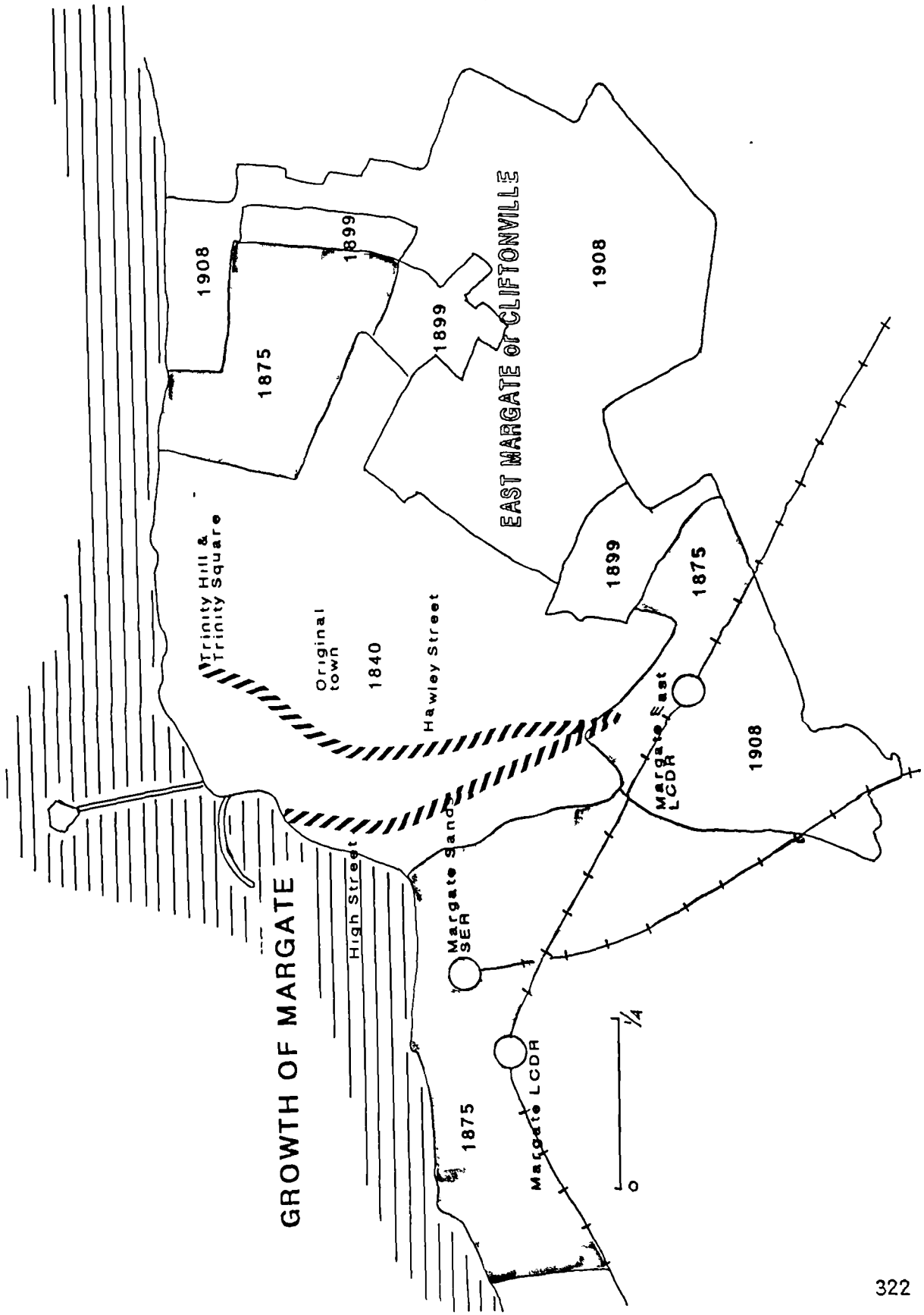


is very clear, from the tables above, and the virtual standstill in the number of commercial entries in these various streets in the decade following the arrival of the SER that that particular event had but a marginal effect on the residential composition of the area; it was only when the LCDR arrived that the massive alterations began, and those alterations were not a constant; not every part of the town was equally affected. It is fair to point out that these changes might well have happened in the long run without any railway as the sea-borne holiday traffic increased, but the railways' arrival, and especially the arrival of the LCDR, stimulated the change very greatly.

Margate and its neighbours.

The picture of what happened to the commercial geography of Margate is complicated by the fact that Margate's main development was along the top of the cliffs eastwards of the old town, forming an area which became known as Cliftonville: this became (in its own estimation at least) the smart area of Margate, and streets which were previously in Margate became very anxious to be identified as being in Cliftonville (Map 7.4). A great many of the extra commercial outlets which appeared in 1887 compared to the number which had appeared in 1855 were in Cliftonville and Trinity Hill and Trinity Square, which, when the railway first came, were on the extreme north-eastern tip of the built-up area of Margate. The 1845 directory gave no private residents in Trinity Square or Trinity Hill, so the area was presumably not a smart one, but having had but a single commercial entry in 1852 and 1855 (the "Rose

Map 7.4: THE GROWTH OF MARGATE.



in June" public house), there were, in addition to the 51 lodging houses and the "Rose in June", 27 new entries, covering between them eleven new trade classes. Cliftonville and East Margate covered not only those parts of the town which were wholly new (mainly Cliftonville), but also certain parts which had been re-identified as being in "East Margate" rather than Margate itself. The lodging house again dominated the scene: in 1855 thirteen of the 21 entries were lodging houses, and only seven other trade classes were represented. By 1887, 113 of the total of 176 entries were in Class XIII (Lodging and dining), and of those 109 were lodging or boarding houses. In addition to these, sixteen other trade classes were represented, the most populous being Class XXII, Education (16 entries), all but one of which was a private school of some sort or other.

Further westwards along the coast, the hamlet of Garlinge had been only a scatter of houses when the railway first came, and Westgate not much more than a name on the map. Westgate has some very attractive sea-coast, and being only two and a half miles westwards from the centre of Margate was near enough to attract a small resident class, and to attract visitors for whom the excitement of Margate proper was perhaps too much. At all events, the area was being sufficiently developed by April 1871 (the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map shows the streets outlined, but no buildings along them) to justify the LCDR's opening a station there that month. Some idea of the nature of the clientele the new settlement attracted may be obtained from the fact that in 1877 (when Westgate, with a population in all probability of

under 1,500, was able to support nineteen lodging houses and a hotel), the LCDR's crack express, making the journey from London to Ramsgate in two hours, was unofficially known as the "Westgate on Sea and Granville Special Express Train"[14] - the Granville being Ramsgate's newest and most luxurious (and presumably most expensive) hotel. By 1874 (the first year for which a directory entry is available for Westgate), the directory was able to describe Westgate as "a new watering place", which had (in 1873) been created an ecclesiastical parish in its own right. The population of Westgate and Garlinge was 1,670 in 1881 (printed earlier figures are not available, of course) and 2,670 in 1891, a rise of exactly 1,000 in ten years, an increase of almost 60%. Though the original expansion of Westgate was independent of the railway (except in so far as the visitors must have come, in the main, by rail to Margate before travelling to Westgate) its later growth (after 1871) seems to be very closely linked with the railway, though (as usual) the development was not based on the station, but rather in the area between the railway and the sea, hardly surprising in view of the reason for the settlement's existence[15]. Between them the lodging houses and the private residents accounted for more than half the directory entries in 1874; in later years they comprised almost two thirds. There was of course a strong continuing agricultural element in

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[14] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1974), pp. 134 and 177.

[15] The streets were laid out in 1871 in what was almost wholly empty land; the main settlement was then south of the line, and towards Garlinge, but within thirty years the whole area was filled with housing. See the maps of the area in Mitchell, V., and Smith, K., *Sittingbourne to Ramsgate* (Midhurst, 1991), and illustration 71.

Westgate and Garlinge (included in Group 7, Others), far more evident than at Margate or Ramsgate [see Table 7.8 above].

At Margate as at Ramsgate, it is clear that the railway stations (the two main Margate stations, SER and LCDR, were within a stone's throw of each other) were not magnets for commerce. The shops did not move away, as they did at Dover, but new development was on that side of the town furthest from the railway, and this certainly applied to the hundreds of new lodging and boarding houses. The new streets of Cliftonville, still being laid out in the years just before the outbreak of the First World War, were progressively further and further from the railway.

Again, as at Ramsgate, the shopkeepers moved steadily outwards as the built-up area expanded. In 1845, of the five shopkeepers recorded, three were in the High Street, one within 150 yards of the High Street and the last in a village, Garlinge, some distance away. In 1852, three of the four were in High Street, but by 1855 only one of the four was, though another was in King Street and a third in Love Lane, which lead into each other and High Street at its northern end. By 1887, however, of the 23 shopkeepers, only one was in High Street and one in King Street; the others were more scattered, though not over such a large area as in Ramsgate.

Herne Bay

When the railway first came to Herne Bay (that is, the LCDR), the town effectively comprised only the three main streets parallel to the sea, plus the Parade, each running roughly three-quarters of a mile east-west (Map 7.5). By 1914 there had been some development to the east of this block, and some little way south of the coast, which rises into modest cliffs at the eastern end of the original town. Land to the north of the railway - which runs about half a mile from the coast at its closest point to the sea - was still wholly undeveloped at the time of the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map (1872 survey). Some of the land in the vicinity of the station had been bought by George Burge[16], a railway contractor[17], as a speculation: he *must* have been a disappointed man as by the date of the second edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey map (1893) though a pattern of roads had been laid out in the area south-east of Hampton, (originally a very small coastal settlement about a mile to the west of Herne Bay itself), no houses had been built along them, and there was no development even planned between the station and the town. Even by the third edition (1904) the pattern of roads fanning out from The Circus, as the station forecourt was grandly known, were only lines on the map, with very few houses (except the renamed Grand Hotel, late the Railway Family Hotel, next to the station), scattered about, a position which had not changed in

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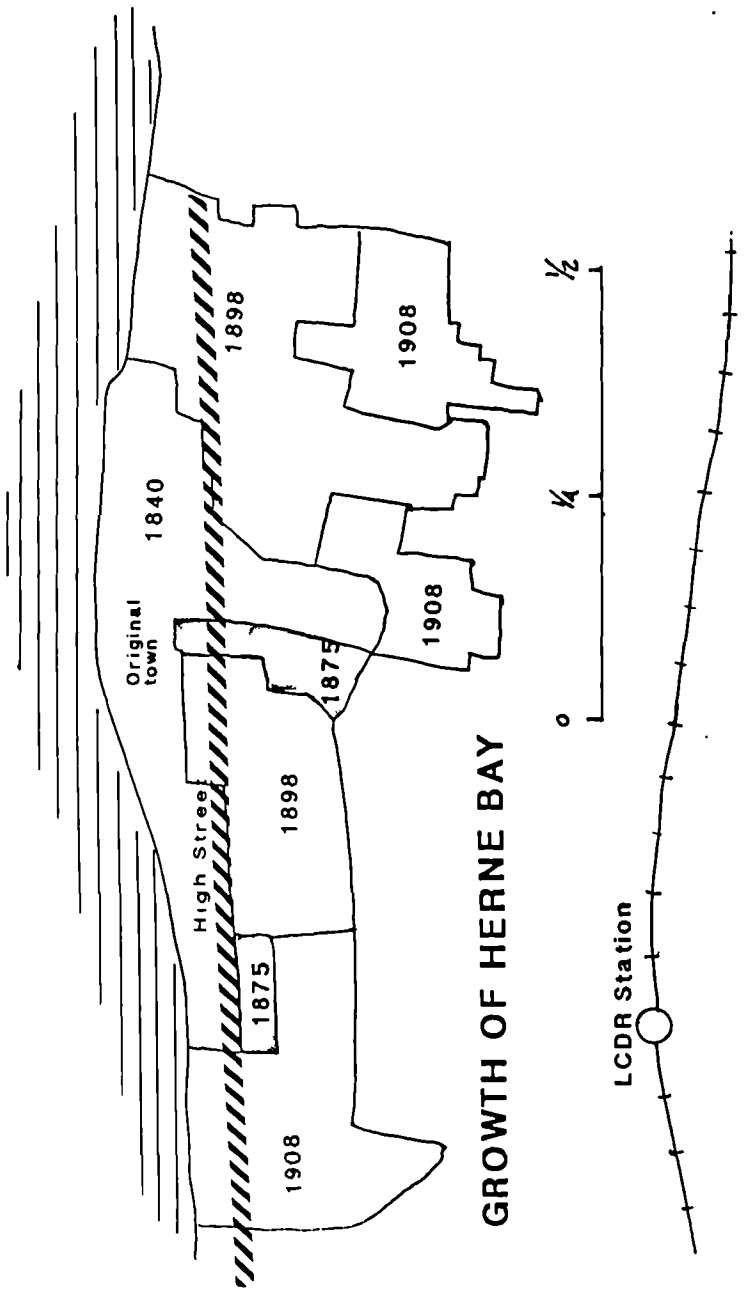
[16] Gray, A., *The Lordon, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 131.

[17] Between February 1838 until its completion in June 1841 Burge was the contractor for the greater part of Box Tunnel, on the Great Western Railway, at that time the longest railway tunnel in the country. MacDermott, E.T., *History of the Great Western Railway, Vol I (1833-1863)*, edition revised by Clinker, C.R., (1964), pp. 64-66.

Map 7.5: THE GROWTH OF HERNE BAY.



essence when the 1914 edition of the 1" Ordnance Survey map was published.

Herne Bay is therefore something of the odd man out in this group of five towns. Ramsgate and Margate developed away from the railway; Westgate station was opened to accommodate a new, extant, and to be successful development, but at Herne Bay a deliberate attempt to develop for housing that land which lay between the station and the old town, to take positive advantage of the transport facilities that the railway offered, failed - or at least, it had not succeeded by 1914. The line of the railway also proved to be an almost insuperable barrier to development to the south: as late as the 1950s there were no houses to speak of south of the railway; what development there is, is almost all of the 1980s. It has been noted above in Chapter VI that nineteenth century development, even in railway towns, tended not to take place in the area of the station, and this is also true of the holiday towns, a very marked contrast to the experience of those who publicized "Metroland" between the two world wars, and those who built estates in the green fields surrounding London Transport's northern and western extensions of the Underground in the same period[11].

In Herne Bay not only did the planned development not take place but there was little change in the pattern of distribution of the commercial activities of the town. The lodging houses were, in the main as might

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[11] Barker, T.C, and Robbins, M., *A History of London Transport, Vol II* (pb. edn., 1976), Chapter 13, *passim*.

be expected, concentrated along the sea front and in the streets immediately adjacent; this pattern did not change. It was noticed above that the turnover among lodging house keepers in Thanet between Years 2 and 3 was higher than might have been expected; the turnover in Herne Bay, it will be recalled, was just over half, compared with two-thirds at Ramsgate and two-fifths at Margate. Running a lodging house at Herne Bay was less profitable (or maybe harder work) than at Margate, but rather easier than at Ramsgate - and quite considerably easier than at Broadstairs, if these figures are any guide to the prosperity and success of the seaside landlady's trade.

## CONCLUSION

Very obviously the arrival of the railway in a town was not per se an occasion of immediate change. In none of the towns here discussed did the arrival of the SER in the 1840s have a dramatic impact on the population or the trading pattern of the town, (except in Class XIII, the lodging and holiday class, where some degree of change is evident almost at once at Margate, Ramsgate and Broadstairs). However, the arrival of the LCDR, some fifteen years later, certainly did. From evidence based on the holiday towns, it seems that to have a major effect a railway must have a large catchment area at the source, not only round the station of departure, but for some distance along the line. Both the SER and the LCDR started in London, but whereas the SER fairly soon left the built-up area and passed through almost empty country on its way to the destination stations, the LCDR passed through

(or could draw from) the rapidly growing London suburban areas of south-east London, and north-west Kent.

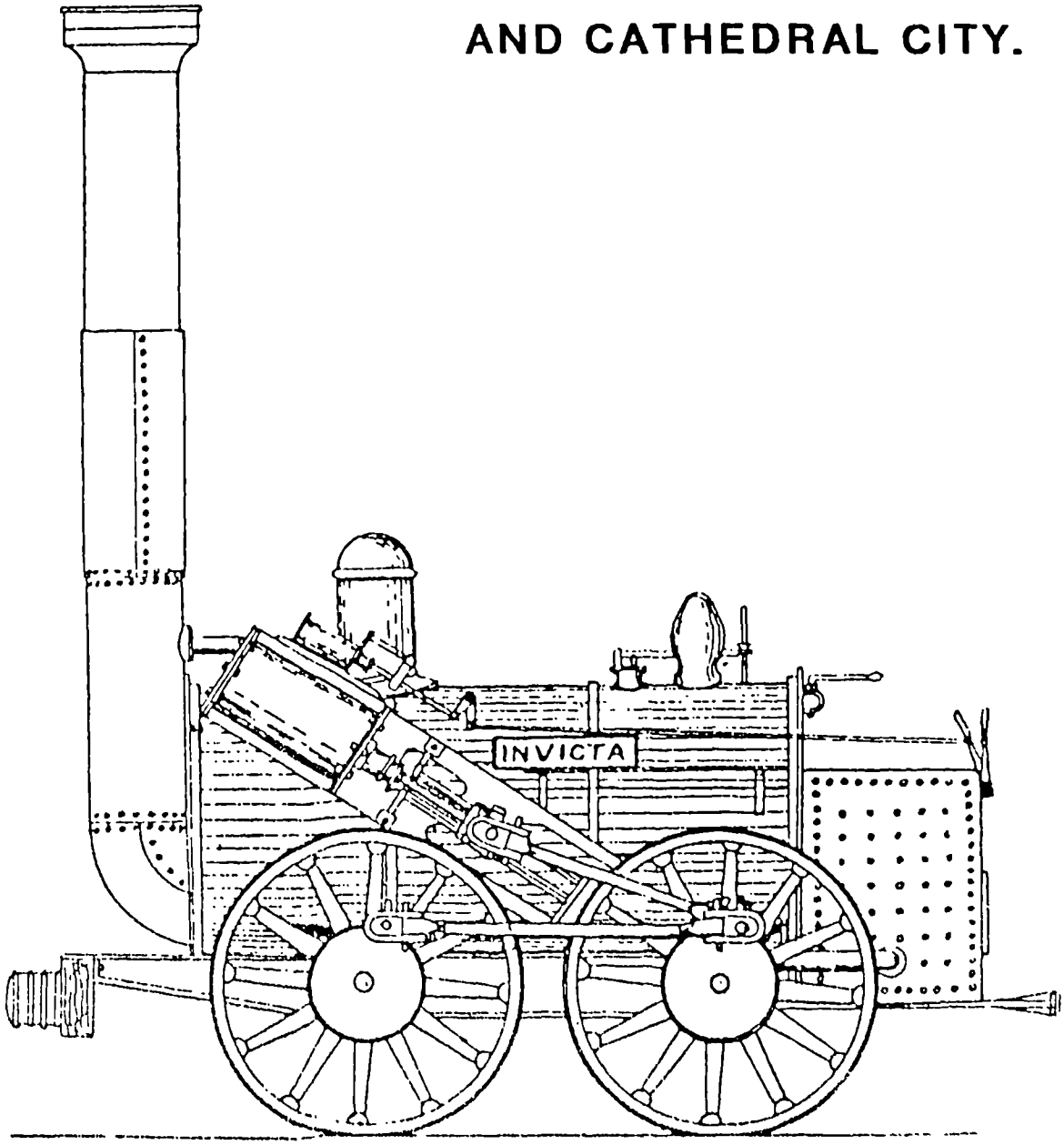
No large industries existed in East Kent, apart from the gunpowder works at Faversham, and of course the whole of the agricultural industry, and there does not appear to have been a major alteration in the pattern of commerce in these towns except in those trades which specifically catered for the short or long stay holiday-maker: the lodging and boarding house keepers, the owners of dining rooms and hotels, and to a lesser extent the owners of the "tripper" shops - the shell-sellers, the baths, the fancy bazaars and the like. None of the five towns here discussed was a major market centre, and so did not gain or lose from the railway in the way that Ashford and Faversham have been shown to do, in Chapter VI above. It is perhaps rather surprising that, despite the very large transient visitor population, the proportion of food shops per head of the population actually declined or remained stable everywhere but at Herne Bay. With so many lodging-houses accommodating so many extra mouths which needed to be fed, it might be expected that the number of shops per head of the resident population would rise, but this was not in fact the case: the shops must have been progressively more busy as time passed. The fact that stock could now be replenished more or less a few hours' notice must have meant that shops could now serve more customers without the need for the vastly expanded stockrooms that would have been necessary before the railway came: this particular consequence seems to have been felt almost at once.

As in the railway towns, the railway station did not attract housing development in any of the towns considered here: generally, the development came on that side of the town away from the railway - for example, the growth of Cliftonville at Margate. At Westgate the railway cashed in on an expanding development, but at Herne Bay the developer's roads passed through open fields rather than through ranks of houses for years after they had been laid down.

As far as other forms of transport were concerned, the coastal shipping freight trade certainly suffered though it was by no means destroyed, and the railways in general were kept very much on their toes by this potential competition. Passenger coastal shipping to Thanet certainly survived, though its share in the transportation of those who came to holiday in Thanet or at Herne Bay must certainly have declined. The railways' land rivals, however, were destroyed, virtually without trace, almost at once: the Thanet towns lost essentially at a stroke their never very extensive network of local services. This was certainly not a necessary consequence of the coming of the railway: the situation at Ashford was far otherwise, but the railways certainly had that effect in Thanet.

# Chapter VIII:

# CANTERBURY:
# REGIONAL CAPITAL
# AND CATHEDRAL CITY.



# CHAPTER VIII: CANTERBURY - REGIONAL CAPITAL AND CATHEDRAL CITY.

The two previous chapters have been concerned with towns having what might be considered specialist economies, towns which were major railway centres (Chapter VI) or towns which were centres of the holiday industry (Chapter VII). By far the largest, and certainly the most important of the remaining towns of East Kent was Canterbury, which was effectively the capital of the region[1], and this is sufficiently important to justify an individual treatment.

## THE CANTERBURY AND WHITSTABLE RAILWAY; AN HISTORICAL CURIOUSITY.

The first railway to arrive in Canterbury was the pioneering Canterbury and Whitstable, which, after a ceremonial opening the previous day, opened for public traffic on 4th May, 1830, some four months before the much better known, and financially much more successful, Liverpool and Manchester railway which opened in September. The Canterbury and Whitstable was never a financial success - the Directors were reduced to passing the hat round as early as October 1833[2], and the railway was leased out in 1838, but the lessee became bankrupt in 1841 and the Directors seem in the end to have been only too thankful to lease (in

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[1] *Kelly's Post Office Director, of the Six Home Counties (1851)*, p. 266.

[2] Fellows, R.B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable railway* (Canterbury, 1930), p. 45.

1844), and eventually sell (in 1853), the line to the South Eastern Railway[3].

Though the Canterbury and Whitstable claimed to have carried 55,444 passengers in the thirty months ending mid-1836 the freight traffic which was the line's main purpose did not eventuate; in August 1841 the Directors noted despairingly that the transit of coals by the turnpike road was "increasing in a very alarming degree."[4]

It did feature as a stage on an advertised route between Dover and London in the 1830s: coach from Dover to Canterbury, train from Canterbury to Whitstable, and then a voyage on the "splendid and commodious steam packet *William the Fourth*". The Company quoted times of departure, but preferred not to commit themselves as to a time of arrival in London or back at Whitstable: single fare from Canterbury in the "Chief Cabin" was 6s.; the coach fare to or from Dover was apparently extra[5].

All things considered, the line really seems to have had very little economic impact upon the locality, except from a curiosity point of view. In discussing the effects of the coming of the railway upon the city of Canterbury it seems reasonable to take as the effective starting-point

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[3] Fellows, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI, passim.

[4] Hart, B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Didcot, 1991), pp. 21 and 24.

[5] A typical advertisement is in the *Kent Herald*, 28th April, 1836, 2b.

for these researches not the advent of the Canterbury and Whitstable, but the opening in February 1846 of the Canterbury station on the South-Eastern's branch from Ashford through to Ramsgate and Margate[5] and to consider also the influence of the arrival of the LCDR in July 1860.

## ROAD TRANSPORT

In 1845 Canterbury was the centre of a network of road transport[1], both coach and omnibus [map 8.1] and carrier services [map 8.2]. These services were in the main directed towards the larger towns or villages in the vicinity, though villages on the routes will have benefited from them as well. London was reached both directly by road and also by connecting steam packets from the Medway; a sign of the times was that omnibuses from Canterbury "met all trains" at Ashford.

The pattern by 1882[6] had undergone subtle alterations. The purely passenger road services were much more sparse. Long-distance coach and omnibus services were a thing of the past, and the routes which did survive in the main served communities which would have found rail access to Canterbury extremely wearisome, such as Herne Bay, Ash-next-

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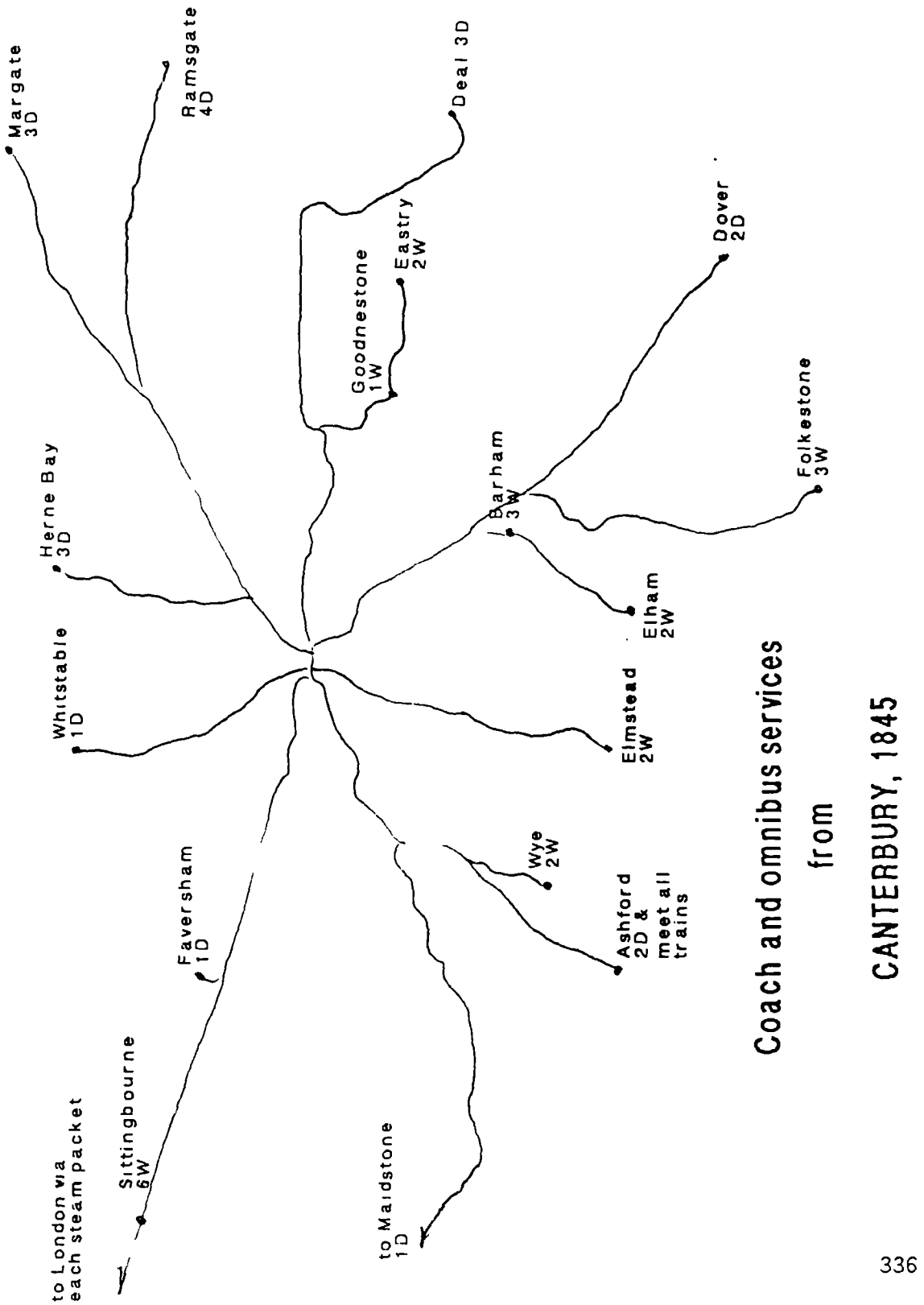
[5] Canterbury (later Canterbury, West) opened 6th February, 1846; the line was extended to Ramsgate, 13 April, and to Margate on 1 December, 1846.

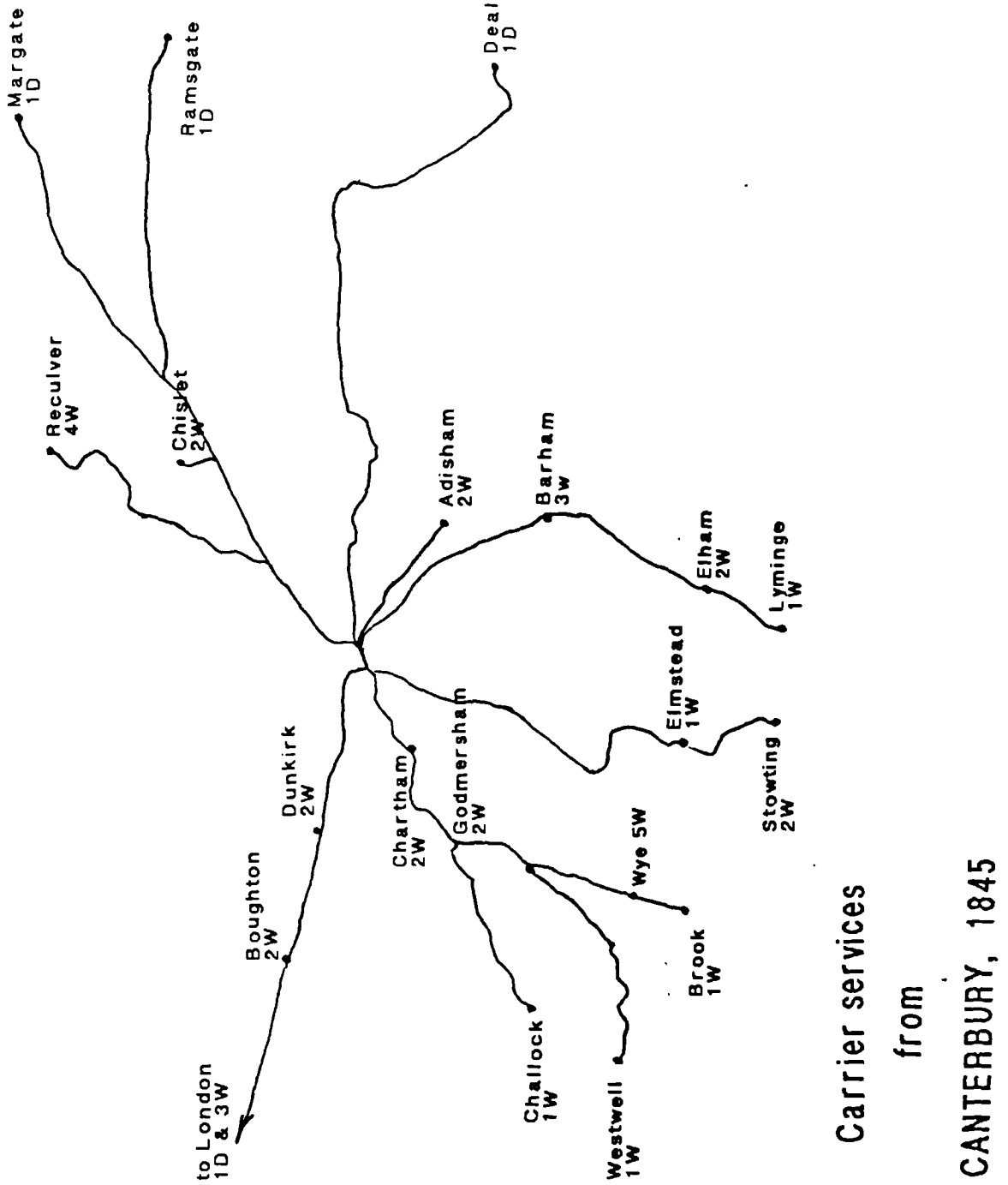
[1] Derived from *Kelly's Directory of Kent, (1845)*, pp. 234-35.

[6] Derived from *Kelly's Directory of Kent, (1882)*., p. 98.

Map 8.1: COACH AND OMNIBUS SERVICES IN 1845.



Map 8.2: CARRIER SERVICES IN 1845.

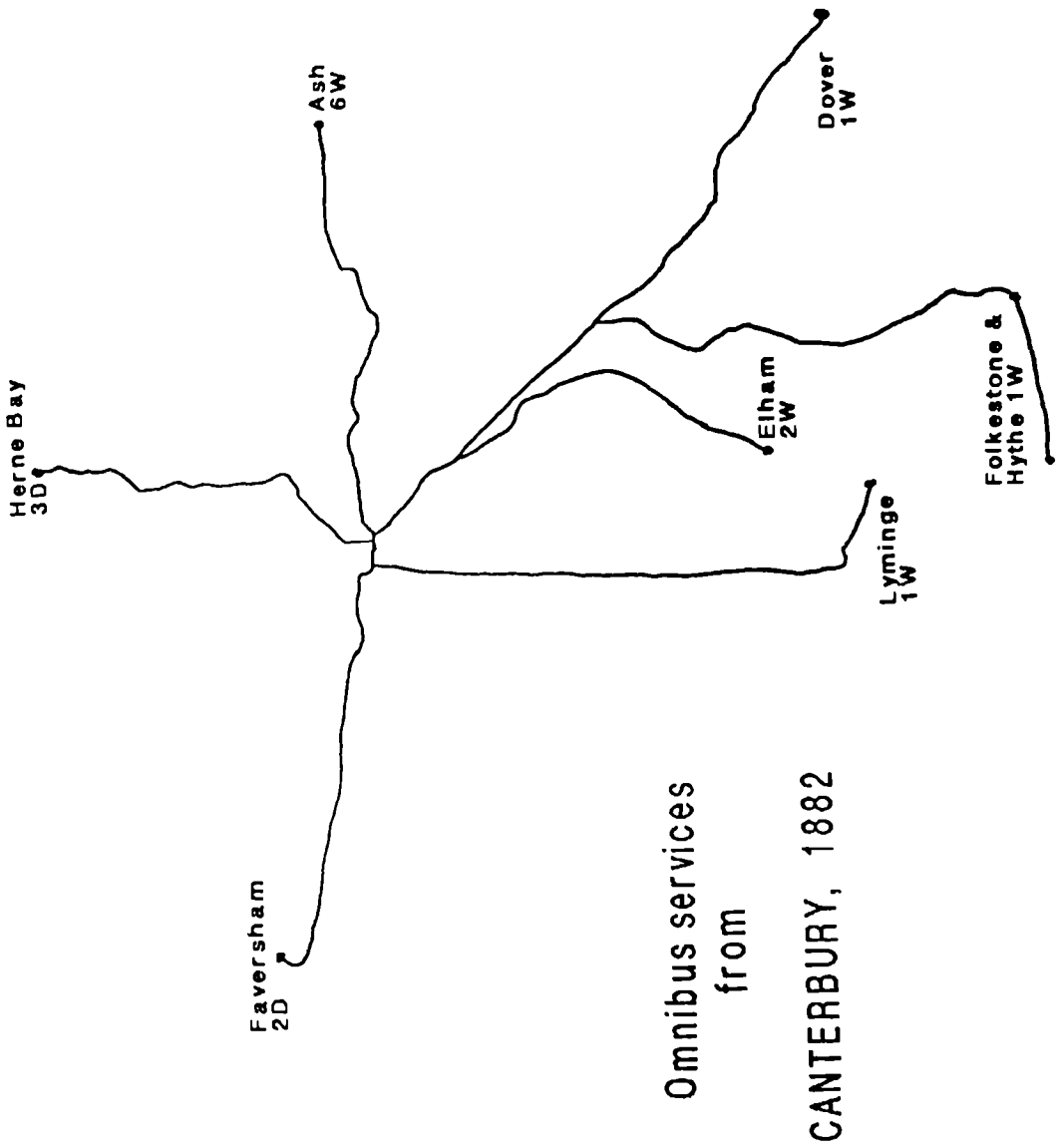


Sandwich, Folkestone and the villages lying along these roads. [Map 8.3].

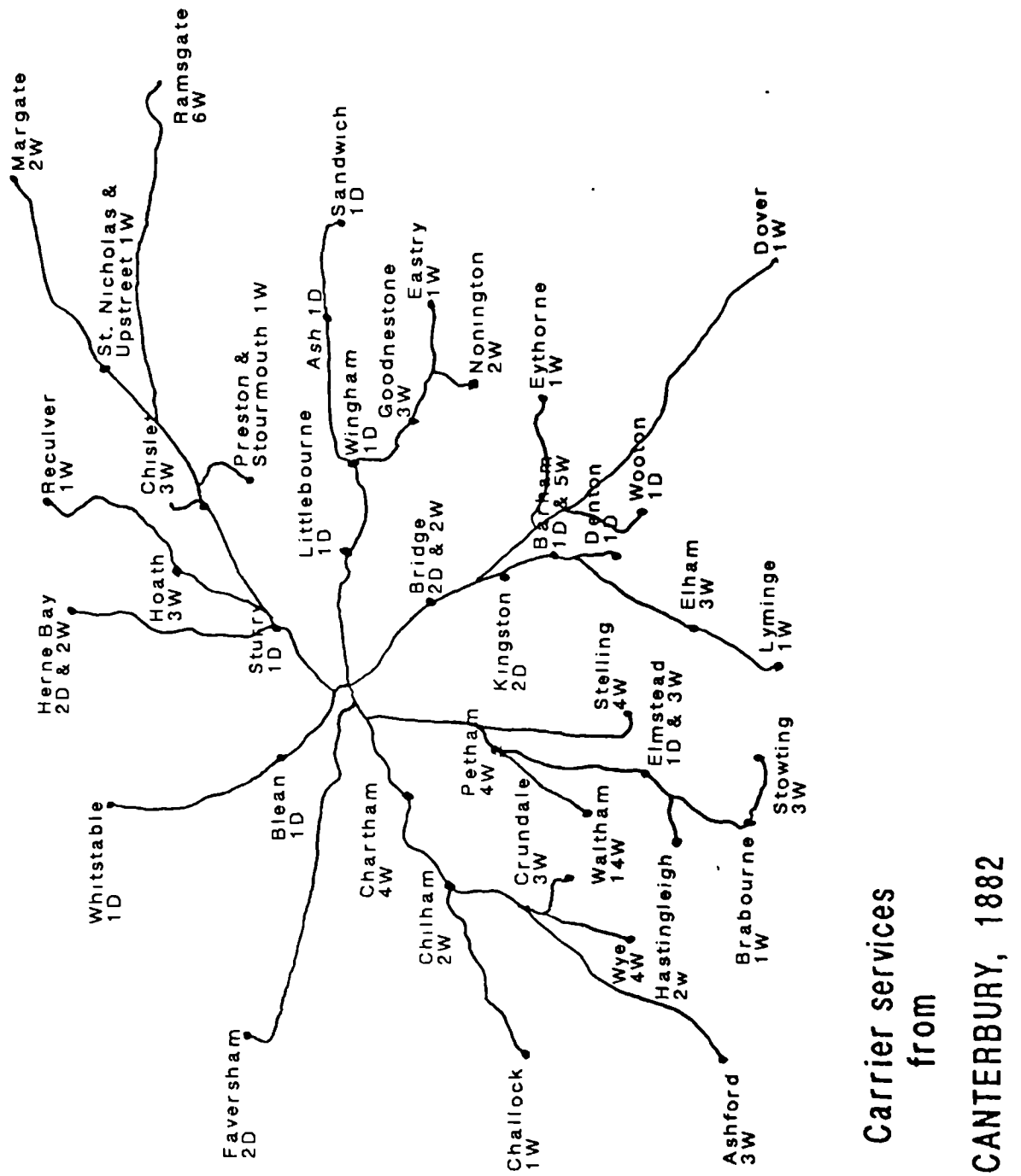
The pattern of carrier services showed a very different type of change, however [map 8.4]. Almost all the communities which were directly served from Canterbury by carriers in 1845 were still so served in 1882, and even many of the smaller villages now had a dedicated carrier service, villages and communities still so small that they take a certain amount of finding on the map, such as Crundale, Waltham, Stowting and Hoath. Communities nearest to Canterbury of course had a much more intensive service than the figures on the map suggest. Chartham, for example, will have had the benefit not only of its own four weekly services to Canterbury, but also of the two weekly Chilham services, the weekly Challock service and the total of ten weekly services which variously ran from Ashford, Wye and Crundale and must have passed through Chartham, or at least along the nearby main road, a total of 17 weekly services each way. This changing pattern is exactly comparable to the situation around Ashford, a major expansion of local carrier services, feeding small communities which either were not linked to the central town by rail, or which were linked inconveniently; or feeding small communities along the roads which the railway ignored.

Thus, the actual *number* of carriers coming into, and leaving from Canterbury increased enormously between 1845 and 1882. The map of the 1845 services shows 60 services to and from Canterbury each week, but

Map 8.3: OMNIBUS SERVICES, 1882.



Map 8.4: CARRIER SERVICES, 1882.



the map of the 1882 services shows 15 *daily* services alone, 105 services in a week, plus over 80 services running on a so many times a week basis, some on a daily basis, some on a once or twice a week basis, in total three times as many services as there had been just under forty years before. The smaller communities therefore had a far better carrier service when the railway was well established than they had done when there was no alternative to road transport. These services presumably supplied a need, and the implication is clear: far more goods were passing between Canterbury and its hinterland in 1882 than had been the case in 1845[9]. Passengers too were certainly carried by the carriers' carts, but the point is worth repeating that the area under consideration is a small one: Canterbury to Dover or Margate is some twelve or thirteen miles: many of the communities shown on map 8.4 are within six or seven miles of Canterbury, easy walking distance by nineteenth century rural standards; many having business in Canterbury may well have made the journey there and back on foot[10].

Certainly society was becoming more sophisticated as the nineteenth century passed by, and as previously pointed out, certain classes of goods became available which simply did not exist when the railway came, but for all that, the conclusion seems inescapable that, as at

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[9] This does not necessarily mean that the carrier's load consisted wholly of bulk goods, though that might be the case. The carrier was more likely to be a shopping agent, buying items to order, a carrier of individual packets and a passenger carrier, Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (London, 1985), pp. 281-4.

[10] see Mingay, G.E., *The Victorian Countryside* (1981), vol I, p. 32. A ride on a carrier's cart was a luxury, perhaps only to be indulged in if there were goods to be accompanied on the journey.

Ashford, the goods which the railway made available in the major retail centres in greater quantity and variety than before attracted a new volume of traffic along the roads leading to and from those centres.

## RAILWAY SERVICES: PASSENGER TRAINS

By the time the SER arrived in Canterbury that *Company*'s line to Dover was complete and had been in use for two years: during the Committee stages of the original SER Bill through Parliament, many of Canterbury's citizens had hotly opposed it on the grounds that the railway would pass Canterbury by, and the demand was for a line serving the city directly, though there was a small body of the agricultural interest which did not want any railway at all[11]. Generally the railway was accepted as a "good thing[12]", and where ten years previously the advent of a railway had been greeted as a harbinger of disaster, by 1836 the exact reverse was the case.

> "If the [SER] Bill is obtained, Canterbury, Maidstone and other large towns will be beggared and depopulated, and a very few years will elapse ere the houses will be in the last stages of dilapidation, and the streets almost afford pasturage for cattle."[13]

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[11] The farmers of East Kent were no more or less obscurantist than the rest of the agricultural interest at the time: Jackman, W.T., *The Development of Transportion in Modern England* (Third edition, 1966), pp. 497-500, 503-4.

[12] Sellar, W.C. and Yeatman, R.J., *1066 and all that* (1930).

[13] *Kentish Gazette*, 29th March, 1836, 3c.

Now, in February 1846, the city had the longed-for railway. The passenger train services through Canterbury are shown in Table 8.1, for the same four years as used in previous chapters (1857, 1865, 1887 and 1910). The general pattern is very similar to the pattern shown in discussing the railway towns, in Chapter VI, which is hardly surprising since these were effectively the same trains, at a different point in their journey.

One point must be made immediately: whereas the trains discussed in Chapter VII (the holiday towns) were in the main terminating at the station considered, and half of those considered in Chapter VI (the railway towns) were at the end of their journey, or nearly so (those going to Folkestone and Dover), with the exception of the Elham Valley line, and the Canterbury and Whitstable line, almost all the trains shown in Table 8.1 were passing through the city on their way to or from Thanet or Dover, and London. Thus any calculation of the number of persons who actually travelled by train to Canterbury is complicated by the fact that the size of the train, or even the frequency of the service, is not necessarily a guide: a train might have been full to bursting-point on arrival at Canterbury, but if nobody got on or got off, that fullness would be irrelevant as far as rail traffic to Canterbury is concerned.

It is very clear from Table 8.1 that after 1865 (by which time the London, Chatham and Dover line was established in East Kent) the

**Table 8.1: PASSENGER SERVICES TO AND FROM CANTERBURY.**

| Services DOWN | | | | Destination | Services UP | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1857 | 1865 | 1887 | 1910 | | 1857 | 1865 | 1887 | 1910 |
| 6 | 9 | 10 | 8 | London (SER) | 6 | 9 | 10 | 8 |
| Not open | 11 | 8 | 10 | London (LCDR) | Not open | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| 6 | 20 | 18 | 18 | ALL LONDON | 6 | 19 | 18 | 17 |
| Not open | 10 | 9 | 9 | Faversham | Not open | 9 | 9 | 10 |
| 6 | 10 | 9 | 9 | Ashford (SER) | 6 | 9 | 8 | 10 |
| Not open | 11 | 11 | 10 | Dover | Not open | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 6 | 9 | 10 | 10 | Ramsgate | 6 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| 5 | 6 | 5 | 10 | Sturry | 4 | 5 | 6 | 9 |
| 4 | 4 | 5 | 10 | Grove Ferry | 3 | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| 4 | 8 | 10 | 10 | Minster in Thanet | 6 | 7 | 11 | 12 |
| 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | Wye | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| 4 | 6 | 7 | 8 | Chilham | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Not open | 4 | 6 | 8 | Chartham | Not open | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| Not open | 7 | 8 | 6 | Selling | Not open | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| | 7 | 7 | 6 | Bekesbourne | | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| | 7 | 7 | 6 | Adisham | | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Not open | | 6 | 7 | Elham Valley | Not open | | 6 | 7 |
| 4 | 5 | 7 | 10 | Whitstable | 4 | 5 | 6 | 9 |

The Elham Valley line did not open throughout until 1889: the trains shown in 1887 actually only traversed the southern half of the line between Elham and Folkestone but when the line opened throughout services were on the scale indicated. Chartham station, on the SER Ashford-Canterbury line, was not opened until 1859.

overall pattern of train services - that is, the number of trains which called at Canterbury on a regular daily basis - changed little during the next fifty years. The only obvious change is that more trains called at Sturry, Grove Ferry and Minster in Thanet (on the South Eastern line to Thanet): the extra calls at Minster are probably

associated with the opening in 1881 of continuation of the Deal branch through to Dover; the additional calls at Sturry and Grove Ferry were perhaps in connection with tourist traffic along the line of the lower Stour.

The implication is clear: passenger traffic to or from Canterbury only increased in the fifty years after 1865 by the factor by which the potential loading of the trains themselves increased; that is, the degree to which they became longer, and the coaches came to hold more passengers each. The coming of the railway does not seem to have stimulated an expansion of passenger traffic through Canterbury in the way that (for example) Sir Herbert Walker's programme of electrification undoubtedly did for the Southern Railway lines to Portsmouth and in mid-Sussex in the 1930s[14].

A parliamentary report[15] dealing with density of passenger traffic in 1845 has already been referred to, but unfortunately the evidence for the SER relates to the year immediately before the branch from Ashford through Canterbury to Thanet was opened, and so no information is directly available from that source. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the situation at Canterbury was in the event much as it was at any other large station on the line: that is, that a good proportion of the total traffic (some 15% in this instance) was bound to

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[14] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: Vol. II: Southern England* (third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 191.

[15] *Select Committee on Railways Acts Enactments* (PRO RAIL 1124/35), p. 535 et. seq.

or from London, and that a quarter of the other traffic took place within a circle of nine miles' radius of the major station involved. As previously pointed out, this exactly accords with information available about the Settle and Carlisle line at the turn of the century[16].

It is notable that (in the 1845 figures) the proportion of short-journey traffic by third-class passengers was much higher still - 40% of all their journeys were of nine miles' length or under, and only just under 7% were long-distance - in that instance, to London from Folkestone or Dover. If this was true of Canterbury passenger traffic also, it would have been the smaller stations along the lines leading away from the city which provided a disproportionate share of the total traffic. This is presumably the other side of the carriers' coin: as more carrier services were provided into the hinterland, so the stations nearest the city saw a steady, but presumably not expanding, passenger traffic into the city. Certainly many of the early railway excursions were over what, to modern standards, would seem very short distances[17]: for many potential passengers, expense presumably ruled out a longer journey.

## RAILWAY SERVICES: FREIGHT SERVICES

Both the Canterbury stations (West for the South Eastern line, East for the London and Chatham line) were provided with very extensive freight facilities.

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[16] Jenkinson, D., *Rails in the Fells* (Second edition, Seaton, 1980), Chapter 10, *passim*.

[17] A. and E. Jordan, *Away for the Day: the railway excursion in Britain, 1830 to the present day* (Kettering, 1991), Chapter 1, *passim*.

Assuming that the services for those years when information is not available were very similar to those for which it is, the probability is that Canterbury was served by five or six dedicated freight trains each day in each direction [Table 8.2], plus of course any fitted vans attached to any of the local passenger services[11]. Again, the point is made that, with two exceptions, these trains were passing *through* Canterbury: it would be a considerable exaggeration to think in terms of five or six complete goods trains heading to or from Canterbury with goods destined only for the city, but all the same, there must have been a fair amount of traffic movement to justify the provision of the sidings laid out.

**Table 8.2 FREIGHT SERVICES THROUGH CANTERBURY.**

| Down services | | | | Route | Up services | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1877 | 1883 | 1887 | 1907 | | 1877 | 1883 | 1887 | 1907 |
| 3 | | 4 | 2 | LCDR | 3 | | 3 | 2 |
| | 2 | | 3 | SER | | 3 | | 3 |

With the exception of one up and one down train in 1887, all these trains passed through Canterbury to or from London; most stopped at all local stations. The exceptions ran on an "as required" basis from Faversham, or to Sittingbourne.

Certainly there was a steady trade on to the South Eastern railway at Canterbury West originating from Whitstable harbour: the service [that is, working] timetable for June 1883 noted that special coal trains would

[11] Almost all the trains on the Canterbury and Whitstable branch were mixed, that is, included goods trucks as well as vans and passenger coaches, to judge from the photographs.

run along the Canterbury and Whitstable branch "as may be required", and it was recorded that in April 1888 sixteen ships arrived in Whitstable harbour within a week, carrying between them some 5,000 tons of coal[19]. The goods yard at Canterbury West (the SER station, where the Canterbury and Whitstable branch began) contained in 1907 a six-road coal depot[20]: it seems reasonable to assume that coal was one of the major items passing through the goods depots, not only of the SER but (via the disastrously expensive Metropolitan Extension) of the LCDR also. Grain was also a major cargo through Whitstable harbour; trade through the harbour was certainly healthy enough to justify a major re-signalling of the harbour lines in 1894[21]. Overall, as with the passenger service, the actual *number* of booked and dedicated freight trains passing though Canterbury did not increase in the twenty years covered by the working timetables available for study.

With passenger trains, it is possible to say that the actual number of passengers who *could* - but not necessarily *did* - arrive at Canterbury could only have increased in so far as the numbers and capacity of the coaches on the actual trains increased, and the fixed length of the passenger platforms at the various stations on any railway line meant that there were practical limits to the length of an ordinary service

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[19] Hart, B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Didcot, 1991), p. 53. The standard coal-truck had a capacity of 10 tons: this quantity of coal would have required some 500 trucks to shift it, and probably more than 25 trains.

[20] There is a reproduction of that part of the 1907 25" OS map which covers Canterbury West station in Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

train: special arrangements made for excursions might involve the use of goods yards [as at Doncaster, for the St. Leger race meeting specials[22], or at Swindon, for the annual Great Western Railway's staff "Trip"[23]]. However, this kind of restriction did not apply to goods trains. On arrival at a station, part of the goods train might, very probably would, be detached and other wagons substituted in their place. If the whole train needed to enter the goods yard, and was too long to be accommodated on one siding, it could be split into more conveniently managed portions in a way that was hardly possible with passenger trains. Thus the fact that the number of freight trains passing through Canterbury did not significantly increase does not mean that the volume of goods passing though was a constant: certainly the volume of goods and parcels carried by both the SER and the LCDR was steadily increasing throughout the period, but unfortunately there seems to be no way of calculating just how much in volume or value began or ended its journey at any one station[24].

In his study of the food supply of Manchester, Scola quoted figures on the prices of vegetables in Manchester markets: the general impression is that the arrival of the railway in Manchester, whether the pioneering

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[22] Jordan, A. & E., *Away for the Day* (Kettering, 1991), pp. 86-7.

[23] Bryan, T., *The Golden Age of the Great Western Railway, 1895-1914* (Yeovil, 1991), p. 97.

[24] At Canterbury, with so many shops and such a sophisticated range of suppliers, the volume of parcels traffic - that is, goods arriving in lots of less than two hundredweight in vans attached to, or part of, passenger trains - must have been very considerable, and in value, if not in bulk, may very well have exceeded the freight traffic (that is, goods arriving by freight train) in importance. Again, no statistics survive for this parcels traffic, any more than for the freight traffic.

Liverpool and Manchester or what later became the London and North Western Railway made very little difference to market prices: matters of agricultural production seem to have had much more influence on prices charged, though the period during which certain items were available might be extended[25]. Unfortunately no such information is available for Canterbury: the contemporary local press quoted local grain prices, and London market prices, but no vegetable prices. Scola points out that pigs were notoriously "bad travellers" - that is, they walked very slowly, and lost weight disproportionately rapidly[26] - but an examination of the prices of pigs per stone at Ashford fat-stock market (the only market for which pig prices were quoted[27]) suggested that, while there was *some* indication that the bottom of the range of prices was a penny or so lower after the railway came through Ashford than before, there is no firm evidence to suggest that the price of food was materially influenced by the coming of the railway. This is really scarcely surprising: from the top of Canterbury cathedral tower the green fields which surround the city are clearly visible all the way round, and the same holds for all the other towns discussed in this thesis: no farm need be so far from the town as to cause even the least active Empress of Blandings[28] any serious inconvenience.

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[25] Scola, R., *Feeding the Victorian City: the food supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 113-20.

[26] Scola, R., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[27] In the files of the *Kentish Gazette*.

[28] The Empress of Blandings was the Earl of Emsworth's prize pig in P.G. Wodehouse's Blandings Castle stories and novels.

## POPULATION CHANGE AND GROWTH.

The growth of Canterbury is shown in Table 8.3. Between 1801 and 1911 the city more than doubled in size, from just over 11,000 in 1801 to over 24,000 in 1911, but it is clear that the rate of increase slowed down over the period. The arrival of the SER in February 1846 certainly did not boost the city's population, in fact between 1841 and 1851 it fell by just under 1,000. The LCDR arrived in July 1860, but the increase of population between 1851 and 1861 (almost 3,000, the second highest percentage growth against that of the previous decade in the period)

Table 8.3: THE POPULATION OF CANTERBURY.

| 1801 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11,316 | 12,160 | 14,899 | 16,059 | 18,190 | 17,382 |
| 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| 20,275 | 20,313 | 20,999 | 22,488 | 24,393 | 24,413 |

These figures include Hackington, Harbledown and Thannington Without as well as the city parishes.

can hardly be a direct result of the arrival of the LCDR. By 1871 the population had hardly grown at all against the 1861 figure, and it was not until 1891 that another major spurt (of nearly 1,500) was recorded. Though the next decade saw another spurt (of 2,000) the final decade considered again saw virtually no change. Canterbury's "suburbs" showed growth between 1801 and 1831, but from then on virtual stagnation was the rule.

This pattern is very different to that of the towns so far considered in this study. Over the same period of 110 years Ashford's population increased five-fold, Dover's four-fold, Faversham's three-fold and Folkestone's nine-fold. In the holiday towns the lowest rate of increase was at Birchington (four-fold): all the others showed an increase in the order of seven-fold. The population of East Kent as defined rose from 95,976 in 1801 to 320,782 in 1911; if the populations of the railway and holiday towns are subtracted from those figures, the population of the rest of East Kent is shown to have risen from 65,190 in 1801 to 142,539 in 1911, a factor of increase of 2.18, almost exactly the same as that of Canterbury city (where the factor of increase was 2.15).

Thus, even taking into account its position in geographical, commercial, communication and historical terms, Canterbury's population grew in the nineteenth century no faster than did the rest of East Kent after the major holiday and railway towns were taken out of the equation. Most certainly the coming of the railway - of the railways, since Canterbury was the centre of six lines (to Faversham, to Whitstable, to Thanet, to Dover, to Folkestone along the Elham Valley, and to Ashford) - did not have the effect on the city's population that it can be shown to have had elsewhere.

The reasons for the growth of the railway and holiday towns have already been discussed: population seems to have followed new commercial and railway-encouraged, if not induced, opportunities. Were

there any such new commercial opportunities in Canterbury? If so, why did they not attract more population than they did?

## THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF CANTERBURY: THE DIRECTORY EVIDENCE

The pattern of commercial activity in Canterbury is shown in Table 8.4. The groups here comprise the same classes as in Chapter VI, on the railway towns, and are therefore directly comparable. Two points

**Table 8.4: THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF CANTERBURY: THE DIRECTORY EVIDENCE.[29]**

These figures include all the city parishes, plus Hackington, Harbledown and Thannington with Milton Chapel.

| Date | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
| | Interpolated population figures. | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| | 17,687 | 17,671 | 18,250 | 21,149 | | | | |
| Gp 1: Building | 88 | 87 | 87 | 82 | 4.98 | 4.92 | 4.77 | 3.88 |
| Gp 2: Inland transport | 43 | 37 | 44 | 49 | 2.43 | 2.09 | 2.41 | 2.32 |
| Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging | 382 | 385 | 404 | 438 | 21.60 | 21.79 | 22.14 | 20.71 |
| Gp 4: Retailers (other) | 372 | 311 | 385 | 406 | 21.03 | 17.60 | 21.10 | 19.20 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 165 | 183 | 221 | 209 | 9.33 | 10.36 | 12.11 | 9.88 |
| Gp 6: Others | 113 | 121 | 147 | 148 | 6.39 | 6.85 | 8.05 | 7.00 |

[29] The composition of these groups is the same as that for the railway towns as described in Chapter V, pp. 164-65: the OPT figures are therefore directly comparable with those.

concerning the figures for providers of outlets per thousand of the population (OPT) immediately strike the attention. Firstly, these figures changed less over the period than did those of the railway towns. No group changed by as much as two OPT units, and four (Groups 2, 3, 5 and 6) changed by less than one OPT unit. The commercial pattern of Canterbury, as shown in the directory evidence, changed hardly at all in terms of OPTs.

Secondly, the number of "Other retailers" (Group 4) per thousand of population was considerably higher than in any of the railway towns: in Canterbury this group is always second in rank order after Group 3 (Food and drink, and lodging). Within that group, the clothing and household classes were generally better represented than in any other town, railway or holiday, so far considered. The same is true of the food element within Group 3 [Table 8.5]. Very evidently Canterbury was not only a market centre - there was a major cattle market -but also a major centre for retail shopping within the area: whereas Ashford, which had had a dominating position when the railway came, lost its position of primacy almost at once, Canterbury retained its position as a commercial centre at a consistent level throughout the period studied.

In the railway towns, all trade groups showed considerable fluctuation over the period, with no very clear pattern except Ashford's tendency to lose its original pre-eminence and to drop back to levels very similar to those of the other towns. Apart from Group 6, Others, Canterbury's levels of OPT were almost always greater than those of the railway

towns, and were very consistent: it seems to be the case that Canterbury was so well established as the commercial centre of East Kent before the railway came that that event, which so upset the economies of towns, not necessarily smaller but having less broad-based economies, more or less passed Canterbury by, so far as the evidence is able to show.

Table 8.5: THE PATTERN OF SOME SPECIFIC TRADE CLASSES.

| Date | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
| | Interpolated population figures. | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| | 17,687 | 17,671 | 18,250 | 21,149 | | | | |
| Class IX: Clothing | 184 | 155 | 174 | 157 | 10.40 | 8.77 | 9.53 | 7.42 |
| Class X: Food | 202 | 218 | 209 | 220 | 11.42 | 12.34 | 11.45 | 10.40 |
| Class XVI: Household | 47 | 39 | 41 | 42 | 2.66 | 2.21 | 2.25 | 1.99 |

## THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF CANTERBURY: THE CENSUS EVIDENCE

Dover and Canterbury are the only communities in East Kent where it is possible to compare the directory evidence with any detailed published census enumerators' evidence. The situation at Dover has already been considered, in Chapter VI; what was the situation in Canterbury ?

The number of workers per thousand [WTP] in the various trades which comprise each group vary very considerably from census to census in

Canterbury [Table 8.6]. Groups 1 (building) and 3 (food and drink; and lodging) generally rose, with a brief fall-back in Year 3; in Group 6 (others) the fall-back was in Year 4. Group 2 (inland transport) also rose, but the big jump in Year 3 was not sustained: Group 4 (other retailers) had a pattern similar to Group 2, except that the unsustained jump was in Year 2. Group 5 (public service and professional) generally declined, though the big fall of Year 2 was reversed in Year 3.

**Table 8.6: THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF CANTERBURY: THE CENSUS EVIDENCE**

These figures include all the city parishes, plus Hackington, Harbledown and Thannington with Milton Chapel.

| Date | 1841 | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1841 | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Population figures. | | | | Workers per thousand of population | | | |
| | 15,435 | 18,398 | 21,324 | 20,962 | | | | |
| Gp 1: Building | 333 | 538 | 600 | 636 | 21.57 | 29.24 | 28.14 | 30.34 |
| Gp 2: Inland transport | 176 | 226 | 416 | 299 | 11.40 | 12.28 | 19.51 | 14.26 |
| Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging | 433 | 760 | 859 | 939 | 28.05 | 41.31 | 40.28 | 44.80 |
| Gp 4: Retailers (other) | 990 | 1,774 | 1,934 | 1,919 | 64.14 | 96.42 | 90.70 | 91.55 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 1,618 | 898 | 1,860 | 1,688 | 104.83 | 48.81 | 87.23 | 80.53 |
| Gp 6: Others | 552 | 837 | 1,042 | 929 | 35.76 | 45.49 | 48.87 | 44.32 |

Despite the suggestion above that Canterbury was the major commercial centre of East Kent it is notable and a little surprising that the *number* of persons per outlet [PPO], that is, the number of persons per thousand in any trade group [WTP], divided by the OPT as indicated in the directories, was, in general terms, not as great as at Dover. Only in Group 1 (building) was the size of the Canterbury PPO unit larger

than that of the Dover unit for three of the four years involved: in Groups 3 (food and drink, and lodging), 4 (other retailers) and 6 (Others) the division is equal, two and two.

The size of PPO units in certain trades in Canterbury did grow, however: in Class IX (clothing) there were in Year 1 4.4 PPO; by Year 4 this had risen to 6.4. In Class X (food) the figure rose from 1.6 to 2.3. Class VII (service at domestic level) rose very sharply from 4.8 to 8.8 persons per unit. Class XIV (furniture) saw a rise from 2.1 to 3.1 and Class XII (drink) from 0.8 (sic) to 1.7. Stationery (Class XV) increased from 1.9 to 3.4.

The suggestion is therefore, that over the period studied, the PPO, the number of employees in units within certain trades - especially those dealing in retail goods - grew, implying that the turnover of the shops increased (otherwise there would have been no need for the extra staff), which meant in turn that the volume of goods sold increased, which meant that more goods came into Canterbury for sale, the majority presumably by railway. The evidence for this is, in the main, an arithmetical calculation, but a straw in the wind is the case of Lefevre's, which was until after the Second World War Canterbury's main department store. The business was founded in a single shop in Sun Street in 1875, some fifteen years after the arrival of the LCDR: by 1914 the business had expanded into a number of neighbouring premises in the same block and had become a very considerable store in its own

right[30]. By the turn of the century the staff numbered 22[31]. Similarly, in 1891 H.J.Goulden, "Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Music-seller and Pianoforte Dealer," employed "about twenty hands" in his High Street shop, which had apparently been fairly recently extended, and Cox and Ellyett, "Merchants and Wholesale Grocers," had expanded their trade suffciently to justify moving in 1885 into a large and purpose-built warehouse opposite the South-Eastern Railway station, with what sounds very like a private siding[32].

It cannot be said with certainty that the turnover of goods and the numbers of staff employed in the Canterbury shops increased because of the railway, but it can be said that the one took place after the coming of the other, and that there is a very strong presumption that the railway made that expansion possible, even if it was not the prime cause.

## THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS

As might be expected at Canterbury the proportion of private residents per thousand of the population increased as the years went by. The opening figure (11.65 per thousand) is a modest one: there were

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[30] Bateman, A., "Remember Lefevre's?", *Bygone Kent* Vol 9, No. 7 (1988), pp. 403-9.

[31] Anon: *"75th birthday celebrations"* (Canterbury, 1950, for Lefevre's, Ltd.), p. 8.

[32] Anon: *Industrial Great Britain, Part II* (1891), p. 138. Despite its high-sounding title, this book was effectively no more than a series of brief advertising articles about a small number of businesses in the various towns covered.

proportionately almost twice as many private residents in the minor resorts (see Chapter IX) and nearly a quarter as many again in the holiday towns (Chapter VII). To begin with the increase at Canterbury was at a modest rate, but by Year 4 the proportion had increased almost three-fold from the Year 1 figure, and Canterbury's figure (29.6 per thousand on directory evidence) was second only to that of the holiday resorts. The implication is that, however much Canterbury may have lost its social pre-eminence, it remained the most attractive place

Table 8.7 THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS OF CANTERBURY, AS SHOWN IN THE CENSUS TABLES AND THE DIRECTORIES

| 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of entries in the directory | | | | Directory entries per thousand of population. | | | |
| 206 | 273 | 313 | 626 | 11.65 | 15.45 | 17.15 | 29.60 |
| 1841 | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1841 | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 |
| Number described as independent in the census | | | | Census entries per thousand of population. | | | |
| 662 | 465 | 187 | 346 | 42.89 | 25.27 | 8.77 | 16.51 |

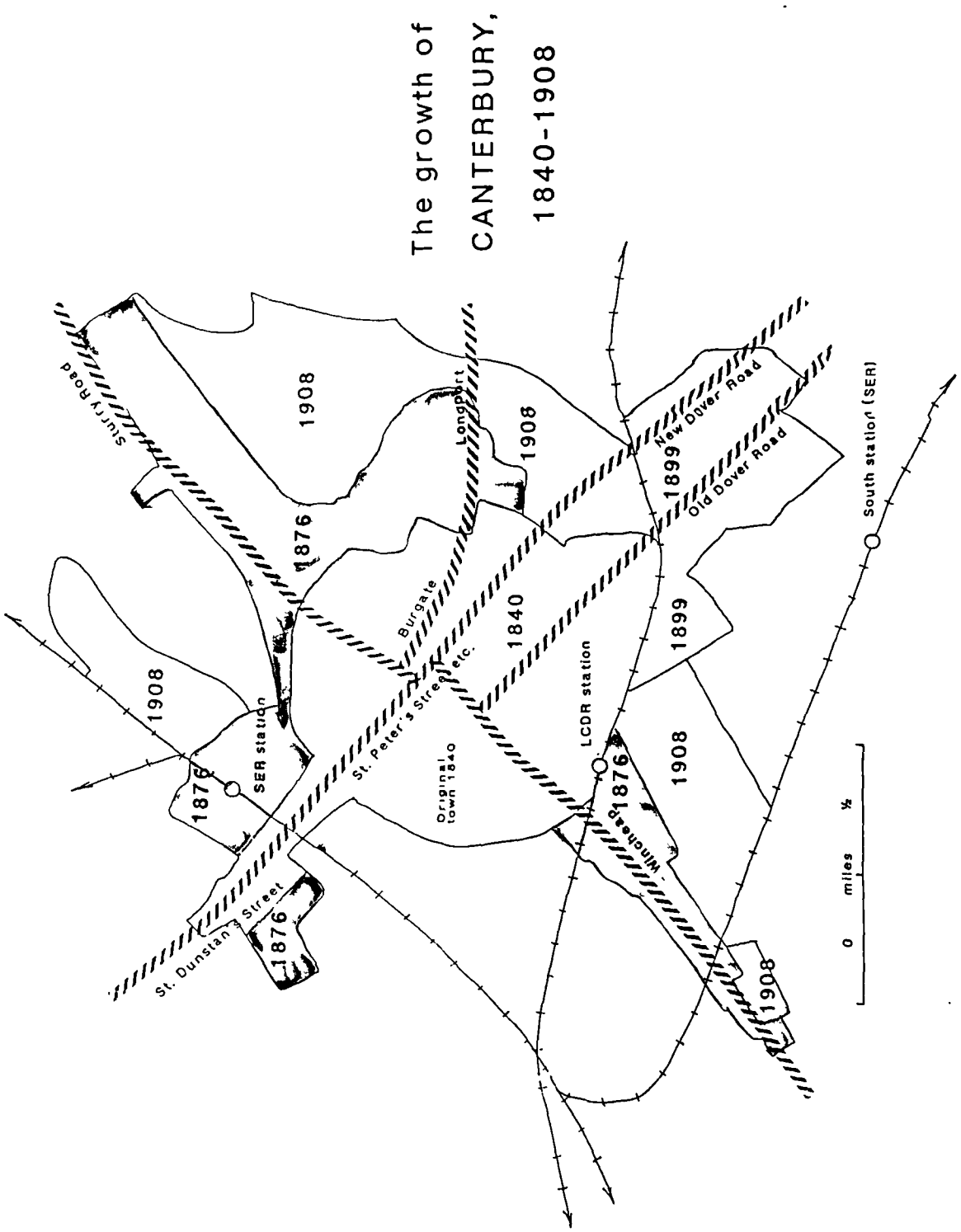
in East Kent in which to live (after the seaside: Herne Bay, Broadstairs and Ramsgate all had higher figures, as did Dover), for those who were able to make the choice. The census figures, though more erratic, due presumably to shifts of deposition, tell the same story: Canterbury's 1871 figure of 16.51 persons described as "independent" per thousand of the population is higher than Dover's 15.86, the only other town for which exactly comparable information exists.

## THE CHANGING SHAPE OF THE CITY

When the railway first arrived in Canterbury, the city was, by and large, still inside the line of the medieval walls. The only areas where there had been major extra-mural development were in St. Dunstan's Street, along the line of the roads to London and Whitstable, and in the Longport area, roughly south-east of the cathedral and between the roads to Dover and Sandwich. As in the railway and holiday towns, the stations were built outside the then built-up area: the Canterbury and Whitstable line crossed fields to reach the city, and the South-Eastern when built only cut through the London road on its way to Thanet. The London and Chatham line skirted the city walls to the south, and when the South-Eastern built the Elham Valley line that too passed through open fields on its way from Canterbury to Folkestone. The railways therefore did not affect Canterbury in that they did not inflict major damage to the city's buildings, or dominate its skyline with great viaducts or embankments.

The main directions of the city's growth lay firstly to the north-east (Map 8.5) in the thirty or so years after the SER first arrived, and in the first years of the new century; the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw virtually no growth in that direction. This development lay along the line of the road to Thanet, where there were three sets of army barracks, for the infantry, artillery and cavalry, all of which were extended during the nineteenth century. It seems at least likely that,

Map 8.5: THE GROWTH OF CANTERBURY.



being as well served as Canterbury was by rail, the War Department saw Canterbury as an ideal place for a military encampment.

The second direction of growth lay to the south, just beyond the line of the LCDR, though since that line ran more or less parallel to the walls on the southern side of the city, that is coincidence. The early and late development in this direction lay through Wincheap along the line of the road to Ashford, and though it may be that it was the road, rather than the railway, which attracted this new growth to begin with, there was, in the new century, a considerable development of terraced housing immediately to the south of, and within very easy reach of, the LCDR station. In the last quarter of the ninteenth century there was development towards the south-east, again immediately south of the line of the LCDR, consisting of many detached houses, standing in considerable grounds, along the line of the Dover Road.

Though there was certainly more growth in the vicinity of the stations in Canterbury than there was in the other towns, except perhaps Ashford, which was a special case, it cannot be said that the stations were a great magnet to housing or industrial development. The gasworks were moved from their site in Canterbury Castle to one not far from the LCDR station, and malthouses were built near the SER station, but there was nothing which could reasonably be called an industrial estate near either station, even as late as 1909.

Moving to the main streets of Canterbury there was actually very little change as the years passed by in the distribution of commercial enterprise (Table 8.8). The main street of the city (St. Peter's Street, High Street, the Parade, St. George's Street) was consistently home to nearly one in five of Canterbury's traders or professional men, though the figure did drop by 1% over the years. Burgate, the next most

**Table 8.8 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DIRECTORY COMMERCIAL ENTRIES FOR THE PRINCIPAL STREETS OF CANTERBURY.**

| Street | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of directory entries for that year: | 1,115 | 1,083 | 1,214 | 1,287 |
| Percentage of total directory commercial entries in each street in the given year | | | | |
| St. Dunstan's Street | 4.22 | 5.45 | 4.28 | 4.82 |
| Wincheap | 2.24 | 1.94 | 1.81 | 4.27 |
| St. Margaret's Street | 3.32 | 3.60 | 3.13 | 3.11 |
| Castle Street | 3.95 | 3.60 | 3.62 | 4.82 |
| High Street, St. Peter's Street, Parade, St. George's Street | 19.46 | 19.39 | 18.20 | 18.41 |
| Burgate | 6.10 | 5.63 | 5.02 | 4.51 |

commercially important street, saw its share of enterprise drop by nearly a quarter; no other street saw such a decline, though in absolute numbers the fall was from 61 in 1855 to 58 in 1882, hardly noticeable on the ground. St. Dunstan's Street, a continuation westwards of St. Peter's Street, and the street in which, in effective terms, the SER station stood, saw virtually no change in the long term, though there was a flurry of activity in the years immediately after the railway came which was not sustained. Wincheap, very near the LCDR station, and the

road to Ashford, saw its share of commercial enterprise double in percentage terms, from 2.24% to 4.27%, though the arrival of the SER on the other side of the city seems to have drawn trade from Wincheap: the proportion of traders in Wincheap had fallen by nearly a quarter of what it had been just before the LCDR arrived.

An examination of the changing composition of the commercial pattern in Wincheap between 1855 (just before the LCDR arrived) and 1882 is interesting (Table 8.9). If this table is compared with Table 8.4 it is evident that Wincheap saw, in proportionate terms, considerably more change in the years 1855-82 than the city did as a whole. By 1882 the building industry was very prominent as a local trade, and very

Table 8.9 THE CHANGING COMMERCIAL COMPOSITION OF WINCHEAP.

| Trade group | 1855 | 1882 | Trade group | 1855 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 1 | 1 | 6 | Group 4 | 3 | 10 |
| Group 2 | 2 | 3 | Group 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Group 3 | 12 | 23 | Group 6 | 4 | 8 |

noticeably Groups 3 (Food and drink, and lodging) and 4 (Other Retailers) had respectively doubled and tripled in size. The increase in Group 5 was due to the appearance in Wincheap of three schools and a music teacher. Group 6 now included Henry Mortimer, who manufactured tricycles at No. 124. Very clearly the street had by 1882 become the retail focus of the housing development which had appeared along its length since the LCDR station had been built, and it seems reasonable

to assume that the later, turn-of-the century development was placed to take advantage of the extant retail facilities. Certainly the growth in the number of drink outlets indicates a growth in demand: in 1855 there had been seven public houses; by 1882 there were ten, plus a beer-house.

Just how far the original development of Wincheap was prompted by the opening of the LCDR station can only be a matter of conjecture. The houses (most of which are still there) are in small terraces, and must, in their day, have been modestly respectable, though it seems unlikely that their occupants would have been commuters to London. The balance of probability seems to be that the houses were built where they were because Wincheap was already an important road out of the city, and the land was available: the first edition of the 1" Ordnance Survey map suggests that the area was at that time green fields; the presence of the station was a bonus, rather than a reason.

It has been seen in previous chapters how the shopkeepers *per se* tended to be in the vanguard of commercial development: where there was housing development, it was likely to be a shopkeeper who was the first to set up commercial enterprise. This seems to be true in Canterbury too. Of the eighteen shopkeepers who were in business in 1882 in streets where there had been no shopkeepers in the earlier years studied, only four had businesses within the city walls. Three were to the north-east, in the military district, four to the south-east, in new developments along the line of the Old Dover Road, two were to

the north-west, in the developments off St. Dunstan's Street and the last two in the Longport area, just outside the walls to the east.

Being a shopkeeper, even in a comparatively stable trading community such as Canterbury, seems to have been a chancy business from an economic point of view: only seven of the 35 shopkeepers who were in business in 1845 were still in business at the same address in 1855. There may well have been more continuity, concealed by changes of name, but all the same, a turn-over of up to 80% does suggest that a shopkeeper's life was a precarious one in nineteenth century Canterbury. Nor was this an isolated bad year: in 1852 there were 30 shopkeepers in trade: by 1855 only 11 were identifiably still in business at the same address, a failure rate of almost two-thirds in only three years. This was not of course a problem confined to shopkeepers: of the 62 bakers who were in business in Canterbury *in 1852 only 39 were still* in business at the same address in 1855 after only three years, though there were five businesses which, though they had changed hands, were still going concerns - apparently nearly a third of Canterbury's bakers had not stayed in business three consecutive years. Butchers were no better placed; of the 40 businesses operating in 1852 only 26 were in the same hands in 1855, with a further two still operating, but under new management: butchers were not likely to last longer than bakers, though the general shopkeeper seems to have been the most economically fragile[33]. Whatever other advantages the railway may have

[33] Exactly the same pattern was noted by Scola in Manchester. Between 1840 and 1861 only between 35% and 42% of grocers recorded in one directory were still trading at the same address ten years later. Bakers' survival rate was poorer, with between 31% and 38%

brought to the small tradesmen of Canterbury, commercial security does not appear to have been part of the package.

## CONCLUSION

In quantifiable terms, the railways seem to have had much less effect on the city than might have been expected. The population hardly increased, and the railway services, both passenger and freight, did not greatly increase in frequency (though there is no way of telling how the actual number of passengers or volume of freight altered over the years). The number of local road services to and from the city certainly increased very considerably, and though the number of retail and professional services did not change greatly, relative to the population of the city, there is evidence from the census enumerators' returns that the size of the retail shops and businesses, in terms of numbers of staff employed, did increase considerably. Certainly the directories show a greater sophistication of retail outlets - the 1882 directory included two organ builders, a cricketing outfitter, two umbrella makers and no less than 22 photographers, artists or picture frame makers - which further emphasized Canterbury's position as the commercial and retail capital of East Kent at this time. The conclusion would appear to be that Canterbury was already so pre-eminent in this regard before the

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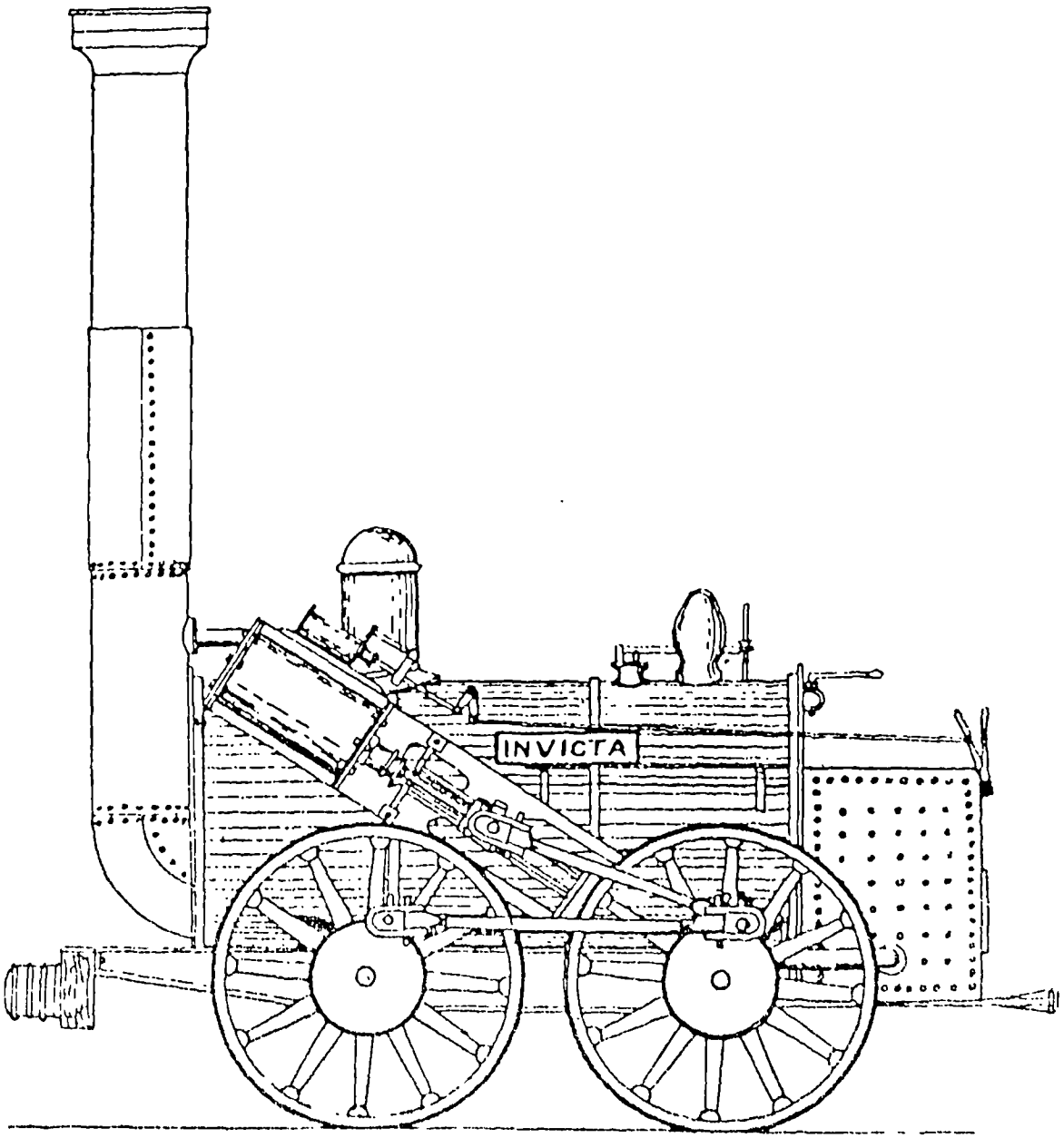
reappearing, and the shopkeepers were the most vulnerable of all; only between 20% and 25% survived in business for ten years, Canterbury evidence, over the shorter period, suggests that Canterbury traders were possibly even more fragile than their Manchester counterparts. Scola, R., *Feeding the Victorian City: the food supply of Manchester, 1770-1870*, (Manchester, 1992), pp. 229-30.

railways came that their arrival merely served to underline and strengthen that position rather than to alter it.

# Chapter IX:

# THE MINOR COASTAL TOWNS.



# CHAPTER IX: THE MINOR COASTAL TOWNS

So far we have considered the effect of the coming of the railway on the railway towns and ports (Ashford, Dover, Faversham and Folkestone), the holiday towns (the Thanet resorts of Birchington, Broadstairs, Margate and its neighbours, and Ramsgate, together with Herne Bay) and Canterbury. This chapter will consider, so far as information permits, all the remaining towns in East Kent which, in 1841, had a population of at least 2,000 and which, as the railways were built, came to have a station. There are five of these, Deal, Hythe, Sandwich, Walmer and Whitstable, and as it happens, all are coastal settlements.

## THE PATTERN OF TRANSPORT BEFORE THE RAILWAY CAME.

Almost all the carrier and omnibus routes which are listed in Table 9.1 have been shown before in the maps of road transport for the railway towns and channel ports (Chapter VII) and for Canterbury (Chapter VIII): most of those road services which were economic to operate were feeders to or from the local large town, and only fairly minor services - eg the Deal-Thanet coach service of 1840 - will not have been listed before.

The general pattern confirms what has gone before: long-distance passenger services did not survive the coming of the railway, but short-distance and carrier services did, though generally at a lower

Table 9.1 ROAD TRANSPORT PATTERNS BEFORE AND AFTER THE RAILWAY CAME.

| TOWN | YEAR | ROUTE | VEHICLE | FREQUENCY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deal | 1840 | London direct | Coach | 1 pd |
| | | Canterbury direct | | 1 pd |
| | | Dover direct | | 2 pd |
| | | Herne Bay | | 1 pd |
| | | Thanet | | 5 pd |
| | | Canterbury direct | Van | 1 pd + 2 pw |
| | | Dover Direct | | 3 pd |
| | | London direct | Hoy | 1 pw |
| | 1874 | Dover direct | Coach | 3 or 6 pd by season |
| Hythe | 1874 | Westenhanger station | Omnibus | Every train |
| | | Folkestone | | 9 pd |
| | | Dover - Lydd | Carrier | 2 pw |
| | | Dover - Romney | | 2 pw |
| | | Westenhanger station | | 1 pd |
| | 1899 | Folkestone direct | Omnibus & tram | 2 or 4 per hour by season |
| | | Folkestone - Ashford/Romney | Carrier | 6 pw in toto |
| | | Monk's Horton direct | | 1 pw |
| Sandwich | 1840 | Road services as for Deal, less Dover-Deal van ( 3 pd) | | |
| | | London direct | Hoy | 1 in 2 weeks |
| | 1874 | Dover direct | Van | 2 pw |
| | | London direct | Hoy | 3 in 2 weeks |
| Whitstable | 1828 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 2 pd |
| | | London direct | Hoy | 2 pw |
| | 1882 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 1 pd |
| | | London direct | Hoy | 1 pw |

level than previously. Assuming that "daily" excludes Sundays, Deal had 86 road services leaving the town in any week before the railway, and (even in the high season) only 36 afterwards. Whitstable's services were exactly half what they had been before the railway came.

At this level, therefore, those residents of these places who wished to travel away from their homes had less opportunity, as time passed by, to do so *by road*. The directory evidence may not, however, be a complete picture (carriers calling at towns and villages *en route*), and thus the figures in Table 9.1 should be regarded as *minimum*, rather than *maximum* services: in any case, nowhere was so far from a carrier route that a walk to meet the cart was out of the question.

## THE RAILWAY SERVICES: PASSENGER SERVICES

All the five towns in this section of this chapter were in direct rail communication with one of the larger towns (Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone or the Thanet complex) already considered: though Sandwich with a very awkward journey from Canterbury was perhaps the least well served in this way. Even after the link from Deal through to Dover was opened in 1881 the nearest big town (now Dover) was still fourteen miles distant by rail. Very clearly therefore those who lived in these towns will have had, in general terms, easy opportunity to travel to the major towns.

The rail services these towns enjoyed is shown in Table 9.2, and there the biggest change in the volume of service was experienced along the line which in 1881 extended the 1847 branch from Minster through Sandwich to Deal on to Dover: this was a joint project between the SER and LCDR during one of their very rare periods of truce, but before long relations soured again, and both companies tried (as usual, and as elsewhere) to put the other out of business[1]. The LCDR determined to

Table 9.2 RAIL SERVICES: passenger services.

| STATION | 1857 | | 1865 | | 1887 | | 1910 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Down | Up | Down | Up | Down | Up | Down | Up |
| Deal | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 21 | 23 | 22 | 27 |
| Hythe | Opened 1874 | | | | 10 | 11 | 16 | 12 |
| Sandwich | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 17 |
| Walmer | Opened 1881 | | | | 21 | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Whitstable (C&W) | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 9 |
| Whitstable (LCDR) | Opened 1860 | | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 9 |

All trains which start from, terminate at or stop at the various stations are listed here.

get its money's worth from the link and ran a number of trains from its station at Kearsney (the first station north of the actual junction between the new joint line and its own main line) through to Deal: the SER refused to allow them to go further, and even (as relations between

[1] The classic example is the SER's line of 1892 across the Medway on a bridge built parallel to the LCDR's bridge in order to "serve" Rochester and Chatham, already well served by the extant LCDR stations. The SER's so-called Chatham Central station was actually in Rochester.

the two companies fell into one of their occasional troughs) tried in 1887 to restrict the LCDR's access to Deal station[2]. Thus the three-fold increase in the number of trains serving Deal and the doubling of services at Sandwich is not an indication of a sudden new demand but of the financially suicidal policies of the two rival companies.

This branch apart, the main change was along the elderly Canterbury and Whitstable line, services along which had increased by a factor of two and a half between 1828 and 1910, though most of these trains will have conveyed freight as well as passengers, as noted above.

It is generally true that in 1910 passenger services were better than they had been in 1887[3]: on the assumption that an increase in services reflected an increase in demand (rather than an attempt to stimulate, or even create that demand, as the services of the Metropolitan Railway into "Metroland", or the electrified services along the Portsmouth Direct line, already mentioned, were intended to do) the indication is that more passengers were travelling from or to these towns, and if parallel evidence is any guide, most of those journeys would have been short-distance, to the nearest large town.

There is therefore some evidence to suggest that, as time passed, the opportunity for residents of these other towns to travel by road

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[2] Gray, A., *South Eastern Railway* (Midhurst, 1990), p. 257.

[3] Only Sandwich and Minster saw a slight decline between these years, reflecting in part the working agreement of the SER and the LCDR of 1899, when some of the more obvious stupidities of the rivalry began to be dismantled.

*decreased*, but that the opportunity to travel by rail *increased*, and (from the point of view of passenger capacity) by a *very much greater* number than the availability of passenger places on the road services decreased, and the likelihood is that most of those journeys were to or from the nearest major town.

## THE RAILWAY SERVICES: FREIGHT SERVICES

In general terms, dedicated freight services to or from the various towns considered here were sparse in the extreme: apart from services along the Canterbury and Whitstable line[1], most, if not all, stations were only served by at best one freight train a day, though even this service was subject to various limitations such as Monday only, not Monday, Saturday only, not Saturday, and Conditional (that is, the train ran only if there was a call for its services) and was at best irregular.

Certain caveats must be entered here. Firstly, as pointed out above, records of dedicated freight train workings have survived much less frequently than have passenger service timetables: quite simply, no clear picture exists as to what the freight services were over any period of time. Secondly, local passenger services (ie, trains which were not London expresses) might, almost certainly would, have the odd

[1] In the summer of 1899 the *SECR General Service Timetable* included four down coal trains daily, and five up.

additional van for parcels hitched on as and when required[5]. Thus, just because certain stations do not appear in the 1912 freight timetable does not, by any means, imply that there were no freight services. Thirdly, the layout of every station seems to have included at least one siding and some sort of goods shed, and very often some sort of cattle dock[6]: clearly, freight <u>was</u> expected and dealt with, even if on a very modest scale.

Unfortunately, information as to exactly what goods were handled, and in what quantity, simply seems not to exist. There are various accounts by those who began their railway careers in the parcels office of the enormous volume of paper-work that was generated to follow and charge for the numerous items the railway carried[7], but perhaps defeated by the sheer volume of records, little material was retained. It must have been a big enough problem keeping track of goods currently in transit without worrying overmuch about the records of goods which were carried and safely delivered a year ago.

All that can be said in the present context is that quite certainly freight <u>was</u> handled at these smaller stations, but it is not possible to

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[5] Thomas, D. St. J., *The Country Railway* (pb. edn., Harmsworth, 1979), p. 88. The Canterbury and Whitstable branch listed a <u>mixed</u> train (that is, including goods trucks as well as vans and passenger coaches) in the summer of 1899) which left Canterbury for Whitstable at 4.45pm each day. *SECR General Service Timetable, July-September, 1899.*

[6] See the description of a country station's goods yard in Thomas, D. St. J., *The Country Railway* (pb. edn., Harmsworth, 1979), pp. 61-63.

[7] e.g., Thomas, D. St. J. and Whitehouse, P., *The Great Days of the Country Railway* (Newton Abbot, 1986), pp. 63-4.

say from railway evidence with enough degree of certainty to make any comment worth while as to whether the volume was rising, falling or static and over what period of time, or whether there was any change in the nature of the freight itself.

## POPULATION: CHANGE AND GROWTH

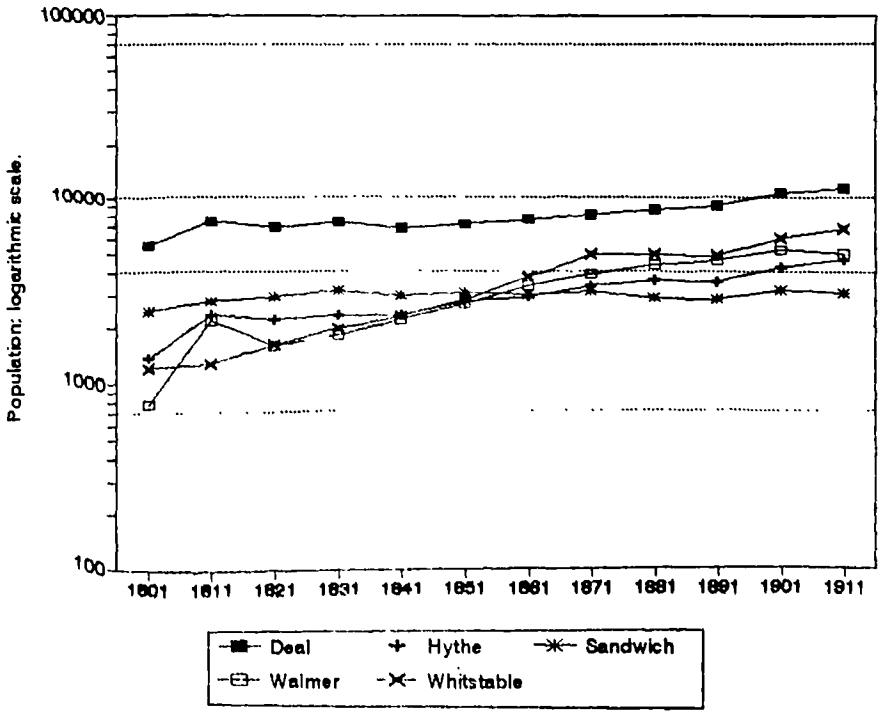
The changes in the population levels of the towns discussed here are shown in Table 9.3 and Graph 9.1. The overall growth of all the towns was by a factor of under three times, rather greater than at Canterbury but less than East Kent as a whole. In no case was there evidence of a unique and major alteration in the size of the population at the end of the decade in which the railway arrived. If the degree of change, one decade against that previous are considered, it is quite impossible to infer, from that evidence, the decade of the coming of the railway, and the same is true of graphs of the actual population numbers. The population trend, where there was one, was not interrupted or altered in any way by the arrival of the railway, and this was true, not only of the decade in which the railway actually came, but of the next decades also. The only exception was Whitstable, where the rate of growth gradually steepened from the beginning of the century until 1881 when a plateau was reached. For the next twenty years the population figure was almost unaltered, only showing a further rise in 1901 and again in 1911; this can however hardly be associated with the arrival of the LCDR forty years before. Whitstable

Table 9.3 THE POPULATION OF THE MINOR COASTAL RESORTS.

| TOWN | 1801 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deal | 5,420 | 7,351 | 6,811 | 7,268 | 6,688 | 7,067 |
| Hythe | 1,365 | 2,318 | 2,181 | 2,287 | 2,265 | 2,675 |
| Sandwich | 2,452 | 2,735 | 2,912 | 3,136 | 2,913 | 3,027 |
| Walmer | 775 | 2,154 | 1,568 | 1,779 | 2,170 | 2,616 |
| Whitstable | 1,205 | 1,249 | 1,611 | 1,926 | 2,255 | 2,746 |
| TOTALS | 11,217 | 15,807 | 15,083 | 16,396 | 16,291 | 18,131 |
| TOWN | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| Deal | 7,531 | 8,009 | 8,500 | 8,891 | 10,581 | 11,295 |
| Hythe | 2,871 | 3,289 | 3,522 | 3,465 | 4,234 | 4,641 |
| Sandwich | 2,944 | 3,060 | 2,846 | 2,796 | 3,170 | 3,040 |
| Walmer | 3,275 | 3,816 | 4,309 | 4,565 | 5.248 | 4,947 |
| Whitstable | 3,675 | 4,881 | 4,882 | 4,845 | 5,995 | 6,697 |
| TOTALS | 20,296 | 23,055 | 24,059 | 24,562 | 29,228 | 30,620 |

Graph 9.1

Graph 9.1: THE POPULATION OF THE MINOR COASTAL TOWNS.



was in fact the fastest-growing of this group of towns in each decade except three (1841, 1881 and 1891). The population of Sandwich changed hardly at all, increasing only by a quarter between 1801 and 1911, and by under 5% between 1841 and 1911.

In the simplest terms, therefore, the coming of the railway seems to have had no obvious effect on the population levels of the towns considered here. Towns which were virtually stagnating continued to do so; those which were showing a modest growth continued to show a pattern of growth no more or less modest than before.

## CHANGES IN COMMERCIAL PATTERNS.

If, as suggested above, more people were able to travel from the towns here considered to larger ones, some effect might be expected on the commercial patterns of these places. Can such changes be seen, within the limitations of the directory evidence, and are they what might be expected in the circumstances?[1] There is a pattern, but it is by no means as clear, or as strongly marked, as could be wished [Table 9.4].

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[1] The directories used in this section are as under:

| Year | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deal | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 |
| Hythe | 1874 | 0878 | 1882 | 1899 |
| Sandwich | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 |
| Walmer | 1882 | 1857 | 1891 | 1905 |
| Whitstable | 1829 | 1833 | 1840 | 1882 |

The groups in this Chapter are as for the holiday towns (Chapter VII), and are described in Chapter V (pp. 164-65).

**Table 9.4, part 1.**

**Table 9.4: Part 1.**
**OUTLETS PER '000 OF THE POPULATION IN THE MINOR COASTAL TOWNS.**

| DEAL | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 13 | 10 | 13 | 21 | 1.90 | 1.40 | 1.76 | 2.57 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 70 | 60 | 37 | 56 | 10.22 | 8.39 | 5.00 | 6.85 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 74 | 67 | 65 | 145 | 10.80 | 9.37 | 8.78 | 17.75 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 207 | 169 | 211 | 238 | 30.21 | 23.64 | 28.50 | 29.13 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 71 | 68 | 56 | 107 | 10.36 | 9.51 | 7.56 | 13.10 |
| Gp 6: Others | 90 | 106 | 56 | 100 | 13.14 | 14.83 | 7.56 | 12.24 |

| HYTHE | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1899 | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1899 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.57 | 0.49 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.25 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 42 | 54 | 63 | 93 | 12.44 | 15.43 | 18.00 | 23.01 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 90 | 98 | 96 | 110 | 26.67 | 28.00 | 27.43 | 27.21 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 42 | 36 | 47 | 47 | 12.44 | 10.29 | 13.43 | 11.63 |
| Gp 6: Others | 30 | 32 | 38 | 47 | 8.89 | 9.14 | 10.86 | 11.63 |

| SANDWICH | 1847 | 1851 | 1858 | 1874 | 1847 | 1851 | 1858 | 1874 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 1.36 | 1.65 | 1.69 | 1.32 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 4 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 1.36 | 2.65 | 0.34 | 1.32 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 36 | 38 | 34 | 40 | 12.22 | 12.57 | 11.48 | 13.23 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 99 | 89 | 84 | 91 | 33.60 | 29.44 | 28.36 | 30.10 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 58 | 54 | 25 | 61 | 19.69 | 17.86 | 8.44 | 20.18 |
| Gp 6: Others | 52 | 52 | 40 | 50 | 17.65 | 17.20 | 13.50 | 16.54 |

**Table 9.4, concluded.**

**Table 9.4: Concluded.**

| WALMER | 1882 | 1887 | 1891 | 1905 | 1882 | 1887 | 1891 | 1905 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 3 | 2 | 2 | 21 | 0.70 | 0.45 | 0.44 | 3.99 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0.70 | 0.90 | 0.44 | 0.19 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 40 | 44 | 42 | 62 | 9.33 | 9.89 | 9.28 | 11.78 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 54 | 59 | 48 | 75 | 12.59 | 13.27 | 10.61 | 14.25 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 32 | 31 | 24 | 42 | 7.46 | 6.97 | 5.30 | 7.98 |
| Gp 6: Others | 36 | 35 | 33 | 53 | 8.39 | 7.87 | 7.29 | 10.07 |

| WHITSTABLE | 1829 | 1833 | 1840 | 1882 | 1829 | 1833 | 1840 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 7 | 12 | 12 | 46 | 3.63 | 6.00 | 5.44 | 9.53 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 0 | 1 | 0 | 65 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 13.46 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 10 | 9 | 9 | 56 | 5.18 | 4.50 | 4.08 | 11.60 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 23 | 33 | 49 | 137 | 11.91 | 16.50 | 22.20 | 28.38 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 7 | 9 | 8 | 44 | 3.63 | 4.50 | 3.62 | 9.11 |
| Gp 6: Others | 16 | 20 | 20 | 49 | 8.29 | 10.00 | 9.06 | 10.15 |

| ALL TOWNS: aggregated figures | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number in each group | | | | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Gp 1: Sea | 28 | 30 | 34 | 94 | 1.44 | 1.49 | 1.65 | 3.71 |
| Gp 2: Transport by sea | 77 | 73 | 40 | 127 | 3.97 | 3.63 | 1.94 | 5.01 |
| Gp 3: Drink & lodging | 202 | 212 | 213 | 396 | 10.42 | 10.54 | 10.34 | 15.64 |
| Gp 4: Retailers | 473 | 448 | 488 | 651 | 24.39 | 22.27 | 23.69 | 25.70 |
| Gp 5: Public service & professional | 210 | 198 | 160 | 301 | 10.83 | 9.84 | 7.77 | 11.89 |
| Gp 6: Others | 224 | 245 | 187 | 299 | 11.55 | 12.18 | 9.08 | 11.81 |

When each town is looked at individually, that which showed (overall) the greatest gains was Whitstable: Group 3 doubled in outlets per thousand [OPT] terms, and Groups 1, 4 and 5 almost tripled: bearing in mind that Whitstable's population more than quadrupled between 1801 and 1911, and tripled between 1841 and 1911, these very considerable increases in OPT indicate what was apparently a commercial explosion in Whitstable in the years following the arrival of the railway. Some detailed trade figures are given in Table 9.5. However, the picture may be a false one: for one thing, the first three directories used are all

Table 9.5 DETAILS OF SERVICES PROVIDED IN WHITSTABLE.

| Trade or occupation | 1829 | 1833 | 1840 | 1882 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IX: Clothing | 6 | 9 | 12 | 29 |
| X: Food | 11 | 16 | 27 | 56 |
| XII: Drink | 10 | 9 | 9 | 42 |
| XVII: Shopkeeper | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| XVIII: Industrial service | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 |

from the Pigot range, which appear to have been far less comprehensive in cover than the Kelly series from which the majority of the information used in this thesis has been taken, so that the scale of increase may partly be a reflection of the quality of the directory used, and secondly, the actual time-span between Year 1 and Year 4 at Whitstable (53 years) is far greater than for any other town considered except Ashford, so that a greater element of change is only to be expected over the greater length of time. But whatever doubts are cast on the validity of the Whistable evidence as presented, there seems no

doubt that the town changed its commercial complexion very considerably after the railway came.

At Hythe the OPT figure for all groups except Group 5 (Public service and professional) increased between Year 1 and Year 4, especially in Group 3 (Drink and lodging), for which the OPT figure was, by Year 4, higher than at any other of the towns here considered. Very obviously local forces were at work here; the Hythe and Sandgate area was evidently in a condition of general growth, benefiting from the expansion of neighbouring and rapidly approaching Folkestone. The opening of the branch line from Sandling though to Hythe and Sandgate in 1874 reflected, rather than created, commercial expansion[9].

Deal's OPT figures, taken overall, suggest a state of virtual stagnation[10]. This was certainly true at Sandwich where the size of the population hardly changed throughout the century, and the OPT figures were virtually unchanged by Year 4. The relatively high Group 5 (public and professional service) figures at Sandwich reflect its ancient position as an administrative centre and a centre of local justice.

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[9] Certainly one (and very possibly the main) reason for the creation of the Sandgate branch lay in the unsatisfactory layout of the railway approach to Folkestone harbour station, which necessitated (and still did, until the cross-channel service from Folkestone ceased in 1992) a reversal at Folkestone Junction, and an approach down a very steep gradient to harbour level. If Sir Eustace Watkin, the forceful Chairman of the SER had had his way, the Sandgate line would have been extended along the beach at Folkestone to provide a much easier rail approach to Folkestone Harbour. Hardly surprisingly, the scheme was hotly opposed by Lord Radnor. See Nock, O.S., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (1961), pp. 81-84.

[10] The various tables given in Chapter III of Walton, J.K., *The English Seaside Resort* (Leicester, 1983) suggest that Deal's position as a seaside resort was marginal until late into the nineteenth century.

# ST. CLARE COLLEGE,

## WALMER, KENT.

**Head Master:—The Rev. E. C. D'AUQUIER, M.A.**

**Clare College, Cambridge,**

*One of the Examiners to the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1880–1886; late Head Master of the South Eastern College, Ramsgate,*

WITH A FULL STAFF OF ASSISTANT MASTERS (GRADUATES).

THE COLLEGE is intended to provide to high-class families a sound education based on the principles of the Church of England.

The premises are situated in a delightful spot, very close to the sea, and when the additions now being made are completed, will contain capital teaching and boarding accommodation, chapel, sanatorium, detached infirmary, playroom, laundry, gymnasium, tuck-shop, work-shop, &c.

The whole stands in 14 acres of well-timbered and beautiful grounds (surrounded by a cycle path), in which are the cricket and football fields, tennis courts, &c. Excellent opportunities are offered for sea-bathing. Safe boating can also be had, if desired. The sanitary arrangements are perfect.

The bracing and healthy climate of Walmer is well known. Careful attention is given to the physical development of the boys. Every endeavour is made to unite as much home comfort as is practicable with the discipline of a school. All the household arrangements are under the personal superintendence of Mrs. D'Auquier. Daily religious instruction throughout the school is given by the Head Master.

The secular course of instruction includes the following subjects:—

Reading, Writing, and Dictation.
English Grammar, Analysis, and Composition.
Physical and Political Geography.
Ancient and Modern History.
English Language and Literature.
Arithmetic.
Algebra, Geometry, & Trigonometry.*
Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.
Elements of Physical Science.
Latin and Greek.*
French.
Class Singing.
Drill and Gymnastics (*under a fully-qualified instructor*), 2s. 6d. per term each.

* *The standard of advanced Classics and Mathematics in the higher forms is intended to fit candidates to compete for open Scholarships in either subject at the Universities or elsewhere.*

**Fees:—**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| For Tuition ... ... ... ... ... ... | per term | £10 | 0 0 |
| Board ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | ,, | 15 | 0 0 |
| Washing ... ... ... ... ... ... | ,, | 1 | 1 0 |
| Medical Attendance ... ... ... ... | per annum | 1 | 1 0 |

The School year is divided into three terms—Michaelmas, Lent, and Easter. Each term will consist of about 13 weeks.

The pupils are prepared for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, London University Matriculation, Preliminary Law and Medical, the Army, and the Universities.

(*Arrangements are made every term to provide an escort for pupils to and from London.*)

An 1892 advertisement for one of the boarding schools which were springing up all over East Kent in the last years of the nineteenth century.

The point has been made above, in connection with the holiday towns, that the arrival of the railway, in East Kent at least, might emphasize or accelerate an existing trend or tendency, but was unlikely to initiate one: this is well illustrated in the present context by Walmer. Owing to the rivalry of the two companies who had (for once) acted in unison to build the Deal-Dover link, Walmer had a very generous railway service, but that service failed, in the short term, to generate any major expansion of Walmer's commerce, and even the long-term expansion was not of heroic proportions: Walmer's OPT figures were the lowest of the five towns considered in this chapter. Walmer of course was a garrison town with the Royal Marines depot, and not all of the population were really consumers: to that extent the figures give an unfair picture. The point is also worth making that Walmer was a very prosperous area, with a high proportion of domestic servants: in 1831 the 372 families resident in Walmer employed 171 resident servants between them (46%)[11]; by 1901 the proportion of servants to families was 43.4%[12], and by 1911 it was still 35.9%[13], which further diminished the consuming element.

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[11] Andrews, F.W.G., "An analysis of the poll-books of Sandwich, 1831-1868", (unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of London, 1987), p. 290.

[12] *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901 County of Kent: Area, houses, population etc.* (HMSO, 1902), Kent Archives Office KAO XK/312, Table 35a

[13] *Census of England and Wales, 1911: County of Kent area: families or separate occupiers ...etc,* (HMSO, 1914), Kent Archives Office KAO XK/312, Table 25.

There is evidence therefore that in the short term the effect of the railway was likely to be negative or at best indeterminate, but in the long term - twenty-five years or more - there was considerable commercial expansion, though this was very unevenly distributed. It must be emphasized again that the absolute numbers, both of population and of trade and professional units are sometimes very small - several of the Whitstable entries are in single figures for example - so the percentage figures may suggest a greater degree of change than actually took place. Nothwithstanding this kind of difficulty, the five towns showed some features in common.

Not very surprisingly, since all these towns were as resort towns, on however modest a scale, Group 3 (Drink, and lodging) showed some of the biggest increases, though not to the levels attained by the holiday resorts. Group 4 (Retailers) also showed increases to high levels, surpassing the holiday towns' levels, and Group 6 (Others) eventually rose well above the general level of the holiday towns. Thus, after a slow start, these towns, considerably smaller though they might be than the generality of those which have been considered in previous chapters, thus eventually became increasingly important commercial centres, presumably for the local countryside. This may be a result of ease of travel - people could now get to these centres more easily to make their purchases - or ease of transport - it was easier for retailers especially to obtain the increasingly sophisticated goods being produced at a distance for local sale. Bearing in mind the small distances involved (as previously pointed out, nowhere in East Kent was

more than half a day's walk from one of the biggest towns (Ashford, Canterbury, Dover and Folkestone, the Thanet resorts), it seems likely that it was the ease of freight transport which produced the changes - as the shopkeepers of Ashford insisted would be the case when the original South Eastern line was under discussion[11].

There is therefore some evidence to suggest that, whilst the commerce of the largest towns (as discussed in Chapters VI and VII above) grew, certainly in association with, if not as a direct result of, the coming of the railway, the minor towns did not suffer as much as might have been expected: the largest towns did not, in the long run, starve the smaller towns on the railway network. On the contrary, though the initial impact was likely to be unfavourable, these smaller towns seem to have been enjoying a modest but distinct expansion in the commercial and professional empires in the longer run.

## THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS

As in all the other towns so far considered, the numbers of those described in the directories as "private residents" increased very greatly (Table 9.6). As before mentioned, this may be an evidential quirk: more people may have wanted their names included, or perhaps

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[11] See Turner, G., *Ashford: the coming of the railway* (Maidstone, 1984), Chapter II, *passim*.

the criteria for inclusion were lowered, but the evidence as it stands is very clear. By Year 4, Hythe could boast that 44 in every thousand

Table 9.6: THE NUMBERS OF PRIVATE RESIDENTS.

| Date | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of directory entries in each year | | | | Directory entries per '000s population | | | |
| Deal | 151 | 134 | 85 | 184 | 22.04 | 18.74 | 11.48 | 22.52 |
| Hythe | 75 | 79 | 106 | 178 | 22.22 | 22.57 | 30.29 | 44.04 |
| Sandwich | 47 | 41 | 28 | 77 | 15.95 | 13.56 | 9.45 | 25.47 |
| Walmer | 119 | 155 | 129 | 200 | 27.75 | 34.85 | 28.50 | 38.00 |
| Whitstable | 1 | 4 | 7 | 86 | 0.52 | 2.00 | 3.17 | 17.81 |

of its directory entries were for "Private residents"; Walmer had almost as many at 38 per thousand. Whitstable's number, though still low in comparative terms at almost eighteen per thousand, had jumped from less than one per thousand in Year 1: Hythe's proportion had doubled. Hythe, as pointed out, was benefiting from the expansion of Folkestone, as well as being a major military town, and Walmer had become the "smart" part of Deal. Like Broadstairs in Thanet, they were very nice places in which to live.

## THE CHANGING SHAPE OF THE TOWNS

Bearing in mind the evidence of Table 9.3, it is hardly surprising that alterations in the size and position of these towns on the ground are generally difficult to distinguish. At Deal and Walmer where the

population expanded in size between 1841 and 1911 by some 7,300 souls, the differences between the First Edition of the 1" Ordnance Survey map (as revised in 1843)[15] and the Third Revision (outline edition) of 1914[16] have to be looked for. A certain amount of development took place in Deal at the northern end of the town (away from the station) and some infilling along the line of the main road south-west out of the town, across the line of the railway, and in Walmer there was some infilling between the coastal settlement (Lower Walmer) and that astride the Deal-Dover Road (Upper Walmer, and the original settlement), again away from the railway.

Sandwich's population did not change, for practical purposes, from 1841 onwards, and the shape of the town did not change either: apart from some very scattered housing built along the roads out of the town, the population of Sandwich still nestled comfortably within their mediaeval ramparts.

At Hythe the area to the south of the coastal road (between Folkestone and New Romney) had become built up by 1914. That this too was in diametrically the opposite direction from the station is hardly surprising: Hythe station was very inconveniently situated half-way up a steep hill out of the town and the better part of a mile from the centre of the pre-railway settlement: as at Westgate, the developers made the most of Hythe's attractions, the sea-coast.

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[15] As reprinted in 1969 (Newton Abbott), with notes by Harley, J.B.

[16] Published by the Ordnance Survey, (Southampton, 1914).

At Whitstable the situation was rather different, and in many ways more interesting (Map 9.1). The original settlement had been in effect a ribbon development along the road which started at Canterbury and ran through Whitstable to the sea: the original fishing settlement had spread inland along this road and for a short distance on either side of it. The original C&W station was near the harbour, and not very convenient for the town, about half a mile distant: since the C&W was envisaged as a means of supplying Canterbury with heavy goods (notably coal)[17], this is hardly surprising. By 1914 the situation had changed considerably. The first LCDR station at Whitstable was where the railway crossed the line of the main road, which produced an awkward site on an embankment: and in 1913 a new station was built some half-mile to the east, just short of where the C&W crossed the LCDR line. By 1914 the whole of the square encompassed by the two railways, the main road and the coast had been built up and the site of the new station clearly reflected the changing pattern of passenger demand. In addition the Tankerton Estate Company had begun in 1893 to lay out an extensive housing estate to the east of the C&W line and north of the LCDR line, and was in fact pressing that Company to build a new and more convenient station, which finally materialized in Southern Railway days in 1930[18]. However by 1914, to judge from the revision of the 1" Ordnance Survey map published in that year, most of the roads were

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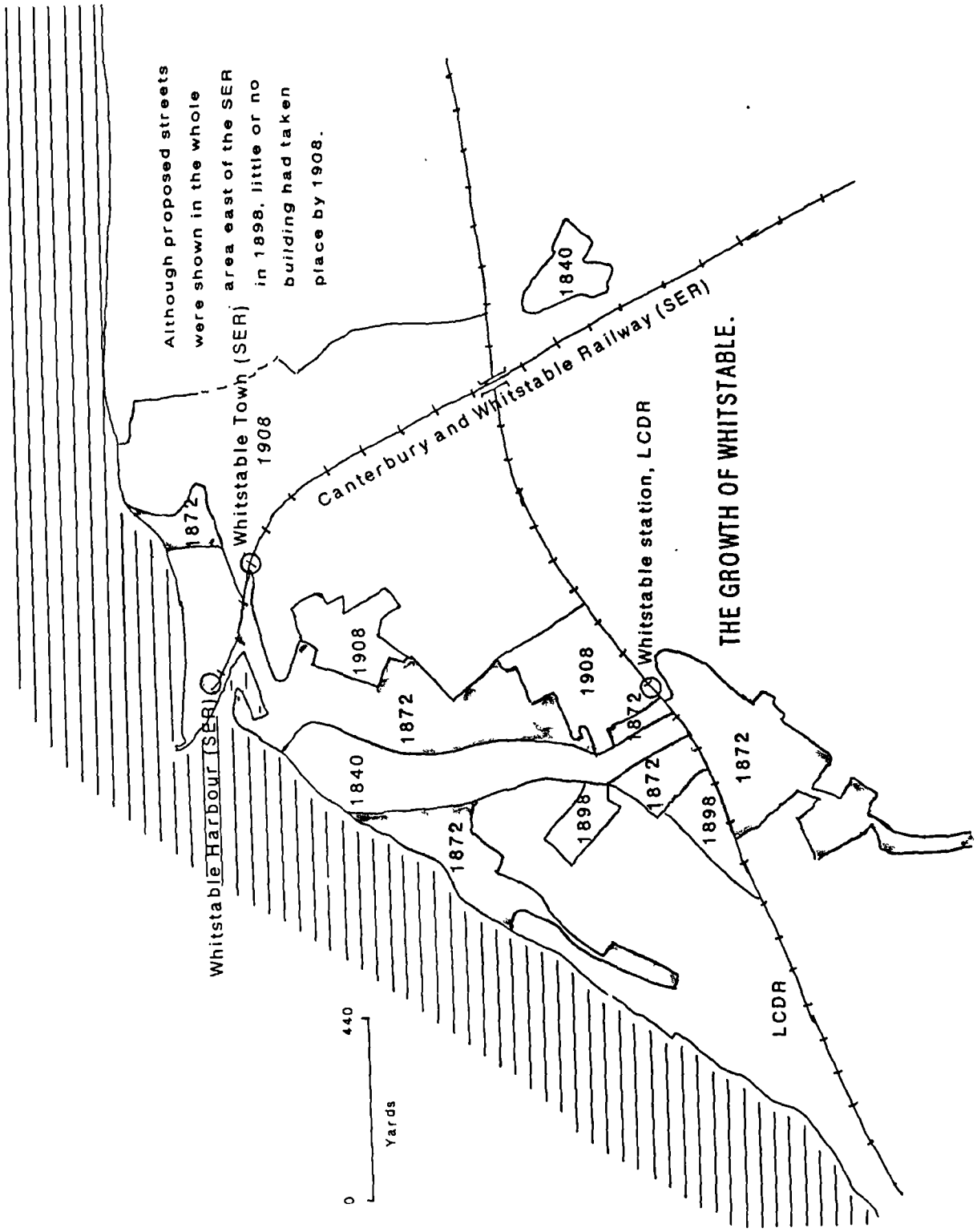
[17] Fellows, R.B., *History of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Canterbury, 1930), Chs. 1 & 2, passim; Hart, B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Didcot, 1991), Ch. 1. [See footnote 3 above].

[18] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 135.

Map 9.1: THE GROWTH OF WHITSTABLE.



still just roads, with very few houses built, a situation akin to that previously mentioned at Herne Bay. Even today (1993) Tankerton has unoccupied building sites, and has a curious air of never having quite come to life.

Whitstable is unique among the towns and villages discussed in this thesis in that the pattern of town growth was *towards* the railway, rather than away from it. Perhaps too much should not be made of this: the LCDR line paralleled the coast and to the west of Whitstable ran along the shore-line: geography dictated that, if Whitstable was to expand, and was to take advantage of the sea-coast, it would have to expand at least parallel to the railway. At Westgate, where there was similar expansion, in a similarly limited geographical area, the development took place as far away from the railway line as possible. Electrification (in 1962) reinforced Whitstable's position as an important London commuter centre[19] but the railway timetables of just before 1914 do not suggest that there was any volume of such traffic then (though there may well have been "commuter traffic" with Canterbury). In the 1905 Kelly's Directory 204 "private residents" were listed at Whitstable, of whom 84 lived in the new Tankerton development, indicating some 30 private residents per thousand of the population: Whitstable, it seems, was simply a very pleasant place in which to live.

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[19] White, H.P. and Goddard, D.S., "The development of long-distance commuting into London", *Geographica Polonica*, No. 24 (December, 1972), pp. 107-9.

Apart from Whitstable, however, the pattern of growth in these five towns, as influenced by the railway, is the same as already seen in the railway towns, the Channel ports, the holiday towns and Canterbury: the railway station was not a magnet for commercial or residential development.

## CONCLUSION

By and large the towns covered in this chapter were less well served by road as time went on, though this was compensated for by an expansion in the *availability* of rail travel - not only did services increase in frequency, but train capacity is likely to have increased as well. In general terms, the population of these towns expanded no faster or slower than the generality of East Kent (after the towns discussed in Chapters VI and VII are discounted), and where expansion on the ground can be detected on the map, the railway station still seems not to have been a magnet to housing[10], or even industrial development. However, the number of private residents per thousand of the population in these five towns was high, and generally grew higher (Table 9.6); these towns clearly attracted people as pleasant places in which to live. Initially, if Table 9.4 is any guide, the railway was likely to have had an adverse effect on the towns' trading and professional life, but in the long term that was certainly not the case. Further, almost without exception the number of commercial or retail units per

[10] Doré's drawings of nineteenth century Britain only appear to include a railway in the picture if the artist wanted to indicate that the area was a poor one.

thousand of the population had increased, sometimes very considerably, within 25 years of the railway's first arrival. Partly this may have been the commercial expansion of an increasingly sophisticated consumer market - for example, photography and popular cycling did not for practical purposes exist when the railway first came - but partly it must have reflected town traders taking advantage of the easy access to the warehouses of the largest towns and the appearance of the national manufacturer[21] and even the national chain store[22] which both increased the towns' internal trade and acted as a magnet for people in the towns' hinterland, who might arrive by train but (more likely in East Kent) on foot or perhaps by local horse and cart arrangements. Certainly the towns benefited from the advent of the railway in quantifiable terms, and the lives of their inhabitants must, like those of the population of Britain, have been changed out of all recognition[23].

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[21] Footwear was an early example of national manufacture: Clark's Shoes of Street, Somerset, became a major national manufacturer after the Crimean War.

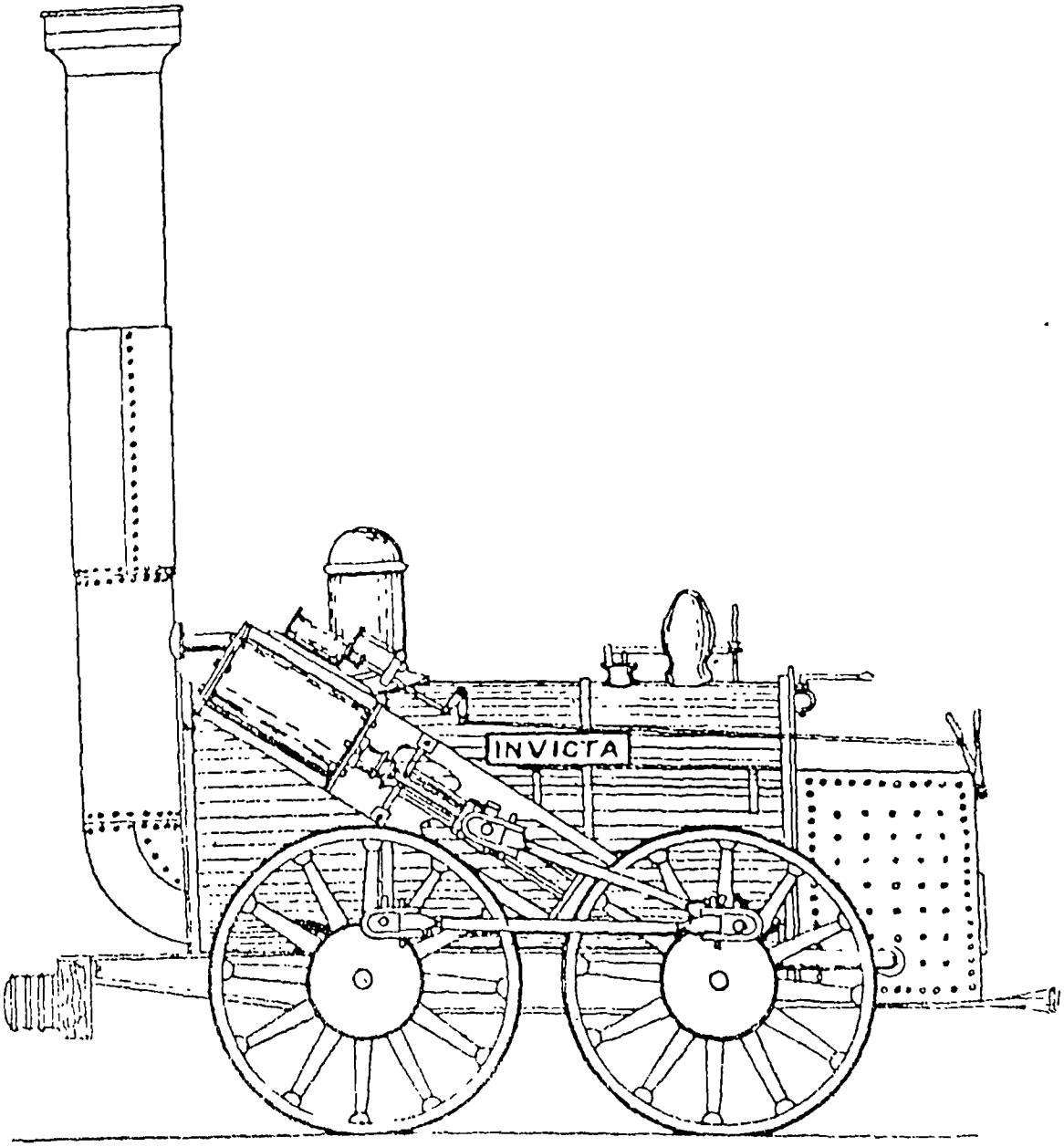
[22] The earliest examples are perhaps the chain of newspaper stalls set up by W.H. Smith on railway stations. Having begun with a stall at Euston in 1848, Smith was operating 777 by 1902. When the London and North Western and the Great Western decided in 1905 that Smith's profits were too great and refused to renew the contract, Smith's took just eleven weeks to open a chain of 144 High Street shops. Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (1991), pp.246-9. Julius Drew, the founder of the Home and Colonial chain of grocery stores, opened his first store in Liverpool in 1878, came to London in 1883 and was able to retire, a rich man, in 1889 (at the age of 33). National Trust *Guide to Castle Drogo* (1978), p. 3.

[23] See Robbins, M. *The Railway Age* (1962), especially Ch. 6, and Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (1991), *passim*.

# Chapter X:

# THE VILLAGES,

# ON AND OFF THE RAILWAY.



## CHAPTER X: THE VILLAGES, ON AND OFF THE RAILWAY.

East Kent was divided into 195 parishes, which made up a total of 160 cities, towns or villages. Of these 51 went to make up Canterbury and the other towns which have already been discussed in this study in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and IX. There remain 144 separate parishes to examine: two of these were so small that they were counted in with their neighbours[1], so that effectively 142 remain for discussion. Of these, 21 had stations in their own right, and these must be considered, in the same way that the larger towns have been, in as much detail as the evidence allows. There therefore remain 121 parishes which did not, in the period studied, enjoy the benefits of direct railway communication.

Of those, 35 could be considered to be potentially "suburban" to the major towns of Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, Faversham and Folkestone in that they immediately abutted on to the parish borders of those towns and did not have a station of their own. An attempt was made to consider these as a group in the way that the villages with stations were considered as a group, but in practice this approach proved not to be viable, as the various parishes were so very diverse. A few were, even at the time, effectively part of their "parent" town, as Hougham at Dover, which had a population of 7,522 in 1911, Kennington at Ashford, or Hawkinge at Folkestone, but others were, and remain to this

[1] Milton Chapel with Thannington, and Tickenhurst with Northbourne.

day, very small and very rural places, such as Paddlesworth (near Folkestone) which still had a population of only 50 in 1911, or Eastwell (near Ashford) with 66 in the same year. Aggregating all these together produced figures which were dominated by the large parishes, and implied a misleading degree of similarity which simply did not, and does not, exist. The attempt to deal with those 35 parishes as a group in their own right was therefore abandoned.

The towns already discussed in this thesis were served by the railway as an act of deliberate Company policy. Thus, Whitstable and Canterbury were the two ends of the first railway in East Kent, and Dover was the intended destination of the original South Eastern Railway. The Thanet towns were an obvious target for both the SER and the LCDR, and whilst Ashford, Canterbury, Faversham and Folkestone were not in themselves the final destination of one of the later railways, they were certainly important enough in their own right to warrant a station when the railway passed by. Other towns were the object of branch lines - Deal (then still an Admiralty depot) and Hythe: only Sandwich and Walmer may be said to have had stations *en passant*.

The villages which later found themselves the proud possessors of a station therefore did so in the main from accidents of geography rather than from commercial policy: they happened to be on the route that the railway took. Greatness was, as with Malvolio, thrust upon them. They are 21 of them; in alphabetical order

Adisham, Barham, Bekesbourne, Bishopsbourne, Bridge, Chartham, Chilham, Chislet with Grove Ferry, Cheriton [Folkestone Central station], East Langdon [Martin Mill station], Elham, Lyminge, Minster in Thanet, River [Kearsney station], Saltwood [Sandling station], Selling, Shepherdswell, Smeeth, Stanford [Westenhanger station], Sturry and Wye. (See Map 10.1).

None of them were large; by definition (see Chapter IX above) each had a population of less than 2,000 in 1841, and as late as 1911 seven had a population of less than 500[1]. Westenhanger (opened in 1844) and Smeeth (1851), were on the original SER main line; Chislet with Grove Ferry, Chilham, Minster in Thanet, Sturry and Wye (all 1846) and Chartham (1859) were on the SER line from Ashford to Thanet; Adisham (1861), Bekesbourne (1861), Kearsney (1862), Shepherdswell (1861) and Selling (1860) were on the LCDR's line from Faversham to Dover, and Martin Mill (1881) on the joint line from Deal to Dover. Cheriton (which is today Folkestone Central) was opened by the SER in 1884, and Sandling Junction was opened on the SER main line in 1888 in connection with the branch thence to Hythe. The last five, Barham (1887), Bishopsbourne (1889), Bridge (1889), Elham (1887) and Lyminge (1887) were all on the SER's Elham Valley line from Canterbury to Folkestone. The only main-line station among all these which has closed is Smeeth; the Elham Valley line closed in 1947.

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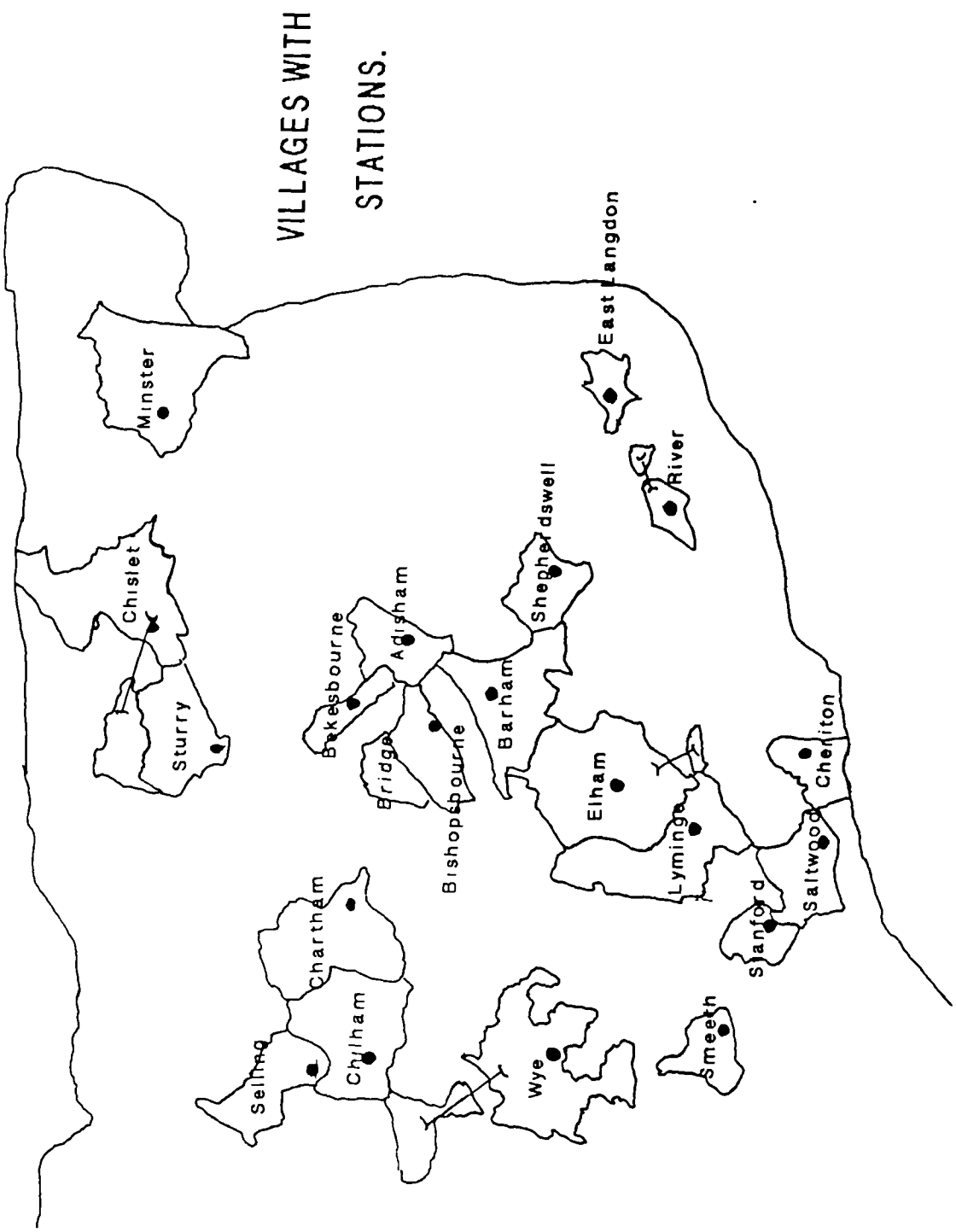
[1] Adisham, Bekesbourne, Bishopsbourne, East Langdon (Martin Mill station), River (Kearsney station), Smeeth and Stanford (Westenhanger station).

Map 10.1: VILLAGES WITH STATIONS, SHOWING PARISH BOUNDARIES.



The existence of a station did not necessarily indicate that the Company envisaged great, or even very much, profit. The station at Bishopsbourne was built only as part of a deal with the local landowner: Matthew Bell, owner of Bourne Park had been most reluctant to allow the railway to pass through his property at all, and when his son suggested that a station at Bishopsbourne would be useful, the SER agreed to provide one, presumably as some sort of olive branch[3]. Selling station was opened by the LCDR on the petition of the inhabitants of Boughton, of whom there were just over 1,600 in 1861; while the SER, alarmed at the possibility of a loss of trade, opened their Chartham station (about three and a half miles away from Selling station) in 1859, the year before Selling opened[4], drawing on the population of Chartham, which in 1861 had a population of 1,094[5] . It seems very unlikely that any volume of traffic can ever seriously have been expected from some of these stations.

Limitations of evidence and space made it impractical to try to study all the remaining 121 parishes which never had a station in similar detail,

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[3] Hart, B., *The Elham Valley line* (Upper Bucklebury, 1984), p. 6. A not dissimilar situation had occurred at Bekesbourne, on the LCDR, as mentioned above. Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales: Vol I: The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), pp. 57-8. Such arrangements with the local landowner were not uncommon.

[4] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway*, (Rainham, 1984), p. 21. It is very difficult to follow the SER's reasoning here. Few of Chartham's residents were likely to have wanted to go to any other station on the SER system than Canterbury on a basis sufficiently regular to justify a separate station, and for Canterbury it would have been simpler to walk three miles directly into the city rather than three and a half to Selling to buy a railway ticket.

[5] In 1875 the County Lunatic Asylum was erected at Chartham, having by 1899 a capacity of 1,205 patients. Any discussion of the growth of Chartham must take this into account.

but in order to consider the effect (if any) of the railway on villages which did not have a station at all, 22 of these parishes were selected as a "control group", matching as near as might conveniently be the population size of the 21 villages with stations, and also drawn from in the geographical gaps between the routes of the railway: these 22 are, in alphabetical order:

> Acol, Alkham, Ash next Sandwich, Brabourne, Eastry, Eythorne, Godmersham, Kingston, Nonington, Northbourne, Petham, Preston by Wingham, Sarre, Seasalter, Sellindge, Stalisfield, Stelling with Stelling Minnis[6], Upper Hardres, Westwell, Wickhambreaux and Wingham. (See Map 10.2).

There are therefore some 99 parishes which are not considered at all, or at least in no detail[7], in this study: in 1801 they represented about one-fifth of the total population of East Kent as defined; by 1911 the fraction had dropped to one eighth.

As a result of the coming of the railway, those who lived in the villages which now had a station could, *in theory*, have reached the local main town much more easily, and either bought directly from the town shops, or re-stocked their village shops and outlets more conveniently. Residents in non-station villages might have rearranged their lines of

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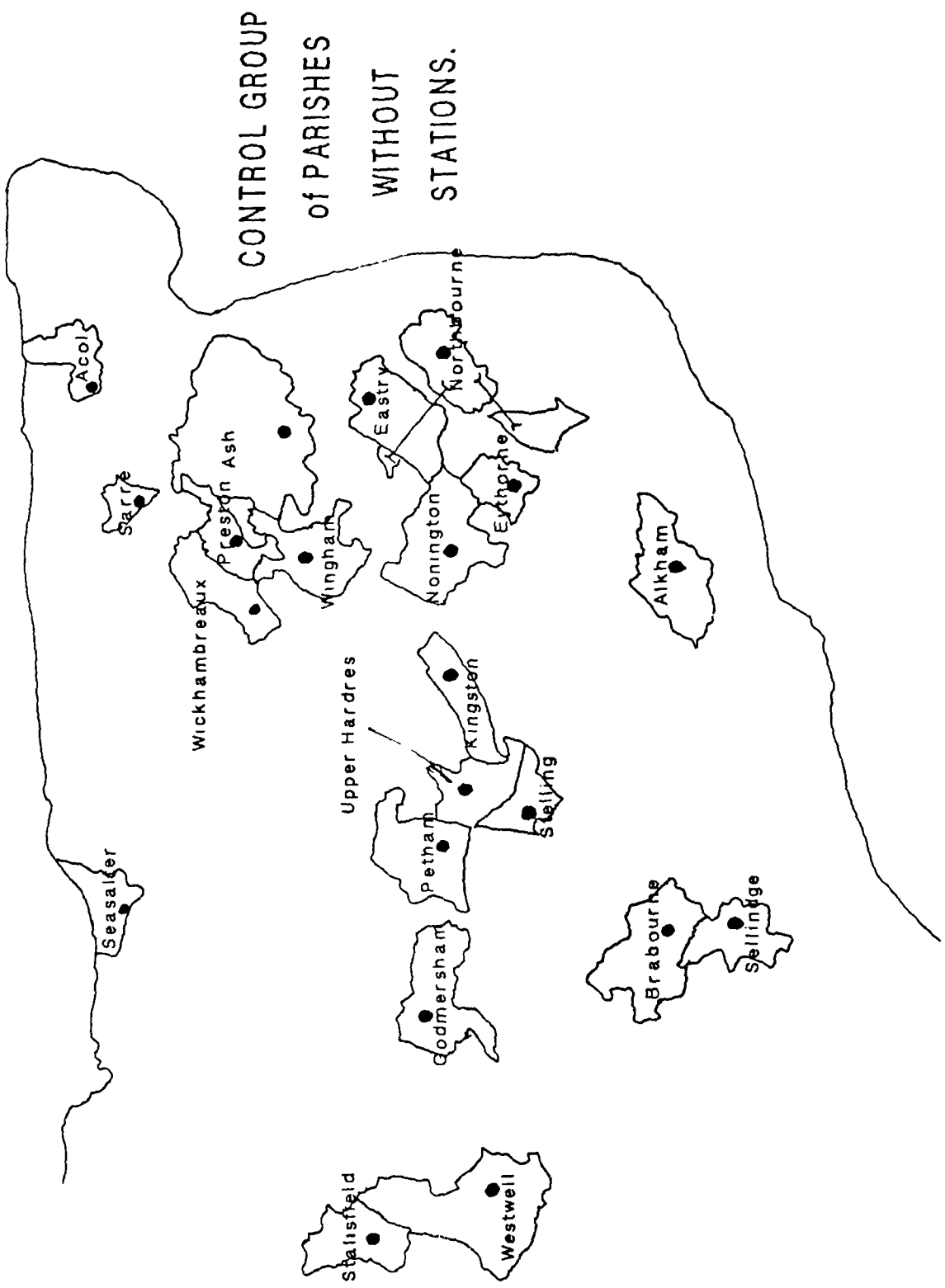
[6] At some periods these two parishes were counted as one, and at other times they were listed separately, so both have been included here, which accounts for the imbalance between the 21 villages with stations, and the 22 without.

[7] Certain of the "suburban" parishes are briefly mentioned in this chapter, or in the chapter dealing with their parent town.

Map 10.2: THE CONTROL GROUP OF VILLAGES WITHOUT STATIONS, SHOWING PARISH BOUNDARIES.



supply in order to buy from the village which did have a station, if that was more convenient to reach than the local town. The point must again be made, however, that the whole area considered, East Kent, is quite small; a circle based on Canterbury having a radius of 20 miles includes every town and village except Broadstairs. Local considerations of road access and relief might well have meant that the new station was less convenient as a source of supply than the old carriers' carts, and in any case nowhere was much further than ten miles from a major town: Shanks' pony must still have been in regular use in East Kent long after the railway came.

To study the effects of the railway on the villages with stations (21) and the control group of 22 without the same approach, so far as possible, will be made as in previous chapters; an analysis of road transport, of rail facilties where appropriate, of the commercial patterns of the various villages, and finally an overview of population changes, which will include comments on the 99 parishes not otherwise discussed. For villages WITH stations four directories have been used as in all previous towns and villages considered; for villages WITHOUT stations, only three directories have been examined, rather than four. These have been:

1845, (when the South Eastern Railway was in the process of becoming established in East Kent)[1],

1882, (when the railway network of East Kent was, for practical purposes, complete) and

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[1] If there was no entry for the village in the 1845 directory, the 1847 directory was used instead.

1913, at the end of the period studied.

## VILLAGES WITH STATIONS: THE PATTERN OF ROAD TRANSPORT

These 21 villages were very poorly provided with road transport, so far as directory evidence indicates, before as well as after the arrival of the railway. For nine of them no direct road transport of any description is recorded by any of the various directories which have been consulted in each case: these are Adisham, Bishopsbourne, Cheriton, East Langdon, River, Saltwood, Selling, Smeeth and Stanford. The scant details available for the remaining twelve villages are given in Table 10.1. Briefly summarized, this suggests that, before the railway arrived, there were at least 75 services, either specific to the village or passing through it, each week: Chilham possibly and Bridge certainly were served by more than the single carrier here counted. After the railway (that is, by Year 4 in each case) there were 60 such services: Bridge in particular must have had more services that it is there credited with.

Of the places listed, with the possible addition of Bridge, only Lyminge and Wye had a better service in Year 4 than in Year 1. Lyminge had once enjoyed a single weekly service to each of Canterbury and Folkestone; by Year 4 it possessed a daily service. Wye had commanded seven weekly services (variously to Ashford, Canterbury and Faversham) in Year 1; by Year 4 those same destinations were reached

**Table 10.1: ROAD TRANSPORT TO THE RAILWAY VILLAGES BEFORE AND AFTER THE RAILWAY CAME.**

| VILLAGE | DATE | ROUTE | TYPE | FREQUENCY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barham | 1887 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 5 pw |
| | | | Omnibus | 7 pw |
| | | | Wagonette | 6 pw |
| | 1911 | Canterbury-Derrington or Wootton | Omnibus | 12 pw in toto |
| Bekesbourne | 1862 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 1pw |
| | 1887 | Nothing recorded | | |
| Bridge | 1882 | Canterbury-Dover | Carrier | "Pass daily" |
| | 1913 | Canterbury-Dover | Carrier | "Pass daily" |
| Chartham | 1859 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 3 pw |
| | 1882 | Nothing recorded | | |
| Chilham | 1845 | Canterbury-Ashford | Omnibus | 6 pw |
| | | Canterbury Godmersham | Carrier | 2 pw |
| | 1870 | Canterbury-Ashford or Challock or Kennington | Carrier | 6 pw in toto |
| Chislet | 1845 | Canterbury-Thanet | Coach | "Daily" |
| | | Canterbury-Hoath or Reculver | Carrier | 4 pw |
| | 1870 | Nothing recorded | | |
| Elham | 1887 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 2 pw |
| | 1911 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 1 pw |
| Lyminge | 1887 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 1 pw |
| | | Folkestone direct | Carrier | 1 pw |
| | 1911 | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 1 pd |
| | | Folkestone direct | Carrier | 1 pd |
| Minster | 1845 | Canterbury-Ramsgate | Omnibus | 1 pd |
| | | Canterbury direct | Omnibus | 1 pd |
| | 1870 | Canterbury-Ramsgate | Carrier | 3 pw |
| Shepherdswell | 1862 | Canterbury-Dover | Carrier | 2 pw |

| VILLAGE | DATE | ROUTE | TYPE | FREQUENCY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shepherdswell | 1887 | Canterbury-Dover | Carrier | 1 pw |
| Sturry | 1847 | No directory information given. | | |
| | 1874 | Canterbury-Herne Bay | Omnibus | 1 pd |
| | | Canterbury-Thanet | Omnibus | No details. |
| Wye | 1845 | Ashford direct | Carrier | 2 pw |
| | | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 3 pw |
| | | Faversham direct | Carrier | 2 pw |
| | 1870 | Ashford direct | Carrier | 1 pd + 3 pw |
| | | Canterbury direct | Carrier | 4 pw |
| | | Faversham direct | Carrier | 2 pw |

by nine weekly services, plus a daily service to Ashford, a total of sixteen services in a week. If both Lyminge and Wye are omitted from the total figures, the original, pre-railway, number of journeys in any one week becomes 66, and the post-railway figure falls to 30 (both again minimum figures). By any calculation therefore the number of local carriers' services declined over the Year 1 to Year 4 period by some 20%; if the two villages where the service improved are ignored the decline was 60%.

It is inconceivable that these villages, especially those for which the directories did not list any service at all, were quite as cut off as the directories imply. There may well have been somebody in each village who offered an *ad hoc* service, too irregular and infrequent to merit a directory entry, and in any case, nowhere was so very far from an established route - the centre of Chartham village, for example, is under

a mile from the main road from Canterbury to Ashford or Maidstone, along which many carriers have been shown to be plying in Chapter VIII above - as to be beyond easy walking distance. Other villages were actually on a main route - Smeeth is on the main road from Folkestone via Hythe to Ashford, along which carriers operated, even though that was not mentioned in any of Smeeth's directory entries. All the same, it is very clear that, taking the directory evidence at its face value - as has been done in the case of the towns previously considered - these villages' road services were poor to start with, and became worse as time passed by.

In addition to all those routes described in the directories, there must have been a considerable volume of private road traffic as well, people travelling independently by their own vehicles, or on their own horses. Bearing in mind the increase of the horse population in the nineteenth century[9], this volume may well have increased substantially as the century passed by. Some, probably most, of these people were purely private travellers, but some may well have taken up passengers on a friendly or local basis, and may well have done business in the local town on behalf of friends and neighbours. The directory evidence of road transport only showed what might be called the "official" carriers.

Thus, people wanting to travel to or from these railway villages by public services had less opportunity to do so by road as time passed. That this was a direct result of the influence of the railways cannot, of

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[9] See Thompson, F.M.L., "Nineteenth century horse sense," in *Economic History Review*, Second series Vol XXIX (1976-77), pp. 60-81.

course, be proved, but as will be shown below the capacity of the railways for the carriage of passengers certainly increased over the same period, and the two circumstances must surely be linked.

## RAILWAY PASSENGER SERVICES AT VILLAGE STATIONS

For these village stations there is the usual problem of evidence. There is no direct evidence available as to just how many passengers boarded or left the various trains, and for what destinations, just as there is none for the larger towns: the SER and LCDR were by no means the only railways to keep their records in what would appear to have been such a haphazard fashion[10]. The only direct evidence is that given to the Select Committee on Railway Enactments in 1846, and unfortunately the only village station for which information was supplied was Westenhanger[11].

The pattern of passenger traffic there was much as might be expected: 70% of all journeys to or from Westenhanger were fifteen miles or less in length, with starting and ending points at Ashford, Pluckley, Folkestone and Dover. By far the largest group travelled between Westenhanger and Dover, almost 30% of the total. The only other group of travellers whose percentage of the total reached double figures were

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[10] Even the Great Western was guilty: Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914; The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 111.

[11] *Second report from the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments*, PP HoC 1846, XIV, pp. 571-81. Since Westenhanger was the station for Hythe until the Hythe branch opened (in 1874), it may not be entirely typical of smaller stations. The population of Hythe was, however, only 2,502 in 1841

those to or from London, 18%. If the pattern of travelling is considered by class of travel, the polarization is even more complete. Almost four out of every five third-class passengers made journeys of fifteen miles or less; not quite two in five of the first-class passengers did so. Less than one in eight of the third-class passengers' journeys was from London: more than two in five of the first-class passengers came from, or went to, London. Nearly two-thirds of all passengers to or from Westenhanger were third-class passengers; first-class accounted for 6% only.

A further point of interest lies in the actual number of passengers carried - in the year 1845 (to which the evidence for the SER in the Report refers) 26,916 journeys began or ended at Westenhanger, an average of 74 a day, Sundays included. There appear to have been four up and four down trains which carried third-class passengers in 1845, and two more which carried first-class passengers only. Assuming that only the former stopped at Westenhanger, this suggests that, on average, some nine people joined or left each train at Westenhanger in 1845. Road stage-coaches carried up to fifteen passengers, inside and out[12]: thus, to carry the number of passengers who in 1845 arrived at, or departed from, Westenhanger station, (and Stanford was a village of under 300 souls in 1841) would have required an absolute monopoly of the daily services of five such coaches. Nothing more vividly illustrates the expansion in demand for transportation which the railways created than this simple calculation.

[12] Bates, A., *Directory of Stage Coach Services, 1836* (Newton Abbot, 1969), passim.

Assuming that this pattern of the SER's early days remained a constant, and was later duplicated on the LCDR system, the vast majority of the passengers at these small village stations were likely to be travelling in the cheapest way they could, by third class, and were unlikely to be going more than fifteen miles, or say a couple of stations, up or down the line. Doing this would certainly bring them to one of the largest towns, in fact they would probably have a choice of town to aim for, depending whether they took an up train or a down one.

The pattern of actual rail services is shown in Table 10.2. The services provided by the LCDR to Adisham, Bekesbourne, Selling and Shepherdswell did not alter very much in the fifty years between the line's opening and the last timetable considered, that of 1910, from which it may be inferred that, either the service originally provided was grossly optimistic, or that passenger loading only increased in so far as the capacity of the trains themselves increased. The exception is Kearsney, but this is susceptible of a ready explanation: Kearsney was the last station on the LCDR main line to Dover before the junction with the joint line to Deal (opened in 1881) was reached, and the LCDR, as mentioned in Chapter IX, being very anxious to milk its new investment for all the profit it could (and to take as much revenue from the SER as possible), ran a number of trains from Kearsney through Martin Mill to Walmer and, when relations with the SER permitted, on to Deal. This is also the explanation of the absurdly generous service by Martin Mill station to the hamlet of East Langdon, which was only 353 souls strong as late as 1911.

## Table 10.2: RAILWAY PASSENGER SERVICES.

| Parish and station | 1857: SER | | 1865: Both | | 1887: Both | | 1910: SECR | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Down | Up | Down | Up | Down | Up | Down | Up |
| Adisham | Opened 1861 | | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| Barham | Opened 1887 | | | | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Bekesbourne | Opened 1861 | | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 8 |
| Bishopsbourne | Opened 1889 | | | | | | 7 | 7 |
| Bridge | Opened 1889 | | | | | | 7 | 7 |
| Chartham | Opened 1859 | | 4 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Cheriton | Opened 1884 | | | | 11 | 12 | 16 | 14 |
| Chilham | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Chislet & Grove Ferry | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 9 |
| East Langdon [Martin Mill] | Opened 1881 | | | | 12 | 12 | 18 | 18 |
| Elham | Opened 1887 | | | | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Lyminge | Opened 1887 | | | | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| River [Kearsney] | Opened 1862 | | 7 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| Saltwood [Sandling Junction] | Opened 1888 | | | | | | 16 | 14 |
| Selling | Opened 1860 | | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Shepherdswell | Opened 1861 | | 8 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Smeeth | 4 | 4 | ? | ? | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Stanford [Westenhanger] | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 10 | 13 | 8 | 8 |
| Sturry | 5 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 9 |
| Wye | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 6 |

All trains which start from, terminate at or stop at the various stations are listed here. Until Sandling Junction opened, Westenhanger was the junction station for the Hythe branch (opened 1874). The station at Cheriton was opened as Cheriton Arch (1884), renamed Radnor Park (1886) and later renamed Folkestone Central (1895).

Traffic along the SER main line, however, clearly increased. Sandling Junction's generous service was provided to cater for the branch to Hythe and Sandgate, rather than to provide ease of travel to Saltwood

parish's 700-odd souls. Previously trains for the Hythe/Sandgate branch began or ended their journeys at Westenhanger, which accounts for the jump in Westenhanger's services, but when Sandling Junction station opened, at the point where the branch actually left the main line, Westenhanger's services were cut back sharply. All the same, twice the number of trains called at Westenhanger in 1910 as had called in 1857, and this is true even of Smeeth. Chartham's station did not open until 1859, as discussed above, but the SER had all but doubled the service by 1910: this may of course have been in part a result of the establishment of the County Lunatic Asylum within the parish in 1875, though the services serving Chilham and Wye (on the same stretch of line, between Ashford and Canterbury) increased to the same extent: perhaps the SER was simply trying to keep passengers from using the almost parallel LCDR line.

If the train service was increased, it may be inferred that the number of passengers had increased also, and vice versa. To some extent the actual *train* could be strengthened - more coaches, and, if necessary, two locomotives - but in general terms the length of the platforms provided a practical limit to how far this might be employed at wayside stations, where it was hardly practical to stop the train, discharge or load some of the coaches, and then pull forward to allow the remaining passengers to be accommodated. Thus, even where the train service doubled (eg at Westenhanger) the number of passengers over the years probably did not increase by very much more than the factor of two indicated, but even more was this well beyond the capacity of the road

services supplanted. This expansion in capacity must surely be linked with the decline in road transport facilities enjoyed by these villages.

Assuming that the number of persons travelling to or from Westenhanger was typical of the other village stations considered, the number of persons arriving from the country in the local large town must have increased very greatly after the coming of the railway. Whatever the size and capacity of the advertised trains may have been (see the discussion in Chapter VII above), that capacity must greatly have exceeded that of the recorded road transport facilities. It seems unlikely that, before the station opened, 74 persons arrived at or left Westenhanger by road on a daily basis, but this was certainly the case in 1845, and most of these 74 must, from the evidence, have been travelling to or from Ashford or Dover or intermediate stations: the effect on the commerce of those towns, multiplied by the number of stations involved, must have been considerable, even if not, at this remove of time, quantifiable. The largest towns must have had far more people coming in to the town, for whatever purpose, after the railway came, than before. If only the passenger traffic figures had survived![13]

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[13] The only nineteenth century run of such figures to survive appears to be those maintained by the Midland Railway from 1876 to 1922, used by Jenkinson, D. in *Rails in the Fells* (Second edition, Seaton, 1980), and those of the Glasgow and South Western Railway, Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914: The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 111. However, in the present instance, the SER and LCDR were both so permanently short of cash that they may have economized by never collecting or collating such information.

## FREIGHT SERVICES TO AND FROM VILLAGE STATIONS

In 1907 the SECR's *Guide* devoted two lyrical pages[14] to a description of the freight services offered, which included cheap transit of farm produce to London and the provincial stations, and the transport of heavy freight, including grain, hops, soft fruit of all kinds, nursery products and seeds, livestock, fish, beer, paper, timber stone, cement and bricks, but unfortunately in far too generalized terms to be of much use in the present discussion.

To service their share of this traffic all the stations here discussed had at least basic freight facilities - sidings, a goods trans-shipment shed, loading docks and the like, but there is no *direct* evidence as to what passed though each station in the later years, or in what volume, though in his evidence to the 1846 Parliamentary Commission James MacGregor gave a breakdown of the goods traffic of the SER as a whole in 1845 (Table 10.3)[15]

Nearly 30% of the volume by weight which the SER carried was coal, and another 17% was builders' materials. Earthenware and sundries made up a further 13% and foodstuffs (grain, fish, fruit, vegetables, meat, groceries and hops between them) another 31%. In terms of the value

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[14] *The Official Guide to the South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (Sixth edition, 1907), pp. 47-8.

[15] *Second report from the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments*, PP HoC 1846, XIV, Appendix 5.

Table 10.3: GOODS CARRIED BY THE SER IN THE YEAR ENDED 31ST JANUARY, 1846

| COMMODITY | WEIGHT (tons) | CHARGES £ | COMMODITY | WEIGHT (tons) | CHARGES £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grain | 6.93 | 2,158.14 | Fish | 1,647.70 | 3,294.60 |
| Fruit | 3,138.95 | 2,095.91 | Vegetables | 1,014.40 | 516.60 |
| Hops | 6,242.75 | 5,381.85 | Manure | 4,966.75 | 1,857.35 |
| Bricks, chalk, lime, fuller's earth, cement, timber. | 14,966.75 | 4,722.21 | Porter, spirits, wine | 978.90 | 586.80 |
| Furniture & luggage | 224.25 | 397.55 | Wool | 339.10 | 201.14 |
| Meat | 40.10 | 32.77 | Stationery | 266.65 | 132.54 |
| Machinery | 57.20 | 47.07 | Groceries | 8,304.00 | 3,114.13 |
| Draperies | 1,508.00 | 1,152.83 | Bark, hop-poles, earthenware, leather, iron castings, etc. | 11,905.10 | 11,646.62 |
| Coals | 26,420.00 | 4,397.50 | TOTALS | 88,956.20 | 41,735.61 |

to the company, however the order is very different. Coal brought in just over 10% of total revenue, but the earthenware and sundries produced 28% and foodstuffs 40%. MacGregor made the point that the railway carried parcels - by which he meant very small quantities of goods - very cheaply: "the public have had their goods carried at a very large reduction of price, and they have had much greater convenience"[16] which must have pleased the shopkeepers of the area served very much.

The pattern is therefore much as might be expected. Local products - fish, vegetables, hops, wool - were important items of traffic, earning more than one eighth of the company's annual revenue between them:

[16] *Ibid.*, qn. 2692.

bulky goods (coal and builders' materials) filled numerous wagons (nearly 47% of volume by weight) but were not very profitable (22% of revenue). MacGregor made the point that whilst passengers loaded and unloaded themselves, all freight had to be loaded and unloaded by railway staff, adding to the cost but not to the revenue. Much of the traffic was seasonal - hops, wool and fruit especially - but there must have been a steady flow of goods passing through even the smallest stations on the East Kent system - and the convenience, especially to the local traders, must have been enormous, as MacGregor said. Moreover, the railways influenced the pattern of local agriculture: in the 1880s plum orchards were planted in East Kent to take advantage of the easy and rapid rail transport to London, and this traffic continued until large-scale production in the Vale of Evesham put the East Kent growers out of business[11].

Most of these villages' railway freight must have arrived as "parcels" in vans coupled to one of the local passenger services, though there was also a dedicated freight service in each case (Table 10.4), but the point is again made that information about freight services is much more patchy than that for passenger services, and those services were much less regular (in the sense of a service every day) than were passenger services. In general terms, the number of freight trains calling at these stations declined, or showed only a modest improvement, as the years passed, though Minster, Shepherdswell and Westenhanger saw an upsurge of freight traffic by 1912. Some services are very unbalanced

[11] Information from C. Burch Esq., September, 1990.

- in 1883 for example two up trains called at Chartham each day, but there were no corresponding down services (though this may have been a function of the way the sidings and running lines were laid out); in 1912 Sandling Junction saw the arrival of three down freight trains, but six up trains called. Lyminge (on the Elham Valley line) had three daily down services; the other stations on the line had only one. Folkestone Central (which opened in 1884 as Cheriton Arch) is not even shown in the 1912 working timetable. Such problems notwithstanding, farmers and other producers must have found it much easier to despatch their products by rail than by road (Lyminge for example became a major centre for livestock marketing, especially sheep[18]), and shopkeepers and merchants clearly (on MacGregor's evidence) took the convenient opportunity of obtaining [illegible] and materials in large and small quantities. Again, lack of hard evidence makes it impossible to quantify the extent of this traffic, and just what its value was, in economic terms, to the producer or retailer, but common sense suggests that it must have been very considerable[19].

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[18] In the summer of 1929 5 special trains had been needed to carry 9,473 lambs away from Lyminge market, *Southern Railway Magazine* (March 1930), p. 97. The previous spring 23,000 head of sheep had been moved by rail from the Romney Marsh area, *Southern Railway Magazine* (May 1929), p 187

[19] Simmons, J., *The Railways in England and Wales: The System and its Working* [illegible] 1978), p 166

## Table 10.4: RAILWAY FREIGHT SERVICES.

| STATION AND LINE | 1877 (LCDR), 1883 (SER) | | 1887 (LCDR) | | 1912 (SECR) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Down | Up | Down | Up | Down | Up |
| Adisham (LCDR) | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Barham (Elham valley) | Opened 1887 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Bekesbourne (LCDR) | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Bishopsbourne (Elham valley) | Opened 1887 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Bridge (Elham valley) | Opened 1887 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Chartham (SER) | - | 2 | n/a | | 1 | 3 |
| Chilham (SER) | - | 2 | n/a | | 3 | 3 |
| Chislet (SER) | 1 | 1 | n/a | | 2 | 2 |
| Cheriton (SER) | Opened 1886 | | n/a | | ? | ? |
| East Langdon [Martin Mill (SE & LCD joint)] | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | 1 |
| Elham (Elham valley) | Opened 1887 | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Lyminge (Elham valley) | Opened 1887 | | | | 3 | 1 |
| Minster in Thanet (SER) | 2 | 3 | n/a | | 5 | 6 |
| River [Kearsney (LCDR)] | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Saltwood [Sandling Junction (SER)] | Opened 1888 | | n/a | | 3 | 6 |
| Selling (LCDR) | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Shepherdswell (LCDR) | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Smeeth (SER) | 2 | 2 | n/a | | 2 | 3 |
| Stanford [Westenhanger (SER)] | 2 | 3 | n/a | | 6 | 5 |
| Sturry (SER) | 1 | 1 | n/a | | 2 | 4 |
| Wye (SER) | - | 2 | n/a | | 2 | 3 |

Sources:

1877: PRO RAIL 955/1
1883: PRO RAIL 977/14
1887: PRO RAIL 955/2
1912: SECR Goods working book, July-September, 1912: Author's possession.

These figures represent the minimum services: Monday Only services, etc. are not included unless they are balanced by a Not Mondays service. There are various conditional services as well, which have not been included.

## THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF THE RAILWAY VILLAGES

Because the villages were (in commercial, as well as population terms) very small, all the 21 villages have been aggregated together for the purposes of creating Table 10.5. The situation is slightly false, in that the years for which directory entries have been examined are necessarily not the same in each case[20]; and that the population figures for each directory year have been derived from the population figures which have been used as the basis of Table 10.12. However, it was felt that to provide a table for each village, consisting in the main of blanks

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[20] The dates of the directories examined for each village are as under:

| YEAR | I | II | III | IV |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adisham | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 |
| Barham | 1887 | 1891 | 1895 | 1911 |
| Bekesbourne | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 |
| Bishopsbourne | 1891 | 1895 | 1899 | 1913 |
| Bridge | 1891 | 1895 | 1899 | 1913 |
| Chartham | 1859 | 1866 | 1870 | 1882 |
| Cheriton | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1909 |
| Chilham | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1871 |
| Chislet | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1870 |
| East Langdon [Martin Mill] | 1882 | 1887 | 1891 | 1905 |
| Elham | 1887 | 1891 | 1895 | 1911 |
| Lyminge | 1887 | 1891 | 1895 | 1911 |
| Minster | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1870 |
| River [Kearsney] | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 |
| Saltwood [Sandling Junction] | 1887 | 1891 | 1899 | 1913 |
| Selling | 1859 | 1866 | 1870 | 1882 |
| Sibertswold [Shepherdswell] | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 |
| Smeeth | 1852 | 1858 | 1862 | 1878 |
| Stanford [Westenhanger] | 1845 | 1851 | 1855 | 1870 |
| Sturry | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 |
| Wye | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1870 |

or zeros would not be helpful, and so the present expedient has been adopted.

TABLE 10.5: THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF THE RAILWAY VILLAGES.

| ALL VILLAGES | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 19,288 | 19,596 | 19,567 | 22,237 | Outlets per thousand of the population | | | |
| Group 1: Land | 256 | 218 | 215 | 254 | 13.27 | 11.12 | 10.99 | 11.42 |
| Group 2: Food, drink, shopkeeper | 200 | 188 | 202 | 270 | 10.37 | 9.59 | 10.32 | 12.14 |
| Group 3: Other retailers; service | 79 | 70 | 71 | 149 | 4.10 | 3.57 | 3.63 | 6.70 |
| Group 4: Public service & professional | 110 | 122 | 120 | 155 | 5.70 | 6.23 | 6.13 | 6.97 |
| Group 5: Building & inland transport | 115 | 97 | 102 | 137 | 5.96 | 4.95 | 5.21 | 6.16 |
| Group 6: Others | 51 | 48 | 45 | 73 | 2.64 | 2.45 | 2.30 | 3.24 |

The composition of these groups is described in Chapter V above, pp. 164-65.

It is immediately apparent from a glance at Table 10.5 that the economic pattern of these villages was very different from that of the towns which have been studied so far. Of the 3,347 trade entries, 1,803, over a half of them, refer to people whose occupations were partly or wholly involved in Group 1, (land), or Group 2 (food and drink). Though the number occupied on the land declined slightly between Years 1 and 4, the level of decline (from 13.27 to 11.42 outlets per thousand of the population, [OPT]) may be insignificant[21]. However, by Year 4, those concerned with the supply of food and drink occupied a more prominent

[21] The fall in the numbers on the land in the late nineteenth century was primarily a decline in the number of labourers, who do not feature in the directories.

place in rural society than those involved with the land, with an OPT level of 12.14 against the land level of 11.42.

One other immediate point is clear; in general terms the OPT figures changed very little over the years. Proportionately, as noted above, rather fewer were in charge of some sort of agricultural business, and rather more were involved in Groups 5 and 6 (building and inland transport, and the residual "others" group), but these last changes were less than one unit of OPT. The minor expansion in Group 4 is due to a big increase in teachers, and in those involved in industrial service. The biggest increase in OPT is in Group 2 (food and drink), showing an overall increase between Years 1 and 4 of 1.77, and Group 3 (other retailers) which grew by 2.6 OPT. In the villages as elsewhere the immediate effect of the railway's arrival was to reduce the OPT in nearly every group in Year 2; there might or not be a revival in Year 3, but by Year 4, except for Group 1, there was a modest increase in all Groups.

The point is again made that, with such small actual figures, evidential errors may give rise to considerable statistical error, and imply changes that did not in fact take place. For example, according to the directory evidence available, Mrs. Louisa Booth was working as a laundress in River [Kearsney station] in 1862 (Year 1) and in 1874 (Year 3), but she was not listed in the directory for Year 2 (1867). It seems rather unlikely that she was not continuously in business between at least 1862 and 1874, but her absence from the 1867 directory had a major effect on the number of people in Class VII (Service at domestic level) not

only in River (where there is a *Nil* entry for Year 2), but on the aggregated figures for the railway villages as a whole, where the figure for Year 2 stands at 4, rather than the expected 5.

Five of the villages here considered (Barham, Bishopsbourne, Bridge, Elham and Lyminge) were on the Elham Valley line. On the evidence available, the coming of the railway seems to have made little difference to the valley. Lyminge apart, the population of the villages declined in the years after the railway came, and the railway did not secure a commanding position in the local economy. The railway's route almost exactly paralleled a road, and the majority of the people who dwelt in the valley lived some distance (and probably up a steep slope) from any one of the stations; it must have been easier to reach the road and then follow it to Canterbury or Folkestone[22].

At Lyminge (Table 10.6), at the valley's watershed, farm stock and livestock auctions began to be held adjacent to the station in the spring of 1904 (fifteen years after the railway arrived) and some at least of the stock left by rail[23]. There too the general trend for the farming OPT to decline among these villages was reversed, clearly reflecting this increased importance. Lyminge's commerce expanded

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[22] This problem was not of course confined to the Elham Valley line; almost any rural line which ran in a deep valley faced the same problem: the Leek and Manifold Light Railway is a classic example, where almost all the settlements were on the top of the hills, and the line ran in the valley below.

[23] Forwood, M., *The Elham Valley Railway* (Chichester, 1975), p. 63. It has been suggested that cattle and stock markets tended not to be affected by railways until speed became an essential part of the transaction ,Smith, D.N., *The Railway and its Passengers* (Newton Abbott, 1988), p. 79, though the number of freight trains which were run only on certain towns' market days suggests that this is not correct.

appreciably more than did that of the other railway villages and by Year 4 Lyminge was markedly a more active, and presumably prosperous, centre than all the other railway villages except Bridge: the OPT of retailers in Group 3 (other retailers) had almost doubled since Year 1, and Group 4 (Building and inland transport) had increased by a factor of over a half, very much against the trend for these villages.

**TABLE 10.6: THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF LYMINGE.**

| LYMINGE | Year 1887 | Year 1891 | Year 1895 | Year 1911 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 827 | 835 | 914 | 1,467 | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Group 1: Land | 15 | 15 | 16 | 29 | 18.14 | 17.96 | 17.51 | 19.77 |
| Group 2: Food, drink, shopkeeper | 10 | 9 | 11 | 20 | 12.09 | 10.78 | 12.04 | 13.63 |
| Group 3: Other retailers; service | 3 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 3.63 | 3.59 | 4.38 | 6.82 |
| Group 4: Public service & professional | 7 | 7 | 6 | 16 | 8.46 | 8.38 | 6.56 | 10.91 |
| Group 5: Building & inland transport | 5 | 5 | 5 | 14 | 6.05 | 5.99 | 5.47 | 9.54 |
| Group 6: Others | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2.42 | 2.40 | 2.19 | 4.77 |

Quite why this was so can only be surmised. Lyminge was, by 1911, the largest village in the Elham Valley: the population had increased by three-quarters since the railway came, and the village was now fourth in size in this group, having been eleventh in 1881, and had, perhaps, come to take on some of the aspects of the largest villages, perhaps almost small towns, considered in this chapter. Certainly some of the figures for the various occupational classes in Lyminge are, by Year 4,

very similar to those of those largest villages (Chartham, Cheriton and Minster).

Bridge is so close to Canterbury - the parish church is only three miles from the cathedral - that it was perhaps something of a dormitory suburb long before the railway arrived, and its commercial pattern may indicate this [Table 10.7]. It clearly had a much more active commercial retailing and professional life than the other villages. Food retailers

TABLE 10.7: THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN OF BRIDGE.

| BRIDGE | Year 1891 | Year 1895 | Year 1899 | Year 1913 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 850 | 820 | 790 | 833 | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Group 1: Land | 4 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 4.71 | 8.54 | 10.13 | 8.40 |
| Group 2: Food, drink, shopkeeper | 12 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 14.12 | 15.85 | 18.99 | 18.01 |
| Group 3: Other retailers; service | 9 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 10.59 | 13.41 | 12.66 | 10.88 |
| Group 4: Public service & professional | 10 | 11 | 12 | 15 | 11.76 | 13.41 | 15.19 | 18.01 |
| Group 5: Building & inland transport | 10 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 11.76 | 13.41 | 13.92 | 9.60 |
| Group 6: Others | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2.35 | 4.88 | 3.80 | 4.80 |

increased (Group 2) and so did the public and professional service group (Group 4). The building and inland transport group (Group 5) declined in the villages taken as a whole, and this decline was especially marked in Bridge. Though agriculture was clearly less predominant in the commercial world of Bridge than in the other villages, the OPT did increase, against the general trend, almost doubling by Year 2, increasing again in Year 3 before dropping back to the level of Year 2 in Year 4.

If the detailed figures of some of the classes which have been aggregated to make up the groups of Table 10.5 are examined, (Table 10.8) they show that in detail, as well as in the aggregate, no major changes took place: the only trade classes which showed big changes were Classes VII (service at domestic level), up from 0.36 to 1.53 OPT between Years 1 and 4, an increase by a factor of over four - in practical terms a rise from seven persons to 34, and Class VIII (coal), which rose by a factor of over three, from 0.42 to 0.92 OPT, from five persons to nineteen. Changes in other classes are smaller, as for

TABLE 10.8: CHANGES IN CERTAIN TRADE CLASSES.

| ALL VILLAGES WITH STATIONS | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 19,288 | 19,596 | 19,567 | 22,237 | Outlets per thousand of population | | | |
| Class VII: Service at domestic level | 7 | 4 | 5 | 34 | 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.26 | 1.53 |
| Class VIII: Coal | 5 | 8 | 7 | 19 | 0.26 | 0.41 | 0.36 | 0.85 |
| Class IX: Clothing | 58 | 45 | 47 | 68 | 3.01 | 2.30 | 2.40 | 3.06 |
| Class X: Food | 101 | 94 | 108 | 151 | 5.24 | 4.80 | 5.52 | 6.79 |
| Class XII: Drink | 69 | 69 | 74 | 81 | 3.58 | 3.52 | 3.78 | 3.64 |

example the food class (Class X), which increased from 101 units to 151, an increase in OPT terms from 5.24 to 6.79, a factor of one quarter. Class IX (clothing trades) saw a very slight increase, from 3.01 to 3.06 OPT, a rise in actual units from 58 to 68. Class XII (drink) rose from 3.58 to 3.64 OPT, from 69 units to 81. Again there is a distinct dip in the graph in all classes in Year 2, from which a recovery might, or might not, be made.

## VILLAGES WITHOUT STATIONS (CONTROL GROUP): ROAD TRANSPORT.

The contrast with the picture presented for those villages which had a station of their own is quite remarkable [Table 10.9]. Some of these stationless villages were and are very remote places indeed and still very thinly populated, but even so, the availability of road services increased as time went by. Not all parishes were served; any which do not appear in the table do not seem, from the directories, ever to have had a dedicated road service.

Even if "daily" means "including Sundays", there were in 1845 only 26 services in any one week for all the parishes, including the "daily" service from Canterbury to Deal, presumably a single return journey; by 1913 there were 119, spread throughout the week, some primarily for passengers, the omnibus services, and others primarily for goods, the carriers. But the carriers took passengers, and the omnibuses carried goods, if only in relatively small packages. There is no knowing just what volume of goods moved, or how many passengers, but quite clearly the demand was there, and seems to have been expanding, as has been noted in previous chapters. Clearly the network of road services feeding the major towns to and/or from the stationless villages increased in the years following the arrival of the railway: this was a national, rather than an East Kent phenomenon. The country carrier could provide a personal, door-to-door service which the railway could not: it is hardly surprising that he not only survived the coming of the

railway, but prospered on the strength of the supplementary service he could offer[24].

Table 10.9: VILLAGES WITHOUT STATIONS (CONTROL GROUP OF 22): ROAD SERVICES.

| Parish | 1845 | 1882 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alkham | | | Dover: 2pw |
| Ash next Sandwich | | Omnibus, Canterbury, 1 pd | Omnibus, Canterbury 2 pd, 1 pw; Sandwich 3 pd, 1 pw + carrier 1 pd |
| Brabourne | | | Ashford 2 pw; Folkestone 1 pw |
| Eastry | | Canterbury 1 pw | Canterbury 1 pw; Sandwich 3 pd |
| Eythorne | Omnibus, Dover 3 pw; Carrier, Dover 1 pd | Dover 6 pw | Dover 3 pw |
| Godmersham | Canterbury 2 pw | | |
| Nonington | | Canterbury 1 pw, Dover 3 pw | Canterbury 5 pw, Dover 3 pw |
| Petham | | Canterbury 4 pw | Canterbury 8 pw (pass through) |
| Preston by Wingham | Coach, Deal/Herne Bay, 1 pd | Canterbury 1 pw | |
| Sellindge | | | Ashford 1 pw; Folkestone 3 pw |
| Stelling & Stelling Minnis | | Canterbury 1 pd, 2 pw | Canterbury 5 pw |
| Wingham | Canterbury/Deal "daily" | Omnibus, Canterbury, 1 pd, 4 pw | Omnibus, Canterbury 2 pd, 1 pw; Carrier, Canterbury 4 pw |
| Westwell | | Ashford 1 pw | Ashford 1 pw |

*NOTE:* All services were by carrier, unless otherwise indicated

Where no reference is made to a village, there are no directory entries in respect of road transport for that village.

[24] See "Country carriers in the nineteenth century", Chapter 11 of Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), passim, but especially pp. 285-86 and 300-302.

There is the further point that these figures, as in common with similar other tables in this study, only refer to directory evidence given under the heading of the town or village concerned, which seems to have been confined to road journeys which actually began in the village concerned, and did not take into account journeys for which the village was the destination, rather than the starting point. Thus, in 1882 in addition to the journeys shown here from Petham to Canterbury, Canterbury's directory entry lists a further ten carrier services weekly from Canterbury to Petham, six of which went on to Waltham. Similarly Stelling is shown to have been served by four weekly services from Canterbury, in addition to those shown in Table 10.9. Table 10.9 therefore represents the bare minimum services which these villages must have enjoyed. The complete range of journeys from Ashford and Canterbury (the major centres of road traffic) is shown in maps 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, (pp. 246-47) and 8.1 to 8.4 (pp. 336-37 and 339-40).

Presumably people went to or from the large towns with a purpose, almost certainly commercial, in mind; and the carriers' work was entirely commercial. The towns clearly offered more attractions as time passed, to justify the increased volume of traffic, and these changes have been considered in the previous chapters. It was presumably in the light of those increased attractions that the increase in local road traffic services took place. It appears the case that villages which did not have a dedicated road service (other than incidentally, by routes passing through) at the beginning of the period considered were very unlikely to have one at the end, but for villages which did have a

service to begin with, it was likely that that service would have been augmented by the end of the period.

## VILLAGES WITHOUT STATIONS (CONTROL GROUP): CHANGES IN THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN

The pattern of commerce in the villages without stations is shown in Table 10.10.

The contrast with those villages which did have stations is clear: three points stand out.

(1) The position of agriculture, much the same in the village economy at the beginning of the period here as in those villages which eventually had a station, continued to dominate, and expanded, in terms of outlets per thousand of the population [OPT], by one third: in the station villages, it declined by one-eighth.

(2) In general terms, the level of OPT was much the same, to begin with, in villages with or without stations.

(3) Whereas, in the villages with stations, the level of OPT (land apart) tended to rise in the long term, in the villages without stations, it either remained more or less constant, or declined: the only exception to this is the professional and public service group, which reflects an increase among local administrators,

ministers in religion, doctors and those in industrial service, in effect, the changes brought about by an increasing sophistication of society.

TABLE 10.10: THE VILLAGES WITHOUT STATIONS (CONTROL GROUP OF 22): COMMERCIAL PATTERN.

| ALL VILLAGES | Year 1 1845/47 | Year 2 1882 | Year 3 1913 | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | 15,111 | 14,942 | 14,715 | Outlets per thousand of population | | |
| Group 1: Land | 273 | 274 | 283 | 18.07 | 21.95 | 24.19 |
| Group 2: Food, drink, shopkeeper | 163 | 174 | 171 | 10.79 | 11.65 | 11.62 |
| Group 3: Other retailers; service | 64 | 79 | 76 | 4.24 | 5.29 | 5.16 |
| Group 4: Public service & professional | 64 | 106 | 147 | 4.24 | 7.09 | 9.99 |
| Group 5: Building & inland transport | 91 | 84 | 67 | 6.02 | 5.62 | 4.55 |
| Group 6: Others | 41 | 39 | 46 | 2.71 | 2.61 | 3.13 |

The composition of these groups is as for the villages with stations.

In stations with villages, the general "shopkeeper" survived, and even expanded slightly (the OPT level rose from 1.56 to 1.71 between Years 1 and 4 overall); in the villages without, he began to disappear (OPT fell from 1.79 to 0.88, half of what it had been). In clothing, the station villages' OPT remained constant (3.01 to 3.06); in villages without, the OPT fell from 3.51 to 2.04. Food services improved slightly in both types of village, over almost exactly the same range, as did drink services, but the service of inland transport fell in the non-station villages (OPT declined from 2.25 to 1.97) but improved in the other villages (OPT 2.70 to 3.06).

The picture appears to be a clear one: where a service was required at a very local level (food, drink) the level of service in these villages without stations managed to survive; where that service was threatened by distant mass-production methods, or was less immediate in demand, such as clothing, or building, there was a clear shift away to places with railway communication, either directly, or as a means of travel to one of the major towns. Thus, the actual number of food units more than held its own, (even if the level of OPT did not increase), while the number of shoemakers in these stationless villages fell from 36 in 1845/47 to 27 in 1882 and to 19 in 1913, accounting by themselves for most of the decline in the village clothing traders.

It will be seen below that parishes were likely to suffer a progressively steeper decline in population the further from the railway they were. If the level of OPT in these villages most distant from the railway is compared with the others in this section it is clear that the trends which generally existed in villages without stations are more clearly evident still in these "furthest" villages [Table A10.5]. The OPT in the land group began from a level greater than the average no-station village, and climbed higher still, to a figure of almost 25, suggesting an increasing concentration on farming and its associated trades: the shape of the graphs for the other groups is generally an exaggerated form of that for the other no-station villages. The actual OPT figures for the furthest villages tended to be fractionally higher, presumably reflecting very small size units in isolated areas, and though the OPT for food and drink classes of service increased slightly, that for the shopkeepers fell quite substantially, as did that for the clothing class: in these very

remote places retail services, other than for basics, seem to have been hit badly as time passed by.

Generally, therefore in these villages without stations, even if the village grocer, or the village pub, was able to stay in business, the village clothier, general shopkeeper or builder was not.

## PRIVATE RESIDENTS: COMPARISON OF RAILWAY AND NON-RAILWAY VILLAGES (CONTROL GROUP OF 22)

The number of persons described in the directories as "Private Residents" increased very markedly in the railway villages as elsewhere (Table 10.11). In Year 1 there were 142 people so described, 7.36 per thousand of the population; by Year 4 there were 305, 13.72 per thousand, an increase by a factor of nearly two. The validity of this increase - is it a real increase, or merely an alteration in the technique of selection ? - has been considered above, but as far as the evidence goes, the increase is almost general in all the railway villages, though some villages have virtually no entries at all - Stanford has but one, in Year 4; at East Langdon only the incumbent is listed in each of the four years. At River there were three cases in Year 1, but 30 in Year 4: Shepherdswell saw an even larger proportional increase, from one in Year 1 to thirteen in Year 4: but it is extreme cases like these which throw grave doubts upon the consistency of the pattern of selection. Only Bridge showed a decrease of any significance, from 28 in Year 1 to 21 in Year 4: bearing in mind its nearness to Canterbury, and its possible status as a dormitory suburb this is unexpected, especially as

Cheriton and Saltwood, both of which might have claims to be "dormitories" for Folkestone each showed an increase by a factor of about five.

Table 10.11: NUMBERS OF PRIVATE RESIDENTS PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION IN THE VILLAGES.

| Type of village | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Villages with stations | 7.36 | 6.94 | 8.74 | 13.72 |
| Villages without stations | 5.76 | 9.03 | - | 14.48 |
| Villages furthest from a station | 5.78 | 6.59 | - | 10.97 |

NOTE: Villages with stations have four sets of information in the usual way, and those without stations only three: the blank year has been put in as Year 3 as the final figure in each case will be the latest in point of time.

The number of private residents in the control group of 22 villages without stations increased, in actual numbers by a greater factor than in the villages with stations. In Year 1 (1845 or 1847 according to which was the earliest directory available) there were 87 private residents; in Year 3 (1913) there were 213, an increase by a factor of almost 2.5, over a period when the actual population dropped by about 300 from its calculated 1845 level of some 15,000. It is of interest that those villages furthest from a station[25] had a lower number of private residents per thousand of population: there were clearly limits to the joys of rural isolation.

[25] Brabourne, Eastling, Eythorne, Stalisfield, Throwley and Westwell were all more than three miles, as the crow flies, from the nearest passenger station in 1914. Eythorne station (on the East Kent Light Railway) did not open for passenger traffic until October 1916, though freight traffic in connection with the construction of Tilmanstone Colliery had been passing through since December 1911, Mitchell, V. and Smith, K., *The East Kent Light Railway* (Midhurst, 1989), p. ii.

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POPULATION TRENDS IN ALL VILLAGES:

Statistics for the population of the villages discussed are given in Table 10.12.

### (1) The villages with stations

Between 1801 and 1911 the total population of the villages with stations increased by some 18,480, a factor of increase of 2.64. If the base is taken as 1841, the last census before the railways began to be built, the increase was 12,978, a factor of increase of 1.77; in other words, the rate of increase in these railway villages was not signifigantly affected by the opening of the local station. This figure must, however, be treated with some reserve as it is distorted by massive expansion at Cheriton and Chartham: Cheriton's enormous growth is explained by the expansion of the military garrison at St. Martin's Plain: in 1861 well over half the population of the parish was made up of the military. By the end of the century the County Lunatic Asylum at Chartham had a capacity for over 1,200 patients, in addition to the resident staff. On the other hand, many of these villages' populations were of course very small; even as late as 1911 seven of them had populations of less than 500. For example, in 1841 there were only 203 souls living in Stanford parish, later to be home of Westenhanger station, and by 1841 the population had only increased to 235: even by 1911 there were but 348 people living in the parish. With such small figures quite modest absolute changes can produce quite startling percentage changes.

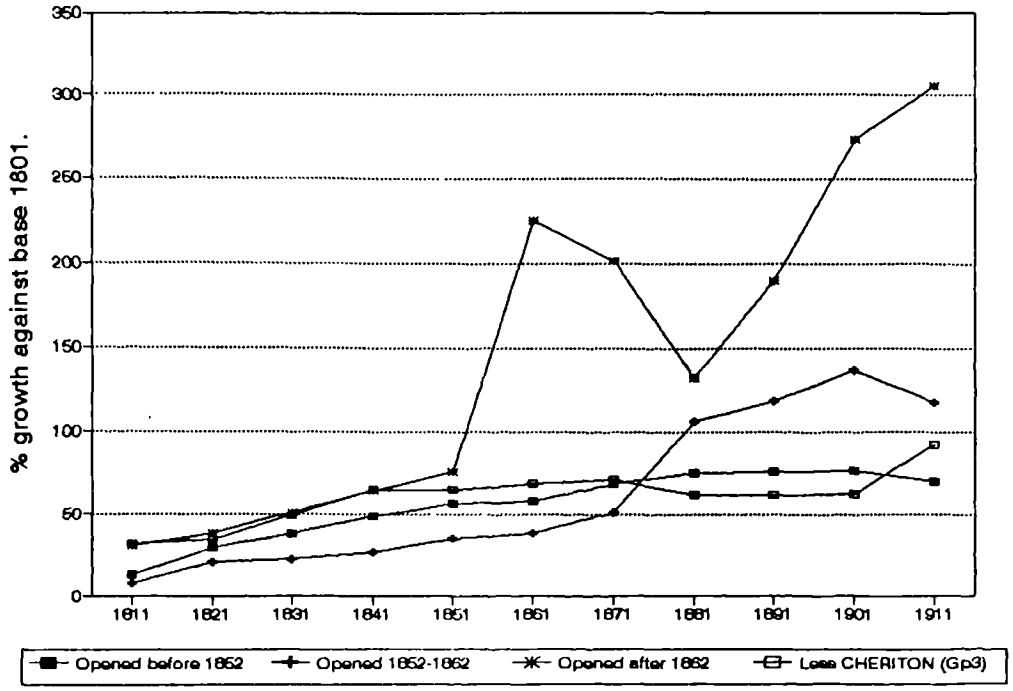
Table 10.12: THE POPULATION OF THE VILLAGES.

| VILLAGE TYPE | 1801 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Villages with stations (21) | 11,253 | 13,224 | 14,656 | 15,637 | 16,755 | 17,799 |
| Villages without stations: the control group (22) | 9,767 | 10,653 | 12,716 | 13,914 | 15,115 | 15,104 |
| All remaining villages & parishes without stations (99) | 20,664 | 23,612 | 27,449 | 30,189 | 32,295 | 34,047 |
| ALL REMAINING VILLAGES AND PARISHES WITHOUT STATIONS (22+99=121) | 30,431 | 34,265 | 40,165 | 44,103 | 47,410 | 49,151 |
| VILLAGE TYPE | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| Villages with stations (21) | 23,924 | 23,818 | 22,793 | 25,421 | 29,242 | 29,733 |
| Villages without stations: the control group (22) | 14,769 | 15,048 | 14,936 | 15,008 | 14,645 | 14,993 |
| All remaining villages & parishes without stations (99) | 34,931 | 37,458 | 38,121 | 40,819 | 42,270 | 41,647 |
| All remaining villages and parishes without stations (22+99=121) | 49,700 | 52,506 | 53,057 | 55,827 | 56,915 | 56,640 |

If the growth of these 21 *villages with stations, in terms of percentage* growth against a base of the 1801 population is plotted, sorting the villages into aggregated groups according to when their station was opened (roughly equivalent to the opening of the SER in the 1840s, the LCDR in the 1860s and the Elham Valley line and the Deal-Dover link in the 1880s) the result can be seen in Graph 10.1. Quite clearly, the actual opening of the line brought no immediate result, even over the next decade, in population terms. The figures for the last group of stations to be opened are distorted by the inclusion of Cheriton and its

fluctuating military garrison[26]: if the Cheriton figures are ignored, all three graphs show little change over the years (the jump in the decade 1871-81 for the stations opened 1852-62 reflects the opening of the asylum at Chartham), and certainly none which can be directly

Graph 10.1:THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE VILLAGES WITH STATIONS.




associated with the coming of the railway. Within these aggregated figures there are of course considerable variations, but the overall picture is clear enough.

The point is worth making that, if the railway did not directly affect the "normal" population growth of Cheriton and Chartham, the presence

[26] In 1861 the military element of Cheriton's population stood at 4,204, some 56% of the parish population. In 1871 it was 3,101, in 1881 1,686, in 1891 2,822 and in 1901 3,478. At least one-third, and more often more than two-fifths, of Cheriton's population was in barracks at St. Martin's Plain. [Information supplied by Folkestone Reference Library].

of the railway must have been a considerable factor in the selection of the two sites for their chosen purposes. At a time when mental patients were hidden away Chartham was remote enough to be convenient, whilst at the same time it could easily be reached by rail from any part of Kent, and could easily be supplied from Canterbury: moreover, there was plenty of space there. Shorncliffe had been a major military base since 1802 when Sir John Moore had established a training area there for the Light Brigade[17]: its actual position on the Channel coast was clearly an advantage in the 1860s when the foreign policy of France was viewed with considerable suspicion, not to say alarm[18], but easy and rapid access by rail from any other part of Britain must have been at least one of the factors in promoting the expansion of the military presence in the area of Folkestone and Hythe.

### (2) Villages without stations: the control group of 22, and the remaining 99 parishes not considered in detail

The picture for the control group of 22 villages without stations is also shown in Table 10.12. Between 1801 and 1841 there was an actual growth of some 5,346, a growth factor of almost 55%, but between 1841 and 1911 the gross population of this group fell from 15,115 to 14,993, an actual decline of 122 or 0.81%, a long way below the overall East Kent growth figure (95% against base 1841), or even the more modest figure for the railway villages.

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[17] Bryant, A., *Years of Victory* (1944), pp. 233-39.

[18] The various forts round Portsmouth and in the Solent (Palmerston's follies) date from this same period.

If the population of the further 99 villages not otherwise discussed is considered, the same pattern may be seen. Between 1801 and 1841 there was a growth of 11,631 (a growth factor of 56%), but between 1841 and 1911 the increase was only 9,352, a growth factor of 29%. However, of those extra persons, no less than 6,211 were in Hougham, and a further 1,391 at Guston, over 80% of the whole increase: both parishes were "suburbs" of Dover. Hougham was effectively part of Dover town by 1844 (when that part of the parish known as Christchurch was transferred to Dover), and was the site of the Western Heights barracks: Guston was home to the Dover convict prison as well as the military garrison of Fort Burgoyne. Of those 121 parishes without stations, only 56 showed any growth at all 1841-1911, and though some showed some startling percentage increases - Buckland by Faversham's population increased by 442% 1841-1911, from 19 persons to 103, and Betteshanger's by 406%, from 18 persons to 91 - the increase in real terms was in most cases insignificant. Of the 56 parishes which did increase in population size, only 34 increased at a rate faster than the average of 19% of the whole 121 over the same period. If Hougham and Guston are dropped from the calculations as being atypical, the overall rate of population increase drops to under 4%: taken as a whole therefore, these 121 parishes (Hougham and Guston apart) virtually stagnated in population terms after the railway, which did not directly serve them, came.

It is very evident that lack of a station was likely to have a major effect on the propensity of the size of the population to increase. The contrasting pattern of growth is shown in Table 10.12 (page 434).

None of these three village groups (the 21 villages with stations, the control group of 22 villages withouts stations, or the 99 other villages without stations), increased at the rate that East Kent as a whole did: among the villages without stations the nearest in the control group is Seasalter (by 81%) but Whitstable's expansion took place southwards into Seasalter parish, so this really reflects the growth of Whitstable, not Seasalter. Of the 22 parishes without stations in the control group, only seven showed any growth at all 1841-1911[29], the others showed an absolute decline, in five cases by in excess of 30%[30]. Of the villages with stations, only Bishopsbourne and River showed any decline over the same period.

Most, if not all, of the parishes so far considered in previous chapters of this study showed a growth over the period 1801-1911, but over the period 1841-1911, when the railways might be considered to have had an effect on the population pattern, the situation was rather different in the parishes without stations, when the level of population was more likely to stabilize than grow, or even to decline. The pattern seems to be that the larger towns on the railway network grew most rapidly, and *vice versa*: the rate of growth declined as the size of the *original* population decreased. Where there was no railway at all, the population virtually stagnated or declined in absolute numbers.

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[29] Acol, 6%; Alkham, 2.9%; Eythorne, 69.3%; Seasalter, 81.5%; Sellindge, 56.5%; Stelling Minnis, 27.4% and Wingham, 11.3%.

[30] Brabourne, 35.9%; Godmersham, 44.4%; Sarre, 37.2%; Stalisfield, 31.5% and Stelling, 45.5%.

Map 3.5 (p. 96) shows that area of East Kent which in 1890 was still three miles or more in a direct line from a railway station; in reality, of course, the pattern of the country lanes might mean that the practical distance was considerably greater. Of all the 121 parishes without stations considered in this chapter six were largely or entirely beyond that three-mile limit, Brabourne, Eastling, Eythorne, Stalisfield, Throwley and Westwell. The population figures for these six parishes are given in Table 10.13. Over the period 1841-1911 these parishes showed an overall decline in numbers of 485, by just over 12%: but this figure is distorted by the growth of Eythorne's population in 1901-11, a growth of 292, some 69%.

Table 10.13 THE POPULATION OF THE SIX VILLAGES FURTHER THAN THREE MILES FROM A STATION IN 1890.

| 1801 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 | 1851 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2,367 | 2,811 | 3,209 | 3,384 | 3,891 | 3,671 |
| 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| 3,569 | 3,657 | 3,654 | 3,554 | 3,114 | 3,406 |

This was due to a wholly new factor in the economy of East Kent, the opening of the East Kent coalfield and the construction of the associated light railway system[31]. To serve this new development construction began in 1910 of what was to be the East Kent Light Railway. This was opened to freight traffic from Shepherdswell (on the LCDR main line, five miles north-west of Dover) through Eythorne village to Tilmanstone

[31] The history of the Kent coalfield is covered in Sherren, R.T., *The Industrial Eden* (Deal, 1990).

Colliery (about a mile away) by December 1911, and the line had reached Eastry by October 1912[31]. Eythorne's population had been declining steadily since 1871, and this reversal of that trend in the decade 1901-11 must be associated with the colliery and the railway works.

If therefore the population figures for these six parishes furthest from the railway are analysed over the period 1841-1901, rather than 1841-1911 a rather truer picture will be obtained of the effect of distance from the railway. Under those conditions, the gross population of these six parishes declined by almost 20%. Of other parishes without stations only Kingston and Stelling showed greater decline over the same period; though the Elham valley line passed through Kingston parish, part of Stelling was within the three-mile distant from a station zone. There is therefore some evidence to suggest that in the period between 1841 and 1901 (and probably 1911 if the population figures at Eythorne could be broken down to identify those who had arrived in the parish only in connection with the exploitation of the coal field) the further from a railway station a parish was, the greater the likelihood that its population would actually decline.

The railway appears to have been a powerful factor in influencing nineteenth-century rural depopulation: people seem deliberately to have moved away from parishes furthest from adequate rail communication, even when the distance involved was probably not greatly in excess of four or five miles by the most convenient road or footpath route, a

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[31] Mitchell, V. and Smith, K., *The East Kent Light Railway* (Midhurst, 1989), pp.1-2.

trifling distance by nineteenth century pedestrians' standards. As noticed above, even the private residents were less attracted to areas remote from the railway.

## CONCLUSION

The level of population in the villages with stations certainly rose much more slowly than in the rest of East Kent, and the opening of the local station appeared to make little difference to the trend. At the same time, the opening of a railway station in a village did not destroy the pattern of village commercial or professional life: in certain areas (in effect, the village shopkeepers, whatever they were selling) there was a degree of expansion, even if on a modest scale. It might have been expected that retail trade would be attracted away from the villages to the nearest town, now that communications were so much easier: clearly this did not happen. Partly it may be assumed that the village tradespeople were able to obtain their stock more easily by rail, and so continue to attract customers they might otherwise have lost. Professional people may well have found more work to do in the villages than before, and also they could travel more to the bigger towns if necessary. Another factor is the cost of railway travel: even if third-class travel did only cost 1d. per mile, a return journey over only half-a-dozen miles might cost a shilling: a walk into the local village was free. In any case, train services were not so frequent but that a great deal of time might be saved by shopping locally. Even in a major city local shopping, rather than a journey into the middle of the city, was

the order of the day[33]. Certainly the railway villages attracted their share of the increasing numbers of private residents who appear in the directories.

It was seen above (in Chapter IX) that the general level of OPT in the minor coastal resorts tended to increase, certainly by Year 4: an exact comparison of the aggregated groups between these resorts and the station villages is not possible as the groups are differently constituted, but it is clear that, though the level of OPT was (as might be expected) considerably lower in the villages, there too there was, in general terms, growth and expansion, though of course on a much more modest scale. The railway certainly did not ruin those small villages which had stations of their own: the village grocer, shopkeeper and clothier all survived and even expanded in OPT terms, whilst in the coastal resorts the grocer and the clothier tended to decline, if very slightly.

The station villages' OPT may not have expanded in the same ratio overall as the larger towns, but (for the time being at least), they at least held their commercial own: if prosperity was not exactly just around the corner, at least ruin does not seem to have been staring the railway villages in the face.

The picture for the villages which had no station at all was rather different. Certainly those villages' population generally stagnated, where it did not decline, and this predicament tended to worsen the further

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[33] Scola, R., *Feeding the Victorian City: the food supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 235-6.

the village was *from* the nearest station: railways seem to have accelerated rural depopulation in that to live very far from a station was, increasingly, a reason not to remain there.

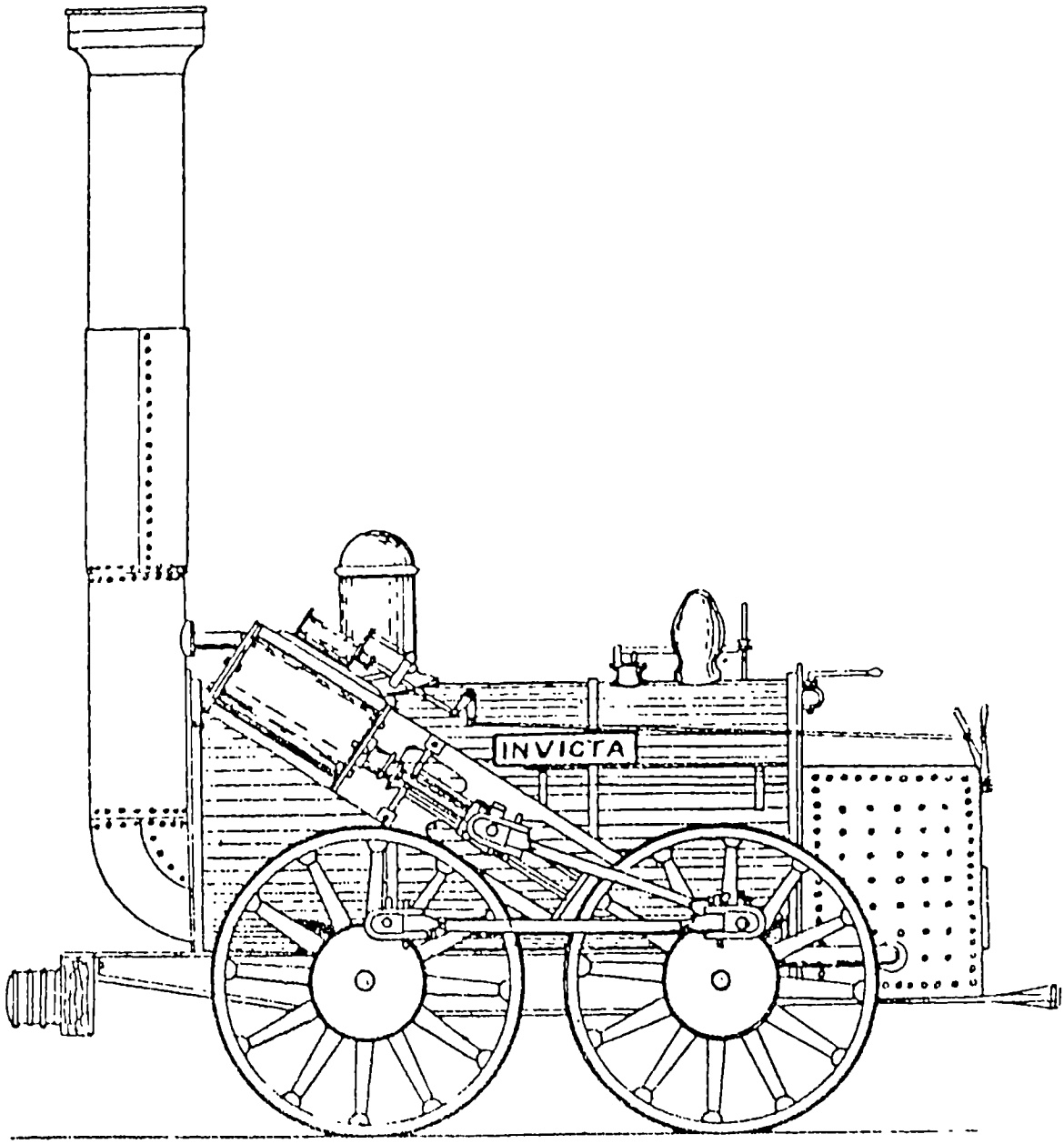
For those who did remain in these villages without stations, the pattern of service (in terms of OPT) in 1913 was, in general terms, much what it had been in 1845 or 1847. The only trade group which showed a serious decline was Group 5 (Building and inland transport) and this fall was largely accounted for within the building trade, where the OPT fell from 3.8 to 2.6, in absolute terms from 57 to 38 outlets. If the situation in the villages which had stations is directly compared with those which had not, the difference of pattern is clear. On the whole, the level of OPT in those villages which had a station tended to rise, if not very markedly: it certainly did not decline; for those villages which had no station it generally remained stable. The level of commerce in both cases is low, and the absolute figures are so small that the possibility of sampling error cannot be discounted, but the trend is clear enough.

Though the villages which had no station were likely to stagnate, or even decrease in population size after the railway came, there was at least a reasonable expectation that they would keep the village shop and village pub, even if the village shoemaker had gone out of business.

X: The villages, on and off the railway.

# Chapter XI:

# EAST KENT BEFORE 1914.



# CHAPTER XI: EAST KENT BEFORE 1914.

By 1914 the railway had been established in Kent for seventy years, or over eighty if the start-date is taken as the opening of the Canterbury and Whitstable (1830) rather than as the arrival of the SER at Dover (1844). The East Kent of just before the First World War was in many ways a very different place from the East Kent of 1841, and this chapter will briefly consider the changes which had taken place over those seventy years.

## POPULATION

The nineteenth century saw a great expansion in the population of the United Kingdom, and especially of England and Wales. Figures[1] are given in Table 11.1.

**Table 11.1: THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES, THE ANCIENT COUNTY OF KENT, AND EAST KENT, 1801-1911.**

| | 1801 | 1841 | % increase on 1801 | 1911 | % increase on 1841 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England and Wales | 9,061 | 15,929 | +76% | 36,136 | +127% |
| Kent (ancient county) | 309 | 548 | +77% | 1,512 | +176% |
| East Kent | 96 | 164 | +71% | 321 | + 96% |

[1] Figures for England and Wales are from Mitchell, B.R. and Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge 1962), Table 3: figures for Kent are taken from *Victoria County History of Kent*, Vol II (1932), pp. 358-70.

The population of England and Wales quadrupled in the period 1801-1911, and more than doubled in the period 1841-1911. Over the entire period the increase in the population of the whole of Kent more than kept pace with the rest of the country, the rate of increase 1841-1911 being considerably greater than the national figure. East Kent, however, rather lagged behind; between 1801 and 1911 the increase was just over threefold, and the increase 1841-1911 was barely two-fold.

Most significantly in the present context, the *distribution* of the population within East Kent changed considerably over the period. (Table 11.2). Apart from the *holiday towns*, which were already expanding rapidly, there was little to distinguish the other groups of towns or villages' rates of growth from each other between 1801 and 1841. That situation changed with the arrival of the railway: for practical purposes, the growth of the *villages without stations* simply ceased. Whilst the *railway villages'* growth continued, if rather sluggishly, the *minor coastal resorts'* rate of growth at first increased (1841-71), hardly changed between 1871 and 1891, and then began to rise again. The rate at which the *railway towns and channel ports'* population was growing increased very much after 1841, and maintained that level of growth thereafter to become (in percentage terms) the fastest-growing group: on the other hand, the *holiday towns'* populations, having been growing steadily up to 1841, hardly changed in the next two decades, but then began a steady increase at a rate which was maintained throughout the period. *Canterbury's* rate of growth had been indistinguishable from the other

## Table 11.2: THE CHANGING RANK ORDER OF THE TOWNS OF EAST KENT.

| TOWN or PARISH | Order in 1911 | Population In 1911 | Order in 1841 | Population In 1841 | Order in 1801 | Population In 1801 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Folkestone | 1 | 33,974 | 7 | 4,413 | 5 | 3,704 |
| Dover | 2 | 31,692 | 1 | 17,857 | 2 | 7,709 |
| Margate | 3 | 28,458 | 3 | 11,050 | 4 | 4,766 |
| Canterbury | 4 | 21,698 | 2 | 16,644 | 1 | 10,349 |
| Ramsgate | 5 | 15,671 | 4 | 10,909 | 7 | 3,110 |
| St. Lawrence | 6 | 14,490 | 12 | 2,694 | 16 | 1,068 |
| Ashford | 7 | 13,668 | 8 | 3,082 | 9 | 2,151 |
| Deal | 8 | 11,295 | 5 | 6,688 | 3 | 5,420 |
| Faversham | 9 | 10,861 | 6 | 4,621 | 6 | 3,488 |
| Broadstairs | 10 | 10,095 | 10 | 2,978 | 11 | 1,568 |
| Cheriton | 11 | 9,944 | 24 | 1,178 | 27 | 727 |
| Herne and Herne Bay | 12 | 9,680 | 9 | 3,041 | 13 | 1,232 |
| Hougham | 13 | 7,522 | 21 | 1,311 | 74 | 306 |
| Whitstable | 14 | 6,697 | 14 | 2,255 | 14 | 1,205 |
| Walmer | 15 | 4,947 | 15 | 2,170 | 25 | 775 |
| Hythe | 16 | 4,641 | 13 | 2,265 | 12 | 1,365 |
| Willesborough | 17 | 4,188 | 52 | 641 | 46 | 442 |
| Sandwich | 18 | 3,040 | 11 | 2,913 | 8 | 2,452 |
| Chartham | 19 | 2,935 | 33 | 974 | 24 | 776 |
| Minster | 20 | 2,379 | 19 | 1,380 | 28 | 707 |
| Birchington | 21 | 2,275 | 38 | 874 | 40 | 537 |
| Preston by Faversham | 22 | 2,082 | 35 | 935 | 98 | 220 |
| Ash next Sandwich | 23 | 2,055 | 16 | 2,077 | 10 | 1,575 |
| Eastry | 26 | 1,467 | 18 | 1,629 | 18 | 852 |
| Wingham | 31 | 1,256 | 27 | 1,129 | 20 | 844 |

towns (apart from the holiday towns) up to 1841, but from that time onward the city's population more or less stagnated: only the villages which had no station at all grew more slowly.

As a result, the rank order of the major towns of East Kent in terms of population changed quite considerably (Table 11.2). The "top five" of 1911 had, with the exception of Ramsgate in 1801 and Folkestone in 1841, been in the top five of both 1801 and 1841, and many of the communities shown did not change more than three or four places up or down over the years, but some positions altered a great deal. Cheriton (effectively a suburb of Folkestone, though it had its own station) advanced from 24th in 1841 to 11th in 1911; Hougham (effectively a part of Dover), which had been 74th in 1801, and 21st in 1841 was by 1911 13th. Willesborough (that part of the Ashford community which housed the SER locomotive and carriage works) had been 52nd in 1841: by 1911 it stood 11th. Sandwich had been 11th in 1841, but by 1911 had sunk to 18th. Three large parishes, which did not (during the period of this study) have a station, Ash next Sandwich, Eastry, and Wingham, which had in 1841 stood 16th, 18th and 27th respectively were by 1911 23rd, 26th and 31st.

In 1801 almost one-third of East Kent's population lived in the villages or parishes which were never to host a station; in 1841 the fraction was little smaller, but by 1911 it had fallen to less than one fifth, just over half what it had been. Villages which were eventually to have a station contained one eighth of East Kent's population in 1801 (even though there were far fewer such villages than those without stations), but

though the proportion had fallen by 1911 to rather under one tenth, the fall was very gradual, and far less in proportional terms than for the stationless villages. In 1801 the future railway towns were home to less than a fifth of the population; by 1911 the fraction was approaching one-third. The holiday towns had housed one in eight of the population in 1801; in 1841 the fraction was nearly one fifth, but by 1911 it was one quarter (Table 11.3, and Graph 11.1).

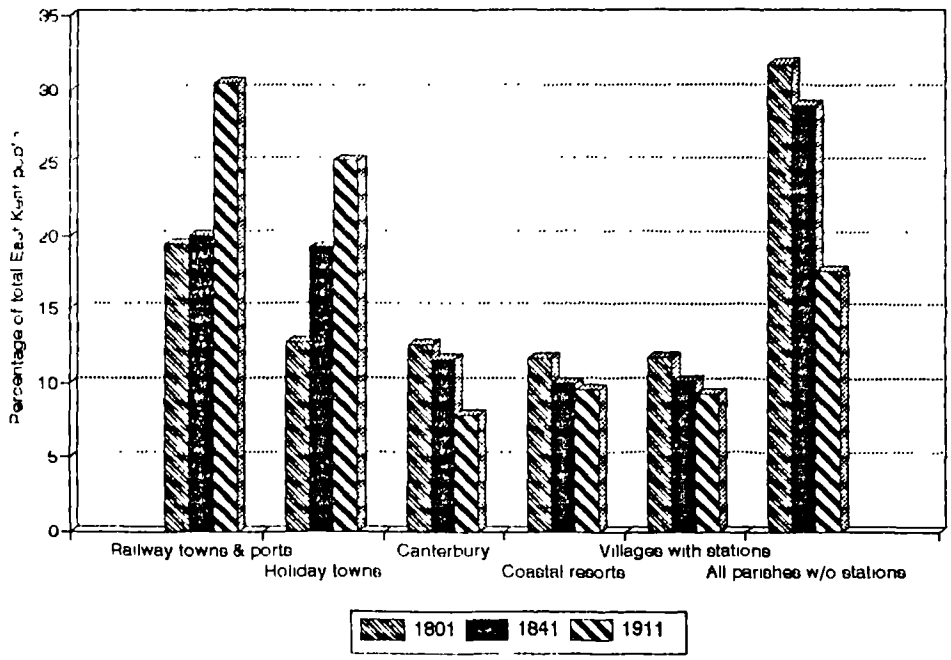
**Table 11.3: THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF EAST KENT, 1801-1911: the percentage of the total population of East Kent taken up by each group of towns or villages as discussed.**

| Town group | 1801 | 1841 | 1911 | Town group | 1801 | 1841 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Railway towns & ports | 19.47 | 20.07 | 30.55 | Coastal resorts | 11.69 | 9.94 | 9.55 |
| Holiday | 12.80 | 19.25 | 25.15 | Villages with stations | 11.72 | 10.22 | 9.27 |
| Canterbury | 12.61 | 11.60 | 7.83 | All parishes without stations | 31.70 | 28.92 | 17.65 |

Put differently, in 1801 almost three-fifths of the population lived in towns of 2,000 souls or more; by 1841 the proportion had increased only slightly, but by 1911 the fraction stood at nearly three-quarters. Between 1841 and 1911 the population of East Kent grew by a total of 156,868 souls: of those, the railway and the holiday towns accounted for 114,225 between them, almost three-quarters: at the other end of the scale, the villages without stations grew over the same period by 9,230[1].

[1] Over 6,000 of the increase was at Hougham, near Dover, as discussed in Chapter X.

Graph 11.1: THE CHANGING DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF EAST KENT.

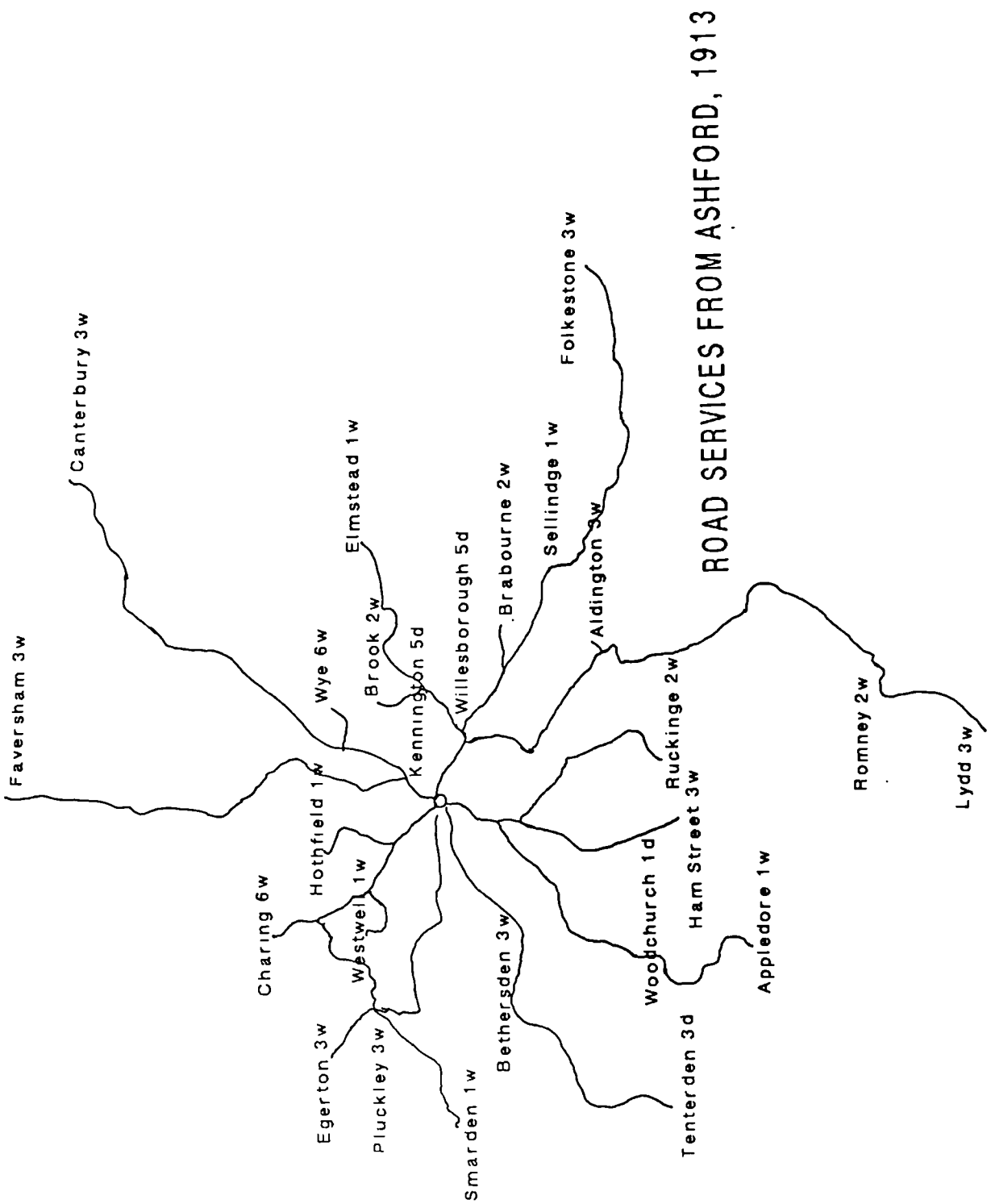



East Kent, like most of the rest of England, was becoming urbanized, and from the shape of the graphs it seems very clear that the arrival of the railway was a major factor in producing this result.

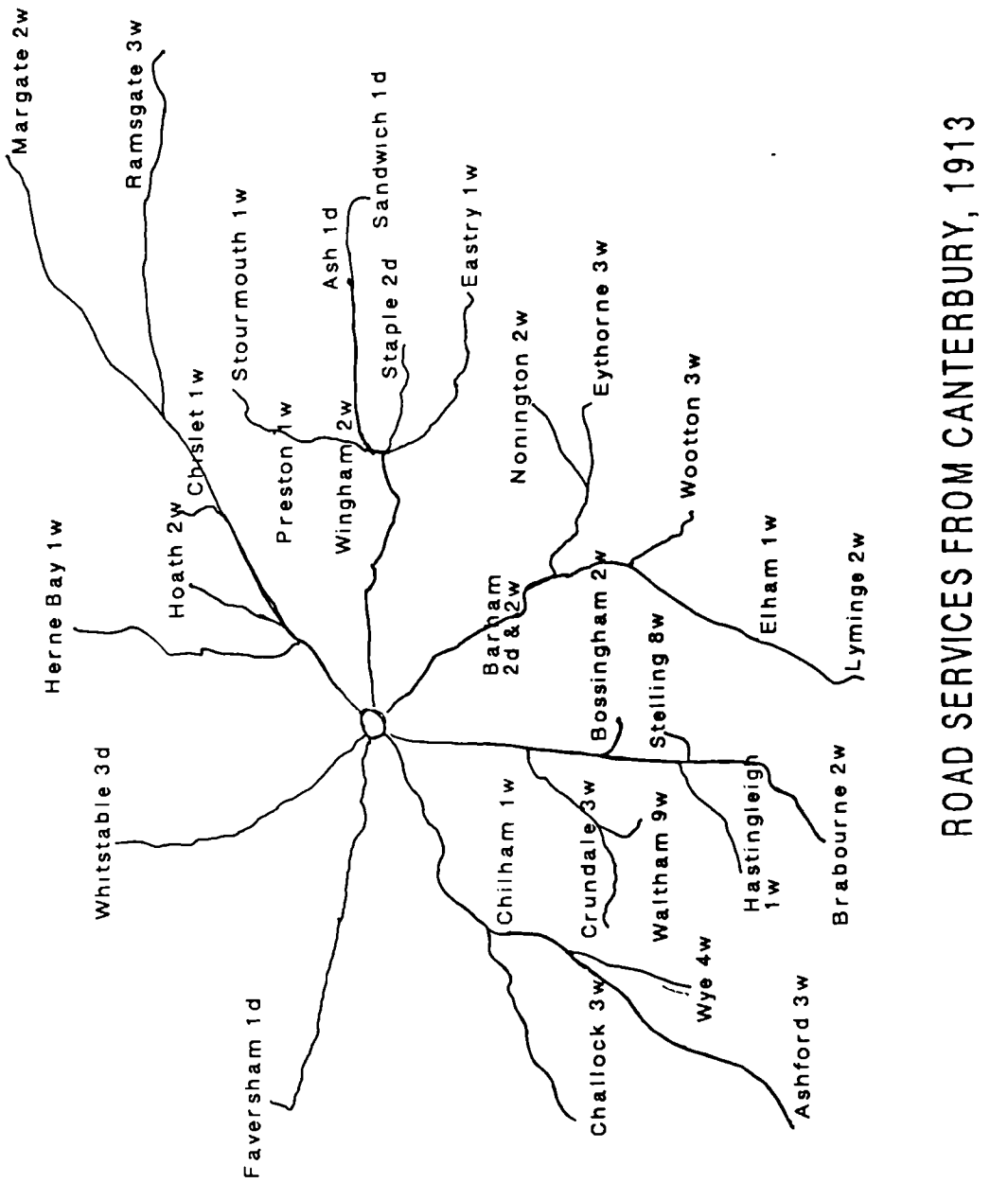
## ROAD TRANSPORT IN 1913

The patterns of road transport in East Kent in 1913 are shown in maps 11.1 (Ashford area), 11.2 (Canterbury area) and 11.3 (Dover and Folkestone area), which may be compared to maps in Chapters VI and VIII. Most of these carrier services were as yet horse-drawn; motor buses only operated over very short services (Kennington-

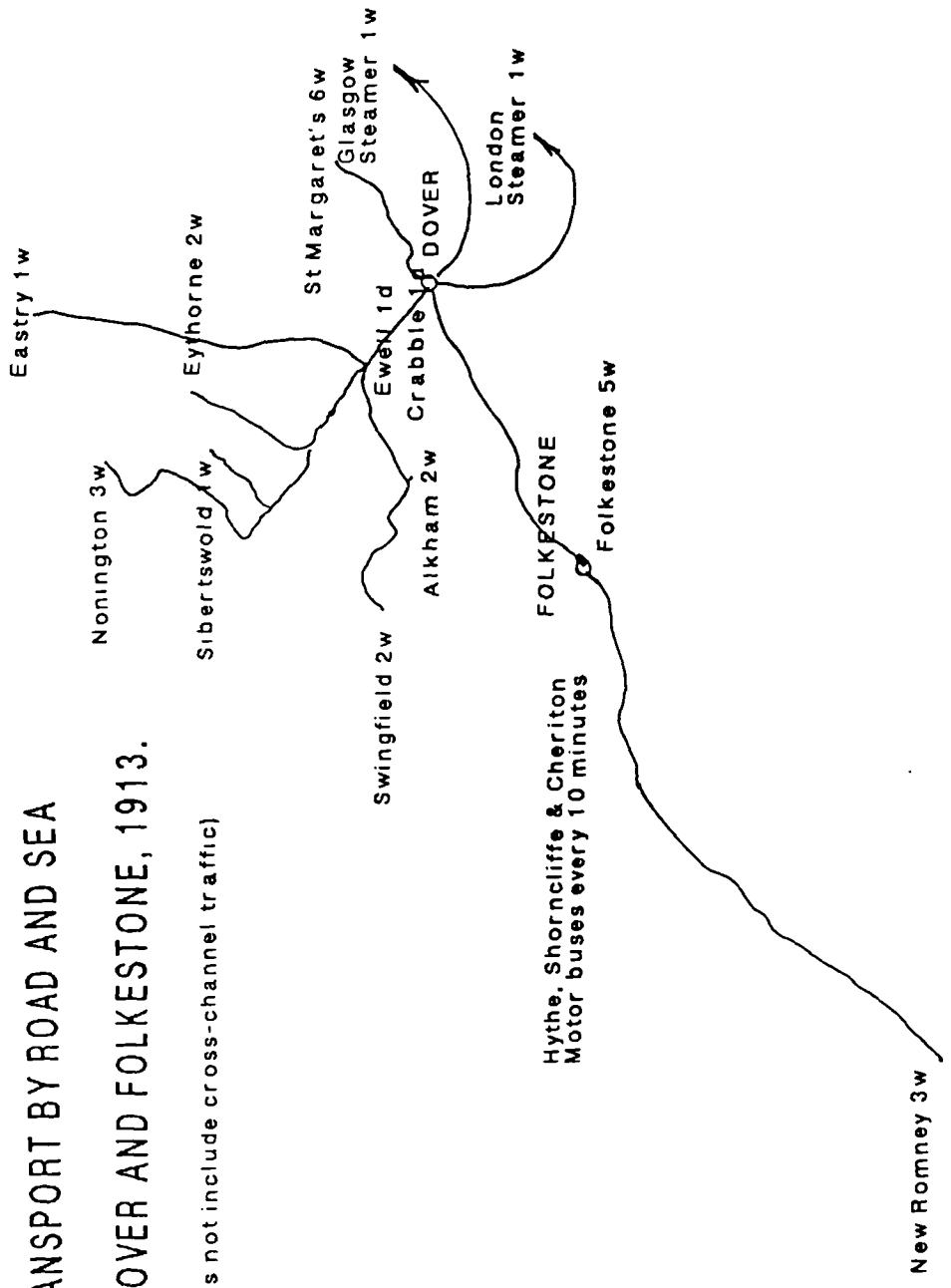
Map 11.1: ROAD SERVICES FROM ASHFORD, 1913.



Map 11.2: ROAD SERVICES FROM CANTERBURY, 1913.



Map 11.3: ROAD AND SEA TRANSPORT FROM DOVER AND FOLKESTONE, 1913.



Willesborough; Hythe-Folkestone). The contemporary fear, at the dawn of the railway age, that railways would bring about the disappearance of the horse[3] had proved to be very wide of the mark: the numbers of horses in national use had steadily increased to a peak in excess of three million by 1901[4].

Round Ashford the pattern was much the same as it was in 1899 (see Chapter VI, map 6.2.2): long-distance carrier services (to Maidstone, Bodiam and Rye) had vanished, but the network of services round the town, extending into the local countryside over a ten-mile radius remained very intensive. Leaving aside the motor bus which connected Kennington and Willesborough "several times daily", there were 81 services each week from Ashford, and presumably 81 services coming in to the town.

Round Canterbury the services were rather less intensive than they had been in 1882 (see Chapter VIII, maps 8.3 and 8.4): 114 services left the city each week, over a slightly larger area than at Ashford, about 12 miles' radius. Again, compared to the 1882 situation, the longest carrier route (that to Dover) had vanished, and the total number of journeys in any one week had declined from the 1882 figure of 179: that to Faversham now only ran once daily, instead of twice, and the Ramsgate service was reduced to thrice weekly from six times. The failure of the Elham Valley railway to have any major effect on the traffic pattern is

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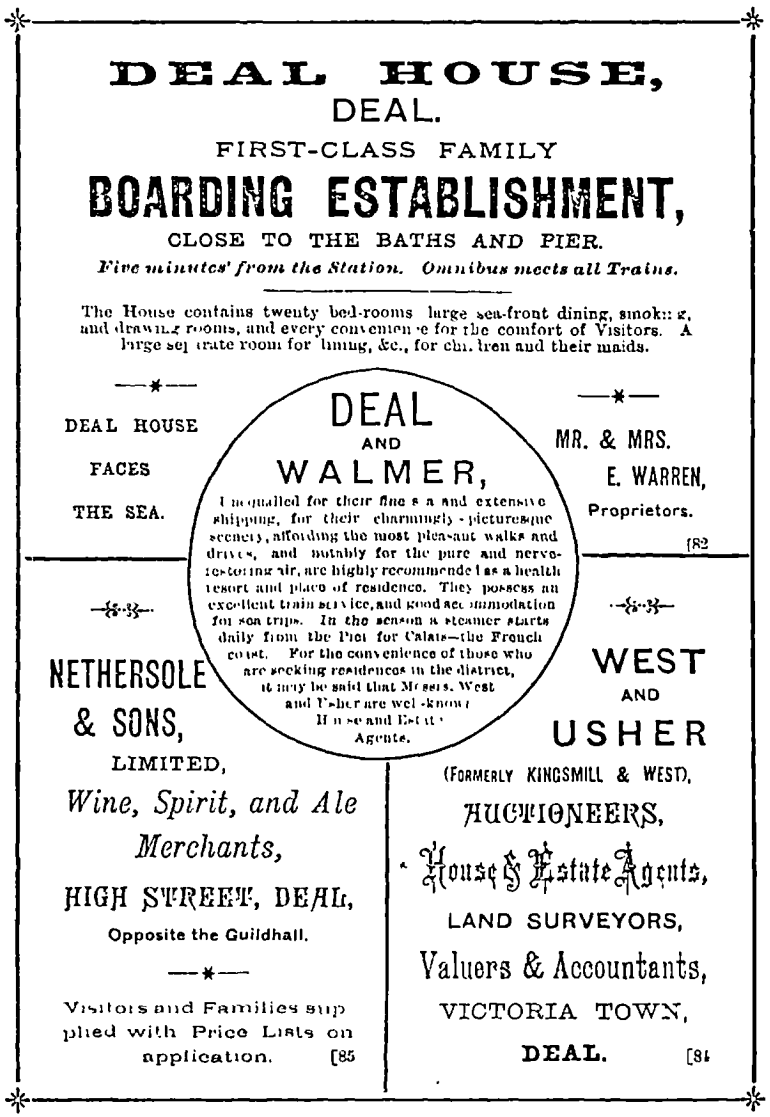
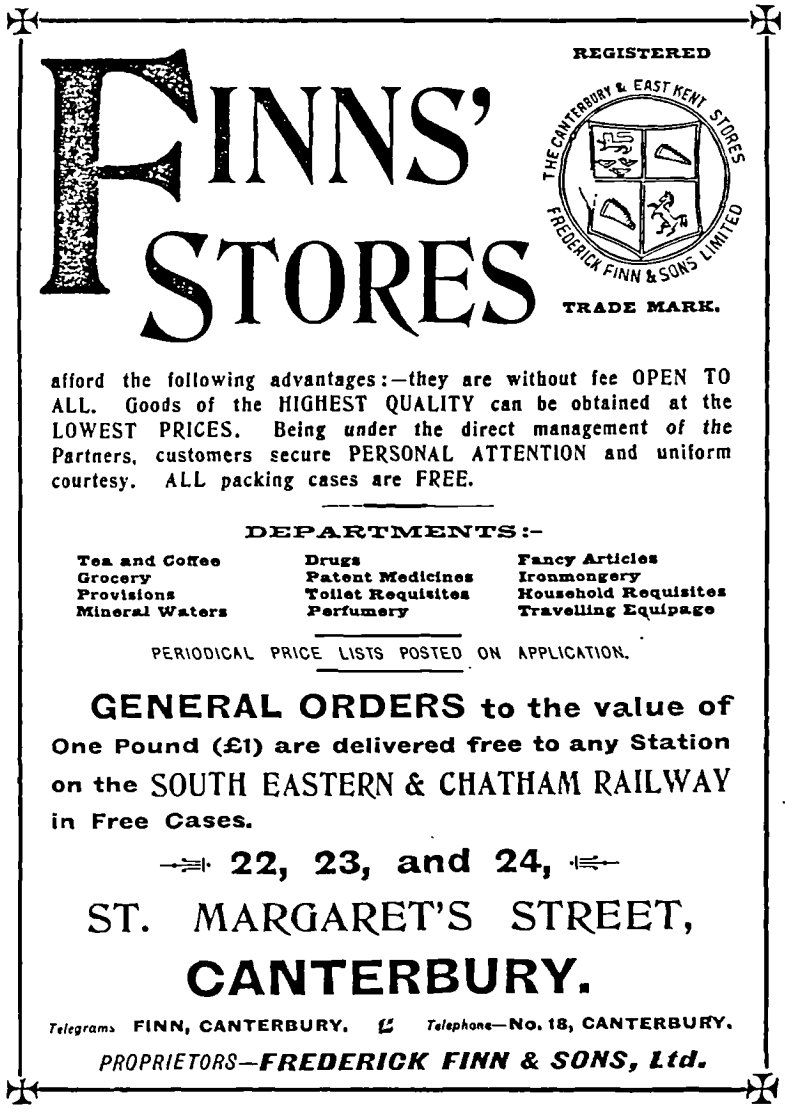
[3] Francis, J., *A History of the English Railway* (1851), Vol I, p. 102.

[4] Thomson, F.M.L., "Nineteenth Century Horse Sense", *Economic History Review (Second series), Vol. XXIX, No. 1* (February, 1976), p. 80.




Advertisements from 1892 (Deal) and 1907 (Finns' Stores) where the facilities the railway made possible are stressed. "Deal House" was only five minutes' from the station, and Finns' Stores delivered by railway.

shown by the fact that the carrier services along the road which was parallel to the railway track survived virtually intact. Round Dover and Folkestone (map 11.3) the carrier and bus network had shrunk into what was really only a local service for the immediate area, with which the railway could not compete: if there was a motor bus from Sandgate into Folkestone every ten minutes, there was no case at all for catching a train from Sandgate, travelling in the wrong direction to Sandling Junction in order to catch a train back into Folkestone.

Even with these limitations, by 1913 the network of local carrier services which covered East Kent, gave, in combination with the then well-established railway network, far better local communications than had existed before the railway came. Carrier services to the most isolated parts of the area were far more numerous than at the beginning of the period: it was far easier to move about the county than ever it had been.

## RAILWAY TRANSPORT IN 1913-14

By 1914 the SER and the LCDR's working union was some fifteen years old, and the two companies were working in tandem. However, the general pattern of train services had not changed very greatly over the last decade. Both companies ran mail and boat expresses; both ran services to the Thanet towns. In May 1914 there were 18 down services between London and Folkestone and/or Dover over the SER main line each week-day, and a further 13 over the LCDR route to Dover. In the reverse direction the SER ran 22 trains, and the LCDR 11. Just how

many passengers were carried it is, unfortunately, impossible to say. To judge from photographs[5] the formation of the average boat train was six coaches: such a train is unlikely to have had more than 364 seats available if all three classes were included[6], and certainly less if only first and second class passengers were carried. If every seat was filled (very unlikely) the railways could have carried some 11,000 passengers between London and the Channel ports daily. The SER's London-Thanet service in the same month comprised eight trains each week-day: the LCDR ran twelve trains. In the other direction there were eight SER trains, but only eleven LCDR services. If the Thanet trains were of similar formation to the channel ports' services, then by the same calculations as above, the two companies could have carried about 7,000 passengers each way between London and Thanet per week-day[7]

There were also various local services. Both companies, despite the 1899 agreement, were determined to get their money's worth from the joint Deal-Dover line, and in May of that year no less than 25 trains called at Deal in the Margate-Dover direction, and 22 going the other way. Some had started at Margate, others only at Minster; not all went on through to Dover or even London. The pattern was equally bizarre in the other direction, but it seems quite certain that traffic to or from Deal cannot possibly have supported 47 trains each week-day.

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[5] E.g., those in Bucknall,R., *Boat Trains and Channel Packets* (1957), pp. 195-204.

[6] *Invicta: Journal of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Society*, No. 37 (Winter 1991), pp. 91/43-91/44.

[7] There were a number of Saturday only services on both lines, but these have not been included in these calculations, which refer only to trains which ran at least Monday to Friday, and in most cases, Monday to Saturday.

The Elham valley line saw eight services in each direction during the day, plus a number of late-night services from Dover to Shorncliffe Camp (now Folkestone West), obviously for the benefit of the Shorncliffe Garrison. There were ten services from Canterbury to Whitstable along the pioneering Canterbury and Whitstable line, and seventeen services along the branch to Sandgate from Sandling Junction, and sixteen going back. Some SER trains ran between Canterbury and Margate, or Ashford and Dover, only; on the LCDR line there were a number of trains which ran only between Ramsgate and Birchington in either direction. There were also two slip-coach services on the SER line; the 4.25 pm Folkestone express slipped a coach for Ashford, and the 9.00 pm Continental Boat Express, due at Dover (Admiralty Pier) at 10.40 pm slipped coaches for the three Folkestone stations. The smallest stations of course had a much more sparse service than those in the big towns. 26 down trains called at, or started from the two Canterbury stations, and 22 up trains, for example, but Smeeth only saw fifteen trains all day (six down, nine up).

Regardless of how many passengers actually travelled by these trains, how many boarded or left at the various stations, the most obvious point is that the *level* of local transport which was available in 1914 was very great, and compared to the situation of 1841, it was all extra. Taken into conjunction with the increase in the number of road services from their hinterland into the major towns, it was obviously very much easier for those who wanted, or needed, to travel to, or within, East Kent in 1914 to do so with convenience than it had been for their grandparents seventy years before. How frequently the local populace

could afford regular railway travel is, of course, a wholly different matter, but the demand must have existed for the railway services provided to have been on the scale that they were.

## RAILWAY EXCURSION TRAFFIC ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

In addition to these regular services, there were a number of excursion services. Sometimes these were simply cheap fares on scheduled trains; others were cheap fares on special excursion trains, such as the "Cheap Afternoon Excursion Tickets to the Seaside" which the SECR advertised in May 1913, from London (leaving Charing Cross at 12.55 pm) to Herne Bay (arriving 3.05 pm, leaving again at 9.40 pm and arriving back at Charing Cross at 11.45 pm), all for half-a-crown, third class (12½p.). Details of winter excursions have been given above, in Chapter VII, and need not be repeated here, but if excursions on that scale were provided at that time of the year, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a much more extensive programme of excursion traffic between May and October.

The picture is clear however: there was clearly a sufficient volume of traffic to justify the SECR running a programme of excursions even throughout the depth of winter: partly this may have been to use stock which would otherwise have been lying idle, but certainly up to 1939 the four main railways were building rakes of coaches solely for

excursion services[8], so this was unlikely to have been the sole reason for the services described just before the Great War.

Throughout the year the holiday resorts of East Kent benefited from the passengers the railway brought in, in numbers which must have far exceeded those that the pre-railway steamboats did. However, the steamboats serving Thanet from London still continued to carry very large numbers, in excess of 200,000 passengers a year at the turn of the century[9], and this demand continued at such a level that the steamboat companies found it worth their commercial while to continue to introduce ever larger and more luxurious vessels[10] into service[11].

## FREIGHT SERVICES IN 1912-14

By 1912 there was a well-established railway freight service, to and from East Kent, though the details of the pattern are rather hard to follow in the Goods Working Book[12]. In the summer of 1912 there were seven freight trains over the old SER route from London to Folkestone

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[8] Jenkinson, D., *British Railway Carriages of the Twentieth Century: Volume 2: The Years of Consolidation, 1923-53* (1990), p. 73.

[9] Margate Pier and Harbour Company accounts for 1900, 1901 and 1902, House of Lords Record Office.

[10] Stafford, F. and Yates N., *The Later Kentish Seaside* (Kent Archives Office, 1985), pp. 75-6.

[11] Day excursions down the Thames from London by excursion steamer were of course still very popular certainly up to 1939, and even for a few years after 1945, but the number of passengers who came by rail must have been far greater.

[12] *South Eastern and Chatham Railway: Goods Working Book, July, August and September, 1912* (London Bridge station, 25th June, 1912).

and/or Dover, most of which did not run on Mondays, and two to Margate, via Ramsgate. There were also four services to Ashford from London, plus a service which did not run on Saturdays, another which did not run on Mondays, and another which did not run on Mondays or Saturdays. In addition to these main line services there were local services, between various stations between Ashford and Dover or Sandgate. There were also various local services between Ashford and Thanet (via Canterbury) and Deal or Walmer, such as the alternate Mondays only service from Sandwich at 3.45 pm to Margate Sands (arrived 4.30 pm), being the reverse working of the 4.50 am from Margate to Sandwich (arrived 5.36 am), which operated in connection with Sandwich market: similar services took cattle to or from Dover. A service left Deal at 7.10 pm for Bricklayer's Arms (London), where it arrived at 6.30 am the following morning. There appears only to have been one direct working over the LCDR route from London to Ramsgate, though the London-Dover service via the LCDR line was rather better, five trains, though not all ran every day; over that line there were also a number of local workings from Faversham or Canterbury to Dover or intermediate stations. The pattern of up services is not dissimilar. In addition to these freight only services, perishable goods would have been taken by fitted vans attached to passenger services.

By the Great War the carriage of freight by railway had become such a normal thing that some companies had built private sidings from the

main line into their own works[11]: sometimes the works lines were a railway system in miniature on their own account. Thus by 1914 Kent's collieries were connected to the main line; Betteshanger by a long siding, Snowdown and Chislet directly, and Tilmanstone via the newly opened East Kent Light Railway to join the main LCDR line at Shepherdswell.

No detailed information appears to exist as to the volume of goods carried between stations in East Kent, but the number of freight trains suggests that it must have been considerable. Perhaps a clue may be obtained from the goods service along the Canterbury and Whitstable line. Between Canterbury and Whitstable four trains ran each day, with a path available for a fifth if needed. Three of these (including the conditional service) were described as "Coal", a fourth was "Mixed" (i.e. including passenger stock). In the other direction there were seven trains (one conditional): four were coal trains and two were mixed. Granted that the size of the Tyler Hill tunnel restricted the size of locomotive employed, and so the weight of the train, the actual number of trains thus implies that more goods were carried than was probably the case, but even so the actual volume of goods passing along the line must have been very considerable. The expansion and development of the harbour facilities at Whitstable at the turn of the century has been commented on above in Chapter VIII.

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[11] A list of road and private sidings, copied from an appendix to the SECR's *Working Timetable* of 1907, pp. 99-101, is reproduced in *Invicta: the magazine of the SECR Society*, No. 4 (June, 1975), as pp. 49-51.

Frequent fast Trains from London and all parts of the country.

# BROADSTAIRS.

Broadstairs may be easily reached from Ramsgate Station.

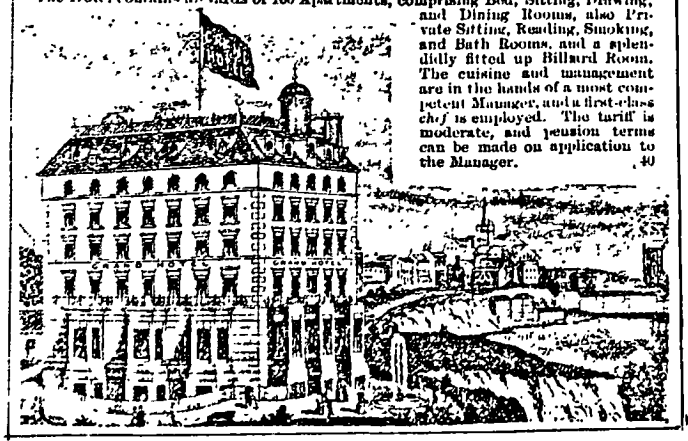
**POSITION.** This charming and health-promoting seaside resort is most pleasantly situated upon the coast of Kent, in the Isle of Thanet, about midway between Ramsgate and Margate, from either of which stations it may be reached from all parts of the South Eastern Railway and its associated systems. Frequent and good train service from Victoria, Holborn, and Ludgate Hill.

**ATTRACTIONS.** Beyond the attractions of position, climate, scenery, and surroundings, Broadstairs has many historical and interesting associations. Bleak House, the residence of the late Charles Dickens, Pierremont Hall, the home of Her Majesty the Queen's early youth; Kingsgate Castle; and other places of note; are in the neighbourhood. Broadstairs possesses advantages beyond those of Ramsgate or Margate, being free from the noise, bustle, and turmoil of those crowded resorts. Visitors to Broadstairs will find quiet and repose, bold sea views, charming walks, a picturesque inland country, and, in winter, a mild and agreeable climate.

**ACCOMMODATION.** Broadstairs can offer first-class Hotel accommodation in the magnificent building known as

## The Grand Hotel.

This elegantly upholstered Hotel is situated in Queen's Gardens, on the West Cliff, within its own beautifully laid out grounds, commanding one of the finest views on the South Coast. The grounds contain several Lawn Tennis Courts. The Hotel contains upwards of 100 Apartments, comprising Bed, Sitting, Drawing, and Dining Rooms, also Private Sitting, Reading, Smoking, and Bath Rooms, and a splendidly fitted up Billiard Room. The cuisine and management are in the hands of a most competent Manager, and a first-class *chef* is employed. The tariff is moderate, and pension terms can be made on application to the Manager. 40



# CANTERBURY.

A HIGH CLASS MODERN FAMILY HOTEL, WELL KNOWN THROUGHOUT EUROPE AND AMERICA.

## THE COUNTY HOTEL

Is most centrally situated in the heart of the City of Canterbury, close to the Cathedral, and but a few minutes' walk from either Railway Station. It is also immediately opposite the Royal Museum and Free Library.

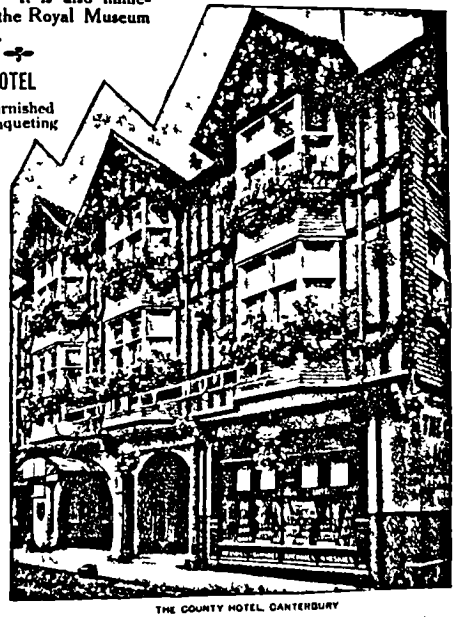
### THE COUNTY HOTEL

Contains a well-furnished Lounge and a Banqueting Hall, also spacious Dining-Rooms, a Drawing-Room, a Reading-Room and a Billiard-Room (2 tables).

WITHIN walking distance of the County Hotel are St. Martin's Church, St. Augustine's College, the Dane John, the Westgate, Harbledown, and other features of historic interest.

### STABLING AND MOTOR GARAGE.

In connection with the Hotel are excellent Livery Stables with loose boxes for hunters and good accommodation for Motor Cars.



THE COUNTY HOTEL, CANTERBURY

*The County Hotel Omnibus meets all trains at the East Station, and by appointment at the West Station.*

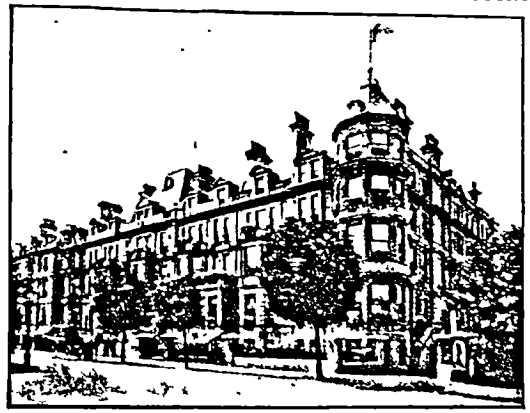
# FOLKESTONE.

**The Summer and Winter Marine Health Resort of Kent**

IS IN DIRECT EXPRESS CONNECTION WITH

LIVERPOOL—MANCHESTER—BIRMINGHAM,

AND ALL STATIONS IN LANCASHIRE AND THE MIDLAND COUNTIES.



WAMPACH'S HOTEL, FOLKESTONE.

## WAMPACH'S HOTEL, LTD.,

is a first-class residential home situated on the fashionable West Cliff, the healthiest part of Folkestone, overlooking the Pleasure Gardens, close to the Leas and churches, and commands magnificent views of the surrounding hills. It is within a few minutes' drive of the Harbour and the Central station. Electric light throughout; lift to all floors; Hotel heated by fresh Hot Air during winter; 125 Bed and Sitting Rooms, including small and large Suites of Rooms; Private Lawn Tennis Court; Billiard Room; Motor Garage and Inspection Pit. Pension inclusive terms from 9s. Orchestra performs during Luncheon and Dinner (in season and Bank Holiday weeks).

**The Cuisine at the "Wampach" is acknowledged the finest and most liberal in Folkestone.**

*Table d'Hôte daily.* *Omnibuses meet trains (Central Station).*

TELEGRAMS "WAMPACH, FOLKESTONE." Tariff on application to

TELEPHONE No. 39. C. C. WAMPACH.

Hotel advertisements dating from 1892 and 1907 stressing the availability of easy rail access. The 1907 advertisements both also list motor car accommodation as one of their attractions: the writing had begun to appear on the wall for the railways already.

Whatever calculations may be made, and estimates given, it is at least very certain that the actual volume of goods, of whatever nature, and between whichever stations, which was on the move in East Kent by 1912 was far greater than could possibly have been carried over the roads of the area in 1841. The commercial pattern of East Kent must have changed out of all recognition.

## THE COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF EAST KENT IN THE EDWARDIAN ERA

Kent was, in the nineteenth century, still very much an agricultural county: as late as 1911 about 15% of all its occupied males were engaged in some sort of farming, a considerably greater proportion than the national one of 11%. Though, as indicated in the *Preface*, agriculture and its changing position have not been considered in this study, Kent's agricultural pre-eminence should be kept in mind in any discussion of Kent's commercial geography.

In Chapter II directory observations on certain towns in East Kent were quoted: and comparison with the 1913 edition of Kelly's *Directory*[11] for Kent is interesting. DOVER's industry was dismissed as "seed crushing mills and two extensive flour mills", and the paper mill at Buckland was not even mentioned. Much, however, was made of Dover's port traffic: 1,617 steamers arrived with cargoes from British possessions, and 1,964 sailed. 1,070 coasters arrived with cargo, though only 191 sailed. None were very big ships: the 1,617 steamers averaged rather over 400 tons,

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[11] *Kelly's Post Office Directory for the Six Home Counties, Part II: Kent, Surrey and Sussex* (1913).

the coasters averaged just over 140 tons. Whilst the total value of imports (£7.4m) and exports (£6.4m) was given, rather surprisingly no indication was given of the number of cross-channel passengers: a stranger to the town could easily overlook the four lines in the directory entry which alone refer to the cross-channel services.

In 1913 it was possible to describe **FOLKESTONE** as a "fashionable watering place" and several column inches were devoted to a description of the Leas as "a wide and delightful promenade laid with turf ... which affords a splendid view of the English Channel", as well as to the two cliff lifts and the Victoria Pier. Considerable space was devoted to Folkestone's role as a cross-channel port and as a port of import and export: in 1911 goods worth over £13m had been imported through Folkestone, and over £2m-worth exported. There was also a fishing fleet of some 122 vessels, with total crews of over 310, which was landing about £30,000 worth of fish each year[15]. The contrast with the directory entry for Folkestone in 1840 is very considerable: from being a small, and not very successful, fishing port, it had become one of the most important[16], and certainly the most select of the holiday resorts of East Kent, as well as the most important port[17]. **MARGATE** was described as a

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[15] Winstanley, M.J., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), p. 95.

[16] In the 1913 directory, a quarter of all Folkestone's 1,951 commercial entries were for apartments, boarding houses or private hotels.

[17] In 1911 Dover collected more customs revenue than Folkestone (£51,734 against £47,060) but a greater total value of goods passed through Folkestone.

> "watering place and sea-port ... much frequented ... on account of the salubrity of its air.... The excellence and safety of its sea bathing is one of its chief attractions."

The various features which might attract more visitors were lovingly described - the Theatre Royal, the Hippodrome, the Hall by the Sea (which had begun life as a railway station, though that point was not made in the directory), and the Pavilion and Winter Gardens. No attempt was made to indicate the number of visitors the town attracted, but the entry made it very clear that Margate was, by 1913, a holiday resort, pure and simple: by 1913 of the 2,886 commercial entries for Margate, 1,525 were for lodging houses, boarding houses or apartments, just under 53%: in 1887 the figure had been 747 out of 1,565, nearly 48%. RAMSGATE was a

> "watering and sea bathing place ... [which] enjoys great popularity; the fine sands, which extend to Broadstairs, are specially adapted for bathing, and the air is bracing, although the place has a southern aspect."

However, Ramsgate was also a port in its own right, "importing coal and produce for local supply", though the ships were considerably smaller than those which went into Dover, being only about 100 tons on average. A fishing fleet of 233 vessels, having total crews of some 700, made Ramsgate not only the largest fishing port in Kent in terms of the weight of fish landed, but also the most lucrative in terms of the value

of prime fish caught[18]. Ramsgate too had attractions for the visitor: apart from the Granville Hotel, which had a paragraph all to itself[19], the Royal Palace Theatre and the Royal Victoria Pavilion were listed. DEAL was still an important pilotage station in 1913, and its potential as a holiday resort was still expanding.

> "As a watering-place it is very healthy and bracing, and is extending rapidly both north and south by the erection of numerous residences and boarding establishments....The trade of Deal consists largely in supplying vessels in the Downs with water, provisions, and hovelling; and there are fish curing and provision preserving establishments."

Rather surprisingly, the directory entries for **BROADSTAIRS** and **BIRCHINGTON**, both of which had become considerable holiday resorts, hardly mentioned this aspect of the local economy, and the directory entries confined themselves to the usual historical and geographical information, with details of the local schools and churches - though the Birchington entry highlighted the existence of the R. Grant Memorial Drinking Fountain. **HERNE BAY** was a little more fortunate: it was at least described as a watering-place, and reference was made to the

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[18] Powell, C., *Smacks to Steamers: a history of the Ramsgate fishing industry, 1850-1920* (East Kent Maritime Trust historical study No. 3, Ramsgate, 1987), pp. 14-15, Winstanley, M.J., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), p. 95.

[19] The LCDR ran a named express train from 1877 onwards which included the word "Granville" in its title. Though the actual wording of the train's name changed several times between 1877 and 1914, the word "Granville" appeared thoughout the period. Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 177, and Allen, C.J., *Titled Trains of Great Britain* (1946), pp. 123-4.

three-quarter mile long pier, the promenade and Mrs. Thwaytes' clock tower, but again the total stranger would never realize that Herne Bay was the very considerable holiday resort that it was.

After the usual topographical statistics the real point about **ASHFORD** was made.

> "In consequence of its position, as a central station, and the site of the principal locomotive and carriage works of the South Eastern and Chatham Railway being located here, Ashford has become a place of considerable importance, and now comprises the old and new towns."[20]

Ashford was, however, still an important agricultural centre: there was a Tuesday corn and cattle market, as well as six fairs "for horses, cattle and pedlery" and two annual shows, one for horses (in June) and one for cattle (in December). Ashford still maintained some industry other than the railway: "here are brick yards, a tan yard, iron foundry and agricultural implement works, and two flour mills," though the economic pre-eminence of the railway was made clear by the inclusion of its principal officers in the "Official Establishments and Local Institutions" section of the directory entry.

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[20] Ashford's "New Town" was of course "Alfred Town", the SER railway village, which by 1913 had attracted considerable other housing to itself. A similar situation existed at Swindon, the Great Western Railway's works town, though there the new railway village was considerably larger than at Ashford, as well as being rather further from the centre of the original settlement.

Reading **FAVERSHAM**'s entry no one would realize that it was the site of the most important junction on the LCDR system outside London. The railway was dismissed in two lines, with a further one-line reference to the stationmaster, Frederick George Capon. Much more space was devoted to the trade of the port, though in fact its overseas trade was derisory; in 1911 there had been only £10,663 worth of imports, and £5,862 of exports[21]. Coasting trade was more noteworthy; in 1912 597 coasting vessels, steam or sail, with a combined total tonnage of just over 69,000 tons, had cleared the port, inward or outward bound. There was in addition a fishing fleet of 114 boats and 318 crew members. Local manufacture was dominated by the two gunpowder works, two breweries (one still in production in 1993 as Shepherd Neame Ltd.), various brickworks, and a cement works. Locally hops and cherries were noted as important crops.

**CANTERBURY**'s entry was dominated by the cathedral and the other churches in the city, which between them occupied about half the total textual description of the city. Though a cattle market was still held, all the fairs were described as "extinct", and the city's trade was briefly listed as "breweries, maltings, tanneries, coach lofts, linen weaving establishments, rope walks and brick yards."

Much of the rest of the city's entry was taken up with a list of schools, charities and civic dignitaries, which somehow still gives a curiously

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[21] These figures may include the port of Whitstable; certainly the number of British and foreign vessels (other than coasters) arriving at Faversham does, and the implication is that the Customs figures include Whitstable as well. The directory entry for Whitstable makes no reference to any port activity at all.

disjointed view of the city and its position in East Kent. Rather surprisingly, no reference was made to any sort of tourist traffic, past or present. Though it was described as "the chief city in Kent", Canterbury's directory entry really gave no idea why this should be so. Certainly the city's position as the geographical hub of the communications of East Kent was passed over in four very bland lines.

While **SANDWICH** virtually stagnated in the nineteenth century as far as population was concerned, the directory entry gave a very different picture.

> "The trade of the town consists chiefly in tanning and wool-sorting, and the importation of coal, timber and stone, and the export of corn, malt, hops, fruit and wool. There is a brewery, malting-houses and tannery. The importation of coal for the supply of the large agricultural district around is very extensive."

After 1822 Sandwich Haven's trade figures were included with the Ramsgate figures, as being a creek of that port (instead of vice-versa), so it is not possible to obtain any idea of just what volume was involved: no detailed figures for Ramsgate were quoted in the directory. Evidence from other sources, however, suggests that the directory picture of Sandwich's trade was exaggerated: ships going into Sandwich Haven were small - they had to be, to navigate the Stour - and the number of clearances was never very great, e.g. 69 inward and outward

combined in 1872.[11] It may well be that the description of the coal import trade as "extensive" was based on local report, rather than statistical information.

The directory entries for the smaller villages had hardly changed at all as the years passed. Those for **ASH NEXT SANDWICH** and **WINGHAM**, for example, both very large in area if small in population, could have been written in 1840 and (apart from updating the various names) re-used, year after year thereafter. Very little seems to have happened to disturb the even tenor of the smaller villages' ways - at least in the eyes of the directory compilers.

This same edition of Kelly's *Directory* for Kent gave a brief but rather dismissive account of Kent's position as a centre of industry,

> "Kent is not remarkable at present for any great manufactures, though formerly it was engaged largely in the production of woollen cloths and of iron. The paper manufacture, as given in the 1901 census, employs (exclusive of 30 employers) 2,329 males and 1,854 females - 4,183 - and is carried on in mills upon the streams of the county. In weaving ribbons, calico, linen, silks, jersey flocks, shirts, woollen and cotton, about 400 persons are employed. Other manufactures are bricks, tiles, pottery, cement and lime in which several thousand persons are

[11] Andrews, F.W.G., unpublished M.A. thesis "The inter-relations between politics and economics in Sandwich, Kent, 1831-1881" (University of Kent, 1975), pp. 25-28.

> engaged; gunpowder (Dartford, Tonbridge and Faversham). Roman cement, sugar moulds, tobacco pipes, hop bags, sacks, copperas, glass, sugar refining, tar, whiting and Tonbridge ware are also produced, the latter being peculiar to Tunbridge Wells. The principal operatives are connected with the dockyards and shipping interest. There are, however, considerable ship-building and marine and traction (road rollers), engine yards, iron foundries, breweries, maltings and tanneries. The chief seats of manufacture are Dartford, Faversham, Maidstone, Northfleet, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Snodland and Tonbridge."

Of these "seats", only Faversham is in East Kent, and was only included there because of the gunpowder mills, and (possibly) the brickfields. The situation in Kent as a whole is perhaps best summed up in a brief exchange between one of the presiding barristers and T.L. Surrage, at that time Town Clerk of Sandwich, at the Sandwich Election Commission enquiry of 1881.

> 52: Are there any manufactories in Sandwich? No, nothing that you call a manufactory; there is an iron foundry and things of that kind upon a moderate scale.

> 53: Is there a manufactory in the sense I mean? No, perhaps it could hardly be called that; it makes things for the neighbourhood[23].

To a large extent this seems to be a fair assessment of most of the industry of East Kent before the First World War: "it makes things for the neighbourhood."

The entries in any edition of Kelly's *Directory* give no idea of the scale of the industry listed, but local knowledge of the area suggests that very few of the industries had more than a local market. The 1905 edition listed 21 basket and sieve makers in East Kent[24], but they were clearly associated with the local agriculture as were Twyman's of Canterbury who made hop pockets, and the six other firms who made rope, line, twine, sacks and bags, or the five hurdle makers[25]. The eleven sail makers presumably made sails for the local fishing fleet. The four agricultural implement makers may well have had rather a larger market than East Kent, as did the 56 brick and tile makers, the solitary chimney pot maker and the three drain-pipe makers[26]. If the eleven gun, rifle and pistol makers actually *made* guns[27], rather than just sold

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[23] *Report of the Commissioners to enquire into the existence of corrupt practices in the Borough of Sandwich. PP (HoC) 1881, XLV.* Minutes of evidence; evidence of T.L. Surrage, qns. 52 and 53.

[24] *Kelly's Directory* (1905), pp. 872-3.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 998, 1071 and 1004.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 842-43, 889-90, 910 and 933.

[27] *Ibid.*,p. 992.

them, they too must have had a rather larger market-place: certainly the paper-mills did: the Buckland mills at Dover are still (1993) in operation, and are still part of the same company (Wiggins-Teape). Beach, of Dover, made gas holders[28]: that must have had a larger market-place. Five firms were advertised as "Motor car builders", including Hayward's of Ashford, who proudly announced that they also made steam cycles[29]. All the same, very few of these companies can have been in business on any but a modest scale: there was nothing even vaguely like the Armstrong Works at Elswick in East Kent.

## EVIDENCE OF THE 1911 OCCUPATIONAL CENSUS

A partial analysis of the 1911 occupational census returns for the administrative county of Kent exists. Details are given, row by row, of the numbers of *males and females aged 10 years and upwards in various* groups of occupations for each urban district with a population of 5,000 or above, and Canterbury[30]. Figures for the remaining smaller urban districts are aggregated into a row of their own, as are all the rural districts. The thirteen named urban districts which are within East Kent as defined are Ashford, Broadstairs, Cheriton, Deal, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone, Herne Bay, Hythe, Margate, Ramsgate, Walmer, Whitstable, and

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 982.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 1036.

[30] *Census of England and Wales, 1911: County of Kent area; families or separate occupiers and population also classified by ages, condition of marriage ...* (HMSO, 1914): Centre for Kentish Studies, KAO XK/312, Table 24. This particular document is so rare that even the British Library does not possess a copy, though the information contained therein is apparently all available in the other all-census volumes: letter from the British Library to the author, January, 1993.

the county borough of Canterbury: it will be appreciated that, most fortunately, these districts include all those towns (apart from Sandwich) which were discussed in Chapters VI to IX above. Between them the fourteen districts included almost exactly three-quarters of the whole of East Kent as defined (Tables 11.4 and 11.5). It is a pity that it is quite impossible to break down the information for rural districts into East and West Kent in order to provide a more complete picture. Exact comparison with materials as previously presented in this study is complicated by the way the occupations were grouped in this analysis. For example, Occupational Order XIX (Dress) among the females was broken down for presentation purposes into three separate columns for tailors; boot, shoe, slipper, patten and clog-makers; and other workers in dress, but that part of the order which covered dealers in dress was aggregated together with Class 7 of Order XVIII, Dealers in Dress. This means that the figures cannot be directly compared to other census returns, though the divisions are much more in keeping with the approach adopted in this study.

It is clear from these figures how East Kent differed from the remaining part of the administrative county. Among the men, East Kent had the lion's share of those engaged in the defence of the country, and in all forms of transport, by road, rail and sea, and in fishing: two-thirds of the county's fishermen were in East Kent. In most occupations which might be expected to reflect something of a consumer-based society East Kent, having some 22% of all the county's employed males within its borders, gave employment to appreciably more than 22% of those so

# Table 11.4 OCCUPATIONS OF ALL MALES IN KENT, AND IN THE URBAN DISTRICTS OF EAST KENT, IN 1911.

| Order | ALL COUNTY ANALYSIS Occupation | WHOLE COUNTY | E KENT TOTAL | PER CENT of WHOLE COUNTY in this occup. | PER CENT of EAST KENT in this occup. | PER CENT of those in this occ'p'n in EAST KENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total occupied or unoccupied MALES | 392,357 | 87,497 | | | |
| | Retired or unoccupied MALES | 75,641 | 17,915 | | | |
| | Employed (Orders I to XXII) MALES | 316,716 | 69,582 | MALES | MALES | 21.97 |
| I | General or local government | 8,595 | 1,832 | 2.71 | 2.63 | 21.31 |
| II | Defence of the country | 27,442 | 8,970 | 8.66 | 12.89 | 32.69 |
| III | Professional occupations | 11,555 | 3,520 | 3.65 | 5.06 | 30.46 |
| IV, 2 | Domestic outdoor service | 11,198 | 1,018 | 3.54 | 1.46 | 9.09 |
| IV, 1,3 | Domestic indoor & other service | 6,018 | 1,667 | 1.90 | 2.40 | 27.70 |
| V, 1,3 4 | Merchants, banking, insurance | 7,364 | 1,567 | 2.33 | 2.25 | 21.28 |
| V 2 | Commercial or business clerks | 6,411 | 1,242 | 2.02 | 1.78 | 19.37 |
| VI | Conveyance on railways | 8,064 | 2,213 | 2.55 | 3.18 | 27.44 |
| VI | Conveyance on roads | 10,947 | 3,251 | 3.46 | 4.67 | 29.70 |
| VI | Conveyance on water | 6,442 | 2,061 | 2.03 | 2.96 | 31.99 |
| VI | Dock/wharf labs; coal porters | 2,767 | 655 | 0.87 | 0.94 | 23.67 |
| VI | Messengers, porters etc | 5,735 | 2,069 | 1.81 | 2.97 | 36.08 |
| VI | Others in conveyance | 1,551 | 566 | 0.49 | 0.81 | 36.49 |
| VII | Agriculture | 48,860 | 2,942 | 15.43 | 4.23 | 6.02 |
| IX, 1 | Mining workers | 158 | 42 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 26.58 |
| IX, 2 | Others in mining | 2,071 | 78 | 0.65 | 0.11 | 3.77 |
| X, 3 | General engineering | 15,971 | 1,754 | 5.04 | 2.52 | 10.98 |
| X, 1,2,5-8 | Iron & steel manufacture | 1,150 | 256 | 0.36 | 0 37 | 22.26 |
| X, 4 | Electrical | 2,455 | 330 | 0.78 | 0.47 | 13.44 |
| X,9 | Ships & boats | 4,687 | 336 | 1.48 | 0.48 | 7.17 |
| X, 10 | Cycles, coaches, other vehicles | 3,753 | 1,302 | 1.18 | 1.87 | 34.69 |
| XI | Precious metals, jewels | 2,064 | 502 | 0.65 | 0.72 | 24.32 |
| XII | Building & construction | 29,255 | 7,915 | 9.24 | 11.38 | 27.06 |
| XIII | Wood, furniture, fittings | 5,255 | 1,343 | 1.66 | 1.93 | 25.56 |
| XIV, 1 | Brick makers etc | 3,173 | 375 | 1.00 | 0.54 | 11.82 |
| XIV, 2 | Earthenware & glass manufacture | 435 | 30 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 6.90 |
| XV | Chemicals & explosives | 2,845 | 556 | 0.90 | 0.80 | 19.54 |
| XVI, 1 | Skins, leather, saddlery | 1,119 | 385 | 0.35 | 0.55 | 34.41 |
| XVII, 2 | Printers & lithographers | 2,839 | 573 | 0.90 | 0.82 | 20.18 |
| XVII, 1,2 | Others in paper print & books | 3,515 | 159 | 1.11 | 0.23 | 4.52 |
| XVIII 1-5 | Textile manufacture | 308 | 62 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 20.13 |
| XVIII, 6 | Textile printing etc | 270 | 31 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 11.48 |
| XIX, 1 | Tailors | 1,857 | 667 | 0.59 | 0.96 | 35.92 |
| XIX, 1 | Boot & shoe makers etc | 2,216 | 661 | 0.70 | 0.95 | 29.83 |
| XIX, 1 | Other workers in dress | 1,357 | 421 | 0.43 | 0.61 | 31.02 |
| XVIII, 7 & XIX, 1 | Drapers etc, & dealers in dress | 3,240 | 1,073 | 1.02 | 1.54 | 33.12 |
| XX | Food, tobacco, drink & lodging | 29,608 | 9,192 | 9.35 | 13.21 | 31.05 |
| XXII | General & factory labourers | 13,056 | 2,964 | 4.12 | 4.26 | 22.70 |
| ?? | All other occupations | 21,110 | 5,002 | 6.67 | 7.19 | 23.69 |

## Table 11.5 OCCUPATIONS OF ALL FEMALES IN KENT, AND IN THE URBAN DISTRICTS OF EAST KENT, IN 1911.

| Order | ALL COUNTY ANALYSIS Occupation | WHOLE COUNTY | TOTAL | PER CENT of WHOLE COUNTY in this occup. | PER CENT of EAST KENT in this occup. | PER CENT of those in this occ'p'n in EAST KENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total UNMARRIED FEMALES | 199,091 | 52,768 | | | |
| | Total MARRIED FEMALES | 187,795 | 42,108 | | | |
| | Total WIDOWED FEMALES | 37,882 | 10,556 | | | |
| | TOTAL, ALL FEMALES | 424,768 | 105,432 | FEMALES | FEMALES | FEMALES |
| | RETIRED/UNOCCUPIED FEMALES | 302,514 | 71,047 | | | |
| | OCCUPIED UNMARRIED FEMALES | 95,930 | 26,603 | | | |
| | OCCUPIED MARRIED FEMALES | 15,088 | 4,309 | | | |
| | OCCUPIED WIDOWED FEMALES | 11,236 | 3,473 | | | |
| | TOTAL, ALL OCCUPIED FEMALES | 122,254 | 34,385 | | | 28.13 |
| I,1; VI 5 | Civil service, telephone service | 1,009 | 215 | 0.83 | 0.63 | 21.31 |
| I, 2; IV 3 | Municipal officers, hospital service | 2,822 | 715 | 2.31 | 2.08 | 25.34 |
| III 3 | Midwives, nurses etc | 3,349 | 1,109 | 2.74 | 3.23 | 33.11 |
| III, 4 | Teachers | 6,066 | 1,831 | 4.96 | 5.32 | 30.18 |
| III, 5, 7 | Literary, scientific, art, music & drama | 1,558 | 510 | 1.27 | 1.48 | 32.73 |
| IV,1 | Domestic indoor service: hotels etc | 3,420 | 2,007 | 2.80 | 5.84 | 58.68 |
| IV, 1 | Other domestic indoor service | 50,220 | 11,996 | 41.08 | 34.89 | 23.89 |
| IV 3 | Charwomen, day servants | 3,299 | 983 | 2.70 | 2.86 | 29.80 |
| IV, 3 | Laundry & washing service | 7,061 | 2,080 | 5.78 | 6.05 | 29.46 |
| IV, 2, 3 | Others engaged in service | 1,056 | 338 | 0.86 | 0.98 | 32.01 |
| V, 2,3,4; III 2 | Commercial, bank & insurance clerks | 2,558 | 626 | 2.09 | 1.82 | 24.47 |
| VII | Agriculture: farms, woods & gardens | 2,446 | 74 | 2.00 | 0.22 | 3.03 |
| X, 1-10 | Metals, machines etc | 152 | 9 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 5.92 |
| XI, 1-4 | Jewellery etc makers, sports gear maker | 45 | 7 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 15.56 |
| XIII | Wood furniture & fittings | 388 | 136 | 0.32 | 0.40 | 35.05 |
| XV | Chemicals, explosives etc | 859 | 81 | 0.70 | 0.24 | 9.43 |
| XVI, 1 | Skins, leather saddlery | 35 | 9 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 25.71 |
| XVI 3 | Hair & feathers | 30 | 8 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 26.67 |
| XVII, 1, 2 | Paper & stationery | 2,073 | 240 | 1.70 | 0.70 | 11.58 |
| XVIII 1-6 | Textile manufacture | 564 | 154 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 27.30 |
| XVIII, 7, XIX, 1 | Drapers, dealers in dress | 3,269 | 1,118 | 2.67 | 3.25 | 34.20 |
| XIX, 1 | Talloresses | 1,456 | 145 | 1.19 | 0.42 | 9.96 |
| XIX, 1 | Milliners | 1,495 | 485 | 1.22 | 1.41 | 32.44 |
| XIX, 1 | Dressmakers | 8,364 | 2,414 | 6.84 | 7.02 | 28.86 |
| XIX, 1 | Staymakers, seamstresses etc | 1,168 | 250 | 0.96 | 0.73 | 21.40 |
| XIX, 1 | Boot & shoe makers etc | 72 | 18 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 25.00 |
| XIX, 1 | Other workers in dress | 175 | 74 | 0.14 | 0.22 | 42.29 |
| XX, 1 | Food, workers | 568 | 65 | 0.46 | 0.19 | 11.44 |
| XX, 1; XXII, 4 | Food dealers, general shopkeepers | 5,669 | 1,751 | 4.64 | 5.09 | 30.89 |
| XX, 4 | Eating & lodging house keepers | 4,211 | 2,704 | 3.44 | 7.86 | 64.21 |
| XX,4 | Others in board, lodging & drink | 3,341 | 1,074 | 2.73 | 3.12 | 32.15 |
| ? | All other occupations | 3,456 | 1,159 | 2.83 | 3.37 | 33.54 |

engaged. Over a third of all messengers, porters, those in conveyance (other than specifically road, rail or water), workers in cycles, coaches and other vehicles, saddlery, leather and harness, and tailors were working in East Kent. Just under a third of all boot and shoe makers, and other dealers in dress were in East Kent, and the same applied to men involved in the food, drink, tobacco and lodging industries. Industry, however, was much less well represented among East Kent's male labour force. General engineering in East Kent gave work to just over 10% of those so employed throughout the county: brick and tile making was at the same sort of level: East Kent gave employment to only 4.5% of those working in paper, though over a third of those employed were in the aggregated rural areas, and some would have been in East Kent. The figure for agriculture is unhelpful: since these are urban district figures, a low, and wholly unrepresentative agriculture figure was only to be expected.

Among the women the same sort of situation prevailed. East Kent gave work to 28% of all females employed in the county, but three out of every five women who were resident domestic servants in hotels, lodging and eating houses worked in East Kent, and two in three of those actually running eating and lodging houses did. Drapers and dealers in dress gave work to over a third of those so employed in the county, and the same was true of milliners and the dealers in food and the general shopkeepers. East Kent had about a third of all midwives, nurses, teachers and those engaged in literary, scientific, musical and artistic pursuits. Women in any sort of industrial work - metals, machines, jewellery, precious metals, etc., chemical work, paper and

stationery (not in shops) - were badly represented in East Kent: less than half the district's "fair share" did actually find work in those various occupations.

Curiously enough, East Kent was not notable for the number of resident domestic servants in private employment, but those districts which were, in proportion to the number of households, most richly endowed are wholly predictable - in order, Folkestone, with 366 per 1,000 households, Walmer, Broadstairs, Herne Bay and Hythe (282). Canterbury at 215 was below the county average of 224, and the last in the East Kent line was Cheriton, with only 111. Leading the way in the county at large were those districts which were in 1911 the opulent areas of Kent - Chislehurst (with 554 per 1,000), Beckenham, Foots Cray, Bromley, Tunbridge and Sevenoaks (406 per 1,000). Last in the county was Gillingham, with only 88 per 1,000.

At individual town level, the picture is much as might have been expected. In the railway towns and ports 2,213 men were engaged in Order VI (conveyance on the railways), forming one of the largest identified groups in those towns, and a further 447 in Order X (cycles, coaches and other vehicles) were at work on railway coach making at Ashford: most of the 546 "General engineering" workers at Ashford (Order X, class 3) are likely to have been employed at the railway works. In all the towns those men engaged in building and construction formed the third largest group, after food, tobacco and lodging, and defence of the country. In the holiday towns the largest occupational group of women (after private domestic service) were the eating and

lodging-house keepers (1,590), followed by the domestic staff in the hotels (955), and then by schoolteachers (684), dressmakers (635) and those in laundry and washing services (606), and though the actual figures differ, and the order is not exactly the same, the pattern of the largest occupational groups of women is very similar in the railway towns, and in Canterbury.

## OTHER ASPECTS OF ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

By Edwardian times, East Kent had become the site of numerous convalescent homes: of the 56 listed for Kent in the 1905 directory[31], 40 were in East Kent. Of the 461 private schools listed in the same directory, 248 were in East Kent, mainly in towns round the coast[32]. Both figures represent not only the extent to which East Kent could claim to be a health-giving area, but indicate the importance of railway connections: patients could easily come by rail to the convalescent homes, and pupils to the boarding schools: judging from the birthplaces given as early as 1871 for the pupils of the boarding schools in Sandwich and Deal alone the private schools of East Kent had a nationwide catchment area[33]. There were also a dozen orphanages in the

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[31] *Kelly's Directory of Kent* (1905), pp. 923-4.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 1073-78.

[33] See for example the census enumerators' returns for 1871: PRO PG10/1000 (for Sandwich) and RG 10/1003 (for Deal).

county[34], but only five were in East Kent, this distribution presumably reflecting the catchment area involved, mainly south-east London[35].

A further sign of the times in 1905 was the presence in the various High Streets of the multiple retailer. Some of the bootmakers must have lost trade to Messrs. Freeman, Hardy and Willis who, in East Kent, had branches in Ashford, Broadstairs, Canterbury,Deal, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone, Herne Bay, Margate, Ramsgate (three shops) and Whitstable[36]. Boots Cash Chemists were in Folkestone and Canterbury, and Timothy White & Co. at Deal, Dover (2 shops), Faversham, Folkestone, Margate and Ramsgate (3 shops)[37]. Grocers too were proliferating: the International Tea Company had six branches in East Kent, the Home and Colonial twelve, Lipton's two, Pearks' Stores five, and the World's Stores seven. The local East Kent grocery chain, Vye and Son, had branches in ten towns[38]. W.H. Smith had newspaper stalls on five railway stations, though not at that time in any of the High Streets[39]. Singer Sewing Machines had agents in six towns[40]. This was not, of course, a purely East Kent phenomenon, but was part of a

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[34] *Kelly's Directory* (1905), p. 1043.

[35] The Home for Orphan Boys at Hextable, near Swanley, had its own private station, with a platform on the down side only, Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 41.

[36] *Kelly's Directory* (1905), p. 884.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 908-9.

[38] *Ibid*, pp. 984-92. All these companies have now vanished from the retailing scene, except Lipton's.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1079.

national trend. One authority estimates that in 1910 there were 114 grocery multiple shop firms which operated between them 2,870 branches (an average of 25 branches per multiple) and 23 multiple meat chains, with 3,828 branches (over 166 branches on average per chain). In clothing there were 70 multiple footwear chains, with a total of 3,544 branches (over 50 branches per chain) and 53 clothing chains (men, boys, women and girls' clothing) with 1,657 branches (31 per chain)[41]. These multiples can hardly have gone about their business without the rapid bulk transport that the railway made possible, though certainly for perishable traffic, the railway brought problems as well as solutions. In the early years of this century Sainsbury's began to use the railways to supply their increasing network of grocery and provision shops (the first Sainsbury's branch in East Kent was opened in Folkestone in 1909), but soon found that transport by rail had its problems. In 1915 John Benjamin Sainsbury wrote to the manager of the firm's Watford branch,

> "You are indeed fortunate to have a direct delivery, for those branches solely dependent on the railways never know within 48 hours when the goods will arrive; goods sent to Folkestone last Thursday for delivery there on Friday morning were not discovered until Monday morning, and unfortunately there were a lot of perishables."

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[41] Fraser, W.H., *The coming of the mass market, 1850-1914* (1981), pp. 116-17.

In the end, delays in transit (perishable goods left in parcels offices or on sidings) cost so much that the firm began to switch to the increasingly reliable motor van[42]. Small shops must have begun to find the competition from the big multiples a threat, though of course whilst much "ordinary" shopping was done within walking distance of home, this threat was less great than it is perceived to be today.

Another clear indication of the changing nature of society is seen in the number of clubs and societies which were listed in the 1905 directory. In East Kent alone ten working men's clubs were listed, and a further 31 which were political, social, or friendly societies. There were sporting clubs as well - six cricket clubs, two cycling, eight golf, a tennis, a rifle, three rowing, two swimming and two yacht clubs. There were also 67 various Societies and Associations in East Kent[43], some branches of major national societies, such as the RSPCA, or the "National Incorporated Waifs' Association [Dr. Barnardo's homes]"[44], and others very local, such as the Margate Soup Kitchen, the "Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants", which owned Lambert House, Margate Road, Ramsgate (Marian Abbott, Matron), or the Yarrow Home for Convalescent Children of the Better Classes (Miss Power, Matron), at Broadstairs. This must reflect the growing number of persons who either had some leisure at their disposal, and who had

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[42] *JS Journal*, (March, 1989), p. 27.

[43] *Kelly's Directory* (1905), pp. 911-14 (clubs) and 1093-95 (societies and associations).

[44] Evidently the charity had the same difficulty of getting people to recognize it by any name other than *Dr. Barnardo's* in 1913 as it still has in 1993.

enough spare income to be able to pay the fees, or contribute to the mutual support, or charitable good work, of the various societies. The *Directory* lists some 25,000 private residents in the whole of Kent in 1905, of whom some 7,000 probably lived in East Kent: clearly the numbers, as well as the proportion, of those with some element of time on their hands, and money at their disposal, had considerably increased since 1841.

It is at least debatable as to how far this great expansion in the number of private residents (which has been a conspicuous feature of all the towns and villages surveyed in this study) represents a genuine increase, or merely a broadening of the base on which persons were included in the directory: bearing in mind the high proportion of heads of households, perhaps as high as one in ten, who were "private residents", the latter seems a likely contributory cause. Of that 25,000 some 4,000 were married women (or widows) and 2,000 single ladies; perhaps these were the widows and daughters of those who had been successful in commerce in earlier years.

How far this expansion of clubs, societies and associations was promoted by the appearance of railways it is, of course, quite impossible to say, but the increased availability of local transport, at however humble a level, must have meant that the element of mobility had greatly increased, and this must have had a major impact on this aspect of society.

In Chapter II an analysis of the structure of East Kent's society was made based on the methods used in Dr. Greaves' analysis[45]. By 1913 almost all the major towns of East Kent fulfilled Dr. Greaves' specifications: by then all towns of any size had at least one bank, and local newspapers were much more numerous. According to directory evidence alone in East Kent there were local papers based in Canterbury (4), Deal (3), Dover (5), Faversham (2), Folkestone (6), Herne Bay, Hythe, Margate (2), Ramsgate (3) and Whitstable[46]. There were theatres in Canterbury, Dover, Margate (2) and Ramsgate, and hospitals or dispensaries in almost all towns, and some villages: by 1913 there were grammar schools in Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone, Ramsgate and Sandwich, some old-established and others newly set up under the terms of the 1902 Education Act.

Thus by 1913 society in East Kent was far more sophisticated in its leisure structure than apparently it had been in 1841, and the number of those who enjoyed at least a modest level of prosperity appeared to have increased very considerably. However, by and large the occupational pattern of the area had not fundamentally changed: industry was, generally speaking, still on a small scale, though there were exceptions. Trades were certainly becoming more diverse: agriculture, though still the most important single industry, no longer dominated the scene to quite the extent it had in 1841, and a comparison of the 1841 and 1911 censuses shows there were more trades

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[45] Greaves, B., Methodism in Yorkshire, 1740-1851. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool (1968).

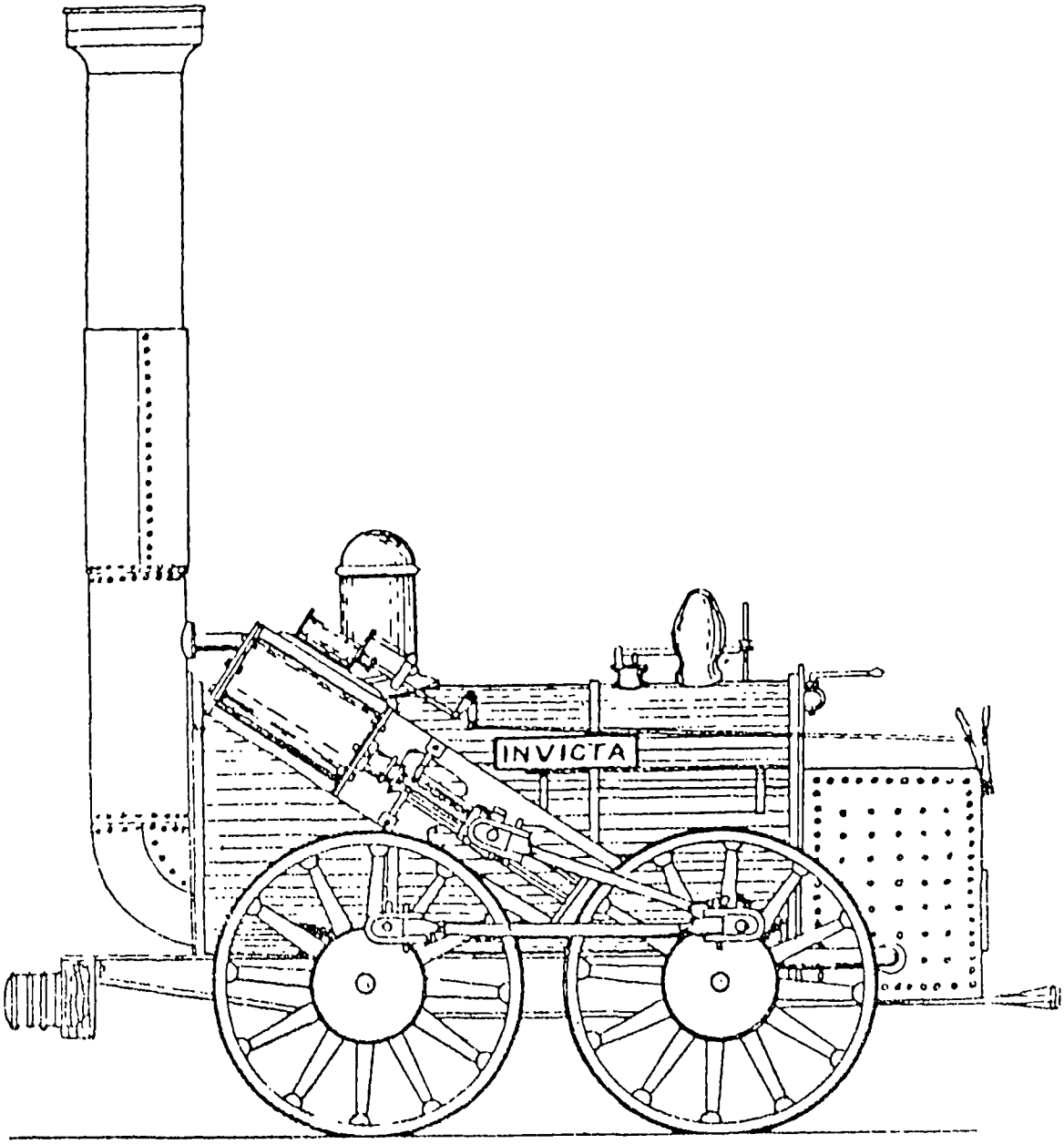
[46] *Kelly's Directory* (1905), pp. 1038-40.

in which over 2,000 people were concerned. Two trends which had been apparent in 1841 had continued to a very marked degree: the expansion of the holiday industry to the extent where, by 1913, it dominated the economy in certain towns, and the growth of cross-channel passenger traffic. The population had of course increased, but though the distribution of the population within the area had become more urban, the aggregate population had not grown as rapidly as had that of the rest of the county, or of England and Wales at large.

Just how far these changes were the result of the coming of the railway to East Kent will be considered in the concluding chapter.

# Chapter XII:

# CONCLUSION.



# CHAPTER XII: CONCLUSION.

*"Did the railway make any real difference to the place?"*[1]

That railways made a difference to the economy and society of nineteenth century Britain is hardly in dispute, but just *how* big the difference was has become a subject of considerable debate. One view has been that the influence of railways - that is, the extent to which the undoubted changes which came about could *only* have been brought about by the railways - has been much overstated[2], and the subsequent debate, for and against, has produced "a little hill of theses, articles and monographs"[3]. Another view has been that railways "could not have been sacrificed in 1865 without the need to compensate for a loss of 10% of the national income."[4] Very usefully, the whole debate on the economic influence of railways, as it stood in 1980, has been surveyed and considered[5] but many of the conclusions discussed seem to depend

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[1] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 19.

[2] Fogel, R.W., *Railroads and American Economic Growth* (Baltimore, 1964) and Fishlow, A., *American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-bellum Economy* (Cambridge, USA, 1965).

[3] Simmons, J., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] Hawke G.R., *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales* (1970), pp. 404-5.

[5] Gourvish, T.R., *Railways and the British Economy, 1830-1914* (1980).

very much upon where the historian started from, and what assumptions he was willing to make about the validity of the evidence [6].

Some things are certain. The railways required far more capital expenditure over a short period of time than had ever been needed before[7], and the railways, when in operation, produced far more complex problems of business administration, of record-keeping, and of cash-flow, over a very much larger geographical area, than had ever had to be considered before. Perhaps the failure of many of the records to survive should not surprise the student: the early railway officials can hardly have been clear in their own minds as to what questions *needed* to be asked, leaving aside the practical problems of finding the answers[8].

The railways were pioneers in civil engineering, in the size of the great cuttings and embankments, the span of the great bridges and the long tunnels, many on a far more massive scale than their canal predecessors. In mechanical engineering[9] we may compare the sheer size of James Watts' early beam engines with the no less powerful neat

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[6] For example, the discussion of how much of the output of iron and later steel was employed in building the railway permanent way and rolling stock, summarized in Gourvish, T.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, or to just what form of pre-railway road transport (post-chaise, "inside" or "outside" on the stage-coach) the various classes of rail travel might be equated, *ibid*, pp 34-35.

[7] Gourvish, T.R., *Railways and the British Economy, 1830-1914* (1980), p. 10.

[8] Though suggestions had been made as long ago as 1850 in Lardner, D., *Railway Economy* (1850, new edition, Newton Abbot 1968), Chapters IV to XIII, *passim*.

[9] Snell, J.B., *Railways: Mechanical Engineering* (pb edition, 1973).

railway locomotives of the 1840s, and in metallurgy it became vital to develop metals and castings capable of standing pressures and stresses unthinkable three or four decades earlier.

All these aspects of the influence of railways are amenable to measurement - how many, how much - but there is in addition the enormous field of qualitative influence: how far life was changed for ordinary people, who may have lived and died without riding on a train, or perhaps even seeing one. This field is also the subject of an increasing literature[10]. In this sense, the railway was ubiquitous: almost every aspect of life was affected in some way. Standard, or railway, time is the most obvious example. For example, in 1817 one Abraham Thornton was accused of murder: the evidence against him was based on the times at which he was seen at various places, but since the clocks on which the witnesses based their evidence differed by as much as 41 minutes, the prosecution's case collapsed: thirty years later at least the clocks would probably have agreed[11].

All these things must have affected East Kent to a greater or lesser degree, but to trace the impact of railways, as we have seen, is more difficult. However, an attempt must be made to sum up our findings.

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[10] See especially Robbins, M., *The Railway Age* (1962), Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), and Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (1991), and Bagwell, P.S., "The decline of rural isolation", in Mingay, G.E. ed., *The Victorian Countryside*, Vol I (1981), pp. 30-42.

[11] Gould, R.T., *Enigmas* (2nd edn., 1946), pp. 188-213. The case is unique in that at a later private prosecution Thornton offered to defend himself by battle (an offer his undersized opponent wisely declined) and was the last man in England to do so.

## MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND GOODS

The most obvious change is the enormous increase in the amount of movement of people and goods that took place in the area. In 1836 the backers of the proposed London and Dover (South Eastern) Railway estimated that each year some 41,080 passengers travelled by mail or stage coach between London and Dover, and that a further 25,584 made the journey using post-horses, a total of 66,664 passengers a year[12]. In 1846 the Chairman of the South Eastern Railway reported that in the year ending 31st December, 1845 his company had carried 88,949 passengers between London and Dover alone[13], an increase by one-third on those who had previously made the journey by road. In 1867 the Company reported that on excursion trains to Dover there were, on average Mondays, 20 second-class and 263 third-class passengers, a total of 283. Under normal conditions, first-class passengers comprised 10% of a SER train's loading in 1870[14]: if first-class ticket-holders also travelled on the excursion trains, they would therefore have added some 31 passengers, giving a total loading of 314 persons. In 1910 there were 17 SER trains which made the down London-Dover journey, and 16 up trains, 33 all told[15]. Assuming that the train-loading for 1867/70 held

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[12] *Supplement to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons; 16th May, 1836: Report on the London and Dover (South Eastern) Railway Bill,* [hereinafter South Eastern Railway Bill report], pp. 953-75: House of Lords Record Office.

[13] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments,* PP HoC 1846 (XIV), pp. 571-81, esp. p. 540.

[14] *Railway Returns for the year 1870,* PP HoC 1871 (LX), p. 68.

[15] *Bradshaw's Railway Guide for April 1910* (new edition, Newton abbot, 1968).

good in 1910, the implication is that 33 trains, each carrying 314 persons made the journey between London and Dover 365 days in the year - over 3.75 million persons. In practice the figure would not have been so high: trains travelling through the night, and mail-trains, carrying only first and second class passengers, would have been much more lightly loaded than the 314 of the calculation, but even if the calculated overall figure is halved, to some 1.9 million, the contrast between that figure and the 66,664 of pre-railway days, or even the 88,949 of the railway's early years is self-evident, being some 28 times as great. In addition to the SER's services, by 1910 the LCDR was also running to Dover: certainly between them the two companies shared the traffic, rather than doubled it[15], but the LCDR must have picked up a certain amount of North Kent coast traffic which was not available to the SER, so the total number travelling between London and Dover by 1910 is likely to have been in the order of 2.5 million or more over a year.

These figures only apply to traffic between London and Dover: the *total* figure quoted for all passenger traffic in the 1836 *Report* was 252,356 persons travelling along the line of the proposed South-Eastern Railway (i.e. via Reigate and Tonbridge) by coach, with a further 64,896 by post-vehicles, a total of over 317,000. In 1845 the SER declared a total of 840,365 journeys, two and a half times the estimated pre-railway figure, and that within two years of the line's opening. It is not

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[15] Ahrons, E.L., *Locomotive and Train Working in the latter part of the nineteenth centur, Volume 5* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 39.

possible to make a general calculation for the number of journeys made in 1870 or 1910 as was made for Dover, but it seems certain that the general growth must have been along the same lines.

Whichever way the calculations are made, the staggering increase in the number of people who could, and did, move into, out of, and within East Kent after the railway came is obvious. A further consideration is the increased speed at which it was all possible: Charles Dickens described in a tone of wonder and disbelief his eleven-hour trip to Paris[17], taking about the same time over that journey as he had described Mr. Jarvis Lorry taking for the mail-coach journey he had made between London and Dover in 1775.[18]

The original target of the South-Eastern Railway was Dover, to serve the cross-channel traffic. According to one authority[19] the numbers passing between England and Calais, Boulogne or Ostend in 1840 was 86,794: in 1844 (the year the SER arrived at Dover) the figure rose to 116,926, an increase by one third. By 1870 the figure had reached 230,203, and by 1913 had passed 1.1 million[20], a twelvefold increase on the 1840 figure. These passengers themselves can have had little effect

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[17] Dickens, C., "A flight", one of the *Reprinted Pieces*. The SER began to operate the 11 hour service in 1851, for the Great Exhibition; in 1858 the time was reduced to 10¾ hours, Bucknall, R., *Boat Trains and Channel Packets* (1957), pp. 55, 57.

[18] Dickens, C., *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), Chapter 2.

[19] Croft, R.J., "The nature and growth of cross-channel traffic through Calais and Boulogne, 1840-70", in *Transport History*, *Vol. IV* (1971), p. 265.

[20] *SER: Numbers of passengers embarking and disembarking at various Channel ports: tables*. PRO RAIL 633.425.

on East Kent: by definition they were transients, but the infrastructure needed to service their journeys - railway and port facilities, hotel and restaurant accommodation - must have benefited.

Estimating the extent to which goods traffic increased in the area is far less easy: the figures just do not exist in the detail which would be necessary. The 1836 *Report on the South Eastern Railway Bill* suggested that just under 80,000 tons of goods were moved in and around Kent by road (along the original line of the SER) by carrier and other means, and that the SER might expect to receive just over £59,000 for carrying it by rail, at an average cost of 74p. per ton[21]. In 1846 the SER reported that it had carried just under 89,000 tons of goods, which had brought in just under £ 42,000[22]: in 1900 the figures for the SECR were just over 6.66 million tons and just over £ 1m[23]. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing just how much of this movement took place in East Kent, but if the total amount of freight moved within the area covered by the SER and LCDR increased from the pre-railway 80,000 tons to 6.66 million tons by 1900, an eighty-fold increase, it seems reasonable to assume that traffic within East Kent must have increased by a similar factor.

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[21] *Supplement to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons; 16th May, 1836: Report on the London and Dover (South Eastern) Railway Bill*, [South Eastern railway bill report], p. 970: House of Lords Record Office.

[22] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments*, PP HoC 1846 (XIV), p. 42.

[23] *Railway Returns for the year 1900*, PP HoC 1901 (LXVII), p.43.

The figures quoted above suggest that the cost of transportation by rail fell as time passed, but it is very difficult to establish just by how much, and how far in real terms, these costs fell. Gourvish suggests that between 1830 and 1870 freight costs had dropped by about 30%[24], from about 1.67 pence per ton-mile to 1.2 pence per ton-mile[25]. In any case, the railways charged what the traffic would bear, and so the cost for transportation might vary wildly within a small area, according to the demand, supply and transport competition[26]. Certainly the quality of transport services improved over the period[27]. If nothing else, this will have given East Kent (as elsewhere in the United Kingdom) the advantages of economy of scale: goods manufactured in large (and therefore individually cheaper) quantities meant that most people would have gained in terms of the cost, range and availability of consumer goods, and at the same time, have the advantage of easier transportation of local products to elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

This had certain clear results for East Kent. Perishable goods could now be moved over considerably longer distances than had previously been

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[24] Gourvish, T.R., "Railways, 1830-70: the formative years" in Freeman, M.J. and Aldcroft, D.H., *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester, 1988), p. 77.

[25] Ville, S.P., *Transport and the Development of the European Economy, 1750-1918* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 155

[26] Freeman, M.J. "Introduction" in Freeman, M.J. and Aldcroft, D.H., *op. cit.*, pp. 32-36.

[27] Gourvish, T.R., "Railways, 1830-70. the formative years" in Freeman M,J, and Aldcroft, D.H., *op. cit.*, p.77.

possible[28], and East Kent fruit appeared in the London markets; fish, which had previously only been saleable as fresh fish within a very limited distance of the port of landing could now be sold at a considerable distance. Thus Ramsgate, Folkestone and Whitstable were able to increase their catches in the knowledge that the fish could be sold whilst still in good condition. The number of fishermen shown in the official census returns as being at work in Kent (most of whom must have been in East Kent) increased from 946 in 1841 to 1,355 in 1911, by 43%.

The coming of the railway meant that heavy and bulky goods could now be transported economically: the most visible result was a virtual standardization of building materials throughout the country[29]. The evidence is clear in (for example) Sandwich: in the centre of the town the roofs are of the traditional Kent peg tiles; further out, those houses built in the second half of the nineteenth century and up to about 1930 are likely to have roofs made of the cheaper and ubiquitous Welsh slate; houses built later still have roofs made of the even cheaper machine-made tiles. Coal became cheaper: the price of coal in Canterbury fell

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[28] This advantage was strongly stressed by the meat trade in supporting the coming of the railway. Jackson, K.E., "A new town called Alfred" (University of Kent at Canterbury extended essay, 1968), pp. 77-80.

[29] This can also be noticed in the increasing standardization of materials used by the railways to build their own stations and lineside works: Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914: Vol I: The System and its Working, 1830-1914* (Leicester, 1978), pp. 156-8; also Biddle, G., *Victorian Stations* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 72.

from between 42s. and 45s. a chaldron[30], even in the summer when road transport was at its easiest, to 23s. to 30s. a chaldron by 1833 after the Canterbury and Whitstable railway (opened in 1830) made it possible to bring coal by rail over the six miles from Whitstable rather than by road over the same distance. Similar savings were reported for grocery (unspecified) and corn[31]. Overall it had been reckoned that to send goods from Ashford to London before the railway came it had cost £2 10s. 0d; the railway planned to charge £1 2s.6d per ton[32].

As described in Chapter XI above, chain stores began to invade East Kent as the century turned: by the death of Edward VII all the major grocery chains were represented - the Home and Colonial, the International Tea Company, Lipton's, Sainsbury's and Vye and Son. Chains of butchers were represented by Eastman's, W. & R. Fletcher and the London Central Meat Company. Boots Cash Chemists and Timothy White & Taylor were in local High Streets. W.H. Smith was only represented by the station bookstalls of East Kent in 1913: the 1905 switch to the High Street shops in the territory of the Great Western and London and North Western Railways had not yet spread so far[33].

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[30] A Newcastle chaldron of coal weighed 2 tons 13 cwt: Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914: Vol I: The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 204.

[31] *Kentish Gazette*, 4 February, 1883, quoted in Templeman, F., "Canterbury and the coming of the railway", University of Kent at Canterbury extended essay, (April 1970), p. 41.

[32] Jackson, K.E , op. cit, pp. 39-30.

[33] Simmons, J., *The Victorian Railway* (1991), pp. 247-9.

Freeman, Hardy and Willis[34] were spearheading the invasion of the High Street shoe shops: the local producer was slowly being ousted by the mass-producer who had the benefit of volume production and rapid transport. Thus in 1841 there had been 4,448 boot and shoe makers in Kent; by 1911 the figure had dropped to 2,301, though the ancient county population had almost tripled. In Canterbury the 1841 figure had been 276: by 1911 it stood at 88. In Dover equivalent figures were 189 and 139[35]: the day of "Country make ... Brown ... Muggleton"[36] was rapidly vanishing.

When the SER was first proposed, traders saw the advantage of being able "at any time to run up to London and bring stock next day instead of keeping stock several weeks in consequence of the uncertainty of the hoys.[37]" MacGregor's evidence of 1846, (quoted previously) that "the public have had their goods carried at a very large reduction of price, and they have had much greater convenience"[38] suggests that traders had taken the advantage expected very soon after the railway appeared,

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[34] Examples taken from *Kelly's Directory for Kent (1905)*, except for Sainsbury's which opened in Folkestone in 1909.

[35] Figures derived from the occupational tables in the published census returns.

[36] Dickens, C., *The Pickwick Papers* (1836-7), Chapter X.

[37] William Jeffery, a grocer from Ashford: quoted in Turner, G., *Ashford and the Coming of the Railway* (Maidstone, 1984), p. 23. Jeffery was a keen supporter of the railway, and had put the same argument at a public meeting in Ashford to support the railway, *The Times*, 16th March, 1836 7a-c.

[38] *Second Report from the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments*, PP HoC 1846 (XIV), Appendix 5.

and continued to do so. At the turn of the century it was pointed out that

> "in order to work with as little capital as possible and to minimize the risks from changes in market conditions, the retailers and local agents keep but little stock on hand and depend upon quick transit for execution of the orders they receive. As a consequence, instead of large consignments as formerly, the railway companies are called upon to convey small separate lots at more frequent intervals and with extreme expedition and regularity of service."[39]

This last writer was "a chief goods manager of a leading railway company" some time before 1908: to be described as a "leading railway" the company cannot possibly have been the SECR, but there is no reason to suppose that what was true of (say) the LNWR or the GWR did not apply with equal force to the SECR. Though impossible to quantify, the railways must have made a major difference to the way shopkeepers and manufacturers organized their business: anybody who dealt in heavy or bulky goods (such as coal, timber, or bulk agricultural produce) certainly expected to benefit from the railway[40].

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[39] Aldcroft, D.H., *Studies in British Transport History, 1870-1970* (Newton Abbot, 1974), pp. 34-5. The writer may have been Oliver Bury, General Manager of the Great Northern Railway, who expressed precisely similar opinions in an interview reported in the *Railway Magazine*, Vol XXII (1908), pp. 445-6.

[40] Jackson, op. cit., pp.83-88.

To what extent did these undoubted benefits result in the decay of alternative forms of transport, particularly road services by coach and carrier? The long-distance coach services seem to have disappeared almost immediately a railway which duplicated their route was opened. Shorter distance services survived, for a time at least, to provide a link to the small intermediate villages on or just off the road, which the railway did not serve. In the long term, there were three clear results.

Firstly, the service supplied by carriers and omnibus owners (which for the present purpose are probably indistinguishable) based on the major towns, particularly Ashford and Canterbury, and to a lesser extent Faversham and Dover, became much more intense. The length of the carriers' journeys was, on the whole, rather shorter than it had been, but they served far more small villages, and far more often: services were far less likely to be "market-day only". In addition to this, services into these towns from these villages increased, so that the total number of trips per week increased very considerably[41].

Secondly, it was less likely that villages which were now served by the railway would benefit much from extra services, unless of course the pattern of roads meant that these services had no choice but pass through - thus Bridge would certainly benefit from the extra services to Petham and Waltham.

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[41] For details of the changes in road services, see the discussions in Chapters VI, VII and X above.

Thirdly, villages which by the end of the period were still not served by the railway might hope for an improved road service, but essentially an *augmented* service: villages which had had no individual road service at the beginning of the period would probably still not have one at the end.

The upshot was that, by 1914, it was very much easier to travel round in East Kent, whether you lived in a big town or a tiny village.

## THE RAILWAY WORKFORCE

By 1911 the SECR must have been, apart from the War Department, one of, if not the, largest single employer of labour in Kent. The 1911 Census Occupational analysis for Kent[42] listed 2,213 males over 10 years of age as employed in "Conveyance on the railways" in those East Kent Urban Districts having a population in excess of 5,000 and the county borough of Canterbury. There were a further 2,474 so employed in the aggregate of all the Kent Rural Districts, some one-third of whom (825) were probably at work within East Kent, so the total railway work-force in East Kent in 1911 will have been in the order of 3,000. To be categorized in the census as "workers on the railway" these men and boys had to be employed in work they could *only* do on the railway, such as engine driver, signalman, platelayer, etc. To these must be added the number employed at the works at Ashford, the carpenters

[42] *Census of England and Wales, 1911. County of Kent area, families or separate occupiers and population also classified by ages, condition of marriage ... etc.* (HMSO, 1914), Kent County Archives Office, Xk/312, Table 24.

and joiners, the blacksmiths and boilermakers who were not particularized by the census enumerators as being in railway employment, which number would have been by 1911 in excess of 2,500 and may also have approached 3,000[43], though as shown in Chapter IV above, exact information as to the size of the railway workforce at any time seems impossible to come by. To these again must be added the crews of the cross-channel packets and the marine engineers responsible for their maintenance, probably another 600[44], and even again the young ladies of the various station refreshment rooms, and the staffs of the Lord Warden Hotel at Dover, and the Royal Pavilion Hotel at Folkestone. The total of persons employed directly by the railway, or by contractors employed by the railway in East Kent in 1911 is therefore not likely to have been far short of 7,000, or in the order of 7% of all those who were at work in East Kent. By contrast, at Strood, Messrs. Aveling and Porter, who were nationwide known manufacturers of steam traction engines and road rollers, employed some 1,000 men at the turn of the century[45].

Any railway, in providing employment, indirectly paid all the wages so earned into the economy of the locality large or small. Actual wages of course depended on degree of skill and on length of service, but if an average wage is assumed of 22s. per week per member of staff employed

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[43] Anon., *Ashford Works Centenary, 1847-1947* (Southern Railway, 1947), p. 22. Turner, G., *Ashford: the Coming of the Railway* (Maidstone, 1984), p. 165 suggests a similar figure.

[44] For the source and justification of these figures, see Table 4.4 above.

[45] Smetham, H., *History of Strood* (Chatham, 1899), p. 350.

by the SECR[40], no great error is likely to arise. If that is so, the railway was pumping some £7,700 a week, or over £400,000 a year into the economy of East Kent by 1911, much in the way that the wages of Messrs. Aveling and Porter made a contribution of £70,000 annually to their local economy. Few of those who provided any sort of service in the area, particularly the shopkeepers, could fail to have had a share of this money.

It was not all entirely new money of course: there had been enumerated in 1841 in Kent 684 coachmen, coachguards and postboys, and a further 590 grooms and ostlers, not apparently in domestic service but presumably providing coach and post-horse services[41], in all some 1,300 persons. More must have been engaged than that 1,300 - hotel and inn staff, if no others - but even if the number is doubled, there is still a big difference between any revised figure and the railways' probable workforce in 1911 of 7,000: the railway must have put a great deal more money into the economy of any district than ever the coaching service had been able to do.

## THE POPULATION, AND THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

It is clear that if a village did not have a station, its population was likely to stagnate or decline, and the further from a station it was, the

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[40] See the discussion in Chapter IV above.

[41] *Abstract of Answers and Returns made pursuant to 3 & 4 Vict., c. 99, and 4 Vict. c. 7 [Enumeration abstract, 1841]*, PP HoC 1844 [XXVII], p. 60.

greater the depth of that stagnation or decline[48]. However, at the other end of the scale, possession of a station - or even stations - was no sure passport to population growth. There is no direct evidence that the railway *per se* led to population growth[49] in East Kent in this period: for a town to expand there must be another factor, likely to produce expansion, which the presence of the railway might stimulate (Table 12.1). Thus the holiday towns, already growing before the railway came, continued to do so, though the really rapid expansion did not come until after the arrival of the LCDR with its much shorter route from London, and its more densely populated catchment area. Dover grew on the back of its cross-channel activities; so did Folkestone, and in later years it grew as a holiday resort as well. Ashford grew because it became the SER's engineering centre, not just because there was a station there. The clearest demonstration of this is at Canterbury: up to 1841 the city was growing steadily, though not as rapidly as the holiday towns and the ports were doing, but in later years that growth virtually ceased; by 1911 its population had only increased by about a third on the 1841 figure, a lower rate of increase than any other group of towns or villages here considered[50].

There was no particular reason for Canterbury to grow rapidly in the period, and railway or no railway, it did not. One suggestion is that the

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[48] See the discussion in Chapter X above.

[49] This is not true of "commuter" towns of course, but there were none of these in East Kent in the period considered.

[50] See the discussion in Chapter XI above.

opening of the SER through to Dover in 1844 meant that Canterbury was no longer an obvious stopping-place for travellers to or from the continent[51]: just what proportion of the nearly 90,000 pre-railway travellers to or from the continent spent much time or money in Canterbury can only be a matter of conjecture, though it is almost

Table 12.1 COMPARISONS OF DEGREE OF POPULATION CHANGE.

| Group | 1841 | 1911 | Percentage change |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALL EAST KENT | 163,914 | 320,782 | 95.70 |
| Railway towns & the channel ports | 32,893 | 97,995 | 197.92 |
| Holiday resort | 31,546 | 80,669 | 155.72 |
| Canterbury | 19,019 | 25,125 | 32.10 |
| Minor resorts | 16,291 | 30,620 | 87.96 |
| Villages with stations | 16,755 | 29,733 | 77.46 |
| Villages without stations (control group) | 15,115 | 14,993 | -0.81 |
| All 121 parishes without stations | 47,410 | 56,640 | 19.47 |

certain that virtually none of 117,000 who made the trip in 1844 did so. A second possibility is that the city never recovered from being on only a "branch line" when the SER opened[52]. This seems a little doubtful: though Canterbury's link to the SER system in 1846 was admittedly only through the branch to Thanet[53], the LCDR station (opened in 1860) was

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[51] Templeman, F., "Canterbury and the coming of the railways", unpublished extended essay, University of Kent at Canterbury,(April 1970), p. 166.

[52] Ibid., pp. 116-17.

[53] Canterbury witnesses at various enquiries into the possibility of constructing a railway line generally following the line of the later LCDR were all convinced that the SER's long way round route into London was a major drawback from the city's point of view, ibid., pp. 116-17.

on the main line to Dover, yet the population still did not show any marked growth, even after 1860. However, as has been shown above, in Chapter VIII, Canterbury remained a major, probably *the* major retail and professional centre of East Kent, though it lost its local pre-eminence as a social centre as it became more easy to travel to other, more distant venues and particularly to London[54]. Later Canterbury became a major tourist centre in its own right, but certainly this did not cause a population expansion.

A railway station might be very useful - not to have one reasonably near by might prove to be a major social difficulty[55] - but it did not, of itself, attract residential expansion or even (in East Kent) industrial growth. Town growth in East Kent was generally *away from* the station, so far as geography allowed[56]. Herne Bay is a classic example: the station was built some way from the centre of the town as it then existed, and though a housing estate was laid out between the railway and the town, the roads remained undeveloped for most of the period discussed. At Westgate, something of a railway creation, the new building took place by the sea, not near the railway. At Dover the commercial centre of the town, originally close to the original SER station and the LCDR's nearby Harbour station, moved away up the road

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[54] Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), p. 27.

[55] Simmons, J., *Railways: an Anthology*; (1991), pp. 208-9.

[56] . The actual railway - the track, the stations, the viaducts - tended to act as a social blight on the area through which they passed; in major towns, railway arches tended to be the last refuge of the destitute, Kellett, J.R., *Railways and Victorian Cities* (pb edn, 1975), p. 345.

toward London, and what had been the commercial centre became a very run-down area indeed[57]. Ashford of course is the reverse of the coin: the SER built its own factory village (on a much smaller scale than the GWR's Swindon New Town)[58] and a settlement grew up around the works. When the only way to get to work was to walk there, the closer you lived to the job, the better.

There is evidence in other places of an escalation of land values following the arrival of the railway, perhaps by a factor of three to five[59], and meadows and gardens alongside the London and Greenwich Railway "[were] almost covered with houses" within five years, that is by 1839[60]. This may well have happened occasionally in East Kent as well, though the situation at Herne Bay is evidence against the idea, but unfortunately no clear local evidence either way appears to exist.

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[57] See the discussion in Chapters VI and VII above.

[58] Larkin E.J. and Larkin J. G., *The Railway Workshops of Britain, 1823-1986* (1986), pp. 20 and 90.

[59] Jackman, W.T., *The Development of Transportation in Modern England* (Third edition, 1966), p. 528, note 1. Jackman was referring to land values alongside the Liverpool and Manchester line.

[60] Thomas, R.H.G., *London's First Railway - the London and Greenwich* (1st edition, 1976), p. 82.


South Eastern and Chatham Railway poster, 1913.

## COMMERCE AND SERVICES

> *"Every railway takes trade from the little town to the big town, because it enables the customer to buy in the big town."*[61]

Walter Bagehot was writing in 1866, when there were some 12,000 miles of railway, about three-fifths of the eventual total, open[62]: did what he said represent factual observation, or contemporary prejudice?

As described in Chapter V above, for the purposes of Chapters VI to X directories were examined for every town or village which had a railway and the information brought together under 24 occupational heads, or classes of service, plus a heading for "private residents", and these were brought together into six groups, the composition of each group varying slightly according to whether the discussion centred on railway towns and ports, holiday towns, or villages, etc. Directories were also examined for a further group of 22 villages which did not have stations, [the *control* villages], and all discussion hitherto has been internal in that (for example) the holiday towns have been examined and compared against each other, but not (except in very general terms) with any other type of town.

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[61] Bagehot, W, *The English Constitution*, Chap. V, quoted in Simmons, J., *Railways: an Anthology* (1991), p. 204.

[62] Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 225-6.

For the purposes of this Chapter, to make it possible to compare across the whole spectrum of the 58 towns or parishes examined (36 with a station or stations, 22 without) comparison will be made across the 24 classes, rather than across the six sub-sorts. For this purpose, directory information on the towns and parishes discussed has been aggregated into their six main types, generally corresponding with Chapters VI to X above:

Railway & channel port towns,

Holiday towns,

Canterbury,

Minor resorts,

Villages with stations,

Villages without stations [the control group of 22 parishes ONLY].

As previously, a calculation has been made for each town and village group, where the number of people listed in the various directories providing each service - e.g. the food group, or those involved with dress - has been divided by the number of thousands of the <u>total</u> population to obtain a figure of "Outlets per thousand of the population" [OPT], and it is these figures which are used (Table 12.2).

In making comparisons, an immediate question arises: which is more important, <u>actual</u> changes in the OPT figures themselves, or the <u>degree</u> of change which took place? Both sets of figures have been examined,

but with a total of over 1,100 figures[63] to choose from, some degree of selection has been necessary.

Most of the following observations are based on Table 12.2, but in some cases reference is made to the detailed tables in the Statistical Appendix, which give the figures for each occupational class rather than the aggregated groups which were used in the tables in Chapters VI to X. Tables A6.1, A7.1, A9.1, A10.1 and A11.1 give aggregated figures for the various town types already discussed, and the remaining tables give detailed figures for the individual railway towns and ports (A6.2-5), the holiday towns (A7.2-7), Canterbury (A8.1), the minor coastal resorts (A9.2-6) and two of the villages with stations, Bridge and Lyminge (A10.2-3).

The first obvious point is that town and village groups tended not to change places: if the railway towns had the highest OPT in a certain class in Year 1, it is likely that they still had the highest - or at least the second highest - by Year 4: the same applied at the bottom of the list, that is, the villages. The railway did not produce any sort of revolution, restructuring the economy of East Kent society.

In some classes there was little change between Year 1 and Year 4, for all town and village types. Apart from the villages, the land[64] class did

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[63] 24 occupational classes x 4 directory years x 6 town types, twice over, LESS 24 x 2 since only three directories were examined for the control group.

[64] Examples of the types of occupation which were aggregated together to form these various classes are given in Chapter V above.

Table 12.2: COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF OUTLETS PER THOUSAND IN CERTAIN TRADE CLASSES ACROSS ALL TOWN TYPES.

| Outlets per '000 of population | | | | Class | Town type | Class | Outlets per '000 of population | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 | | | | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 | Year 4 |
| 1.05 | 0.97 | 0.98 | 1.54 | Service at domestic level | Railway & port | Drink | 6.11 | 7.84 | 7.28 | 5.60 |
| 1.37 | 1.64 | 1.27 | 2.28 | | Holiday | | 5.13 | 4.94 | 4.65 | 3.90 |
| 1.70 | 1.19 | 1.92 | 1.99 | | Canterbury | | 9.44 | 8.32 | 9.04 | 8.84 |
| 1.13 | 1.04 | 1.31 | 2.25 | | Coastal towns | | 8.51 | 8.20 | 7.57 | 8.37 |
| 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.26 | 1.53 | | Railway villages | | 3.58 | 3.52 | 3.78 | 3.64 |
| 0.13 | 0.54 | 1.02 | | | Control villages | | 3.97 | 4.75 | 4.01 | |
| 4.25 | 7.42 | 4.88 | 4.70 | Clothing | Railway & port | House-hold | 2.27 | 2.13 | 1.63 | 2.20 |
| 5 71 | 4.94 | 4.54 | 3.99 | | Holiday | | 1.43 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 2.39 |
| 10.40 | 8.77 | 9.53 | 7.42 | | Canterbury | | 2.66 | 2.21 | 2.25 | 1.99 |
| 6.19 | 5.32 | 5.24 | 5.96 | | Coastal towns | | 1.96 | 1.79 | 2.33 | 2.09 |
| 3.01 | 2.30 | 2.40 | 3.06 | | Railway villages | | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.26 | 0.49 |
| 3.51 | 2.81 | 2.04 | | | Control villages | | 0.26 | 0.87 | 0.34 | |
| 11 94 | 9.60 | 8.59 | 8.10 | Food | Railway & port | Profess-ional GROUP | 8.68 | 9.28 | 6.54 | 8.35 |
| 9.12 | 7.68 | 7.71 | 8.29 | | Holiday | | 6.53 | 7.52 | 6.68 | 9.01 |
| 11 42 | 12.34 | 11.45 | 10.40 | | Canterbury | | 9.33 | 10.36 | 12 11 | 9.88 |
| 10 26 | 9.49 | 10.63 | 9.95 | | Coastal towns | | 10.83 | 9.84 | 7.77 | 11.89 |
| 5 24 | 4.80 | 5.52 | 6.79 | | Railway villages | | 5.70 | 6.23 | 6.13 | 6.97 |
| 5.03 | 5.42 | 6.73 | | | Control villages | | 4.24 | 7.09 | 9.99 | |

not change, nor did the sea class (Appendix tables, classes I and II). Generally the OPT of the building class declined, especially in the control villages, though where the evidence is available there is an indication that the *size* of the unit increased: more people were employed by fewer firms. In the long term the manufacturing group declined except at Canterbury: inland transport simply recovered earlier losses, except in the villages with stations, where there was a clear (if modest) increase (Appendix tables, classes III, IV and VI).

Service at domestic level (hairdressers, washerwomen, chimney sweeps, social clubs and the like) generally increased (Table 12.2), especially in the villages, with or without stations: by Year 4, though the villages still occupied the last two places, the difference between them and the town groups immediately above was far less than it had been in Year 1. This may well signify not that (for example) the villages put more of their own washing out, but that it was possible for them to take in washing from more distant places. The point must not be laboured, as the actual number of directory entries on which the OPT figures are based is not large, but the trend appears to be there. A similar pattern existed in the coal trade (Appendix tables, class VIII): only in the villages was there a great deal of change, and that in a sharply upward direction: very clearly, coal was more likely to be distributed from a village level after the railway came than before.

When Bagehot wrote he probably had in mind shops above all, where changes certainly took place. Between Year 1 and Year 4 the OPT for

clothing rose in the railway and port towns (just), remained almost stable in the villages with stations, and fell elsewhere: the fall was particularly sharp in the control villages (Table 12.2). This picture is rather misleading though: evidence for Canterbury and Dover suggests that the size of the shops (the numbers of staff employed) increased, and it seems reasonable to assume that that applied to other large towns' clothing suppliers. Among the food suppliers there was a general, but slow and gradual, decline in the OPT among the towns; in the villages, with or without stations, the OPT rose quite considerably: food shops certainly survived in the villages, and even prospered in a modest way (Table 12.2). The general shopkeeper, however, barely survived in the villages with stations and in the minor resorts, and suffered badly in the control villages. In the railway towns and ports, and in the holiday towns, however, he prospered and numbers increased (Appendix tables, Class XVII).

The more specialized retail outlets - stationery, household goods - give a slightly different picture. In the long term, the OPT for stationery increased in all groups (though the highest Year 4 figure was only 1.89, at Canterbury); in the household goods class there was a slight fall at Canterbury, and a rise in the holiday towns and the railway villages, though the actual figures are still small: the railway villages' OPT rise was actually 0.18; in the holiday towns by 0.96, from 1.43 to the highest figure for the class in any group of 2.39, still a very modest level of service. Furniture, another "specialist" retail and craft group,

just held its own in the holiday towns and villages, but declined elsewhere (Appendix tables, classes XV, XVI and XIV).

On this evidence, it seems clear that, contrary to Bagehot's perception, the village shop was not killed off by the railway but stayed in business, and in some fields actually expanded - though it must be repeated that, for both groups of villages, the figures derived from the directories are small: there may be a degree of sampling error. All the same, aggregation of figures reduces this possibility, and the trends appear to be clear enough, if not of any great magnitude.

Unexpectedly, bearing in mind the national increase in the consumption of ale and beer which reached a peak in the late 1870s, the OPT for the drink interest declined slightly everywhere except in the villages (Table 12.2): the biggest percentage fall was recorded (surprisingly) by the holiday towns, where the level declined steadily from Year 1 onwards[55]. Lodging and dining increased in every group, even in the control villages: the biggest increase was of course recorded in the holiday towns.

Industrial service is another class where the biggest percentage rises are recorded by the villages: most of these were in fact the local insurance agents, who usually seem to have done that work in their

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[55] Dingle, A.E., "Drink and working-class living standards in Britain, 1870-1914", *Economic History Review* Second series. Vol XXV (1972), p. 609. Dingle's figures show that after about 1875 consumption of beer per head began to fall, having been rising fairly steadly since 1855, but the OPT figures for drink outlets in East Kent tended to fall from Year 1 onwards.

spare time from another, recorded, occupation, but again, the trend is there (Appendix tables, class XVIII).

The directory figures on which the professional group's figures are based are small and particularly liable to error, but there is clear evidence that the OPT of those engaged in public administration was rising, especially in the control villages; likewise the OPT for the education class increased, except, rather surprisingly, in the railway towns (Table 12.2[60]); This may reflect that the schools were likely to be bigger there, and so, since generally only the head teacher was given a directory entry, the larger number of assistant teachers was passed over. The big increase in OPT for education in the holiday towns may well reflect the probability that most of the schools which proliferated in Thanet were small in terms of pupil numbers[61], and so the ratio of principals to teaching staff was much higher.

The real losers in all these figures appear to have been the minor coastal resorts (Appendix table A9.1). Their OPT figures for the sea class and the lodging and dining facilities class showed sizeable growth of 258% and 281% respectively between Years 1 and 4, and reasonable growth for the tobacco class (127%) and the service at domestic level class (99%) but the other classes showed either very modest growth - stationery at 52% is the largest - or actual decline.

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[60] This group comprised the same classes, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII and XXIV for all town types, as described in Chapter V).

[61] So the census enumerators' returns, which of course only provide information on boarding schools, seem to indicate.

Canterbury fared little better (Appendix table A8.1): though it was likely that Canterbury's OPT figure would be higher than any other groups in any given class, that figure tended hardly to move between Year 1 and Year 4: apart from the atypical sea and transport by sea classes, the growth of lodging and dining facilities by 99% was the best that Canterbury could offer - and every other type, even the control villages, showed a greater percentage of expansion in that class than that. Canterbury's OPT figures, however, must be regarded with some caution: comparison of the directory evidence with the census evidence suggests that the number of persons actually *involved* in the various occupations, as opposed to those who were actually *managing* or *owning* a business, rose during the period: the shops and businesses of Canterbury were getting bigger in every way, staff numbers, cash turnover and simple volume[11].

At the other end of the scale, the holiday towns were more likely to show expansion than otherwise.

## SUMMARY

What picture emerges of East Kent as affected by the railway? Very clearly, manufacture as a whole simply did not come to East Kent. What bulk manufacture there was - paper, bricks and tiles - remained at a modest level compared with other areas, such as West Kent for paper,

[11] See the discussion on this in Chapter VIII above: the same applied to Dover (see Chapter VI).

or East Anglia for bricks. East Kent had a large share of the nation's gunpowder manufacture (at Faversham), but it was not a major industry in terms of the numbers employed. In general terms there was less change than the generally received view of the railways' economic influence would lead the student to expect: OPT on the basis of the calculation used in this study was more likely to fall than rise, though in certain trades this must conceal an increase in size of unit: to take an obvious example, the food outlets in Thanet must have been larger (in terms of stock turnover, and probably staff, if not in square feet) to have supplied the Mr. Pooters who came to stay.

The point has been made that the coming of the railway tended only to reinforce an existing trend. It was very unlikely to establish a new one[9]. Thus the holiday towns, already expanding rapidly, continued to do so, but attempts to establish new, artificial and railway-induced resorts failed (as at Allhallows on Sea on the Isle of Grain in the 1930s). Canterbury, which was only growing at the same rate as East Kent as a whole when the railway came, grew no faster after its arrival, since there was no trend to reinforce. In the conflict between the geographer's possibilist and determinist theories of development[10], railways give weight to the determinist view.

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[9] Walton, J.K., *The English Sea-Side Resort, 1750-1914* (Leicester, 1983), p. 61.

[10] This conflict is usefully outlined in Briault, E.W.H. and Hubbard, J.H., *An Introduction to Advanced Geography* (1957), pp. 12-13.

Bagehot suggested that the railway enabled the big towns to strangle the small ones: there is some evidence that this was true; the minor resorts seem generally to have suffered a greater decline in OPT levels than the other towns, but it does not seem to be true of the villages. It would be considerably over-stating the case to say that East Kent's villages prospered as a result of the coming of the railway, but they certainly were not ruined.

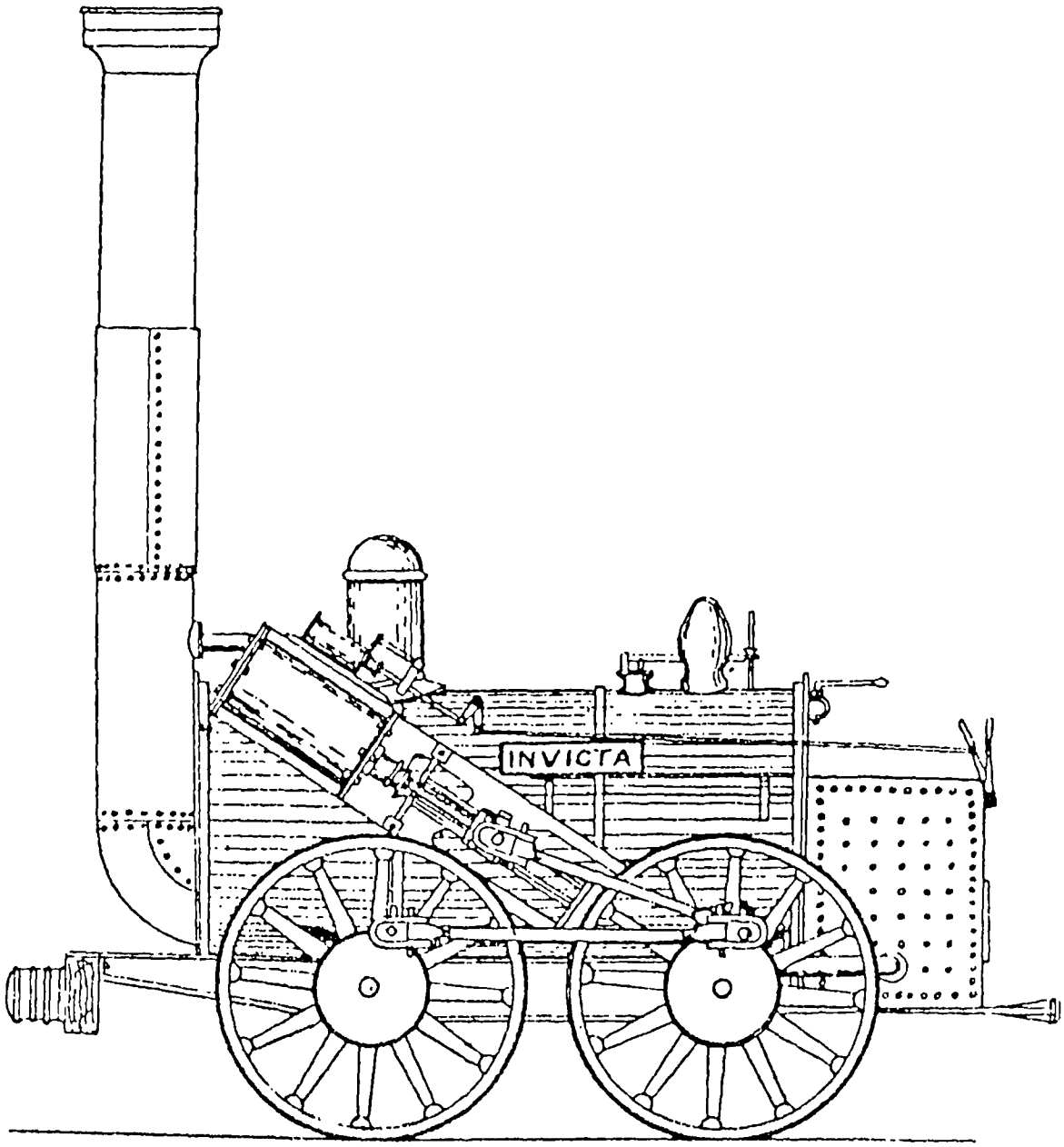
The railway *per se* did not result in population growth: there had to be another factor for that to happen, but at the other end of the scale there is evidence that the lack of a station was likely to produce stagnation, or more likely a population decline, and that was likely to be worse the further the parish was from a station.

A visitor to East Kent in 1914 who had last been there in 1842 would have found that the bustling market town of Ashford was now a major railway engineering centre as well, though as a market town it no longer dominated Romney Marsh. Folkestone too would have changed out of all recognition: Lord Radnor's town development and the SER's harbour had made the depressed and insolvent fishing port a fashionable watering-place and a major cross-channel port[11]. Dover and the Thanet resorts were ei , much bigger, but not fundamentally very different, and Canterbury would hardly have changed at all.

[11] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newtor Abbot, 1986 , pp. 259-64.

All in all, the answer to Simmons' question "Did the railway make any real difference to the place" is (in quantifiable terms) "Not nearly as much as you might expect."

# STATISTICAL APPENDIX.



## Table A6.1: RAILWAY TOWNS AND CHANNEL PORTS: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| RAILWAY TOWNS AND CHANNEL PORTS Consolidated table | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 Outlets per '000 | Date 2 Outlets per '000 | Date 3 Outlets per '000 | Date 4 Outlets per '000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 34,349 | 40,317 | 45,882 | 67,651 | | | | |
| I Land | 74 | 121 | 101 | 150 | 2.15 | 3.00 | 2.20 | 2.22 |
| II Sea | 40 | 39 | 33 | 55 | 1.16 | .97 | .72 | .81 |
| III Building | 167 | 238 | 171 | 248 | 4.86 | 5.90 | 3.73 | 3.67 |
| IV Other industries | 124 | 142 | 94 | 111 | 3.61 | 3.52 | 2.05 | 1.64 |
| V Transport by sea | 62 | 74 | 68 | 89 | 1.81 | 1.84 | 1.48 | 1.32 |
| VI Inland transport | 70 | 71 | 79 | 134 | 2.04 | 1.76 | 1.72 | 1.98 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 36 | 39 | 45 | 104 | 1.05 | .97 | .98 | 1.54 |
| VIII Coal | 24 | 32 | 24 | 44 | .70 | .79 | .52 | .65 |
| IX Clothing | 146 | 299 | 224 | 318 | 4.25 | 7.42 | 4.88 | 4.70 |
| X Food | 410 | 387 | 394 | 548 | 11.94 | 9.60 | 8.59 | 8.10 |
| XI Tobacco | 12 | 14 | 17 | 39 | .35 | .35 | .37 | .58 |
| XII Drink | 210 | 316 | 334 | 379 | 6.11 | 7.84 | 7.28 | 5.60 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 22 | 29 | 70 | 358 | .64 | .72 | 1.53 | 5.29 |
| XIV Furniture | 47 | 49 | 47 | 68 | 1.37 | 1.22 | 1.02 | 1.01 |
| XV Stationery | 35 | 46 | 47 | 92 | 1.02 | 1.14 | 1.02 | 1.36 |
| XVI Household | 78 | 86 | 75 | 149 | 2.27 | 2.13 | 1.63 | 2.20 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 28 | 59 | 40 | 158 | .82 | 1.46 | .87 | 2.34 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 82 | 105 | 64 | 116 | 2.39 | 2.60 | 1.39 | 1.71 |
| XIX Public administration | 34 | 55 | 40 | 107 | .99 | 1.36 | .87 | 1.58 |
| XX Uniformed services | 1 | 10 | 6 | 21 | .03 | .25 | .13 | .31 |
| XXI Law | 27 | 31 | 25 | 41 | .79 | .77 | .54 | .61 |
| XXII Education | 80 | 83 | 68 | 120 | 2.33 | 2.06 | 1.48 | 1.77 |
| XXIII Medicine | 53 | 61 | 55 | 102 | 1.54 | 1.51 | 1.20 | 1.51 |
| XXIV Religion | 21 | [illegible] | 42 | 58 | .61 | .72 | .92 | .86 |
| XXV Private residents | 289 | [illegible] | 371 | 1581 | 8.41 | 11.78 | 8.09 | 23.37 |

Table A6.2: ASHFORD.

| ASHFORD AND WILLESBOROUGH | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1840 | 1847 | 1852 | 1909 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 3,679 | 5,107 | 6,299 | 17,567 | | | | |
| I Land | 10 | 47 | 25 | 73 | 2.72 | 9.20 | 3.97 | 4.16 |
| II Sea | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | .00 | .39 | .00 | .17 |
| III Building | 22 | 23 | 24 | 57 | 5.98 | 4.50 | 3.81 | 3.24 |
| IV Other industries | 30 | 21 | 17 | 29 | 8.15 | 4.11 | 2.70 | 1.65 |
| V Transport by sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 22 | 9 | 16 | 55 | 5.98 | 1.76 | 2.54 | 3.13 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 2 | 5 | 5 | 34 | .54 | .98 | .79 | 1.94 |
| VIII Coal | 0 | 1 | 4 | 12 | .00 | .20 | .64 | .68 |
| IX Clothing | 47 | 53 | 40 | 97 | 12.78 | 10.38 | 6.35 | 5.52 |
| X Food | 61 | 43 | 45 | 123 | 16.58 | 8.42 | 7.14 | 7.00 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 0 | 1 | 11 | .27 | .00 | .16 | .63 |
| XII Drink | 22 | 32 | 28 | 56 | 5.98 | 6.27 | 4.45 | 3.19 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 1 | 4 | 1 | 37 | .27 | .78 | .16 | 2.11 |
| XIV Furniture | 8 | 9 | 10 | 17 | 2.17 | 1.76 | 1.59 | .97 |
| XV Stationery | 1 | 5 | 5 | 24 | .27 | .98 | .79 | 1.37 |
| XVI Household | 13 | 17 | 12 | 35 | 3.53 | 3.33 | 1.91 | 1.99 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 12 | 11 | 8 | 41 | 3.26 | 2.15 | 1.27 | 2.33 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 9 | 17 | 11 | 60 | 2.45 | 3.33 | 1.75 | 3.42 |
| XIX Public administration | 3 | 2 | 2 | 26 | .82 | .39 | .32 | 1.48 |
| XX Uniformed services | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .46 |
| XX Law | 4 | 4 | 3 | 16 | 1.09 | .78 | .48 | .91 |
| XXII Education | 12 | 14 | 8 | 39 | 3.26 | 2.74 | 1.27 | 2.22 |
| XXIII Medicine | 8 | 9 | 7 | 34 | 2.17 | 1.76 | 1.11 | 1.94 |
| XXIV Religion | 2 | 6 | 7 | 12 | .54 | 1.17 | 1.11 | .68 |
| XXV Private residents | 54 | 32 | 49 | 338 | 14.68 | 6.27 | 7.78 | 19.24 |

Table A6.3: DOVER.

| DOVER | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1840 | 1847 | 1855 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 17,600 | 19,300 | 21,200 | 25,000 | | | | |
| I Land | 27 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 1.53 | .73 | .80 | .76 |
| II Sea | 30 | 22 | 16 | 30 | 1.70 | 1.14 | .75 | 1.20 |
| III Building | 108 | 140 | 81 | 97 | 6.14 | 7.25 | 3.82 | 3.88 |
| IV Machinery | 54 | 80 | 32 | 38 | 3.07 | 4.15 | 1.51 | 1.52 |
| V Transport by sea | 60 | 63 | 61 | 68 | 3.41 | 3.26 | 2.88 | 2.72 |
| VI Inland transport | 33 | 34 | 34 | 43 | 1.88 | 1.76 | 1.60 | 1.72 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 25 | 23 | 24 | 44 | 1.42 | 1.19 | 1.13 | 1.76 |
| VIII Coal | 12 | 20 | 10 | 21 | .68 | 1.04 | .47 | .84 |
| IX Clothing | 46 | 162 | 108 | 135 | 2.61 | 8.39 | 5.09 | 5.40 |
| X Food | 233 | 196 | 186 | 250 | 13.24 | 10.16 | 8.77 | 10.00 |
| XI Tobacco | 4 | 7 | 10 | 20 | .23 | .36 | .47 | .80 |
| XII Drink | 122 | 183 | 199 | 193 | 6.93 | 9.48 | 9.39 | 7.72 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 18 | 16 | 25 | 185 | 1.02 | .83 | 1.18 | 7.40 |
| XIV Furniture | 27 | 25 | 21 | 27 | 1.53 | 1.30 | .99 | 1.08 |
| XV Stationery | 30 | 31 | 23 | 42 | 1.70 | 1.61 | 1.08 | 1.68 |
| XVI Household | 42 | 39 | 34 | 68 | 2.39 | 2.02 | 1.60 | 2.72 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 3 | 34 | 15 | 81 | .17 | 1.76 | .71 | 3.24 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 46 | 65 | 29 | 30 | 2.61 | 3.37 | 1.37 | 1.20 |
| XIX Public administration | 20 | 33 | 18 | 49 | 1.14 | 1.71 | .85 | 1.96 |
| XX Uniformed services | 0 | 3 | 4 | 11 | .00 | .16 | .19 | .44 |
| XXI Law | 15 | 16 | 13 | 12 | .85 | .83 | .61 | .48 |
| XXII Education | 53 | 42 | 29 | 49 | 3.01 | 2.18 | 1.37 | 1.96 |
| XXIII Medicine | 33 | 38 | 29 | 44 | 1.88 | 1.97 | 1.37 | 1.76 |
| XXIV Religion | 12 | 12 | 9 | 25 | .68 | .62 | .42 | 1.00 |
| XXV Private residents | 183 | 272 | 140 | 950 | 10.40 | 14.09 | 6.60 | 38.00 |

## Table A6.4: FAVERSHAM.

| FAVERSHAM | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1858 | 1862 | 1867 | 1882 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 8,870 | 9,610 | 10,683 | 13,884 | | | | |
| I Land | 32 | 39 | 46 | 41 | 3.61 | 4.06 | 4.31 | 2.95 |
| II Sea | 4 | 6 | 10 | 12 | .45 | .62 | .94 | .86 |
| III Building | 23 | 37 | 39 | 54 | 2.59 | 3.85 | 3.65 | 3.89 |
| IV Machinery | 23 | 22 | 28 | 31 | 2.59 | 2.29 | 2.62 | 2.23 |
| V Transport by sea | 2 | 9 | 4 | 8 | .23 | .94 | .37 | .58 |
| VI Inland transport | 7 | 14 | 18 | 16 | .79 | 1.46 | 1.68 | 1.15 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 5 | 8 | 9 | 9 | .56 | .83 | .84 | .65 |
| VIII Coal | 3 | 5 | 7 | 6 | .34 | .52 | .66 | .43 |
| IX Clothing | 35 | 48 | 44 | 45 | 3.95 | 4.99 | 4.12 | 3.24 |
| X Food | 74 | 92 | 101 | 97 | 8.34 | 9.57 | 9.45 | 6.99 |
| XI Tobacco | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | .45 | .21 | .19 | .29 |
| XII Drink | 37 | 52 | 57 | 62 | 4.17 | 5.41 | 5.34 | 4.47 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 3 | 5 | 6 | 8 | .34 | .52 | .56 | .58 |
| XIV Furniture | 8 | 9 | 9 | 15 | .90 | .94 | .84 | 1.08 |
| XV Stationery | 3 | 6 | 13 | 13 | .34 | .62 | 1.22 | .94 |
| XVI Household | 12 | 16 | 20 | 25 | 1.35 | 1.66 | 1.87 | 1.80 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 0 | 6 | 10 | 24 | .00 | .62 | .94 | 1.73 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 21 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 2.37 | 1.04 | 1.03 | 1.01 |
| XIX Public administration | 8 | 12 | 13 | 11 | .90 | 1.25 | 1.22 | .79 |
| XX Uniformed services | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | .00 | .21 | .19 | .07 |
| XXI Law | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | .45 | .62 | .37 | .50 |
| XXII Education | 6 | 16 | 16 | 13 | .68 | 1.66 | 1.50 | .94 |
| XXIII Medicine | 6 | 6 | 10 | 12 | .68 | .62 | .94 | .86 |
| XXIV Religion | 7 | 8 | 18 | 17 | .79 | .83 | 1.68 | 1.22 |
| XXV Private residents | 28 | 114 | 106 | 134 | 3.16 | 11.86 | 9.92 | 9.65 |

With Faversham itself are included the parishes of Davington, Oare, Ospringe and Preston by Faversham

Table A6.5: FOLKESTONE.

| FOLKESTONE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1840 | 1847 | 1852 | 1867 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 4,200 | 6,300 | 7,700 | 11,200 | | | | |
| I Land | 5 | 21 | 13 | 17 | 1.19 | 3.33 | 1.69 | 1.52 |
| II Sea | 6 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 1.43 | 1.43 | .91 | .89 |
| III Building | 14 | 38 | 27 | 40 | 3.33 | 6.03 | 3.51 | 3.57 |
| IV Machinery | 17 | 19 | 17 | 13 | 4.05 | 3.02 | 2.21 | 1.16 |
| V Transport by sea | 0 | 2 | 3 | 13 | .00 | .32 | .39 | 1.16 |
| VI Inland transport | 8 | 14 | 11 | 20 | 1.90 | 2.22 | 1.43 | 1.79 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 4 | 3 | 7 | 17 | .95 | .48 | .91 | 1.52 |
| VIII Coal | 9 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 2.14 | .95 | .39 | .45 |
| IX Clothing | 18 | 36 | 32 | 41 | 4.29 | 5.71 | 4.16 | 3.66 |
| X Food | 42 | 56 | 62 | 78 | 10.00 | 8.89 | 8.05 | 6.96 |
| XI Tobacco | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | .71 | .79 | .52 | .36 |
| XII Drink | 29 | 49 | 50 | 68 | 6.90 | 7.78 | 6.49 | 6.07 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 0 | 4 | 38 | 128 | .00 | .63 | 4.94 | 11.43 |
| XIV Furniture | 4 | 6 | 7 | 9 | .95 | .95 | .91 | .80 |
| XV Stationery | 1 | 4 | 6 | 13 | .24 | .63 | .78 | 1.16 |
| XVI Household | 11 | 14 | 9 | 21 | 2.62 | 2.22 | 1.17 | 1.88 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 13 | 8 | 7 | 12 | 3.10 | 1.27 | .91 | 1.07 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 6 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 1.43 | 2.06 | 1.69 | 1.07 |
| XIX Public administration | 3 | 8 | 7 | 21 | .71 | 1.27 | .91 | 1.88 |
| XX Uniformed services | 1 | 5 | 0 | 1 | .24 | .79 | .00 | .09 |
| XXI Law | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | .95 | .79 | .65 | .54 |
| XXII Education | 9 | 11 | 15 | 19 | 2.14 | 1.75 | 1.95 | 1.70 |
| XXIII Medicine | 6 | 8 | 9 | 12 | 1.43 | 1.27 | 1.17 | 1.07 |
| XXIV Religion | 0 | 3 | 8 | 4 | .00 | .48 | 1.04 | .36 |
| XXV Private residents | 24 | 57 | 76 | 159 | 5.71 | 9.05 | 9.87 | 14.20 |

## Table A7.1: ALL HOLIDAY TOWNS: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| ALL HOLIDAY TOWNS<br>Consolidated table | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1<br>Outlets per '000 | Date 2<br>Outlets per '000 | Date 3<br>Outlets per '000 | Date 4<br>Outlets per '000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 34,321 | 36,051 | 37,871 | 56,936 | | | | |
| I Land | 113 | 87 | 85 | 147 | 3.29 | 2.41 | 2.24 | 2.58 |
| II Sea | 26 | 25 | 19 | 48 | .76 | .69 | .50 | .84 |
| III Building | 131 | 126 | 118 | 215 | 3.82 | 3.50 | 3.12 | 3.78 |
| IV Other industries | 53 | 43 | 37 | 59 | 1.54 | 1.19 | .98 | 1.04 |
| V Transport by sea | 13 | 8 | 8 | 14 | .38 | .22 | .21 | .25 |
| VI Inland transport | 65 | 57 | 41 | 87 | 1.89 | 1.58 | 1.08 | 1.53 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 47 | 59 | 48 | 130 | 1.37 | 1.64 | 1.27 | 2.28 |
| VIII Coal | 19 | 18 | 22 | 31 | .55 | .50 | .58 | .54 |
| IX Clothing | 196 | 178 | 172 | 227 | 5.71 | 4.94 | 4.54 | 3.99 |
| X Food | 313 | 277 | 292 | 472 | 9.12 | 7.68 | 7.71 | 8.29 |
| XI Tobacco | 10 | 15 | 8 | 25 | .29 | .42 | .21 | .44 |
| XII Drink | 176 | 178 | 176 | 222 | 5.13 | 4.94 | 4.65 | 3.90 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 202 | 361 | 667 | 1658 | 5.89 | 10.01 | 17.61 | 29.12 |
| XIV Furniture | 22 | 29 | 28 | 51 | .64 | .80 | .74 | .90 |
| XV Stationery | 21 | 25 | 33 | 67 | .61 | .69 | .87 | 1.18 |
| XVI Household | 49 | 46 | 47 | 136 | 1.43 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 2.39 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 14 | 19 | 22 | 65 | .41 | .53 | .58 | 1.14 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 36 | 59 | 41 | 56 | 1.05 | 1.64 | 1.08 | .98 |
| X X Public administration | 21 | 28 | 31 | 50 | .61 | .78 | .82 | .88 |
| XX Uniformed services | 2 | 3 | 4 | 19 | .06 | .08 | .11 | .33 |
| XXI Law | 13 | 11 | 9 | 28 | .38 | .31 | .24 | .49 |
| XXII Education | 78 | 89 | 89 | 166 | 2.27 | 2.47 | 2.35 | 2.92 |
| XXIII Medicine | 45 | 48 | 47 | 124 | 1.31 | 1.33 | 1.24 | 2.18 |
| XXIV Religion | 29 | 33 | 32 | 70 | .84 | .92 | .84 | 1.23 |
| XXV Private residents | 489 | 530 | 559 | 2057 | 14.25 | 14.70 | 14.76 | 36.13 |

Table A7.2: BIRCHINGTON.

| BIRCHINGTON | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 3,231 | 3,652 | 4,115 | 5,053 | | | | |
| I Land | 6 | 7 | 8 | 12 | 1.86 | 1.92 | 1.94 | 2.37 |
| II Sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| III Building | 4 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 1.24 | 1.10 | .97 | 1.58 |
| IV Other industries | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | .31 | .55 | .49 | .40 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .20 |
| VI Inland transport | | | 1 | 4 | .00 | .00 | .24 | .79 |
| VII Service at domestic level | | | | 3 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .59 |
| VIII Coal | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .20 |
| IX Clothing | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 1.24 | 1.10 | .97 | 1.39 |
| X Food | 7 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 2.17 | 2.19 | 1.94 | 2.18 |
| XI Tobacco | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XII Drink | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 1.86 | 1.92 | 1.46 | 1.39 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | | | 2 | 25 | .00 | .00 | .49 | 4.95 |
| XIV Furniture | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XV Stationery | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XVI Household | | | 2 | 4 | .00 | .00 | .49 | .79 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | | 1 | 1 | 3 | .00 | .27 | .24 | .59 |
| XVIII Industrial service | | | | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .40 |
| XIX Public administration | 1 | 1 | | 2 | .31 | .27 | .00 | .40 |
| XX Uniformed services | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .20 |
| XXI Law | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XXII Education | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | .31 | .27 | .49 | .99 |
| XXIII Medicine | | | 2 | 5 | .00 | .00 | .49 | .99 |
| XXIV Religion | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | .31 | .27 | .97 | .79 |
| XXV Private residents | 8 | 9 | 10 | 50 | 2.48 | 2.46 | 2.43 | 9.90 |

## Table A7.3: BROADSTAIRS AND ST. PETER'S.

| BROADSTAIRS & ST PETER'S | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1862 | 1867 | 1874 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 2,954 | 3,450 | 4,072 | 5,235 | | | | |
| I Land | 16 | 15 | 18 | 27 | 5.42 | 4.35 | 4.42 | 5.16 |
| II Sea | 2 | 2 | 1 | | .68 | .58 | .25 | .00 |
| III Building | 15 | 12 | 15 | 24 | 5.08 | 3.48 | 3.68 | 4.58 |
| IV Other industries | 5 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 1.69 | 1.16 | 1.47 | 1.15 |
| V Transport by sea | 1 | 1 | | | .34 | .29 | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 10 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 3.39 | 3.48 | 2.21 | 1.15 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 4 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 1.35 | 1.16 | 1.47 | 1.72 |
| VIII Coal | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | .34 | .29 | .74 | .76 |
| IX Clothing | 8 | 7 | 9 | 15 | 2.71 | 2.03 | 2.21 | 2.87 |
| X Food | 27 | 27 | 26 | 45 | 9.14 | 7.83 | 6.39 | 8.60 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 1 | | 1 | .34 | .29 | .00 | .19 |
| XII Drink | 18 | 16 | 19 | 21 | 6.09 | 4.64 | 4.67 | 4.01 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 27 | 48 | 100 | 155 | 9.14 | 13.91 | 24.56 | 29.61 |
| XIV Furniture | | | 1 | 4 | .00 | .00 | .25 | .76 |
| XV Stationery | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1.02 | .87 | .74 | .96 |
| XVI Household | 2 | 4 | 5 | 13 | .68 | 1.16 | 1.23 | 2.48 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 1 | | 5 | 7 | .34 | .00 | 1.23 | 1.34 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 1 | | 1 | 2 | .34 | .00 | .25 | .38 |
| XIX Public administration | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1.02 | .58 | .49 | .57 |
| XX Uniformed services | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .19 |
| XXI Law | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .19 |
| XXII Education | 9 | 11 | 14 | 18 | 3.05 | 3.19 | 3.44 | 3.44 |
| XXIII Medicine | 4 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 1.35 | .58 | .98 | 2.48 |
| XXIV Religion | 6 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 2.03 | 1.74 | 1.47 | 1.53 |
| XXV Private residents | 65 | 80 | 128 | 243 | 22.00 | 23.19 | 31.43 | 46.42 |

Table A7.4: HERNE AND HERNE BAY.

| HERNE & HERNE BAY | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1862 | 1866 | 1870 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 3,231 | 3,568 | 4,326 | 5,053 | | | | |
| I Land | 33 | 29 | 29 | 32 | 10.21 | 8.13 | 6.70 | 6.33 |
| II Sea | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | .31 | .28 | .23 | .40 |
| III Building | 15 | 9 | 9 | 29 | 4.64 | 2.52 | 2.08 | 5.74 |
| IV Other industries | 4 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 1.24 | 1.68 | 1.39 | 1.58 |
| V Transport by sea | 1 | | | 4 | .31 | .00 | .00 | .79 |
| VI Inland transport | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 2.48 | 1.96 | 1.16 | 1.39 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 6 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 1.86 | 1.40 | .92 | 3.17 |
| VIII Coal | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1.24 | 1.12 | .69 | .79 |
| IX Clothing | 15 | 12 | 16 | 22 | 4.64 | 3.36 | 3.70 | 4.35 |
| X Food | 28 | 30 | 31 | 54 | 8.67 | 8.41 | 7.17 | 10.69 |
| XI Tobacco | | | | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .40 |
| XII Drink | 24 | 26 | 25 | 28 | 7.43 | 7.29 | 5.78 | 5.54 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 65 | 62 | 54 | 157 | 20.12 | 17.38 | 12.48 | 31.07 |
| XIV Furniture | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | .31 | .28 | .46 | .59 |
| XV Stationery | 2 | 2 | 3 | 8 | .62 | .56 | .69 | 1.58 |
| XVI Household | 5 | 6 | 5 | 12 | 1.55 | 1.68 | 1.16 | 2.37 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 3 | 2 | 3 | 7 | .93 | .56 | .69 | 1.39 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 14 | 19 | 7 | 12 | 4.33 | 5.33 | 1.62 | 2.37 |
| XIX Public administration | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | .31 | .56 | .69 | 1.39 |
| XX Uniformed services | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .20 |
| XXI Law | | | | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .40 |
| XXII Education | 8 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 2.48 | 1.68 | 2.31 | 1.78 |
| XXIII Medicine | 5 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 1.55 | 1.12 | .92 | 1.98 |
| XXIV Religion | 4 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 1.24 | 1.68 | .69 | 1.58 |
| XXV Private residents | 82 | 78 | 67 | 194 | 25.38 | 21.86 | 15.49 | 38.39 |

Table A7.5: MARGATE.

| MARGATE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 10,670 | 10,090 | 10,067 | 20,110 | | | | |
| I Land | 20 | 23 | 20 | 26 | 1.87 | 2.28 | 1.99 | 1.29 |
| II Sea | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 | .47 | .79 | .50 | .40 |
| III Building | 42 | 42 | 46 | 58 | 3.94 | 4.16 | 4.57 | 2.88 |
| IV Other industries | 19 | 13 | 9 | 17 | 1.78 | 1.29 | .89 | .85 |
| V Transport by sea | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | .56 | .40 | .40 | .25 |
| VI Inland transport | 19 | 19 | 11 | 32 | 1.78 | 1.88 | 1.09 | 1.59 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 17 | 25 | 17 | 47 | 1.59 | 2.48 | 1.69 | 2.34 |
| VIII Coal | 5 | 5 | 6 | 11 | .47 | .50 | .60 | .55 |
| IX Clothing | 69 | 70 | 58 | 76 | 6.47 | 6.94 | 5.76 | 3.78 |
| X Food | 115 | 95 | 101 | 153 | 10.78 | 9.42 | 10.03 | 7.61 |
| XI Tobacco | 3 | 6 | 4 | 13 | .28 | .59 | .40 | .65 |
| XII Drink | 52 | 53 | 51 | 57 | 4.87 | 5.25 | 5.07 | 2.83 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 24 | 137 | 265 | 791 | 2.25 | 13.58 | 26.32 | 39.33 |
| XIV Furniture | 9 | 10 | 6 | 19 | .84 | .99 | .60 | .94 |
| XV Stationery | 8 | 8 | 8 | 29 | .75 | .79 | .79 | 1.44 |
| XVI Household | 16 | 12 | 14 | 50 | 1.50 | 1.19 | 1.39 | 2.49 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 5 | 4 | 4 | 21 | .47 | .40 | .40 | 1.04 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 8 | 16 | 14 | 17 | .75 | 1.59 | 1.39 | .85 |
| XIX Public administration | 4 | 7 | 7 | 13 | .37 | .69 | .70 | .65 |
| XX Uniformed services | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | .09 | .10 | .10 | .30 |
| XXI Law | 5 | 5 | 4 | 12 | .47 | .50 | .40 | .60 |
| XXII Education | 25 | 33 | 26 | 69 | 2.34 | 3.27 | 2.58 | 3.43 |
| XXIII Medicine | 16 | 20 | 19 | 47 | 1.50 | 1.98 | 1.89 | 2.34 |
| XXIV Religion | 10 | 10 | 9 | 20 | .94 | .99 | .89 | .99 |
| XXV Private residents | 145 | 140 | 148 | 435 | 13.59 | 13.88 | 14.70 | 21.63 |

Table A7.6: RAMSGATE AND ST. LAWRENCE.

| | RAMSGATE and ST. LAWRENCE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1887 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| | Population | 14,235 | 15,291 | 15,291 | 21,485 | | | | |
| I | Land | 38 | 13 | 10 | 50 | 2.67 | .85 | .65 | 2.33 |
| II | Sea | 18 | 14 | 12 | 38 | 1.26 | .92 | .78 | 1.77 |
| III | Building | 55 | 59 | 44 | 96 | 3.86 | 3.86 | 2.88 | 4.47 |
| IV | Other industries | 24 | 18 | 14 | 26 | 1.69 | 1.18 | .92 | 1.21 |
| V | Transport by sea | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | .35 | .20 | .26 | .19 |
| VI | Inland transport | 28 | 19 | 15 | 38 | 1.97 | 1.24 | .98 | 1.77 |
| VII | Service at domestic level | 20 | 25 | 21 | 55 | 1.40 | 1.63 | 1.37 | 2.56 |
| VIII | Coal | 9 | 8 | 10 | 11 | .63 | .52 | .65 | .51 |
| IX | Clothing | 100 | 85 | 85 | 107 | 7.02 | 5.56 | 5.56 | 4.98 |
| X | Food | 136 | 117 | 126 | 209 | 9.55 | 7.65 | 8.24 | 9.73 |
| XI | Tobacco | 6 | 8 | 4 | 9 | .42 | .52 | .26 | .42 |
| XII | Drink | 76 | 76 | 75 | 109 | 5.34 | 4.97 | 4.90 | 5.07 |
| XIII | Lodging & dining faciliti | 86 | 114 | 246 | 530 | 6.04 | 7.46 | 16.09 | 24.67 |
| XIV | Furniture | 12 | 18 | 19 | 25 | .84 | 1.18 | 1.24 | 1.16 |
| XV | Stationery | 8 | 12 | 19 | 25 | .56 | .78 | 1.24 | 1.16 |
| XVI | Household | 26 | 24 | 21 | 57 | 1.83 | 1.57 | 1.37 | 2.65 |
| XVII | Shopkeeper | 5 | 12 | 9 | 27 | .35 | .78 | .59 | 1.26 |
| XVIII | Industrial service | 13 | 24 | 19 | 23 | .91 | 1.57 | 1.24 | 1.07 |
| XIX | Public administration | 12 | 16 | 19 | 25 | .84 | 1.05 | 1.24 | 1.16 |
| XX | Uniformed services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 10 | .07 | .13 | .20 | .47 |
| XXI | Law | 8 | 6 | 5 | 13 | .56 | .39 | .33 | .61 |
| XXII | Education | 35 | 38 | 37 | 65 | 2.46 | 2.49 | 2.42 | 3.03 |
| XXIII | Medicine | 20 | 22 | 18 | 49 | 1.40 | 1.44 | 1.18 | 2.28 |
| XXIV | Religion | 8 | 10 | 10 | 30 | .56 | .65 | .65 | 1.40 |
| XXV | Private residents | 189 | 223 | 206 | 1135 | 13.28 | 14.58 | 13.47 | 52.83 |

## Table A7.7: WESTGATE AND GARLINGE.

| WESTGATE AND GARLINGE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1895 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | | | 1,770 | 3,070 | | | | |
| I Land | 23 | 10 | 8 | 11 | ERROR | ERROR | 4.52 | 3.58 |
| II Sea | | | | | ERROR | ERROR | .00 | .00 |
| III Building | | 5 | 7 | 6 | ERROR | ERROR | 3.95 | 1.95 |
| IV Other industries | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | ERROR | ERROR | 1.69 | 1.30 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | ERROR | ERROR | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 2 | 3 | 5 | 10 | ERROR | ERROR | 2.82 | 3.26 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 1 | 1 | 3 | 11 | ERROR | ERROR | 1.69 | 3.58 |
| VIII Coal | | 1 | 1 | 1 | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .33 |
| IX Clothing | | 1 | 3 | 5 | ERROR | ERROR | 1.69 | 1.63 |
| X Food | 3 | 8 | 15 | 23 | ERROR | ERROR | 8.47 | 7.49 |
| XI Tobacco | | | | 2 | ERROR | ERROR | .00 | .65 |
| XII Drink | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | ERROR | ERROR | 2.26 | .98 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 9 | 20 | 43 | 73 | ERROR | ERROR | 24.29 | 23.78 |
| XIV Furniture | | | 1 | 2 | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .65 |
| XV Stationery | | 1 | 2 | 2 | ERROR | ERROR | 1.13 | .65 |
| XVI Household | | 3 | 5 | 9 | ERROR | ERROR | 2.82 | 2.93 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 1 | | 1 | 2 | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .65 |
| XVIII Industrial service | | 3 | 3 | 2 | ERROR | ERROR | 1.69 | .65 |
| XIX Public administration | | | 1 | | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .00 |
| XX Uniformed services | | | 1 | | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .00 |
| XXI Law | | | 1 | | ERROR | ERROR | .56 | .00 |
| XXII Education | 3 | 4 | 8 | 14 | ERROR | ERROR | 4.52 | 4.56 |
| XXIII Medicine | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 | ERROR | ERROR | 3.39 | 1.95 |
| XXIV Religion | 1 | | 4 | 5 | ERROR | ERROR | 2.26 | 1.63 |
| XXV Private residents | 33 | 58 | 74 | 125 | ERROR | ERROR | 41.81 | 40.72 |

Table A8.1: CANTERBURY.

| CANTERBURY | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1845 | 1852 | 1855 | 1882 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 17,687 | 17,671 | 18,250 | 21,149 | | | | |
| I Land | 65 | 57 | 69 | 73 | 3.68 | 3.23 | 3.78 | 3.45 |
| II Sea | 1 | 2 | 10 | 5 | .06 | .11 | .55 | .24 |
| III Building | 88 | 87 | 87 | 82 | 4.98 | 4.92 | 4.77 | 3.88 |
| IV Other industries | 45 | 60 | 68 | 65 | 2.54 | 3.40 | 3.73 | 3.07 |
| V Transport by sea | 2 | 2 | | 5 | .11 | .11 | .00 | .24 |
| VI Inland transport | 43 | 37 | 44 | 49 | 2.43 | 2.09 | 2.41 | 2.32 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 30 | 21 | 35 | 42 | 1.70 | 1.19 | 1.92 | 1.99 |
| VIII Coal | 12 | 14 | 17 | 18 | .68 | .79 | .93 | .85 |
| IX Clothing | 184 | 155 | 174 | 157 | 10.40 | 8.77 | 9.53 | 7.42 |
| X Food | 202 | 218 | 209 | 220 | 11.42 | 12.34 | 11.45 | 10.40 |
| XI Tobacco | 9 | 9 | 9 | 15 | .51 | .51 | .49 | .71 |
| XII Drink | 167 | 147 | 165 | 187 | 9.44 | 8.32 | 9.04 | 8.84 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 13 | 20 | 30 | 31 | .74 | 1.13 | 1.64 | 1.47 |
| XIV Furniture | 30 | 25 | 33 | 31 | 1.70 | 1.41 | 1.81 | 1.47 |
| XV Stationery | 23 | 19 | 27 | 40 | 1.30 | 1.08 | 1.48 | 1.89 |
| XVI Household | 47 | 39 | 41 | 42 | 2.66 | 2.21 | 2.25 | 1.99 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 37 | 29 | 49 | 61 | 2.09 | 1.64 | 2.68 | 2.88 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 32 | 41 | 62 | 53 | 1.81 | 2.32 | 3.40 | 2.51 |
| XIX Public administration | 13 | 19 | 22 | 18 | .74 | 1.08 | 1.21 | .85 |
| XX Uniformed services | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | .23 | .11 | .16 | .24 |
| XXI Law | 18 | 15 | 15 | 21 | 1.02 | .85 | .82 | .99 |
| XXII Education | 42 | 54 | 60 | 51 | 2.37 | 3.06 | 3.29 | 2.41 |
| XXIII Medicine | 36 | 32 | 34 | 32 | 2.04 | 1.81 | 1.86 | 1.51 |
| XXIV Religion | 20 | 20 | 25 | 29 | 1.13 | 1.13 | 1.37 | 1.37 |
| XXV Private residents | 206 | 273 | 313 | 626 | 11.65 | 15.45 | 17.15 | 29.60 |

## Table A9.1: THE MINOR COASTAL TOWNS: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| COASTAL TOWNS<br>Consolidated table | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 Outlets per '000 | Date 2 Outlets per '000 | Date 3 Outlets per '000 | Date 4 Outlets per '000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 19,392 | 20,119 | 20,599 | 25,326 | | | | |
| I Land | 52 | 76 | 37 | 87 | 2.68 | 3.78 | 1.80 | 3.44 |
| II Sea | 28 | 30 | 34 | 94 | 1.44 | 1.49 | 1.65 | 3.71 |
| III Building | 90 | 84 | 81 | 118 | 4.64 | 4.18 | 3.93 | 4.66 |
| IV Machinery | 45 | 51 | 41 | 45 | 2.32 | 2.53 | 1.99 | 1.78 |
| V Transport by sea | 77 | 73 | 40 | 127 | 3.97 | 3.63 | 1.94 | 5.01 |
| VI Inland transport | 37 | 34 | 28 | 49 | 1.91 | 1.69 | 1.36 | 1.93 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 22 | 21 | 27 | 57 | 1.13 | 1.04 | 1.31 | 2.25 |
| VIII Coal | 23 | 23 | 21 | 21 | 1.19 | 1.14 | 1.02 | .83 |
| IX Clothing | 120 | 107 | 108 | 151 | 6.19 | 5.32 | 5.24 | 5.96 |
| X Food | 199 | 191 | 219 | 252 | 10.26 | 9.49 | 10.63 | 9.95 |
| XI Tobacco | 5 | 7 | 7 | 15 | .26 | .35 | .34 | .59 |
| XII Drink | 165 | 165 | 156 | 212 | 8.51 | 8.20 | 7.57 | 8.37 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 37 | 47 | 57 | 184 | 1.91 | 2.34 | 2.77 | 7.27 |
| XIV Furniture | 18 | 21 | 25 | 21 | .93 | 1.04 | 1.21 | .83 |
| XV Stationery | 17 | 17 | 18 | 34 | .88 | .84 | .87 | 1.34 |
| XVI Household | 38 | 36 | 48 | 53 | 1.96 | 1.79 | 2.33 | 2.09 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 31 | 25 | 15 | 47 | 1.60 | 1.24 | .73 | 1.86 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 59 | 69 | 37 | 89 | 3.04 | 3.43 | 1.80 | 3.51 |
| XIX Public administration | 29 | 21 | 21 | 44 | 1.50 | 1.04 | 1.02 | 1.74 |
| XX Uniformed services | 14 | 9 | 13 | 21 | .72 | .45 | .63 | .83 |
| XXI Law | 20 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 1.03 | .55 | .53 | .51 |
| XXII Education | 35 | 38 | 29 | 61 | 1.80 | 1.89 | 1.41 | 2.41 |
| XXIII Medicine | 30 | 30 | 29 | 37 | 1.55 | 1.49 | 1.41 | 1.46 |
| XXIV Religion | 23 | 20 | 20 | 36 | 1.19 | .99 | .97 | 1.42 |
| XXV Private residents | 393 | 413 | 355 | 725 | 20.27 | 20.53 | 17.23 | 28.63 |

Table A9.2: DEAL.

| DEAL | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1847 | 1852 | 1858 | 1874 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 6,851 | 7,149 | 7,404 | 8,170 | | | | |
| I Land | 24 | 44 | 12 | 31 | 3.50 | 6.15 | 1.62 | 3.79 |
| II Sea | 13 | 10 | 13 | 21 | 1.90 | 1.40 | 1.76 | 2.57 |
| III Building | 33 | 30 | 26 | 45 | 4.82 | 4.20 | 3.51 | 5.51 |
| IV Machinery | 18 | 20 | 11 | 12 | 2.63 | 2.80 | 1.49 | 1.47 |
| V Transport by sea | 70 | 60 | 37 | 56 | 10.22 | 8.39 | 5.00 | 6.85 |
| VI Inland transport | 15 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 2.19 | 1.68 | .95 | 1.47 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 8 | 9 | 12 | 20 | 1.17 | 1.26 | 1.62 | 2.45 |
| VIII Coal | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | .73 | .42 | .81 | .61 |
| IX Clothing | 54 | 45 | 55 | 60 | 7.88 | 6.29 | 7.43 | 7.34 |
| X Food | 86 | 73 | 94 | 90 | 12.55 | 10.21 | 12.70 | 11.02 |
| XI Tobacco | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | .44 | .42 | .41 | .61 |
| XII Drink | 72 | 66 | 62 | 82 | 10.51 | 9.23 | 8.37 | 10.04 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 2 | 1 | 3 | 63 | .29 | .14 | .41 | 7.71 |
| XIV Furniture | 9 | 10 | 13 | 9 | 1.31 | 1.40 | 1.76 | 1.10 |
| XV Stationery | 7 | 5 | 7 | 14 | 1.02 | .70 | .95 | 1.71 |
| XVI Household | 19 | 14 | 21 | 22 | 2.77 | 1.96 | 2.84 | 2.69 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 16 | 7 | - | 13 | 2.34 | .98 | .00 | 1.59 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 11 | 22 | 15 | 33 | 1.61 | 3.08 | 2.03 | 4.04 |
| XIX Public administration | 14 | 9 | 8 | 17 | 2.04 | 1.26 | 1.08 | 2.08 |
| XX Uniformed services | 3 | - | 2 | 4 | .44 | .00 | .27 | .49 |
| XXI Law | 8 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1.17 | .56 | .41 | .49 |
| XXII Education | 14 | 13 | 7 | 25 | 2.04 | 1.82 | .95 | 3.06 |
| XXIII Medicine | 13 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 1.90 | 1.68 | 1.76 | 1.71 |
| XXIV Religion | 8 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 1.17 | 1.12 | 1.08 | 1.22 |
| XXV Private residents | 151 | 134 | 85 | 184 | 22.04 | 18.74 | 11.48 | 22.52 |

Table A9.3: HYTHE.

| HYTHE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1874 | 1878 | 1882 | 1899 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 3,375 | 3,500 | 3,500 | 4,042 | | | | |
| I Land | 5 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 1.48 | 1.14 | 1.43 | 1.73 |
| II Sea | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | .30 | .29 | .57 | .49 |
| III Building | 11 | 13 | 16 | 21 | 3.26 | 3.71 | 4.57 | 5.20 |
| IV Machinery | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 1.48 | 1.71 | 1.71 | 1.48 |
| V Transport by sea | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .25 |
| VI Inland transport | 9 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 2.67 | 2.57 | 3.14 | 3.22 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 6 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 1.78 | 1.71 | 1.71 | 2.97 |
| VIII Coal | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | .59 | 1.14 | .86 | .74 |
| IX Clothing | 17 | 18 | 18 | 25 | 5.04 | 5.14 | 5.14 | 6.19 |
| X Food | 40 | 40 | 36 | 46 | 11.85 | 11.43 | 10.29 | 11.38 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | .30 | .29 | .57 | .49 |
| XII Drink | 20 | 25 | 25 | 22 | 5.93 | 7.14 | 7.14 | 5.44 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 22 | 29 | 38 | 71 | 6.52 | 8.29 | 10.86 | 17.57 |
| XIV Furniture | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1.19 | 1.43 | 1.14 | .74 |
| XV Stationery | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 2.07 | 1.71 | 1.43 | .99 |
| XVI Household | 8 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 2.37 | 2.57 | 2.86 | 2.23 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 5 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 1.48 | 2.57 | 3.43 | 1.48 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 20 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 5.93 | 3.43 | 4.00 | 1.48 |
| XIX Public administration | 5 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 1.48 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.97 |
| XX Uniformed services | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | .59 | .57 | 2.00 | .49 |
| XXI Law | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | .59 | .57 | .86 | .49 |
| XXII Education | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1.19 | 1.14 | 1.14 | 1.24 |
| XXIII Medicine | 5 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 1.48 | 1.43 | 2.29 | 2.23 |
| XXIV Religion | 4 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 1.19 | 1.14 | 1.14 | 2.72 |
| XXV Private residents | 75 | 79 | 106 | 178 | 22.22 | 22.57 | 30.29 | 44.04 |

## Table A9.4: SANDWICH.

| SANDWICH | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1847 | 1851 | 1858 | 1874 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 2,946 | 3,023 | 2,962 | 3,023 | | | | |
| I Land | 16 | 20 | 15 | 16 | 5.43 | 6.62 | 5.06 | 5.29 |
| II Sea | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 1.36 | 1.65 | 1.69 | 1.32 |
| III Building | 18 | 12 | 10 | 13 | 6.11 | 3.97 | 3.38 | 4.30 |
| IV Machinery | 13 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 4.41 | 4.96 | 4.39 | 4.30 |
| V Transport by sea | 4 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 1.36 | 2.65 | .34 | 1.32 |
| VI Inland transport | 5 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 1.70 | 1.65 | .68 | 2.65 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 4 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1.36 | .66 | 1.35 | 2.32 |
| VIII Coal | 7 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 2.38 | 2.32 | 2.03 | .99 |
| IX Clothing | 33 | 25 | 17 | 25 | 11.20 | 8.27 | 5.74 | 8.27 |
| X Food | 34 | 34 | 35 | 29 | 11.54 | 11.25 | 11.82 | 9.59 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | .34 | .66 | .34 | .99 |
| XII Drink | 35 | 37 | 34 | 37 | 11.88 | 12.24 | 11.48 | 12.24 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | .34 | .33 | .00 | .99 |
| XIV Furniture | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 1.70 | 1.65 | 2.70 | 1.32 |
| XV Stationery | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | .68 | .99 | 1.01 | .66 |
| XVI Household | 8 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 2.72 | 2.65 | 3.38 | 2.98 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 5 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 1.70 | .99 | .00 | 2.98 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 21 | 28 | 4 | 30 | 7.13 | 9.26 | 1.35 | 9.92 |
| XIX Public administration | 9 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3.05 | 1.32 | 1.35 | 1.65 |
| XX Uniformed services | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1.36 | .33 | .34 | .99 |
| XXI Law | 9 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 3.05 | 1.32 | 1.35 | 1.98 |
| XXII Education | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 1.70 | 2.32 | 1.35 | 2.98 |
| XXIII Medicine | 7 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2.38 | 1.98 | 1.01 | .99 |
| XXIV Religion | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 1.02 | 1.32 | 1.69 | 1.65 |
| XXV Private residents | 47 | 41 | 28 | 77 | 15.95 | 13.56 | 9.45 | 25.47 |

Table A9.5: WALMER.

| WALMER | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1882 | 1887 | 1891 | 1905 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 4,289 | 4,447 | 4,526 | 5,263 | | | | |
| I Land | 7 | 7 | 4 | 13 | 1.63 | 1.57 | .88 | 2.47 |
| II Sea | 3 | 2 | 2 | 21 | .70 | .45 | .44 | 3.99 |
| III Building | 18 | 18 | 18 | 23 | 4.20 | 4.05 | 3.98 | 4.37 |
| IV Machinery | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | .70 | .67 | 1.10 | .76 |
| V Transport by sea | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | .70 | .90 | .44 | .19 |
| VI Inland transport | 8 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 1.87 | 1.57 | 1.33 | 2.47 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 4 | 4 | 3 | 8 | .93 | .90 | .66 | 1.52 |
| VIII Coal | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | .70 | .67 | .44 | .38 |
| IX Clothing | 10 | 10 | 6 | 12 | 2.33 | 2.25 | 1.33 | 2.28 |
| X Food | 28 | 28 | 27 | 31 | 6.53 | 6.30 | 5.97 | 5.89 |
| XI Tobacco | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | .00 | .22 | .22 | .57 |
| XII Drink | 28 | 28 | 26 | 29 | 6.53 | 6.30 | 5.74 | 5.51 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 12 | 16 | 16 | 33 | 2.80 | 3.60 | 3.54 | 6.27 |
| XIV Furniture | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | .00 | .22 | .00 | .19 |
| XV Stationery | 1 | 3 | 3 | 9 | .23 | .67 | .66 | 1.71 |
| XVI Household | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | .70 | .67 | .66 | .76 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 1.17 | 1.35 | .66 | .95 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 5 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 1.17 | 1.12 | .44 | 1.14 |
| XIX Public administration | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | .23 | .22 | .44 | .76 |
| XX Uniformed services | 5 | 6 | 3 | 10 | 1.17 | 1.35 | .66 | 1.90 |
| XXI Law | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | .23 | .22 | .22 | .00 |
| XXII Education | 10 | 11 | 10 | 13 | 2.33 | 2.47 | 2.21 | 2.47 |
| XXIII Medicine | 3 | 4 | 4 | 6 | .70 | .90 | .88 | 1.14 |
| XXIV Religion | 7 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1.63 | .67 | .44 | .57 |
| XXV Private residents | 119 | 155 | 129 | 200 | 27.75 | 34.85 | 28.50 | 38.00 |

Table A9.6: WHITSTABLE.

| WHITSTABLE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1829 | 1833 | 1840 | 1882 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 1,931 | 2,000 | 2,207 | 4,828 | | | | |
| I Land | 0 | 1 | 1 | 20 | .00 | .50 | .45 | 4.14 |
| II Sea | 7 | 12 | 12 | 46 | 3.63 | 6.00 | 5.44 | 9.53 |
| III Building | 10 | 11 | 11 | 16 | 5.18 | 5.50 | 4.98 | 3.31 |
| IV Machinery | 6 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 3.11 | 3.50 | 2.72 | 2.07 |
| V Transport by sea | 0 | 1 | 0 | 65 | .00 | .50 | .00 | 13.46 |
| VI Inland transport | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | .00 | .50 | .91 | .62 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | .00 | .00 | .91 | 2.07 |
| VIII Coal | 6 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 3.11 | 3.00 | 1.81 | 1.66 |
| IX Clothing | 6 | 9 | 12 | 29 | 3.11 | 4.50 | 5.44 | 6.01 |
| X Food | 11 | 16 | 27 | 56 | 5.70 | 8.00 | 12.23 | 11.60 |
| XI Tobacco | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .41 |
| XII Drink | 10 | 9 | 9 | 42 | 5.18 | 4.50 | 4.08 | 8.70 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.90 |
| XIV Furniture | | 0 | 0 | 4 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .83 |
| XV Stationery | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 1.04 |
| XVI Household | 0 | 2 | 4 | 9 | .00 | 1.00 | 1.81 | 1.86 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.90 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 1.04 | 1.00 | .91 | 2.90 |
| XIX Public administration | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 1.24 |
| XX Uniformed services | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .41 |
| XXI Law | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .21 |
| XXII Education | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 1.04 | 1.50 | 1.81 | 1.86 |
| XXIII Medicine | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1.04 | 1.50 | .45 | 1.04 |
| XXIV Religion | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 | .52 | .50 | .45 | 1.45 |
| XXV Private residents | 1 | 4 | 7 | 86 | .52 | 2.00 | 3.17 | 17.81 |

## Table A10.1: ALL VILLAGES WITH A RAILWAY STATION: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| RAILWAY VILLAGES Consolidated table | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 Outlets per '000 | Date 2 Outlets per '000 | Date 3 Outlets per '000 | Date 4 Outlets per '000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 7,227 | 7,402 | 7,727 | 9,768 | | | | |
| I Land | 95 | 89 | 96 | 116 | 13.15 | 12.02 | 12.42 | 11.88 |
| II Sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| III Building | 26 | 26 | 22 | 31 | 3.60 | 3.51 | 2.85 | 3.17 |
| IV Other industries | 21 | 22 | 21 | 24 | 2.91 | 2.97 | 2.72 | 2.46 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 21 | 21 | 23 | 34 | 2.91 | 2.84 | 2.98 | 3.48 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | .28 | .14 | .39 | .72 |
| VIII Coal | 3 | 4 | 4 | 9 | .42 | .54 | .52 | .92 |
| IX Clothing | 18 | 17 | 15 | 14 | 2.49 | 2.30 | 1.94 | 1.43 |
| X Food | 43 | 37 | 43 | 54 | 5.95 | 5.00 | 5.56 | 5.53 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 1 | | | .14 | .14 | .00 | .00 |
| XII Drink | 28 | 30 | 34 | 39 | 3.87 | 4.05 | 4.40 | 3.99 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 2 | 4 | 5 | 14 | .28 | .54 | .65 | 1.43 |
| XIV Furniture | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | .14 | .41 | .39 | .20 |
| XV Stationery | | | 1 | 2 | .00 | .00 | .13 | .20 |
| XVI Household | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | .28 | .27 | .26 | .31 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 13 | 15 | 11 | 12 | 1.80 | 2.03 | 1.42 | 1.23 |
| XVIII Industrial service | | 6 | 5 | 11 | .00 | .81 | .65 | 1.13 |
| XIX Public administration | 25 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 3.46 | 3.78 | 3.62 | 3.07 |
| XX Uniformed services | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | .14 | .27 | .13 | .10 |
| XXI Law | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .10 |
| XXII Education | 11 | 11 | 12 | 16 | 1.52 | 1.49 | 1.55 | 1.64 |
| XXIII Medicine | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 | .42 | .41 | .26 | .61 |
| XXIV Religion | 19 | 19 | 18 | 18 | 2.63 | 2.57 | 2.33 | 1.84 |
| XXV Private residents | 75 | 87 | 112 | 193 | 10.38 | 11.75 | 14.49 | 19.76 |

Adisham, Bekesbourne, Bishopsbourne, Bridge, Chartham, River, Lyminge, East Langdon, Saltwood, Selling, Sibertswold, Smeeth, Stanford.

Table A10.2: BRIDGE.

| BRIDGE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1891 | 1895 | 1899 | 1913 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 850 | 820 | 790 | 833 | | | | |
| I Land | 4 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 4.71 | 8.54 | 10.13 | 8.40 |
| II Sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| III Building | 4 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 4.71 | 8.54 | 8.86 | 3.60 |
| IV Other industries | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2.35 | 3.66 | 2.53 | 3.60 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7.06 | 4.88 | 5.06 | 6.00 |
| VII Service at domestic level | | | 1 | 3 | .00 | .00 | 1.27 | 3.60 |
| VIII Coal | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3.53 | 3.66 | 2.53 | 2.40 |
| IX Clothing | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4.71 | 4.88 | 5.06 | 2.40 |
| X Food | 8 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 9.41 | 9.76 | 12.66 | 9.60 |
| XI Tobacco | 1 | 1 | | | 1.18 | 1.22 | .00 | .00 |
| XII Drink | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4.71 | 4.88 | 5.06 | 6.00 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | | 1 | 1 | 1 | .00 | 1.22 | 1.27 | 1.20 |
| XIV Furniture | | 2 | 2 | | .00 | 2.44 | 2.53 | .00 |
| XV Stationery | | | | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.40 |
| XVI Household | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1.18 | 1.22 | 1.27 | .00 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | | 1 | 1 | 2 | .00 | 1.22 | 1.27 | 2.40 |
| XVIII Industrial service | | 1 | 1 | 2 | .00 | 1.22 | 1.27 | 2.40 |
| XIX Public administration | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 4.71 | 4.88 | 5.06 | 8.40 |
| XX Uniformed services | | 1 | 1 | 1 | .00 | 1.22 | 1.27 | 1.20 |
| XXI Law | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XXII Education | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2.35 | 2.44 | 2.53 | 1.20 |
| XXIII Medicine | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2.35 | 2.44 | 2.53 | 2.40 |
| XXIV Religion | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2.35 | 1.22 | 2.53 | 2.40 |
| XXV Private residents | 28 | 24 | 27 | 21 | 32.94 | 29.27 | 34.18 | 25.21 |

## Table A10.3: LYMINGE.

| LYMINGE | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1887 | 1891 | 1895 | 1911 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 827 | 835 | 914 | 1,467 | | | | |
| I Land | 15 | 15 | 16 | 29 | 18.14 | 17.96 | 17.51 | 19.77 |
| II Sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| III Building | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 2.42 | 2.40 | 2.19 | 6.82 |
| IV Other industries | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2.42 | 2.40 | 2.19 | 2.04 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3.63 | 3.59 | 3.28 | 2.73 |
| VII Service at domestic level | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .68 |
| VIII Coal | | | 1 | 1 | .00 | .00 | 1.09 | .68 |
| IX Clothing | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 3.63 | 3.59 | 3.28 | 4.09 |
| X Food | 4 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 4.84 | 3.59 | 5.47 | 7.50 |
| XI Tobacco | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XII Drink | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6.05 | 5.99 | 5.47 | 3.41 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | | | | 4 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.73 |
| XIV Furniture | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XV Stationery | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| XVI Household | | | | 2 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 1.36 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1.21 | 1.20 | 1.09 | 2.73 |
| XVIII Industrial service | | | | 4 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.73 |
| XIX Public administration | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2.42 | 2.40 | 2.19 | 2.73 |
| XX Uniformed services | 1 | 1 | | | 1.21 | 1.20 | .00 | .00 |
| XXI Law | | | | 1 | .00 | .00 | .00 | .68 |
| XXII Education | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1.21 | 1.20 | 1.09 | .68 |
| XXIII Medicine | | | | 3 | .00 | .00 | .00 | 2.04 |
| XXIV Religion | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3.63 | 3.59 | 3.28 | 2.04 |
| XXV Private residents | 11 | 10 | 14 | 41 | 13.30 | 11.98 | 15.32 | 27.95 |

## Table A10.4: CONTROL GROUP OF VILLAGES WITHOUT RAILWAY STATIONS: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| VILLAGES WITHOUT RAILWAY STATIONS Control group of the 22 villages | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1845/47 | 1882 | No entry | 1913 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 | Outlets per '000 |
| Population | 15,111 | 14,942 | No entry | 14,715 | | | | |
| I Land | 273 | 328 | | 356 | 18.07 | 21.95 | ERROR | 24.19 |
| II Sea | | 5 | | 1 | .00 | .33 | ERROR | .07 |
| III Building | 57 | 55 | | 38 | 3.77 | 3.68 | ERROR | 2.58 |
| IV Other industries | 41 | 37 | | 36 | 2.71 | 2.48 | ERROR | 2.45 |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | ERROR | .00 |
| VI Inland transport | 34 | 29 | | 29 | 2.25 | 1.94 | ERROR | 1.97 |
| VII Service at domestic level | 2 | 8 | | 15 | .13 | .54 | ERROR | 1.02 |
| VIII Coal | 2 | 6 | | 10 | .13 | .40 | ERROR | .68 |
| IX Clothing | 53 | 42 | | 30 | 3.51 | 2.81 | ERROR | 2.04 |
| X Food | 76 | 81 | | 99 | 5.03 | 5.42 | ERROR | 6.73 |
| XI Tobacco | | 1 | | 2 | .00 | .07 | ERROR | .14 |
| XII Drink | 60 | 71 | | 59 | 3.97 | 4.75 | ERROR | 4.01 |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | | 2 | | 10 | .00 | .13 | ERROR | .68 |
| XIV Furniture | 3 | 4 | | 5 | .20 | .27 | ERROR | .34 |
| XV Stationery | | 5 | | 9 | .00 | .33 | ERROR | .61 |
| XVI Household | 4 | 13 | | 5 | .26 | .87 | ERROR | .34 |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 27 | 22 | | 13 | 1.79 | 1.47 | ERROR | .88 |
| XVIII Industrial service | 3 | 7 | | 17 | .20 | .47 | ERROR | 1.16 |
| XIX Public administration | 11 | 37 | | 47 | .73 | 2.48 | ERROR | 3.19 |
| XX Uniformed services | | 3 | | 6 | .00 | .20 | ERROR | .41 |
| XXI Law | | | | | .00 | .00 | ERROR | .00 |
| XXII Education | 21 | 23 | | 23 | 1.39 | 1.54 | ERROR | 1.56 |
| XXIII Medicine | 5 | 9 | | 17 | .33 | .60 | ERROR | 1.16 |
| XXIV Religion | 24 | 27 | | 37 | 1.59 | 1.81 | ERROR | 2.51 |
| XXV Private residents | 87 | 135 | | 213 | 5.76 | 9.03 | ERROR | 14.48 |

Acol, Alkham, Ash next Sandwich, Brabourne, Eastry, Eythorne, Godmersham, Kingston, Nonington, Northbourne, Petham, Preston next Wingham, Sarre, Seasalter, Sellinge, Stalisfield, Stelling, Stelling Minnis, Upper Hardres, Westwell, Wickhambreaux, Wingham.

## Table A10.5 VILLAGES FURTHEST FROM A RAILWAY STATION: CONSOLIDATED TABLE.

| TOWN FURTHEST VILLAGES | Date 1 | Date 2 | Date 3 | Date 4 | Date 1 Units per '000 | Date 2 Units per '000 | Date 3 Units per '000 | Date 4 Units per '000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population | 3,803 | 3,644 | 3,464 | | | | | |
| I Land | 85 | 82 | 98 | | 22.35 | 22.50 | 28.29 | ERROR |
| II Sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | ERROR |
| III Building | 17 | 15 | 12 | | 4.47 | 4.12 | 3.46 | ERROR |
| IV Other industries | 14 | 8 | 13 | | 3.68 | 2.20 | 3.75 | ERROR |
| V Transport by sea | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | ERROR |
| VI Inland transport | 9 | 10 | 7 | | 2.37 | 2.74 | 2.02 | ERROR |
| VII Service at domestic level | 0 | 0 | 1 | | .00 | .00 | .29 | ERROR |
| VIII Coal | 0 | 1 | 3 | | .00 | .27 | .87 | ERROR |
| IX Clothing | 15 | 9 | 8 | | 3.94 | 2.47 | 2.31 | ERROR |
| X Food | 23 | 20 | 26 | | 6.05 | 5.49 | 7.51 | ERROR |
| XI Tobacco | 0 | 0 | 0 | | .00 | .00 | .00 | ERROR |
| XII Drink | 12 | 19 | 14 | | 3.16 | 5.21 | 4.04 | ERROR |
| XIII Lodging & dining faciliti | 0 | 0 | 2 | | .00 | .00 | .58 | ERROR |
| XIV Furniture | 0 | 1 | 0 | | .00 | .27 | .00 | ERROR |
| XV Stationery | 0 | 0 | 3 | | .00 | .00 | .87 | ERROR |
| XVI Household | 1 | 1 | 0 | | .26 | .27 | .00 | ERROR |
| XVII Shopkeeper | 8 | 10 | 3 | | 2.10 | 2.74 | .87 | ERROR |
| XVIII Industrial service | 0 | 1 | 2 | | .00 | .27 | .58 | ERROR |
| XIX Public administration | 6 | 13 | 10 | | 1.58 | 3.57 | 2.89 | ERROR |
| XX Uniformed services | 0 | 0 | 1 | | .00 | .00 | .29 | ERROR |
| XXI Law | | | | | .00 | .00 | .00 | ERROR |
| XXII Education | 8 | 7 | 8 | | 2.10 | 1.92 | 2.31 | ERROR |
| XXIII Medicine | 0 | 2 | 4 | | .00 | .55 | 1.15 | ERROR |
| XXIV Religion | 8 | 7 | 7 | | 2.10 | 1.92 | 2.02 | ERROR |
| XXV Private residents | 22 | 24 | 38 | | 5.78 | 6.59 | 10.97 | ERROR |

BRABOURNE, EYTHORNE, STALISFIELD, WESTWELL
EASTLING, THROWLEY (not in main set)

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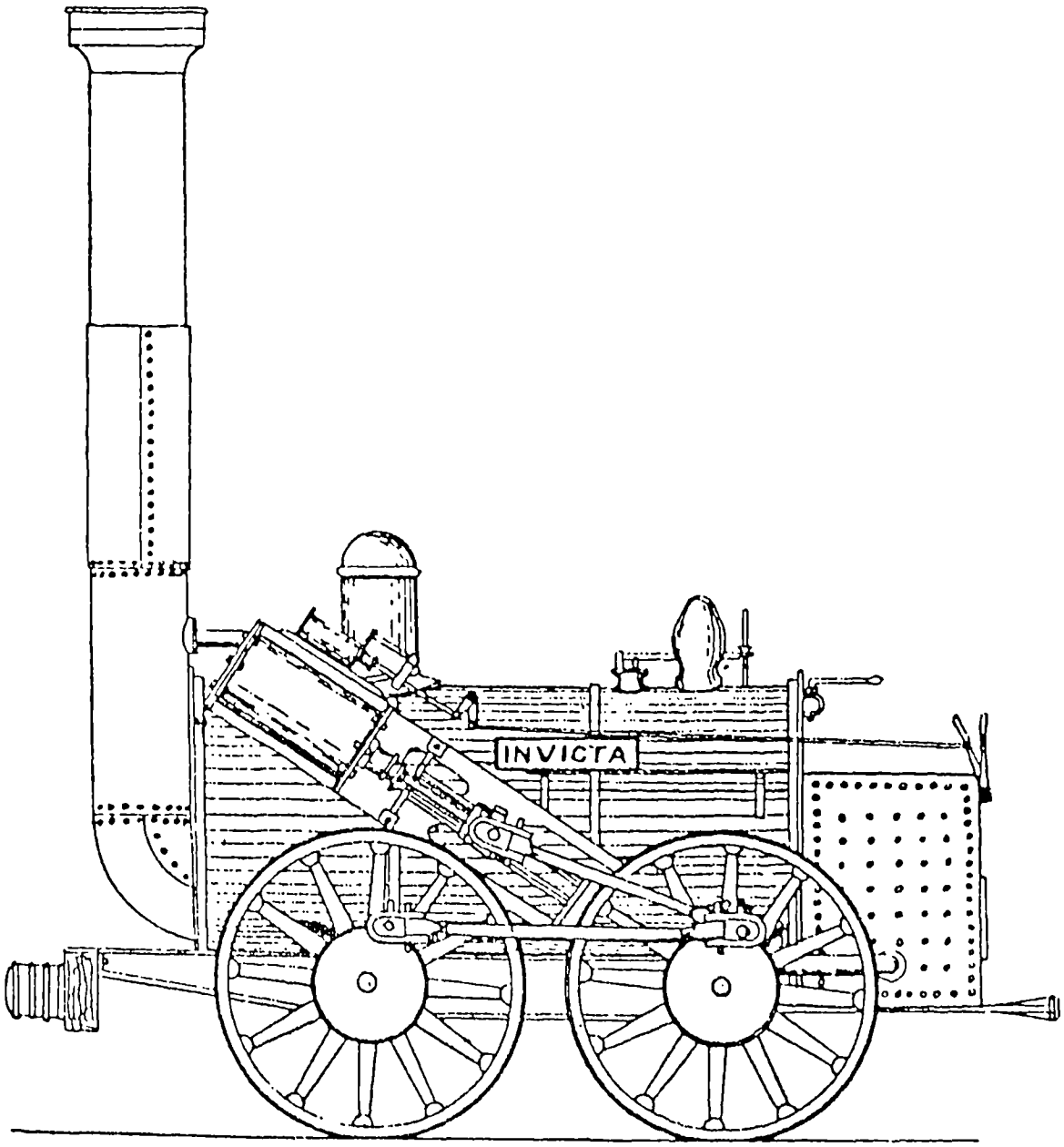

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