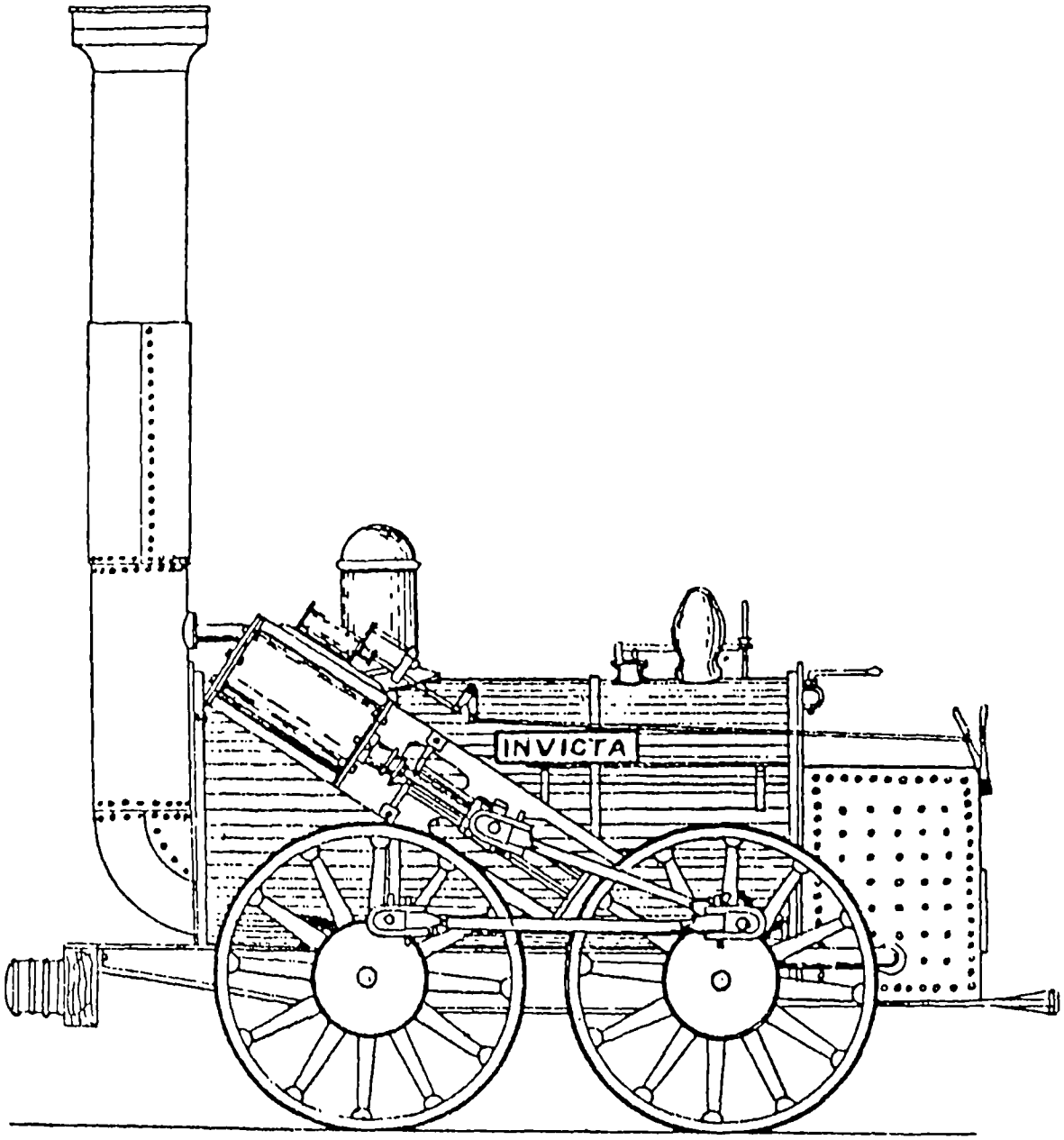
THE EFFECT OF THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY ON THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF EAST KENT, 1841-1914.

PhD, 1993.

F.W.G. ANDREWS

ABSTRACT of THESIS.



ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

Railways revolutionized public transport: within a space of twenty years journeys which had taken days could be accomplished in almost as few hours. Railways were once the cutting edge of new technology, in both mechanical and civil engineering, but the difference which they actually made to the towns and villages they served and through which they passed has rarely been examined.

In part, this is a consequence of the lamentable lack of railway company statistics on just how many passengers were, and just what, and how much, freight was carried from where to where, but changes in the way of life are qualitative rather than quantitative, and so much less susceptible of clear identification.

An alternative source of information is the trade directories, from which it is possible to calculate the changing social and commercial structure of towns and villages, both on and off the railway, and to relate these changes to the railway's arrival.

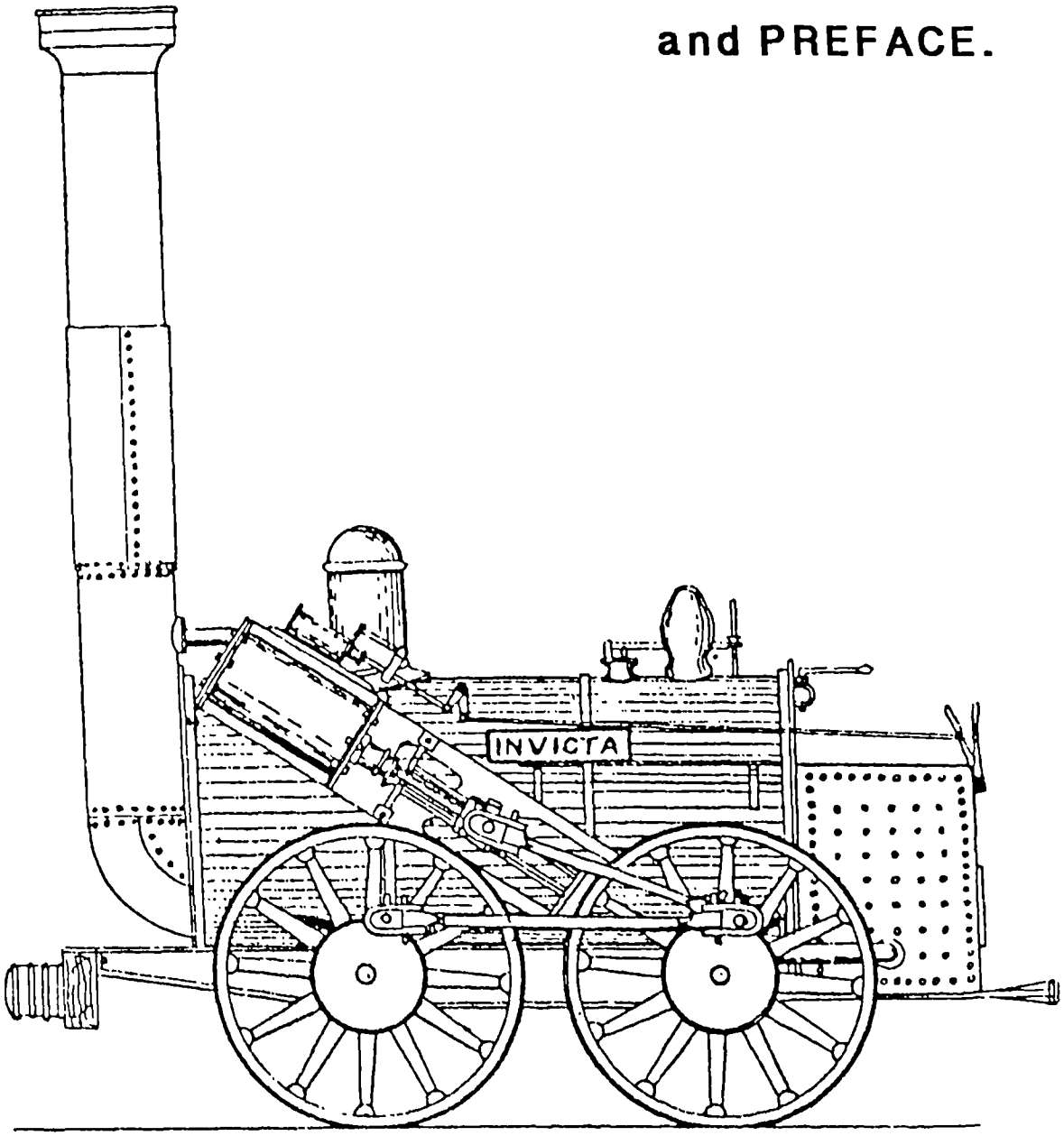
Nineteenth century East Kent was very well supplied with railways as a result of competition between the two rival companies, the South Eastern, and the London, Chatham and Dover Railways. They served the Channel ports and the Thanet resorts as a matter of policy, but much of the rest of the area was only served by default, and this thesis is an analysis, based in the main on directory evidence, of the various changes. Five groups of towns are discussed, the Channel ports and main railway centres; the holiday towns; Canterbury; the minor coastal towns; and the villages on the railway, with a control group of villages which (up to 1914) had no railway service.

This analysis suggests that, in quantitative terms, the railway had much less effect on an area with virtually no manufacturing industry or raw materials than might have been expected.

DEDICATION,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

and PREFACE.



DEDICATION.

Dedicated to the memories of

my father,

in whose congenial company I spent so many happy hours

watching the trains go by,

and of my mother,

who waited so patiently whilst we did so.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

In submitting this thesis I would like to thank:

my supervisors, Professor Alan Armstrong, whose inspired suggestion the subject was, and Dr. John Whyman, for their never failing support and help;

the staffs of the various institutions whose records I have used - the British Library, the National Railway Museum, the Public Record Office and the University of Kent, and the public libraries at Canterbury, Dover and Folkestone - for their unfailing courtesy;

and above all my wife who has sat in silence so patiently and so long whilst I have worked, and whose confidence and support have never flagged over the years of this and previous research projects.

PREFACE.

The emphasis of this thesis is on an analysis of the changing structure of society in East Kent in the years following the arrival of the railway, concentrating on a study of the commerce, the population and the private residents, using as a primary source the information given in the various directories of the period. Certain aspects of those changes - for instance, the effect on farming and agriculture generally - are therefore not touched on in any detail.

In order to cut down the number of tables and graphs which appear in the body of the text, those tables which provide the raw material for the comments and observations of the thesis are, in the main, gathered together in the Statistical Appendix, and only the derived tables and their associated graphs appear in the text. Tables in the Appendix are numbered in a manner similar to those in the text, with a prefixing "A". Thus, a table in the appendix on which material in Chapter 5 is based will be numbered A5.1 or similarly, and reference made accordingly.

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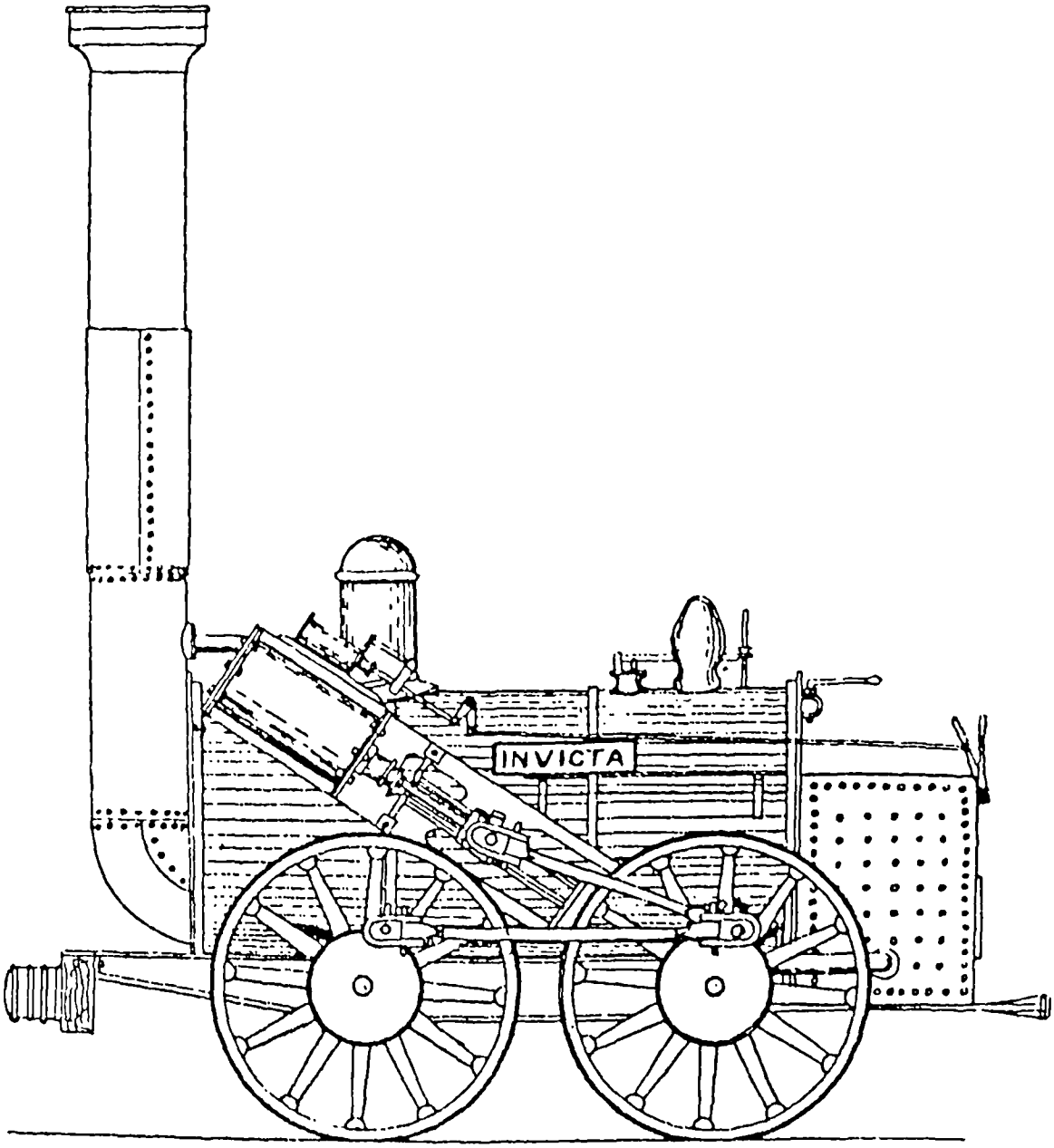

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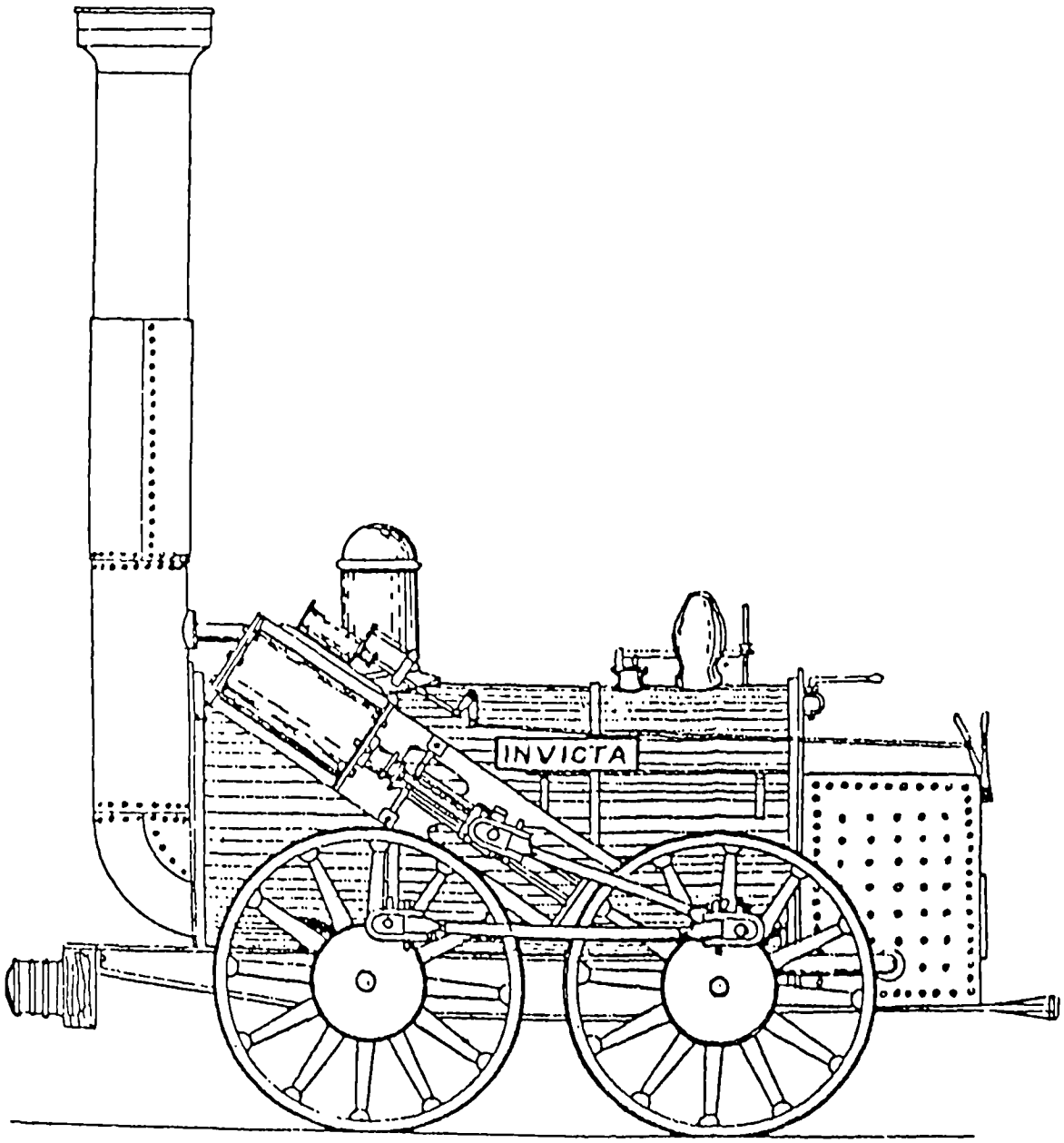


LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

"What is the use of a book", thought Alice, "without pictures or conversation?"

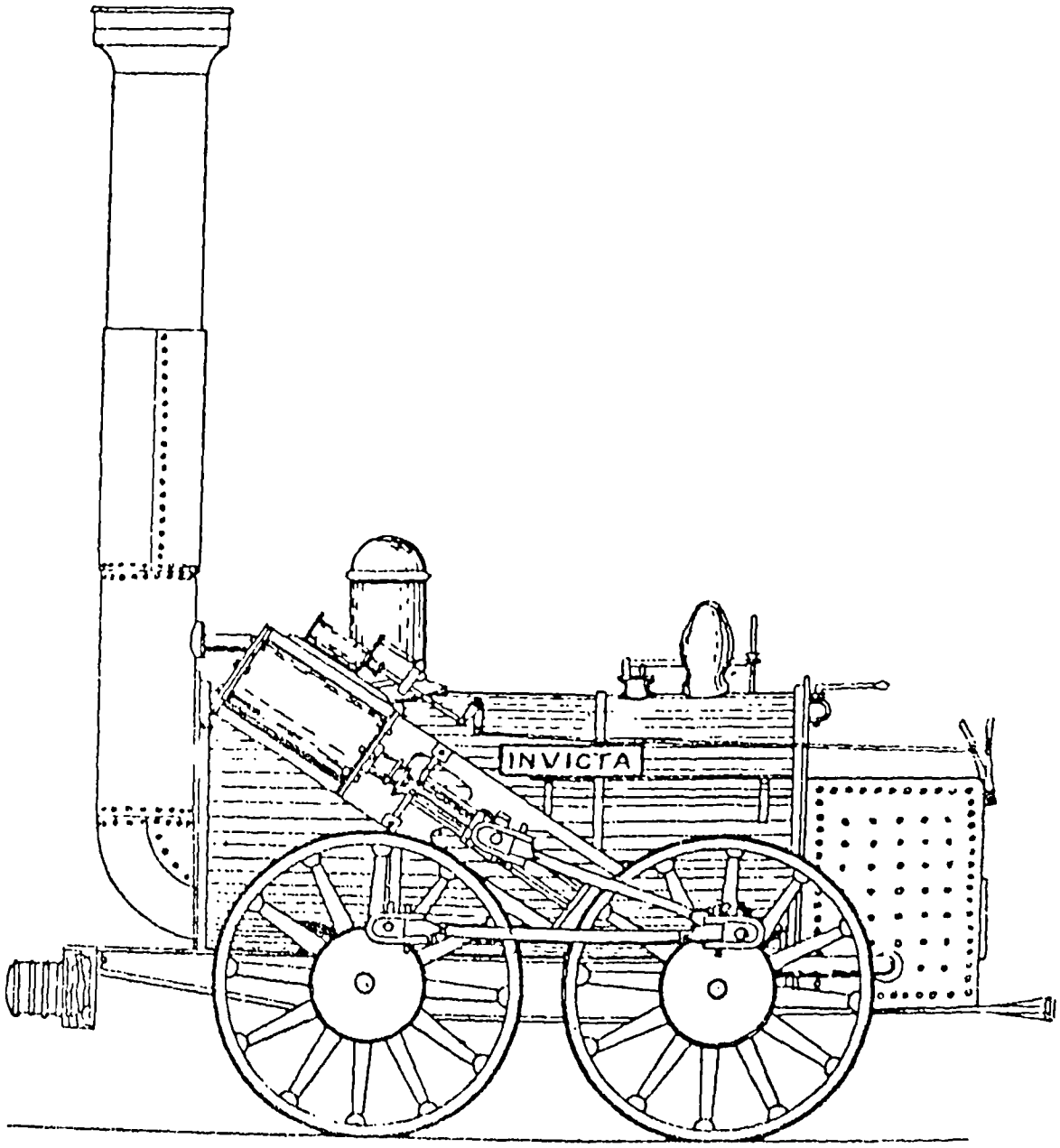
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, Chapter 1.

The background illustration for the title pages is of *Invicta*, the locomotive used on the Canterbury and Whitstable railway when it opened in 1830.

All other illustrations are tipped in *in front of* the page indicated.

Chapter I:

INTRODUCTION.



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

> "There was a rocky valley between Buxton and Bakewell, ... divine as the vale of Tempe; you might have seen the gods there morning and evening, - Apollo and the sweet Muses of the Light. ... You enterprised a railroad, ... you blasted its rocks away. ... And now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half an hour, and every fool in Bakewell at Buxton[1]."

Part of that same line which so aroused Ruskin's ire is the present subject of a preservation society's attempt to restore it to running order, so neatly illustrating how railways have come a long way in public esteem since their earliest days. At first the railways were feared and reviled, as Francis' summary of the objections made against the proposals for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway vividly demonstrates.

> "The country gentleman was told that the smoke would kill the birds as they passed over the locomotive. The public were informed that the weight of the engine would prevent its moving; and the manufacturer was told that the sparks from its chimney would burn his goods. The passenger was

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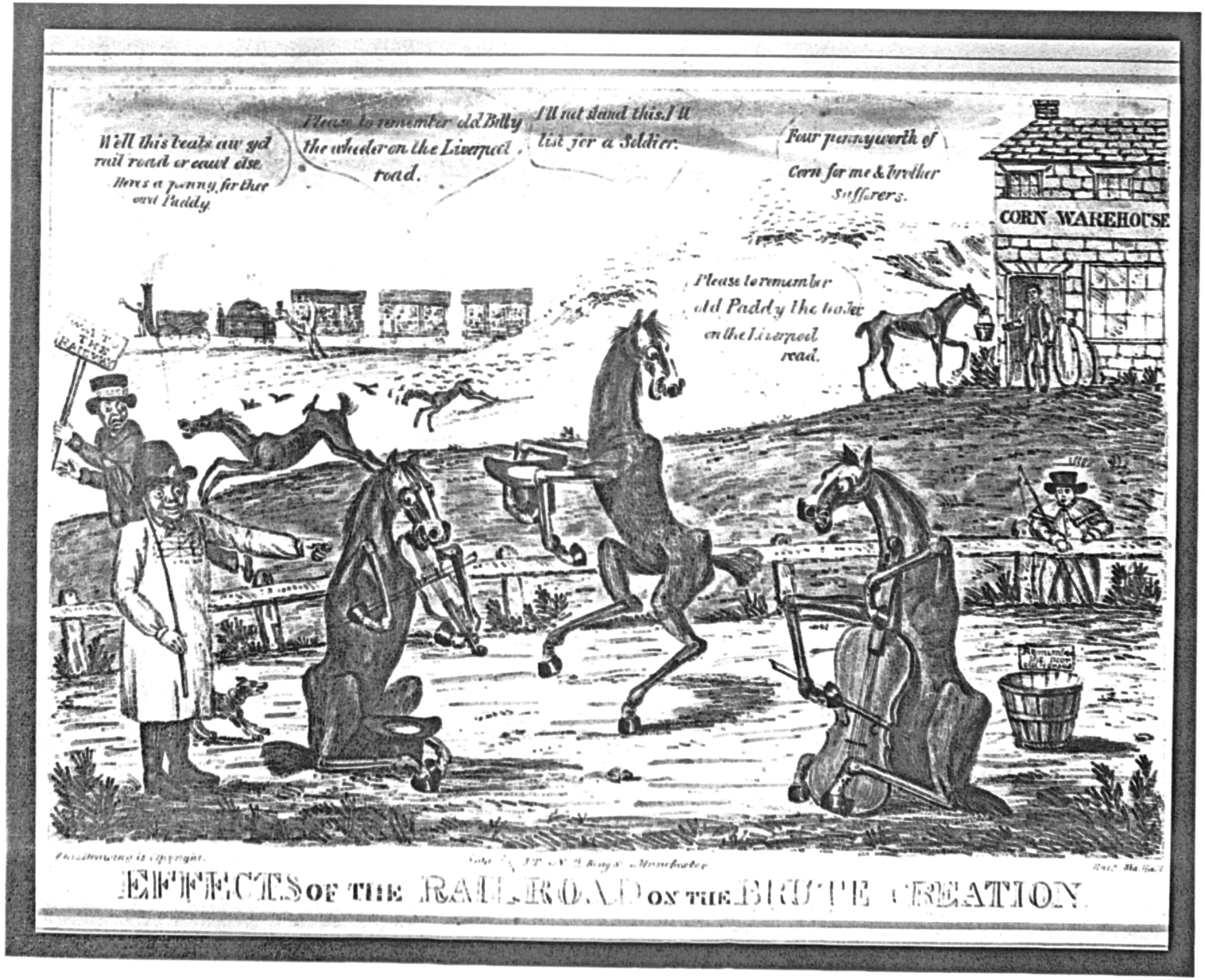
[1] John Ruskin, *Praeterita*, III, iv, Joanna's cave, #84 note. Listed in the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (first edition, revised, Oxford, 1943), p. 314a.


Well this beats aw yet rail road or eawt else. Here's a penny for thee owd Paddy
Please to remember old Billy the wheeler on the Liverpool road.
I'll not stand this. I'll list for a Soldier.
Four pennyworth of Corn for me & brother Sufferers.
CORN WAREHOUSE
Please to remember old Paddy the leader on the Liverpool road.
EFFECTS OF THE RAILROAD ON THE BRUTE CREATION.

> frightened by the assertion that life and limb would be endangered. Elderly gentlemen were tortured with the notion that they would be run over. Ladies were alarmed at the thought that their horses would take fright. Foxes and pheasants were to cease in the neighbourhood of a railway. The race of horses was to be extinguished. Farmers were possessed with the idea that oats and hay would no more be marketable produce; cattle would start and throw their riders, cows even, it was said, would cease to yield their milk in the neighbourhood of one of these infernal machines."[2]

Later, railways came to be accepted for a century as part of the immutable scenery and way of life by millions, and later still to be seen as something of an economic bad joke. Yet a further act in the drama of the railway is being staged in our own day, when some railways and the steam engines and carriages which ran on them have become objects of preservation, fascination and even almost veneration. A book published in 1984[3] listed 63 preserved steam railways in Great Britain: certainly an updated edition would show as many and probably more.

The first steam-hauled railway line in the world which regularly carried passengers as well as freight was opened in Kent in May, 1830, to run

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[2] Francis, John, *A History of the English railway, its social relations and revelations, 1820-1845* (1851, 2 volumes), Vol. I, pp. 101-2.

[3] Awdry, Rev. W., Cook, C. and Cromblehome, R., (eds), *A Guide to the Steam Railways of Great Britain* (Revised edition, 1984).

to Canterbury from the coast at Whitstable, over a distance of slightly more than six miles. The better-known Stockton and Darlington railway, which had opened to public traffic in 1825, did not carry passengers for itself until 1833, though a contractor carried passengers over the line in horse-drawn vehicles from early in the line's history.[4] The Canterbury and Whitstable's locomotive *INVICTA*, had only ever been intended to haul trains over the last two miles into Whitstable, (the rest of the line was powered by cable haulage), but proved not to be up to even this limited work, and actual steam locomotive haulage became confined to a mile along the flat above Whitstable. But for all this deplorable performance, the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway was the pioneer of all steam-hauled passenger railways in Britain.[5]

From such modest beginnings, railways expanded very rapidly. Ten years after the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway had opened there were almost 1,500 miles of line open in the United Kingdom. Thirty years later there were over 9,000 miles open in Great Britain, carrying 153 million passengers a year, and 88 million tons of freight, and the general pattern of lines in Britain was already becoming clear. By that date (1860) all the main cities of England and Wales were connected by rail - though perhaps by a very roundabout route - and it was possible to reach Glasgow and Edinburgh by train. To the east and west, Yarmouth, Holyhead and South Wales all had rail connections, as did

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[4] Hoole, K., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol IV: the North East* (Newton Abbot, 1974), p. 117.

[5] Fellows, R.B., *History of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Canterbury, 1930), pp. 37 and 41.

Plymouth and Penzance in the extreme south-west; journey-times had been cut to perhaps a quarter of those offered by the fastest horse-drawn coaches of 1836. By the turn of the century there were over 18,600 miles of line, carrying 1,114 million passengers and almost 420 million tons of freight each year. At their peak, in 1920, there were more than 20,000 miles of railway open in Great Britain, carrying 1,500 million passengers and over 300 million tons of freight every year[6].

It seems obvious that such a revolution in the availability of rapid passenger and bulk freight transport must have had an enormous economic and social impact upon the country in general, and especially on the towns and villages through which the railway passed, yet a glance at the majority of the standard histories of the nineteenth century certainly does not suggest that any such change was taking place.

RAILWAY HISTORIOGRAPHY

The two relevant volumes of the *Oxford History of England*[7] deal with the building of the railway system, but ignore almost wholly the effect of the railways, except very briefly and in the most general of terms. A more recent series, the Longman's *History of England*, is little more

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[6] Mitchell, B.R., and Deane, Phyllis, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 225-27. Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914; the System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 271 and end-map.

[7] Woodward, E.L., *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1938) and Ensor, R.C.K., *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1936).

illuminating.[8] Even some economic histories of the period seem to regard the fact of construction as the only point of real interest: Clapham's *Economic History of Modern Britain* is a case in point,[9] and more recent histories are not necessarily more informative.[10] Perhaps understandably, railway histories tend to concentrate on the history of construction and operation, with only sidelong glances at the effects the railways actually produced[11], but the extent to which the impact of railways on society is passed over in virtual silence is nonetheless surprising.

Even periodicals where the subject might be expected to be discussed are silent on the matter. During the last decade the *English Historical Review* has ignored the subject of railways entirely. As far as the *Economic History Review, First Series, Volumes I-XVIII* (1927-1948) is concerned, railways might not have been invented: there is no major article which even mentions railways in its title throughout the series, and the indices of the *Second Series, Volumes I - XLI* (1948-1989) list just eleven articles on railways, including trades unionism on the

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[8] Briggs, Asa, *The Age of Improvement* (1959) and Read, D., *England 1868-1914: the age of urban democracy* (1979), by far the most informative of the four titles mentioned.

[9] Clapham, J.H., *An Economic History of Modern Britain: Vol I: The Early Railway Age, 1820-1850* (Second edition, Cambridge, 1930), and *Vol II: Free Trade and Steel, 1850-1886* (Cambridge, 1932).

[10] e.g. Checkland, S.G., *The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885* (1964) has only five references to the impact of railways on that society.

[11] See, for example, Dendy Marshall, C.F., *History of the Southern Railway* (revised single volume edition, 1968); or MacDermot, E.T. *History of the Great Western Railway* (revised edition, Vols. 1 and 2, 1964). Even modern railway histories fall into the same trap, e.g. Moffat, H., *East Anglia's first railways* (Lavenham, 1987).

railways, investment in Indian railways, the marketing of railway shares, and railway profitability and performance - but nothing on the results of the railway revolution at all[12]. Various articles on aspects of the economic effect of railways have been brought together, but these tend to concentrate very heavily on the financial aspect of the subject rather than on local economic results[13]. *History* has but two articles in the years up to 1990, one dealing with the railways and public order[14] and the other a critique of Fogel's new methods of economic historiography, as exemplified in his work on American railways[15] which includes the useful warning that "Apparently qualitative analyses always contain implicit quantification."[16]

Using the ideas pioneered by Fogel, G.R. Hawke tried in 1970 to quantify the effect of railways on the economy, asking the question "What would have been needed to produce the effect of the railways if the railways had not been there ?"[17] though his conclusion, that "a diversion of resources to the older forms of transport costing about

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[12] Details of such of these articles which are relevant to this thesis are given in the Bibliography.

[13] Reed, M.C., (ed), *Railways in the Victorian Economy: Studies in Finance and Economic growth* (Newton Abbot, 1969).

[14] Mather, F.C., "The railways, the electric telegraph and public order during the Chartist period, 1837-48", *History*, Vol. XXXVIII (1953), pp. 40-53.

[15] Hunt, E.H., "The new economic history", and Hawke, G.R., "Mr. Hunt's study of the Fogel thesis", *History*, Vol. LIII (1968), pp.3-18 and 18-23 respectively.

[16] *Loc. cit.*, p. 21.

[17] Hawke, G.R., *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840-1870* (1970).

six percent of the national income would have been necessary to make up the deficiency",[18] has recently been challenged as too high.[19]

Even periodicals devoted to local history do not discuss railways in the local context as often as might be expected. *Bygone Kent* has been in monthly publication since January, 1980, but though the index shows a large number of references to railways, these are almost all single-line references only. There have been, up to July, 1990, 15 main articles of railway interest, but the majority of these are brief accounts of some very specific aspect of railway history, such as the celebrations when the railway first arrived in Thanet[20], Queenborough Pier and the Flushing ferry[21], or the "forgotten railway" (Kent and East Sussex Railway)[22]. However, there are also useful, if short articles on Folkestone Harbour, and the railway at Folkestone[23], on Herne Bay's expectations of expansion[24], on Kentish holiday hotels and travel[25] and on life for the son of an engineman at Faversham Junction[26]. All are interesting, but none cover the ground in any depth. Cantium, now

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[18] Bagwell, P.S., *The Transport Revolution from 1770* (1974), p. 110.

[19] Gourvish, T.R., *Railways and the British Economy, 1830-1914* (1980).

[20] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. II, (1981), p. 541.

[21] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. VII, (1986), p. 155.

[22] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. III, (1982), p. 555.

[23] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. I (1980), p. 149; Vol. II (1981), p. 177; Vol. IV (1983), p. 267.

[24] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. X, (1989), p. 83.

[25] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. VI, (1985), p. 81.

[26] *Bygone Kent*, Vol. IX, (1988), p. 389.

discontinued, also carried a number of articles of railway interest, of which Whyman's articles on the construction and impact of the railway in Kent, and on the effect of the railway on Folkestone[27] are of value in this context. An article by Bishop gives some otherwise unobtainable statistics on the construction of the SER[28] and Forwood describes in detail the railway politics which lay behind the construction of the Elham Valley line, as well as making some comments on its value to the community it served[29], but none of these really seem to concentrate on the question of what changes the railway brought with it to the communities it served.

There are two periodicals specifically devoted to a study of transport, *Transport History*, and *Journal of Transport History*, but since these two cover all aspects and all ages of transport, from coracles to Concorde airliners, from pack-mules to HGVs, the railways' share of their consideration is disappointingly small. Even more disappointing from the present point of view is the space devoted to the effect of railways. Dyos contributed two articles in the *Journal* on the effect of the railway on housing in Victorian London[30], and this was further

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[27] *Cantium*, Vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter 1973-4); and Vol. 6, No. 3, (Autumn, 1974).

[28] *Cantium*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter, 1973-74).

[29] *Cantium*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 1973-74).

[30] "Railways and housing in Victorian London", *Journal of Transport History*, Vol. II, (1955-56), pp. 11-21 and 90-100; and "Some social costs of railway building on London", *Journal of Transport History*, Vol III, (1957-58), pp. 23-30.

considered in the same journal by Burford[31]. The *Journal* twice considered the navvy gangs[32], twice railways and economics[33], and once the milk trade and the influence of railways[34]. Transport History has twice considered the effect of railways on the towns that grew up to supply and service them[35], and in two stages the growth of cross-channel traffic during the railway years of the nineteenth century[36]. But still there has been nothing on what difference the railways made to the man in the street, as it were. Perhaps the clearest indication of the extent to which the effect of railways on the society in which they operated is largely ignored is the fact that of the 12,596 references in

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[31] Burford, H.C., "Land tenure, social structure and railway impact in North Lambeth, 1830-61", *Journal of Transport History*, New series, Vol. II, (1973-74), pp. 129-54. This deals very specifically with that area over which part of the Charing Cross Railway was built, between Waterloo station and the south bank of the Thames.

[32] Patmore, J.A., "A navvy gang of 1851", *Journal of Transport History*, Vol. V, (1961-62), pp. 182-96, and Brooke, D. "'The lawless navvy' - a study of crime associated with railway building", *Journal of Transport History*, Third series, Vol X, (1989-90), pp. 145-65.

[33] Donaghy, Thomas A., "The Liverpool and Manchester railway as an investment", *Journal of Transport History*, Vol. VII, (1965-66), pp. 225-33; and Aldcroft, Derek H., "Railways and economic growth", *Journal of Transport History*, New Series Vol. I, (1971-72), pp. 238-49.

[34] Atkins, P.J., "Growth of London's railway milk trade, c. 1845-1914", *Journal of Transport History*, New series, Vol. IV, (1978-79), pp. 208-26.

[35] Hudson, K., "The early years of the railway community in Swindon", *Transport History*, Vol I, (1968), pp. 130-52, and Turton, B.J., "The railway towns of Southern England", *Transport History*, Vol II, (1969), pp. 105-35.

[36] Croft, R.J., "The nature and growth of cross-channel traffic through Calais and Boulogne, 1840-70", *Transport History*, Vol. IV, (1971), pp. 252-65, and "The nature and growth of cross-channel traffic through Calais and Boulogne, 1870-1900", *Transport History*, Vol. VI, (1973), pp. 128-43.

the two volumes of Ottley[37], only 220 appear in the section *Railways and society*.

However, the tide has begun to turn.

RECENT TRENDS

Robbins' pioneering *The Railway Age*[38] and later Perkin's *The Age of the Railway*[39] began to point out some of the changes the railways brought with them, such as a standard "railway time" to replace local time, a new and vastly more complex financial and administrative structure than had ever gone before, changes to habits of travel and shopping, changes to the landscape and to the towns they traversed. The American expression "wrong side of the tracks" to indicate a lower social class is a very powerful reminder of one of the simplest and most fundamental changes brought by the railway: it split the town and country into pieces in the way that the roads, and later the canals, had never done.

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[37] Ottley, G., *A Bibliography of British Railway History* (second edition, 1983), and *A Bibliography of British Railway History - Supplement* (1988). The Supplement adds to and amends the 7,950 entries of the original bibliography, and carries the listing down to 1980.

[38] Robbins, M., *The Railway Age* (1962).

[39] Perkin, H., *The Age of the Railway* (1970).

The European scene has been set by Ville[40], and for the United Kingdom Bagwell devoted a full chapter to the economic and social effects of railways[41] and listed a number of articles dealing with specific aspects of that influence, especially on certain towns[42]. Various aspects of the influence of all forms of transport on Victorian society are dealt with by Freeman and Aldcroft's contributors[43]. In places the effect of the railway is self-evident: the story of the Metropolitan Railway is one of deliberate, railway-inspired and railway-funded urban expansion, which continued (though without the funding) in the expansion of the London Underground in the 1920s and 1930s. This whole specialized subject has been covered in detail by Barker and Robbins in their history of London Transport in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries[44] and by Jackson[45]. The effect of railways on the cities through which they passed or where they terminated has been discussed in vivid detail by Kellett[46].

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[40] Ville, S.P., *Transport and the Development of the European economy, 1750-1918* (Basingstoke, 1990).

[41] Bagwell, P.S., *The Transport Revolution from 1770* (1974), Chapter 5.

[42] e.g. Crewe, Swindon, Wolverton, Eastleigh and Ashford (all "railway" towns), and London and other cities.

[43] Freeman, M.J., and Aldcroft, D.H., *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester, 1988), especially Chapters 1 to 4.

[44] Barker, T.C., and Robbins, M., *A History of London Transport; Vol I, The Nineteenth Century* (pb edition, 1975), *Vol II, The Twentieth Century to 1970* (pb edition, 1976).

[45] Jackson, A.A., *Semi-detached London; suburban development, life and transport, 1900-1939* (1973).

[46] Kellett, J.R., *Railways and Victorian cities* (1969).

Much relevant material is also contained in histories of individual companies[47] or industries[48], though it is of course subordinated to the main theme of the book.

In specific regional terms, the influence of the railway on some railway towns has been examined in greater detail than was possible in the *Transport History* articles described above. One town created by the railway was Crewe, and the influence of the LNWR is chronicled by Chaloner[49]. The Great Western Railway provided far more than model housing at Swindon, and the Company's record as a paternal and on the whole very benevolent employer has been considered by Peck[50], whilst the South Eastern Railway's rather more modest record at Ashford has been discussed by Turner[51]. Histories of seaside resorts of necessity include reference to the influence of railways on their growth and success: Walton has given not only an over-view of the seaside resort, but a mass of reference to specific local studies[52]. Rather more

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[47] For example, Turnbull, G.L., *Traffic and Transport; An Economic History of Pickford's* (1979).

[48] For example Church, R.A., *The History of the British Coal Industry, Volume 3, 1830-1913. Victorian pre-eminence* (Oxford, 1986).

[49] Chaloner, W.H., *The social and economic development of Crewe, 1780-1923* (Manchester, 1950.

[50] Peck, A.S., *The Great Western at Swindon works* (Poole, Dorset, 1983). The main subject of the book is the actual locomotive works: the effect of the GWR on Swindon itself is relatively lightly touched upon.

[51] Turner, G., *Ashford: the Coming of the Railway* (Maidstone, 1984).

[52] Walton, J.K., *The English Seaside Resort, a social history, 1750-1914* (Leicester, 1983).

generalised regional studies may include reference to railway influence, but not usually in any great depth[53].

A pioneering study of Victorian shop-keeping, based largely on oral evidence, which shows just what effect the railway did (and did not) have on small traders has been made by Winstanley[54], and the growth of the mass market, and the role of the railways in this, has been considered by Fraser[55]. The whole subject of the changing pattern of Victorian life in town and in the country has been considered in two collections of essays, which include consideration of the effect of railways on various aspects of that life[56].

Over the last twenty years or so an attempt has been made on a more generalized level to produce a detailed railway history, region by region, which has, in addition to detailing the events leading up to the lines' construction, briefly discussed what sort of freight and trade the railways carried, but the overall level of discussion of the nature of the effect of the railway on the local communities is, of necessity, rather

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[53] For example, Slaven A., *The development of the West Coast of Scotland, 1750-1960* (1975), and Raybould T.J., *The economic emergence of the Black Country: a study of the Dudley Estate* (Newton Abbot, 1973).

[54] Winstanley, M., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), and *The Shopkeeper's World, 1830-1914* (Leicester, 1983).

[55] Fraser, W.H., *THe coming of the mass market, 1850-1914* (1981).

[56] Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M. (eds), *The Victorian City* (two volumes, 1973), and Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (two volumes, 1981).

brief[57]. There have been very few attempts to quantify the effect of a length of railway upon the locality through which it passes; one of the few lines so examined is (rather unexpectedly) the Settle and Carlisle line of the old Midland Railway, but this is because by chance the evidence happens to survive.[58]

The problem lies essentially in the data, or rather the lack of it. Many of the day-to-day records which the individual stations must have kept of tickets issued and freight forwarded or received have been destroyed, probably in the main within a year or so of their compilation as being now useless and space-consuming. Others have been weeded out by keepers of railway records, yet more have been lost by natural causes or even enemy action. But it seems very likely that to a large extent, the records never existed at all. Professor Simmons described the situation in the following words.

> "Taking the documentation as it now stands, ... one is often at a loss to comprehend how the Victorian railways managed their business.... In 1912-13 the Great Western Railway set up a committee to investigate the cost of working four selected branches; those to Aberayron, Cirencester, Faringdon and Lambourn. A good deal of paper work was done, but unfortunately the inquiry was never completed,

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[57] Thomas, D. St. J., (ed) *Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain* (Fourteen volumes, Newton Abbot, various dates). The relevant volume for Kent is White, H.P., *Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol II: Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969).

[58] Jenkinson, D., *Rails in the Fells* (Seaton, 1973).

> and no conclusions can be drawn from it. What is clear is that the Company - by this time a very well-managed one - did not have this information, even in documents that have now perished. One is left wondering, more than ever, how it assessed the profitability of its business"[59].

Partly this situation may have arisen through ignorance in that the companies were still unsure what questions needed to be asked, but this is really no excuse: as long ago as 1850 Dr. Dionysius Lardner was suggesting the sort of questions the railways ought ask themselves about their performance and efficiency[60]. However, not to gather and evaluate statistical evidence may have been a matter of company policy. As late as 1910 Sir Gilbert Claughton, then Chairman of the London and North-Western Railway, told the Parliamentary Departmental Committee on Railway Accounts and Statistical Returns that in his view statistics on ton-mileage, passenger-mileage, etc. were "worthless and absolutely useless."[61]

The whole problem of quantifying the effect the railways had on their localities, and even of trying to decide which questions should be

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[59] Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, 1830-1914: Vol I: The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), p. 111.

[60] Lardner, D. *Railway Economy* (1850: reprinted Newton Abbot, 1968), *passim.*, but especially Chapters IV to XIII. Railway managers may have had some justification for disregarding anything Lardner said; see for example his totally erroneous calculations on the GWR's Box Tunnel. MacDermot, E.T. *History of the Great Western Railway, Volume 1, 1833-1863* (1964, revised Clinker, C.R.), p. 13.

[61] Aldcroft, D.H., *Studies in British Transport History, 1870-1970* (Newton Abbot, 1974), p. 48.

asked, has recently been considered at length by Professor Simmons' pioneering study[62], but in his summary he observes that, having considered the historiography of railway companies, " not one of these studies is devoted to discovering what the railway did in and for the country it traversed"[63], and there still continues to be a shortage of academic studies which focus on the impact of railways on a specific region.

It is in the hope of helping to plug just one of the holes in this historical dyke that this thesis is written.

THE AREA STUDIED: EAST KENT.

The area of East Kent chosen for examination is a rough square, of side twenty miles, with at its four corners the towns of Faversham, Margate, Dover and Ashford. (See maps 1.1 and 1.2 of the area.) This definition has been based on parishes, rather than the coast and the railway, (which might seem to have been more sensible, in view of the subject), because almost all the published information used the parish as its basic unit of accounting: it was a more practical division. The area has two other large towns (outside the Thanet complex), Canterbury and Folkestone. There is a network of roads over the whole area, some major ones and a tracery of minor roads and lanes, so that few places are more than half a mile or so from a metalled road. Further, with the sea

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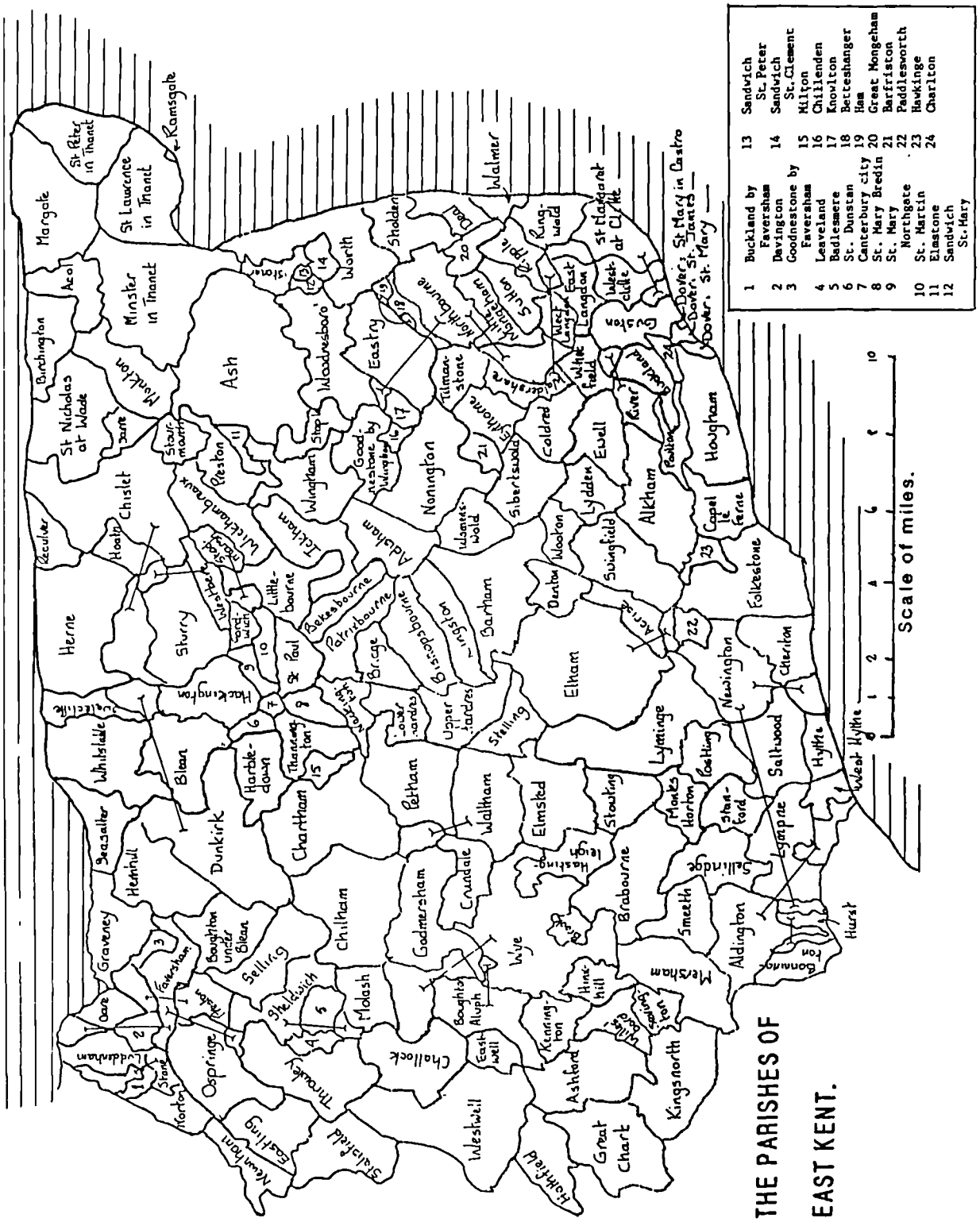
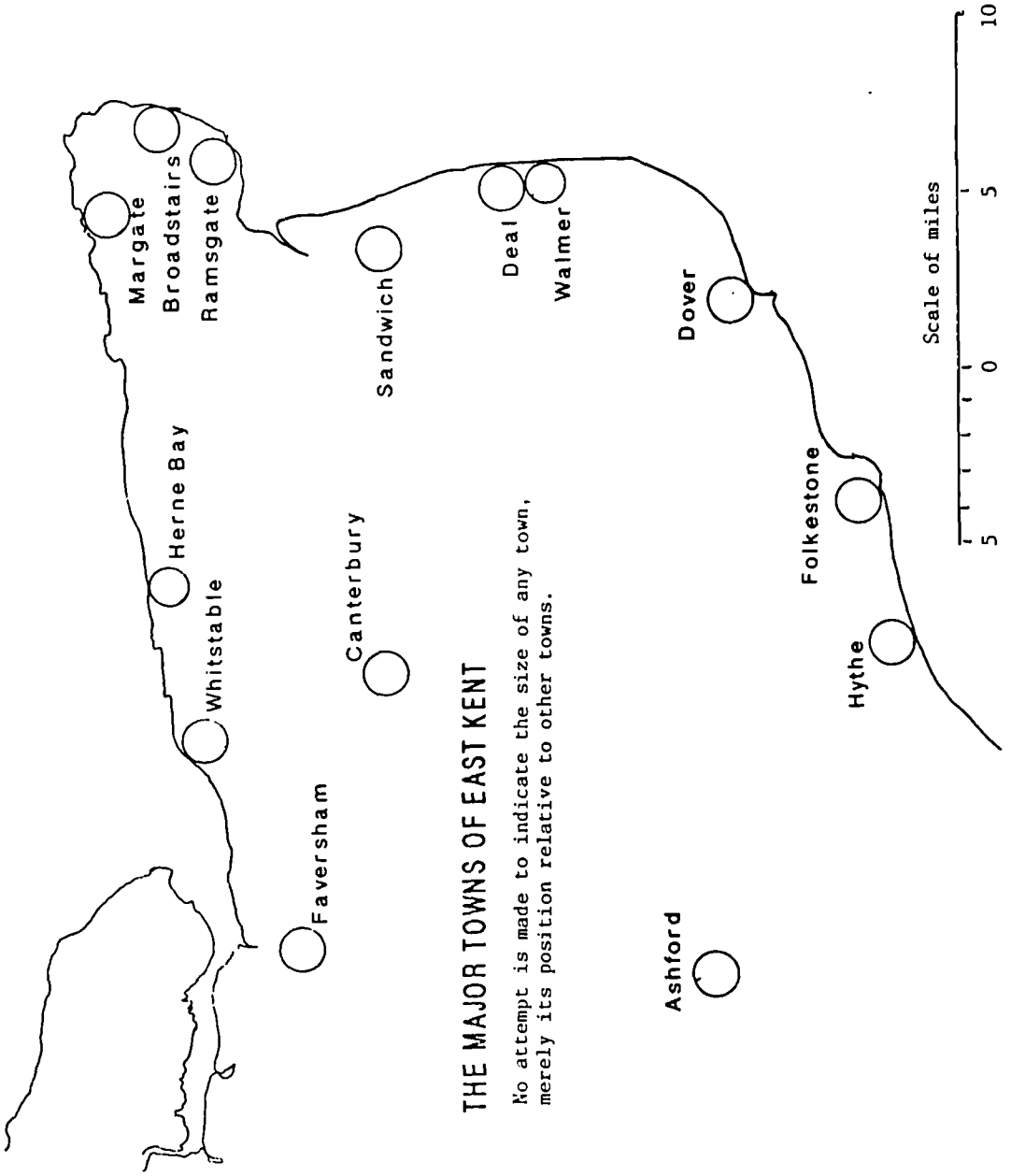
[62] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986).

[63] *Ibid*, p. 334.

Map 1.1: THE PARISHES OF EAST KENT.



Map 1.2: THE MAJOR TOWNS OF EAST KENT.



on three sides, nowhere is very far from the coast. The story of the building of East Kent's railways is a complex one, and will be considered in detail in Chapter III, but a brief outline may be of value here.

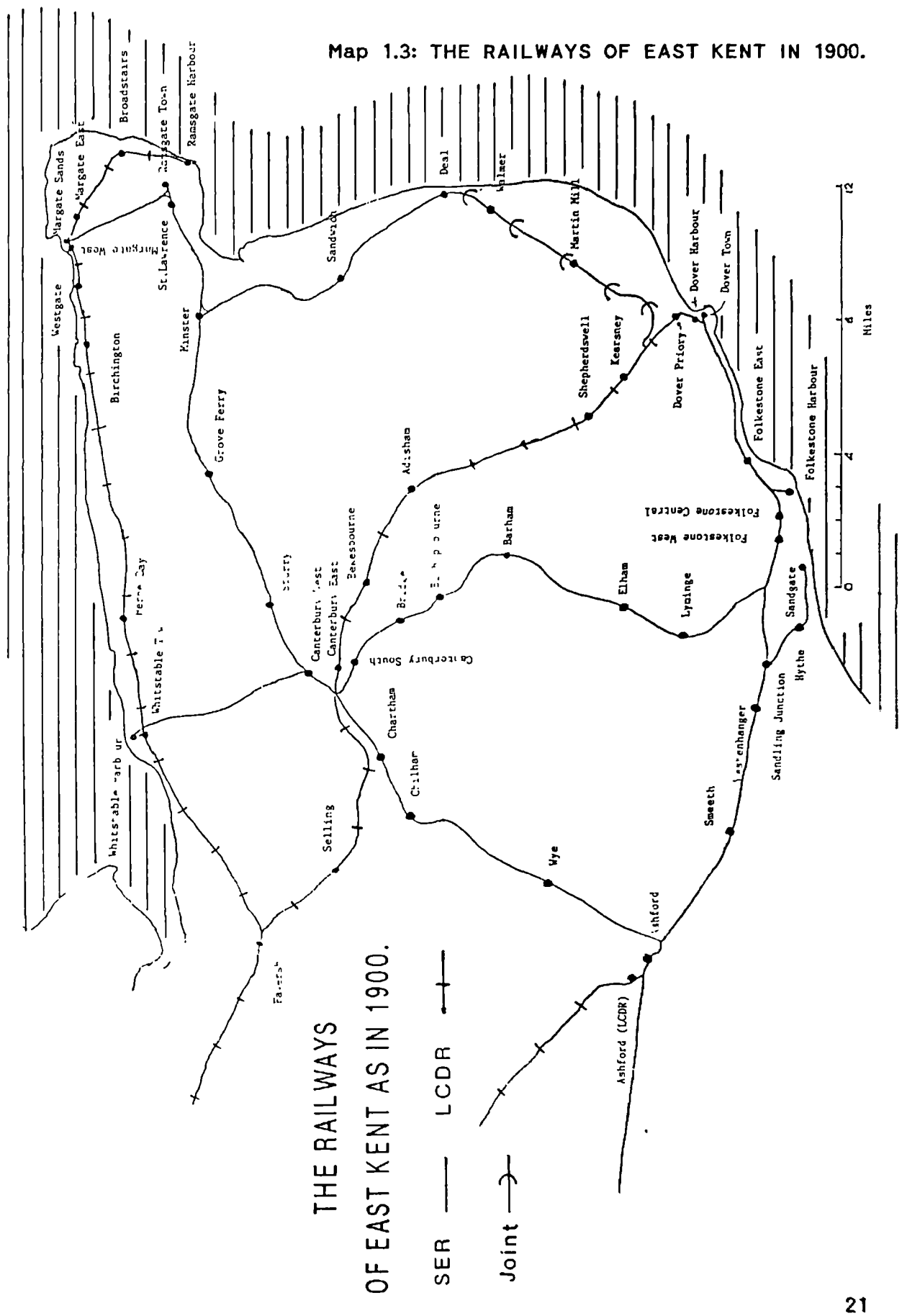
The first major railway in Kent was the **South Eastern Railway**, (SER), which ran from London Bridge to Dover, via what became Redhill (1844), with a branch from Ashford to Thanet (1846). The nucleus of what became the **London, Chatham and Dover Railway** (LCDR) was authorised in 1853 as the East Kent Railway and did not change its name to LCDR until 1859. From Faversham to Ramsgate the line was the property of the nominally independent **Kent Coast Railway**, but this was worked from the date of opening (1863) by the LCDR, which took over the smaller company in 1871. In a similar way the nominally independent **Elham** Valley Railway, opened 1887-89 had been formally taken over by the SER in 1884, before the line was even built. In 1899 the two big companies entered into a working agreement and from that time forward were technically referred to as the **South Eastern and Chatham Railways Managing Committee**. However, no attempt will be made in this thesis to identify the various constituent lines of either company by the confusing if technically correct legal titles in force at the time in question; the lines will be described as being part of the SER or LCDR as the case may be, which was certainly the popular practice of the day.

The result of this history of construction was to produce a picture as follows. Along the top of the East Kent square, effectively along the north coast, runs the Thanet line of the London, Chatham and Dover

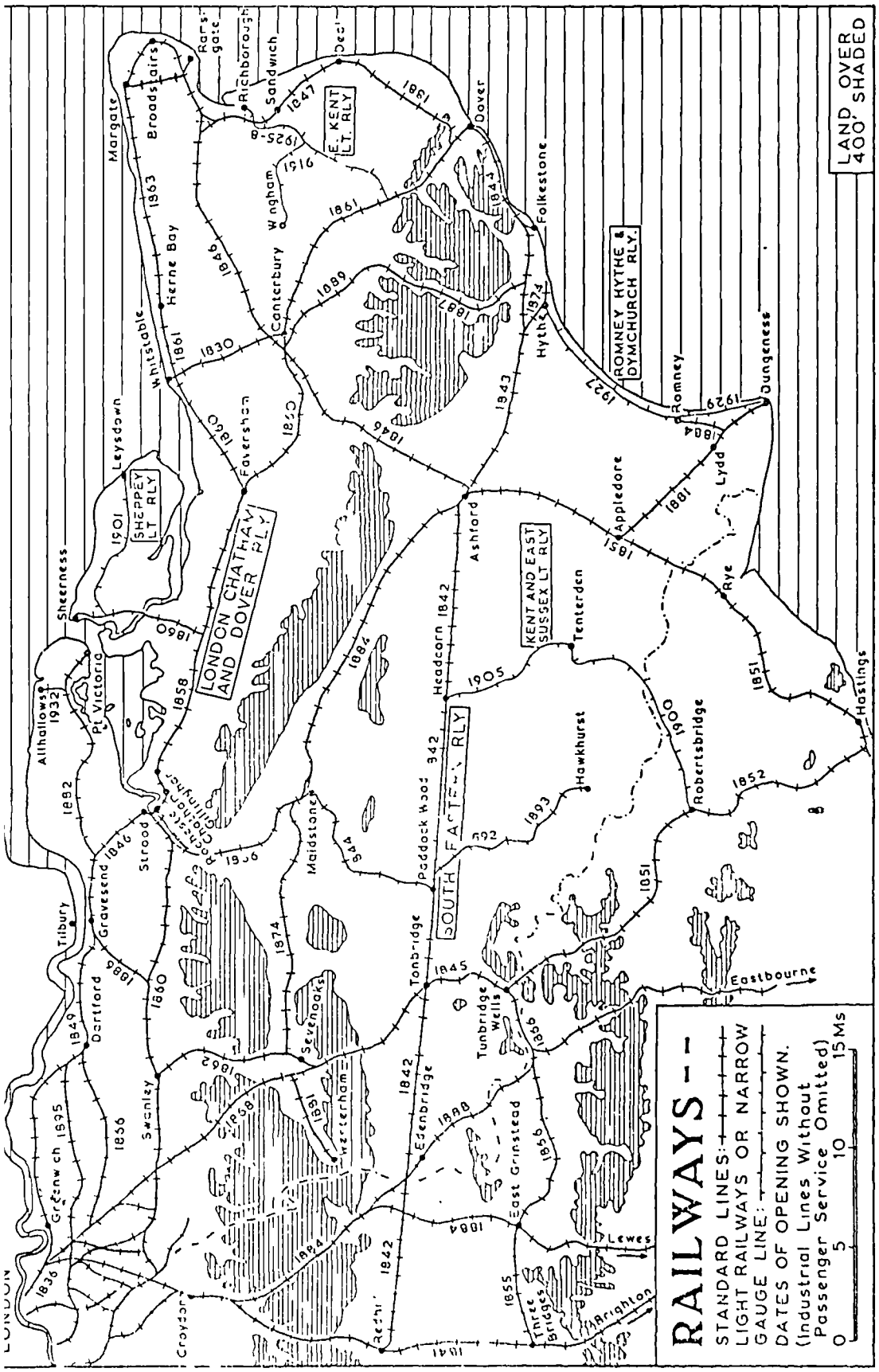
Railway (see the maps of the railways in the area, maps 1.3 and 1.4). Along the bottom (the south coast) runs the original main line of the South Eastern Railway. Across the diagonal from Faversham to Dover runs the main line of the LCDR to Dover, and across the other is the SER's branch from Ashford to Thanet: the two diagonals cross at Canterbury. Down the eastern side, more or less along the east coast, runs the SER branch to Deal, later carried on in a unique act of co-operation between the two rival lines as a joint line to Dover. Northwards from Canterbury to the coast ran the Canterbury and Whitstable line (opened in 1830 as described above), and southwards ran the SER's Elham Valley branch to Folkestone. The result of this pattern of railways in what is after all quite a small area is that by 1890 very few places within the square were more than three miles from a railway station, and nowhere was more than five. The railways were not of course all built at the same time: between the opening of the Canterbury and Whitstable line and the completion of the Elham Valley branch was an interval of almost sixty years, but for almost a third of the period studied the picture was complete as described.

The choice and definition of the area of this study might be thought a surprising one, for the two railways, the South Eastern, and the London, Chatham and Dover, were, in national terms, not large. By 1914, their joint route mileage was 646 miles. By comparison, the London and North Western Railway had 1,947 route miles, and the Great Western

Map 1.3: THE RAILWAYS OF EAST KENT IN 1900.



Map 1.4: THE RAILWAYS OF KENT: THE FINAL PATTERN.



Map taken from Jessup, F.W., Kent History Illustrated, (KCC, Maidstone, 1966), p. 53.

3,100[64]. Their rolling stock, their time-keeping and their performance were the subjects of innumerable music-hall jokes[65]. The LCDR had never paid a dividend on its ordinary stock. Neither company was a pioneer in rolling stock or motive power, though the LCDR has an honourable place in the history of the development of a safe signalling system. Histories of nineteenth century railways tend to ignore them, except to point the moral of the financially disastrous consequences of "contractors' lines" (LCDR), and later the bitter personal rivalry of the companies' best-remembered chairmen, Sir Edward Watkins of the SER and James Staats Forbes of the LCDR. Yet there are features of considerable interest in the area, which deserve detailed study.

The original object of the promoters of the South Eastern Railway was to provide a route between London and the Channel ports[66]. Ideally they would have liked to follow the historic route between London and Dover generally parallel to the modern A2 road, but opposition from local landowners, especially Lord Darnley in the Gravesend area, practical problems of crossing the Medway at Rochester, and the opposition and competition from the steamboat interest along the north Kent coast[67] all resulted in the use of the route via the London,

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[64] *Bradshaw's Railway Manual, Shareholders' Guide and Official Directory (1914)*, pp. 334, 211 and 148.

[65] See, for example, Ahrons' vivid description of the rolling stock of the two companies in Ahrons, E.L., *Locomotive and Train Working in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century* Vol. V (Cambridge, 1953), pp.3-5 (SER) and pp. 25-6 (LCDR).

[66] Course, E., *The Railways of Southern England, Vol I: The Main Lines* (1973), p. 9.

[67] Whyman, J., "Kentish railways: their construction and impact," *Cantium, Vol V*, (1974), p. 75.

Brighton and South Coast Railway as far as Earslwood Common (later Redhill) and then in an almost dead straight line to Ashford, thence to Folkestone and so along at the foot of the cliffs to Dover. The resultant route ran through almost empty countryside. The only towns of any size on the route were Tonbridge (population 12,530 in 1841) and Ashford (3,082)[11], so a study of this line shows the effect of the railway on a rural area which had no claims to a railway of its own, and whose stations were only there by chance.

The promoters of the East Kent Railway sought to fill the gap left in the SER's railway lines in Kent by building a purely local line from the Medway towns to Canterbury, but these sensible plans were soon defeated by the intransigence of the SER and by later dreams of grandeur, and the East Kent railway became the London Chatham and Dover Railway, which through a working agreement with its closely associated line the Kent Coast Railway tapped the lucrative Thanet resort traffic. Whilst the SER depended for its bread and butter on traffic travelling the whole length of its line, plus some agricultural traffic derived from the Wealden farmers, the LCDR's route ran along the relatively densely populated north coast of Kent, and could expect to make money not only from traffic originating in London, but in a great deal of local traffic as well, albeit in competition with the SER's North Kent line. The history of the LCDR in East Kent therefore is one of a passenger line (the LCDR never expected to carry a lot of freight)

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[11] All population figures in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the Table of Population given in Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Kent, Vol III* (1932), pp. 356-70.

with a fair amount of intermediate traffic along the coast, even if not a great deal between Faversham and Dover (except for Canterbury), a big contrast to the SER. The branch line of the SER (from Ashford to Thanet) was intended more to carry local traffic, tapping the potentially lucrative Canterbury and Thanet trade, but as it too ran through what is still very empty countryside, it is an intermediate stage between the types of line previously described. The line from Canterbury to Folkestone (the Elham Valley line) was built simply to ensure that the detested LCDR did not obtain access to the SER's own port of Folkestone[9]. It is a fine example of a line nobody wanted, and few people appear to have used, another type of line whose influence on the locality is of interest.

The area contains a number of major towns (Faversham, the Thanet towns, Canterbury, Ashford, Folkestone and Dover). Of these, two were major ports (Dover and Folkestone) and a third a lesser one (Ramsgate). One, though already an established market town, was to become essentially a railway town (Ashford became the workshop of the SER) and another was dominated by the railway (Faversham was the largest railway junction on the LCDR). Canterbury was the second largest town in East Kent in 1841[10]. Altogether there were 36 towns which had stations by 1889, some more than one. (Canterbury and Dover had four

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[9] Forwood, M., "The origins of a Kentish railway: the Elham valley line", *Cantium*, Vol V, (1974), pp. 91-5.

[10] That is if Buckland and Charlton are included in Dover's total. If they are excluded, Canterbury was the largest town in East Kent.

each, Margate and Whitstable three, Ramsgate and Ashford two)[11]. At the other end of the scale are the villages which were given stations presumably in the faint hope that some revenue might be generated, and in at least one case (Bekesbourne) because the Company, having as part of the deal for investment promised the local landowner to provide a station, was taken to court when it tried to evade its obligations[12].

Thus within the 400 square miles covered, there was a considerable variety of the expectations of the promoters of the railways - some anticipated end-to-end traffic, some end-to-end plus extensive local use. Others were built to protect the Company's interests, rather than directly to generate revenue, so-called spoiling lines. It is important in this context to remember that railways in this period were not built for, or directly seen as, a social service. They were built with one aim, and one aim only, to make money for their promoters, or at least to protect those promoters' other interests. They did not always do so - the LCDR is a classic case in point; those who bought ordinary stock never saw a penny of interest until 1923, when they received a quarter of one per

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[11] Canterbury had North, South, East and West stations, though the North station was taken into the West station; Dover had Priory and Harbour stations (LCDR), Town station (SER), and both used the platforms on the pier which were effectively the forerunner of the Marine Station of 1914. Margate had Sands station (SER) and West and East stations (LCDR); effectively Westgate station, being within the parish boundary, was a fourth Margate station. Whitstable had two Town stations (C&W and LCDR) and a Harbour station (C&W). Ramsgate had the Harbour station (LCDR) and the Town station (SER); the SER later opened a station literally only a few hundred yards down the line at St. Lawrence (1864), effectively giving Ramsgate three stations. Ashford had stations for both the SER and the LCDR lines, though the latter was in use only between 1884 and 1899.

[12] Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales, Vol I: The System and its Working, 1830-1914* (Leicester, 1978), pp. 57-8.

cent[13], and saw the value of their stock fall to about 10% by 1910[14] - but that was the *intention*. The early railways were often built on assumptions of traffic flow and profits that were, if not exactly plucked out of the air, based on what proved to be atypical cases such as the outstandingly successful Liverpool and Manchester line[15], though it is only fair to point out that these early promoters were working in an information vacuum where railway traffic figures were concerned: all they had to go on were the figures of coaching traffic and perhaps canal traffic, which, by definition, were unlikely to have a great deal of relevance to future rail traffic. Railway success and failure in East Kent must be viewed in this light as well: what did the railways there hope to achieve for their shareholders? and were they successful ? if not, why not ?

A point which it is easy to overlook in the twentieth century is that people were much more accustomed to walking what are in today's terms very considerable distances indeed[16]. Evidence from the study of the Settle and Carlisle line referred to above suggests that most of the

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[13] Lampard, K., "The performance and promotion of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway", *Journal of Transport History (Third series), Vol. VI* (1985), p. 48.

[14] *Bradshaw, op. cit.*, p. 202.

[15] By 1836 the stock of the Liverpool and Manchester line was being sold at 200%; Jackman, W.T., *The Development of Transportation in Modern England* (3rd edition, 1966), p. 529. The Liverpool and Manchester paid a steady 10% interest; Clapham, *The Early Railway Age* (Second edition, Cambridge, 1930), p. 384.

[16] Bagwell quotes the case of a Gloucestershire carpenter who as late as the 1880s regularly walked 28 miles a day, six days a week, from Chalford Hill to Gloucester and back. Another man from the same village covered eighteen miles a day. Bagwell says that these "were by no means freakish exceptions." Bagwell, P.S., "The decline of rural isolation", in Mingay, G.E. (ed), *The Victorian Countryside* (1981), p. 32.

journeys originating in stations along the line were short, local ones to other larger towns close by[11]. Taking these two factors together with the smallness of the area examined in this study, it seems very likely that many people who had a journey to make would walk, rather than ride - and if they had very far to go in the wrong direction to reach a station, and very long to wait for a possibly infrequent train service, these would be further factors in their decision to walk, a decision perhaps eased by the multiplicity of roads, tracks and paths which as described criss-cross East Kent. Those who rode the Settle and Carlisle line had no such soft option at their disposal. These caveats notwithstanding, the Canterbury and Whitstable line was a pioneer in yet another direction: it was sufficiently optimistic of passenger traffic to issue season tickets, though how far these were actually used is not known.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Over the period examined there were many changes in East Kent - for one thing, the population almost doubled from 163,000 to 320,000. The questions to be asked must therefore include:

> were those population changes the result of the coming of the railway, or would they have happened anyway? or is there a combination of the two?

[11] Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-8.

what was the effect of the railway on the industrial pattern of East Kent?

what was the effect on the pattern of trades and occupations of the people of East Kent?

what were the effects of the railway on the society and social life of the area?

are there parts of East Kent which were virtually unaffected by the railway? if so, which, and why?

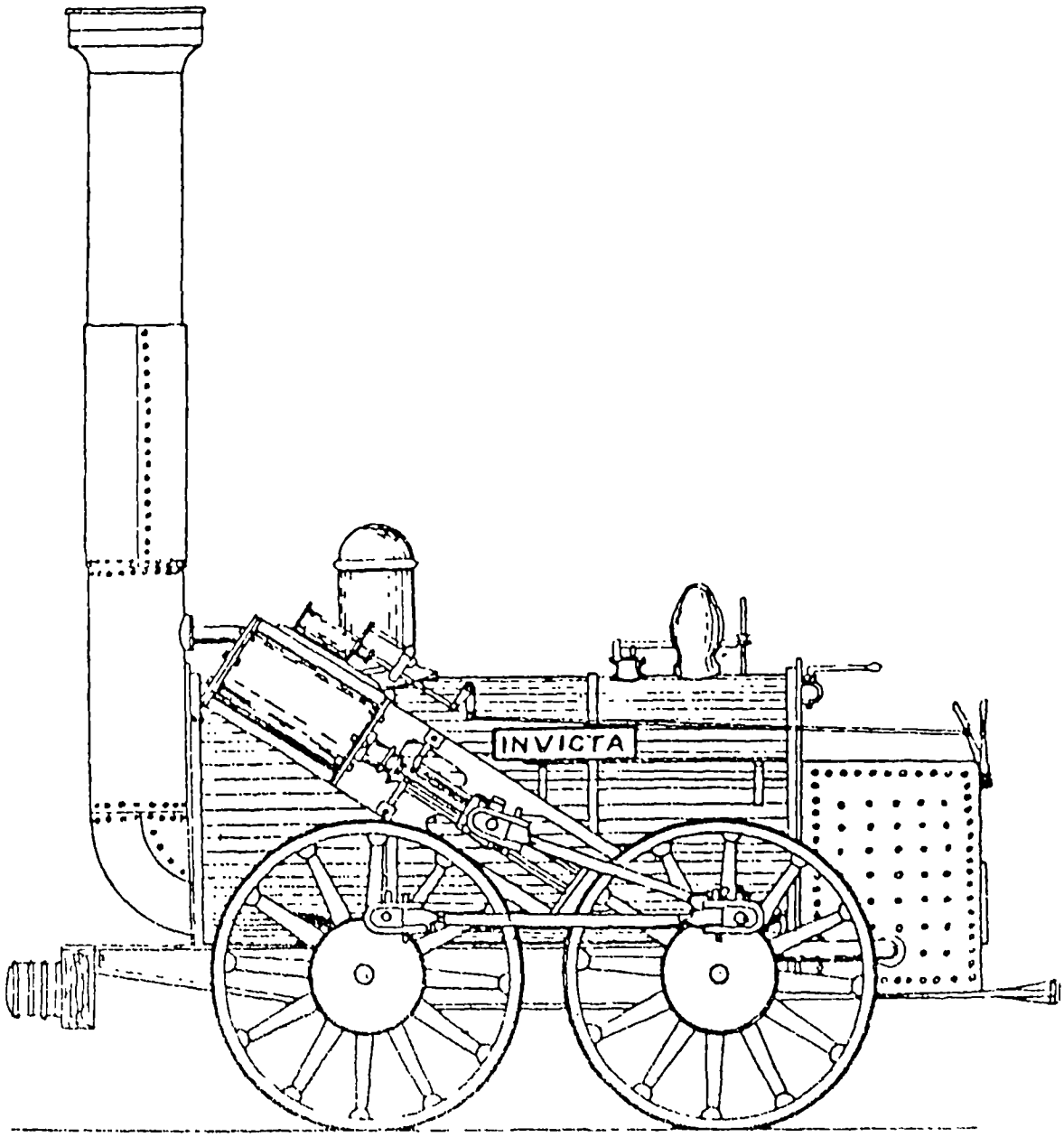
Some of these questions, perhaps all of them, are not susceptible of clear answers, and the clear temptation to assume that *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, must be avoided, but at least the evidence which bears on them may be examined.

The objective, in short, is to tackle the question posed so neatly by Simmons: "Did the railway make any real difference to the place?"[18]

[18] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 19.

Chapter II:

EAST KENT TO 1841.



CHAPTER II: EAST KENT TO 1841

The first railway in East Kent was, as already described, that national pioneer, the not very successful Canterbury and Whitstable railway of 1830, but this was a very short line (just over six miles), was quite isolated, and to begin with can have had only very local effects. For practical purposes East Kent was unaffected by railways until the construction of the South Eastern Railway (SER) main line in 1842-46: effectively 1841 was therefore the last year before the arrival of the Railway Age in East Kent.

What was East Kent like in this last year before the railway came? The population of the area as defined (see map 1.1, on page 17) had stood in 1801 at 95,976; forty years later in 1841 it had reached 163,914[1], an increase of almost 71%; the population of East Kent was therefore rising steadily long before the railway came.

If population figures for those four counties which are Kent's neighbours are compared with the figures for the whole of Kent itself, it is seen that Kent's population increase was in the middle of the range of the increases shown by these five counties (Table 2.1)[2].

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, all population figures for East Kent as defined, and its constituent parishes, are taken from the table printed in the *Victoria History of the County of Kent, Vol III* (1932), pp. 358-370. This table is used in preference to the official census tables as the figures for the various parishes have been adjusted to take into account boundary changes, thus allowing exact like to be compared with exact like

[2] Mitchell, B.R., & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 20. The East Kent figures derived from *VCH, Kent*.

Table 2.1: POPULATION CHANGES IN KENT AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTIES, 1801-41.

County	1801	1841	Per cent increase
	Population '000s		
London	1,088	2,073	90.53
Sussex	159	300	88.68
Kent	259	448	72.97
Surrey	106	182	71.70
Essex	228	345	51.32
East Kent	96	164	70.83

Since the population of East Kent was at this period increasing at about the same rate as was that of Kent as a whole, and that the all-Kent rate of increase was about the average of that of its neighbours, was the actual distribution of the population of East Kent between the various parishes and townships changing very much before the railway came?

If all the parishes or settlements of East Kent are listed in descending order of their size in 1801, and the rank order of the twenty largest compared with their rank order in a similar arrangement for 1841 the results are shown in Table 2.2.

It is clear that there is little change here: of the twenty largest parishes or settlements of 1801, only two (Chislet and Wingham) are no longer in the top twenty in 1841, and the rank order of the other eighteen has changed very little: the rank-order correlation of all twenty parishes is in fact +0.82.

Table 2.2: A COMPARISON OF THE RANK ORDER BY SIZE OF THE TWENTY LARGEST PARISHES OR SETTLEMENTS IN EAST KENT IN 1801 WITH THEIR RANK ORDER AMONG ALL THE PARISHES OF SETTLEMENTS IN EAST KENT IN 1841.

Parish or settlement	Population in 1801	Rank order in 1801	Population in 1841	Rank order in 1841
Canterbury	10,349	1	16,644	2
Dover, Buckland & Charlton	7,709	2	17,857	1
Deal	5,420	3	6,688	5
Margate	4,766	4	11,050	3
Folkestone, town & rural	3,704	5	4,413	7
Faversham	3,488	6	4,621	6
Ramsgate	3,110	7	10,909	4
Sandwich	2,452	8	2,913	11
Ashford	2,151	9	3,082	8
Ash next Sandwich	1,575	10	2,077	16
Broadstairs, St. Peter's	1,568	11	2,978	10
Hythe	1,365	12	2,236	13
Herne & Herne Bay	1,232	13	3.041	9
Whitstable	1,205	14	2,255	14
Wye	1,200	15	1,648	17
St. Lawrence	1,068	16	2,694	12
Boughton under Blean	884	17	1,373	20
Eastry	852	18	1,629	18
Chislet	848	19	1,097	28
Wingham	844	20	1,129	27

The population picture of East Kent in 1841 is therefore that of an area whose increase was neither more nor less marked than its neighbours,

and where the distribution of the population had altered very little in forty years. What was the economic picture of Kent in that year?

Information on the economy of Kent as a whole as contained in the Census Report[3] is to the point:

> "There are no manufactures of importance in this County; the principal is the paper, which employs 934 persons, of whom 151 are under 20 years of age."

Certainly a study of the numbers of those occupied in the various trades does nothing to dispel, or even to modify, this view (Table 2.3). The figures in Table 2.3[4] relate to the <u>whole</u> of the county of Kent: the way the published material is presented makes it impossible to distinguish between those living and working in East Kent, and those living and working in the rest of Kent.

Of all persons in work, one quarter of them were engaged in commerce, trade and manufacture, but this of course includes all the numerous shopkeepers, etc., in all their various trades. A further fifth were engaged in agriculture, and about a sixth were in domestic service. These figures represent a total of males and females: obviously the percentages are very different if men and women are considered

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[3] *PP (HoC) 1844, Vol XXVII, Cmd. 587, pp. 58-67.*

[4] In the original, figures are only given for individual trades: to produce these figures, certain trades have been grouped together as in later census reports in order to make sensible comparisons possible.

separately. Just over 30% of all men who are described as being in an occupation of some sort were in commerce, etc., just under 30% were in agriculture. Almost 40% of women were in domestic service, and almost

Table 2.3: TOTAL OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN KENT IN 1841, WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP AGAINST THE TOTAL.

Occupational group	Total	%	Occupational group	Total	%
Commerce, trade and manufacture	55,688	25.33	Government and civil service	1,112	0.51
Agriculture	47,585	21.64	Parochial, town and church officers	762	0.35
Labourer	20,293	9.23	Domestic servants	36,392	16.55
Military	11,297	5.14	Independent	18,629	8.47
Naval	9,284	4.22	Almspersons, paupers, lunatics & prisoners	13,047	5.93
Clerical (Church)	653	0.30	TOTAL	219,871	
Legal	492	0.22	RESIDUE	328,466	
Medical	710	0.32	GRAND TOTAL	548,337	
Other educated persons	3,927	1.79			

30% were described as "independent". If all those occupations which were followed by 1,000 or more persons throughout Kent are arranged in descending order of size, the results are shown in Table 2.4. The only group here which could remotely be regarded as "industrial" or "manufacturing" in the modern senses of the words is the shipbuilding group, but that represents only just over 1% of the total Kent workforce: even when women are excluded from the calculation the figure rises only to just over 2%. Bootmakers and shoemakers were of course town and village craftsmen at this time, not factory workers. The

army features much more largely than it would in a census of today, because of the military garrisons at Dover, Canterbury and in training at Shorncliffe, but there are no surprises here. These workers are

Table 2.4 TRADES HAVING 1,000 OR MORE WORKERS IN KENT IN 1841, TOGETHER WITH THE PERCENTAGE THEY FORM OF THE WHOLE EMPLOYED WORKFORCE.

(Includes males and females, all ages)

Occupation or professions	Number engaged	% of total	Occupation or professions	Number engaged	% of total
Labourer (agricultural)	39,058	21.22	Bricklayer	2,153	1.17
Servant, domestic	35,619	19.35	Drink interest	2,069	1.12
Labourer	14,355	7.80	Teaching	2,062	1.12
Army	11,195	6.08	Baker	1,975	1.07
Farmer or grazier	5,473	2.97	Shipbuilder	1,894	1.03
Boot and shoemaker	5,168	2.81	Grocer and/or tea dealer	1,872	1.02
Carpenter or joiner	4,622	2.51	Laundryperson	1,666	0.91
Seaman	3,122	1.70	Bargeperson	1,659	0.90
Tailor	2,660	1.45	Butcher and porkbutcher	1,582	0.86
Blacksmith	2,636	1.43	Painter & glazier	1,454	0.79
Gardener	2,427	1.32	Clerk	1,171	0.64
Dressmaker, milliner	2,329	1.27	Sawyer	1,103	0.60

essentially the staff of service industries, providing local services for the local people. A slightly surprising fact, in view of the extent to which Thanet was already a holiday resort by 1841, is that the lodging-house keepers, who fill columns of the local directories forty years on, are much less numerous than might be expected: there are in fact only 390 of them listed for all of Kent in 1841. The paper-making industry

to which the Census Report referred was (and still is) concentrated in the Sittingbourne area, and so is not within the bounds of study of this thesis, but it may be noted that at a total employment roll of 934, it would not have been large enough to feature in this table.

Unfortunately it is not possible to say, without examining all the census enumerators' returns for 1841 for East Kent, just exactly how far this county-wide picture is true of that part of the county taken by itself, but there is nothing to suggest that East Kent was in any marked way different to the rest of the county in so far as the occupations of the people were concerned.

The picture is quite clear: Kent, and presumably East Kent, was overwhelmingly agricultural and domestic in character; almost all those men who were not engaged on the land were in some sort of service trade, supplying their fellows with the common necessities of life, or the occasional luxury, and of the women who were actually earning a wage, nearly two in every three were domestic servants.

Some guide as to how contemporaries saw East Kent may be gained from the introductions to the various directory entries for 1840.[5] Taking them in the population rank order in which they appeared in the 1841 Census, Dover is described in glowing terms.

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[5] *Pigot & Co.'s London and Provincial Directory, (1840).* The succeeding directory quotations are all taken from this source for the towns concerned, unless otherwise stated.

> "[Dover's] chief consequence is derived from the proximity of its port to the continent.... The South-Eastern Railway, now actively progressing, will effect a rapid communication between the metropolis and this port. The foreign trade is not extensive, but the coasting is considerable, and many vessels are employed in the fisheries. Upon the River Doure (sic), which empties itself into the harbour, are considerable corn mills, one for paper, and an oil and seed mill. Within the last ten or twelve years the town has been very much improved, and enlarged, by the addition of upwards of one hundred handsome dwelling-houses, chiefly fronting the sea, all of which are excellently fitted up and tastefully furnished for visitors. Its celebrity as a bathing-place is annually on the increase and it has, besides, become a favourite winter residence: indeed, it may be considered to be an exception to the many sea-port towns that have suffered from a termination of hostilities. The hotels and inns are numerous.... On the parade are warm cold and shower baths; and the libraries and reading rooms are furnished with the best works, both ancient and modern."

If this view of Dover would surprise a present day resident, those points which the Directory thought worthy of mention in Canterbury would also cause modern eyebrows to rise.

> "The first manufacture for which Canterbury was noted was that of silk ... but at present it possesses no consequence. For some years back, however, this city has become celebrated for the production of a superior kind of damask table linen, an article that bids fair to rival in excellence even the ancient silk damask. This place has been long famed for its brawn, which is in high estimation all over the kingdom, but particularly so in London. The other manufactures are those in parchment and vellum. The trade in long wool is extensive, but that in corn and hops is of paramount importance; the cultivation of the latter article, for which the soil here is peculiarly favourable, employs the major part of the labouring class. There are several respectable breweries, some malting establishments, and on the banks of the river are numerous mills, some of them of considerable magnitude. ... The railway ... from hence to Whitstable (whence there is regular water communication with the metropolis) must eventually prove of great advantage to the trade of this city and vicinity."

This certainly does not sound like the Canterbury of the 1990s, or even of *David Copperfield*, written a decade after the directory entry appeared, though the Directory for 1845 described it as "the chief city of Kent", and later directories emphasise the city's position as a

regional capital[6]. Margate's entry is, not surprisingly, dominated by its facilities as a holiday resort.

> "Margate ... is a populous town, and a bathing place of the first celebrity. ... Steam packets were established in 1815.... These vessels ply daily between London and Margate, effecting the passage in about six hours and a half, and in the season two thousand persons frequently land in one day.... New buildings are consequently in continual progress of erection. The establishments for the convenience of the temporary sojourner, the invalid and the wealthy resident, though numerous and attractive, are constantly receiving improvements in elegance and internal arrangement; and the baths, hotels, libraries, reading rooms, assembly rooms, theatre, bazaar, promenades, etc., surpass those of most other places on the coast, and the public and private boarding houses, established upon various scales of expense, are proportionate in number and respectability."

After that build-up, it comes as rather an anti-climax to find that the directory lists only seven boarding houses (three described as being "for children") and nine hotels. Ramsgate (including St. Lawrence), is described not only as a holiday resort, but as a commercial port.

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[6] For instance, in the *Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties (1851)*; entry for Canterbury.

> "Within the last forty years ... it has become distinguished as a bathing station.... [It has become] not only ... a salubrious summer resort but ... a port of some commercial consequence.... The commerce of Ramsgate has greatly increased, and consists of an extensive coasting trade, particularly in coal. A prosperous fishery is pursued off this coast.... The choice fish are selected principally for the London market. There are yards for ship-building, rope walks, and stores appropriate to the casual demands of the merchantmen.... The baths ... cannot be surpassed ... different reading rooms, repositories and assembly rooms ... and the hotels and inns ... must please the most fastidious."

It later transpires that there were seven hotels and inns, and seemingly no boarding houses at all. There were two Consuls, two shipwrights and five ship agents, but no reference to any fish merchants, or even hoymen, though the General Steam Navigation Company had an office by the harbour, obviously to service the steamboat passenger traffic to and from London.

Deal was seen as essentially a maritime town, though Walmer was very differently regarded.

> "[Ships at anchor in the Downs] ... receive supplies from the town of Deal. Its inhabitants are chiefly engaged in maritime pursuits ... [and] ... are particularly famous for making boats, and for furnishing the most skilful pilots and

> intrepid boatmen that this island can produce. ... There are a custom-house, a naval store-house, and a naval and military hospital. ... The Royal Baths are also a great ornament ... together with a well-furnished library and reading rooms. ... A company has been formed ... for constructing a new pier.... It is probable that Walmer will become a vicinage of fashionable resort."

Faversham boasted the nearest approach East Kent could offer as a major manufacturing industry, gunpowder.

> "Faversham has long been celebrated for its manufacture of gunpowder, which is carried on to an amazing extent, and the present proprietors ... are continually adding to their already extensive premises. ... Roman cement is the only other manufacture of any consequence, but the exports and imports of the place are of some consequence: the former consists of corn, hops, fruit and other produce, conveyed by water to the metropolis, the latter of timber, iron, coals, tar, etc. The oyster fishery is of material benefit to the inhabitants, and many hands are employed in shipbuilding."

Gunpowder may indeed have been manufactured to an amazing extent, but the 1841 census only lists 25 persons as being "gunpowder makers", though there were no doubt a further staff of labourers, clerks, etc. who were not linked in the census with the works, even though they

were employed there, making the industry far more important to the town than the statistic of 25 would imply to be the case.

Folkestone is described as a town with potential - and that was about all it had, it appears.

> "The environs possess many attractions.... These advantages have rendered it the resort of numerous visitors in the bathing season. As yet there is a lack of lodging-houses as compared with the demand, but great facility is afforded for the erection of new ones. A large extent of land ... has been laid out ... for building purposes, and there are few places ... that would better repay a well-directed building speculation. A pier of singular and uncouth appearance protects the port.... It is probable that ere long some permanent improvements will be made upon the pier and in the harbour. The majority of the inhabitants are occupied in the fishery; considerable quantities ... are ... conveyed from hence to the metropolitan markets."

Ashford, on the eve of the coming of the railway is hardly recognizable.

> "Ashford is a market town and parish.... The only branch of manufacture is that of damask linen which, though not extensive,is a superior fabric.... The weekly market is on Tuesday and Saturday, and one of the principal stock-markets in the county is held in this town on the first and

> third Tuesday in every month. There are also five fairs ... but the markets have almost superseded ... them all."

It was, however, an important town in its own right, as the market centre for a considerable area, serving the east of the Weald and Romney Marsh, and was to remain an important market into present times.

Herne Bay is described as a "hamlet", but as a hamlet with potential.

> "This place has for a considerable time been rising in public estimation as a select sea retreat.... The ... Herne Bay Pier Company ... [erected]... a handsome pier ... [at which] steam-packets and other vessels can now embark and land passengers and goods at all times of the tide. ... There are also two or three superior hotels and warm, cold and shower baths, libraries, etc."

The two or three hotels were in fact two in number, though there were also six boarding-houses. The "libraries" do not appear in the commercial entries of the directory at all. Broadstairs was

> " an inconsiderable village, until fashion ... reanimated it, and elevated it to the rank of a watering-place, amongst the many that are resorted to by genteel families. For the accommodation of visitors many new buildings have been erected, libraries opened, and an hotel established; the

> baths likewise ... are most convenient.... For those who prefer tranquillity to the noise and excitement inseparable from more crowded places, Broadstairs possesses numerous attractions."

Mr. Pooter would have agreed wholeheartedly: fifty years later "Good old Broadstairs" was to attract him year after year[1]; he was probably sorry to have missed the Ranelagh Gardens at St. Peter's which had closed by the year of his first visit.

If the other towns in this group were looking forward to a new future, it was the other case with the last of them, Sandwich. After describing Sandwich's historic past, the directory observes rather dismissively

> "The foreign trade of Sandwich is principally with Norway, Sweden and Russia for iron, timber and hemp; and the home trade with Wales and Scotland, comprising the export of flour, seed hops, malt, fruit, etc. Ship building and rope making are carried on to a limited extent, but not a vestige exists of its once famous woollen trade."

For the purpose of this thesis, a "village" has been defined as a settlement having less than 2,000 inhabitants in 1841, and word-pictures of these smaller parishes in East Kent are rather more elusive. The directory compilers seem frequently to have been at rather a loss to

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[1] Grossmith, George, & Weedon; *The Diary of a Nobody* (1892); entry for 31st July.

find anything at all to say. In fact, the 1840 directory does not even list very many of them, or only lists them in association with the nearest large town, and the 1845 directory[1] is the first that gives a reasonably complete coverage of these smaller and smallest parishes. Even then, the descriptions are not very informative. The 1845 entry for Hawkinge, even today still a small parish in population, is a fair sample.

> "Hawkinge, in ancient records call Haveking, is a village situated on elevated ground, in Elham Union and Folkestone Hundred, in the Lathe of Shepway, 3½ miles north of Folkestone. The parish contains an area of 1,490 acres, and a population of 146, and in 1842 the property tax assessment was £402. The chief part of the parish is high ground, but on the north partly a stiff clay, or a reddish earth, mixed with flints. It is one mile in length and half a mile in breadth. The church is dedicated to St. Michael, and is a long narrow edifice, containing an aisle and chancel, with a low pointed turret at the west end, the whole composed of flints. The living is a rectory in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury."

A few basic statistics, a little geography and geology, and an account of the church building is about the most that could be expected, it appears. Wingham, even though a much larger parish, fared little better.

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[1] *Kelly's Directory of Kent (1845)*. References to these smaller parishes are taken from this source, unless otherwise stated.

> "Wingham is a considerable village, situated on a small brook, on the road from Canterbury to Sandwich, in the Lathe of St. Augustine Hundred and Parish of its own name, and Union of Eastry, 6 miles distant from Canterbury west, and from London 62 miles. It was once a market town, but the market, which was granted by Henry III, has long since fallen into disuse."

The introductory account continued with the usual description of the church, population and acreage. The 1840 Directory had added the encouraging note that "It is a pleasant and genteel village, rural in aspect, and contains, with its neighbourhood, many neat mansions."

Ash, one of the largest parishes in area in East Kent, had no better coverage, except for the comment that " the village is pleasantly situated on rising ground."

The overall picture seems clear, there really was not a great deal to say about the villages of East Kent. In part, this may be due to the nature of those villages. The settlements were scattered, and the population of those settlements was scattered also. Everitt believes that:

> "it is doubtful in fact if there are any true 'villages' in the county in the Midland sense of the word, that is to say nucleated places, historically based solely on farming, and organized on a communal basis.... There are probably no

> parishes in the county where in historic times settlement has ever been concentrated in a single community."[9]

and this point is further emphasized by the peculiar pattern of the roads and tracks of East Kent.

> "A tangle of endlessly twisting lanes ... It is a broken, crowded, landscape."[10]

Thus the difficulty of the directory agents can be explained; apart from a very small number of decayed market towns (for instance Wingham or Chilham), or small industrial settlements (for instance Biddenden, though this is not within the area of East Kent under consideration), or a certain amount of what might almost be called ribbon development (for instance the Street, at Boughton) where once scattered houses had been joined into a settlement by infilling along the roads linking them, there were few "villages" to find, though non-nucleated settlements, such as Stelling Minnis, or Ripple, abound. This peculiar nature of the settlement pattern of East Kent appears, as will later be suggested, to have had a considerable influence on the way the coming of the railway affected the lives of the people of East Kent.

So far, all discussion on the various communities of East Kent has been based on their size of population, making the assumption that, (for

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[9] Everitt, Alan, *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), p. 69.

[10] *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

example), since more people lived in Wingham than in Hawkinge, Wingham was more important. An alternative rank table may be constructed on the basis of the facilities which the various townships and communities offered, a method pioneered by Greaves in the course of his study of Methodism in Yorkshire[11]. Greaves suggested that the presence or absence of certain functions in a town or community gave a better indication of its local importance than its raw population ranking, and suggested as criteria:

A	One or more banks
B	A market
C	Poor Law Union head (after 1834)
D	Grammar School
E	Two or more newspapers printed in the town
E1	One newspaper printed in the town
F	General infirmary, or hospital
F1	Public dispensary
G	Cloth Hall, or its equivalent as a commercial institution
H	Theatre
I	Assizes or Quarter sessions held in the town.

Greaves categorized any community possessing A, B and C as "towns"; those which possessed some additional functions were "major towns" and those possessing all, or almost all, of them, were "cities". Settlements

[11] Greaves, B., "Methodism in Yorkshire, 1740-1851". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1968. This is discussed in the Open University course-book D 301, § 16-17 (Second series), *Aspects of Historical Geography* 2, pp. 55-6.

with only two, or even one of A, B or C were "sub-towns", and those with none were "villages". The settlements of East Kent however do not fit very easily into these categories: the district appears to be very ill-provided with almost all these facilities in 1841 (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 FUNCTIONS EXTANT IN THE TOWNS OF EAST KENT IN 1841

Town	A	B	C	D	E	E1	F	F1	G	H	I
Canterbury	a	b	c	d	e		f				i
Dover	a	b	c	d	e						
Ashford	a	b	c	d							
Faversham	a	b	c	d							
Margate	a	b					f[12]				
Sandwich	a	b		d							
Folkestone	a			d							
Ramsgate	a	b									
Hythe		b									
Blean			c								
Bridge			c								
Eastry			c								
Elham			c								
Minster			c								

By Greaves' criteria, there is only one city (Canterbury - which is hardly surprising), but there were in addition only three "towns"

[12] Margate's hospital was actually the specialised orthopaedic Royal Sea Bathing Hospital, rathern than a general hospital or infirmary.

(Dover, Ashford and Faversham), and three "sub-towns" (Margate, Sandwich and Folkestone). The apparently peculiar distribution of the Poor Law Union houses was based on geography; as far as possible, the Union Workhouses of East Kent were placed as near as was practicable in the centre of the area they served. Thus the Eastry Union covered the area of Deal and Sandwich, and all the rural area to the west of the coastline between them, and the Minster Workhouse was the Isle of Thanet Union's house. Though there were three county newspapers, based on Maidstone, in 1840 in East Kent as considered only Canterbury and Dover actually had papers printed within them. The schools situation is not straightforward; how far the King's School in Canterbury could be classed as a free grammar school in 1840 is debatable, but it certainly was a grammar school, and so is listed here. Sandwich's grammar school was actually in abeyance by 1840, having had almost no pupils for the last decade, but it was at least nominally still in existence[13]. A comparison of the order of the number of functions extant in the various communities of East Kent in 1840 with the rank-order of population shows that here at least there is very little difference. Clearly, in East Kent, size and the number of functions are closely correlated - perhaps, bearing in mind that, compared to the settlements discussed by Greaves, these places are very small, this is hardly to be wondered at.

The picture then of the area at the dawn of the railway age is of an essentially farming district, interested in supplying itself and London

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[13] Cavell, J. & Kennett, B., *A History of Sir Roger Manwood's School, Sandwich, 1563-1963* (1963), p. 64.

with foodstuffs - Kent had been a source of food for the metropolis since at least the thirteenth century - and for the rest simply filling its own needs. With over 5,000 shoemakers for example, there can have been little demand for mass-produced, factory-made "imported" shoes from other parts of the British Isles. In 1840 the people of East Kent, apart from those engaged in what today would be called the tourist industry, seem to have resembled the population of that legendary island whose inhabitants made a poor but honest living by taking in each other's washing.

In 1841, the last census before the coming of the railway, the number of persons who are listed as engaged in public transport - guards, coachmen, postboys - was quite small, only numbering 684, to which should be added the 590 grooms and ostlers. This presumably does not include all those people who operated the local carriers' services, the local Barkises, and presumably all those coachmen and grooms in private service are included among the 35,619 domestic servants, together with the ostlers and stable-hands in private employment. If the demands of all Kent for passenger transportation (other than by barge and coastal traffic) could be satisfied by a specialist labour force of less than 1,300, it does suggest that the amount of public transport available - which in its turn presumably reflects the demand - was on a small scale.

Some idea of just what was available can be gathered from the press advertisements, and from the various directory entries. (See Map 2.1).

As might be expected, Dover was well served by the 1830's equivalent of Inter-City services, the mail and stage coaches[14]. The mail coaches travelled through the night, as vividly portrayed in *A Tale of Two Cities*, taking 9hrs 27mins on the trip down, but only 8hrs 41mins going up. There were six other coach services down in the course of the day, and as many in the up direction. For the 72 or 73 miles (depending on the exact route) the journey took 9hrs 30min by day, or 10hrs 30min by night (one daily service in each direction).

These coaches could carry between them ninety passengers, the mail coach not included. They all passed through Canterbury, but Canterbury was also served by four other daily coaches in each direction, plus a further thrice-weekly service. Sixty passengers could be accommodated in the daily coaches, and on the days when the thrice-weekly service ran, that number was augmented by a further nine places. The London-Canterbury trip took between seven and nine hours, depending on which service was used. All these services passed close to Faversham (through Ospringe, about a mile south of the centre of Faversham), but Faversham did have a coach service of its own, a single daily service, taking six hours to carry its nine passengers to or from London. Folkestone had only a single service (fifteen passengers, 8hr 30min), and those travelling to Ashford had no choice but to use that service also. Stage coaches look splendid on Christmas cards, but an outside journey for seven or eight hours in pouring rain

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[14] Bates, Alan, *Directory of Stage-Coach Services, 1836* (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 19-20 and 66.

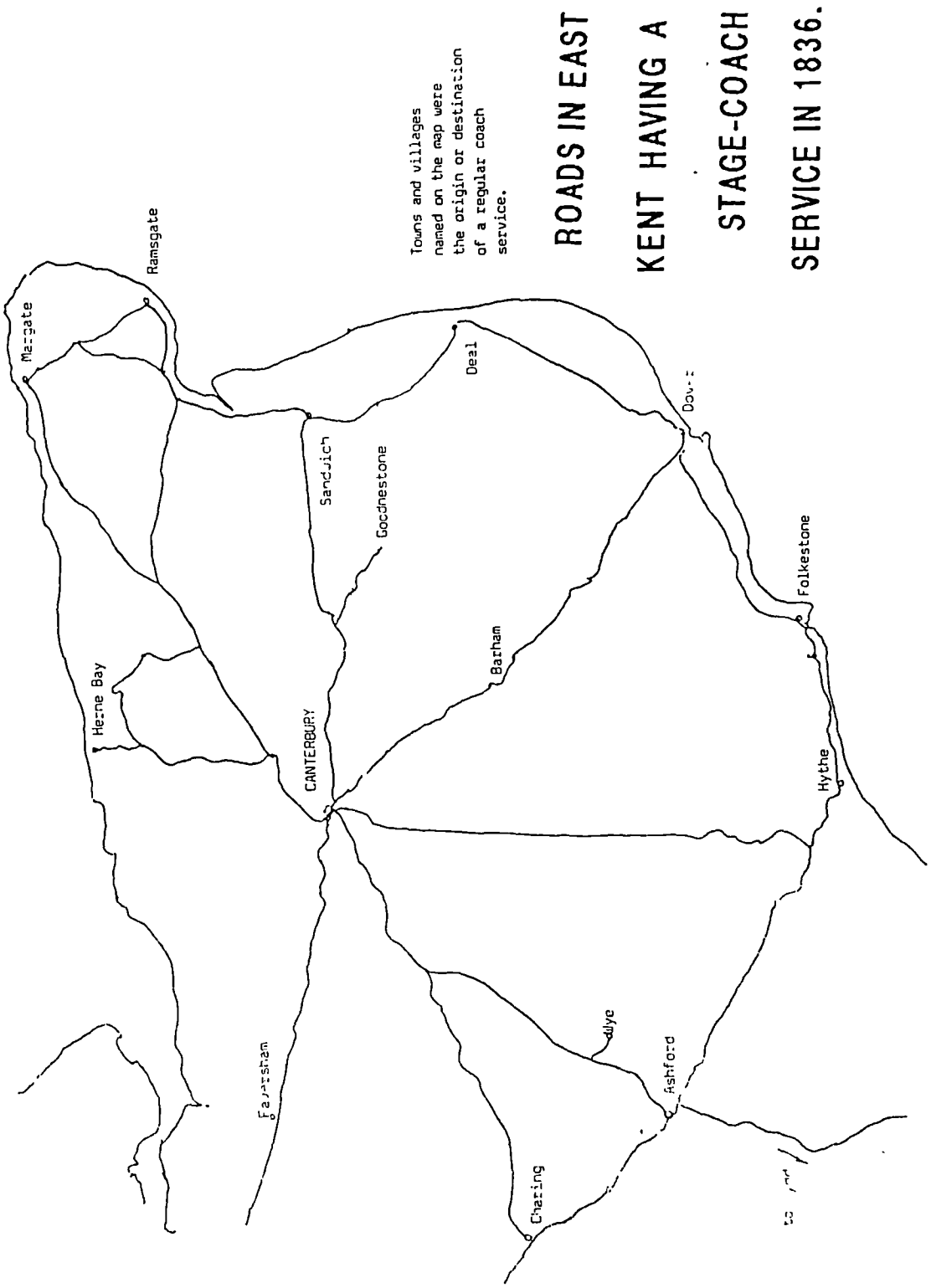
or snow, at an average of only eight miles an hour, can have had very few attractions in practice.

There was in addition a good deal of local coach traffic, sometimes providing a service complementary to the stage coach services, and sometimes as feeders to it. A single coach provided a thrice-weekly service between Ashford and Faversham, and another a Monday to Saturday service between Ashford and Lydd. Canterbury was the centre of a network of local services; the same could be said of Dover, though on a rather less generous scale (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: COACH TRAFFIC IN EAST KENT IN 1836.

DESTINATION	DAILY *RETURN* TRIPS	DAILY *SINGLE* TRIPS	OTHER *TRIPS:* Return (R) *or Single* (S).	DESTINATION	DAILY *RETURN* TRIPS	DAILY *SINGLE* TRIPS	OTHER *TRIPS:* Return (R) *or Single* (S).
Traffic originating in CANTERBURY				Ramsgate	4		
Ashford	2			Rochester	1		
Barham			3R weekly	Sittingbourne			6R weekly
Charing			2R weekly	Wye			1R weekly
Dover	4	3		Traffic originating in DOVER			
Faversham			7R weekly	Ashford			12S weekly
Folkestone			3R weekly	Deal			6R weekly
Goodnestone			2R weekly	Hastings			12S weekly
Herne Bay	3		6R weekly	Herne Bay			6S weekly
Maidstone			12S weekly	Hythe			6R weekly
Margate	3		6R weekly	Margate	4		1R Sundays

Map 2.1: ROADS IN EAST KENT HAVING A STAGE COACH SERVICE IN 1836.



Between Margate and Ramsgate there were no less than fifteen daily return services plus two more Monday to Saturday: there was even a daily return trip from Margate to Sandwich[15]. It all looks splendid, but the maximum capacity of those daily coaches on the Margate-Ramsgate run was only 102 passengers, less than two double-decker bus-loads. Only nine persons could make the daily trip from Dover to Deal and back, two car-loads. These are of course the passenger services: what of the country carriers ?

Information on local van and carrier services is given in the 1840 directory[16], and this is summarized on the accompanying map of Van Services, Map 2.2. Unfortunately the information given under the various towns' entries is not always consistent with itself. For example, the directory entry for Margate refers to an hourly summer van service to Ramsgate as well as an hourly coach service: the Ramsgate entry makes no reference to vans at all, but refers to a half-hourly coach service to Margate, apparently throughout the year. There is some indication that the terms "coach", "omnibus" and "van" were used, if not interchangeably, certainly with less precision than one would wish. Certain of the routes seem to have been duplicated: Chilham for example was the destination of a thrice-weekly van, but the daily van to Maidstone must have passed through the village as well, so that the actual service to Chilham was better than it seems. There is unfortunately no indication of how many passengers could be

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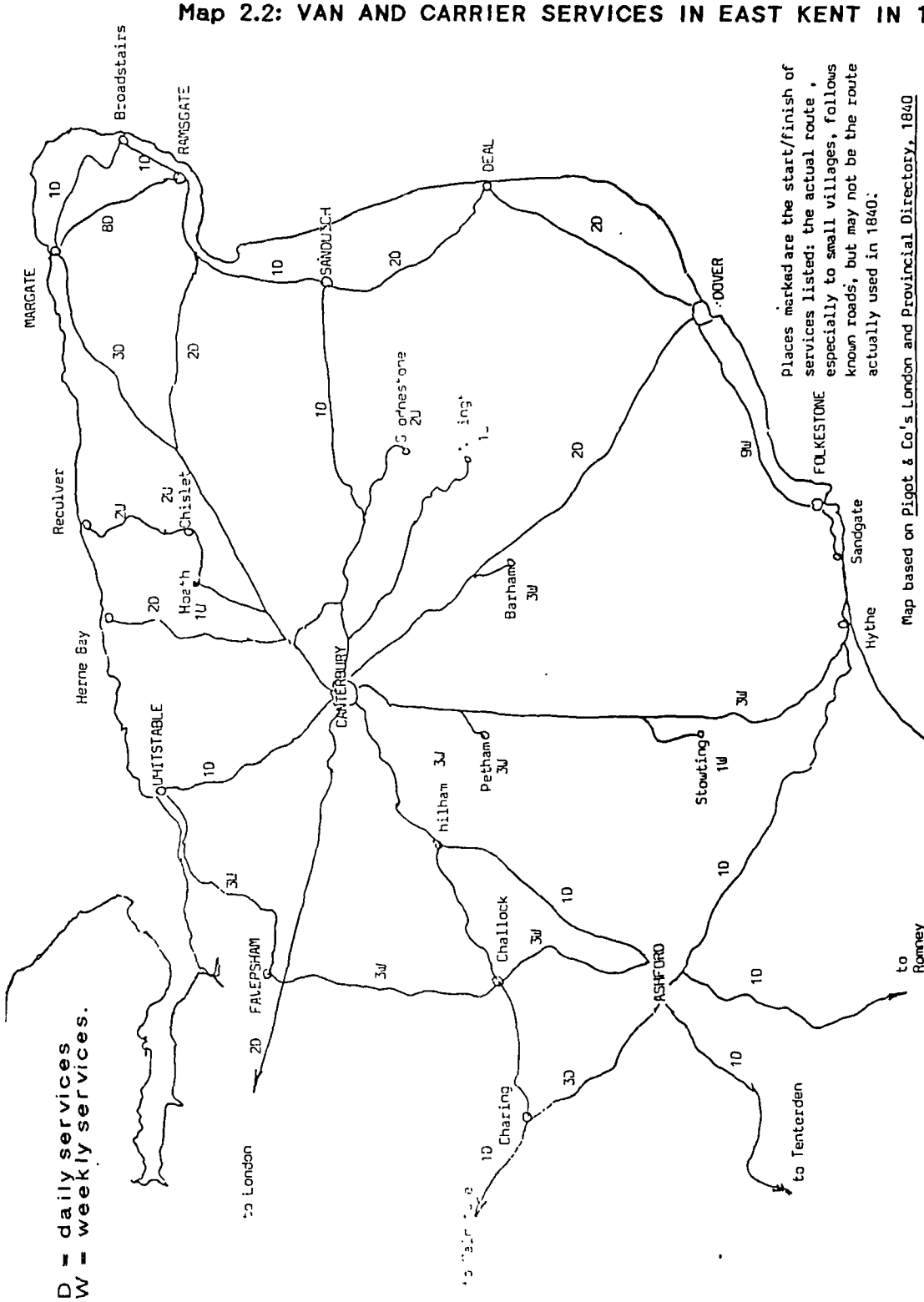
[15] *Ibid*, Table 3.

[16] *Pigot and Co.s London and Provincial Directory, (1840).*

Map 2.2: VAN AND CARRIER SERVICES IN EAST KENT IN 1840.



accommodated in the vans, or how much cargo, but it cannot have been very many or very much.

It is clear, however, that almost all the modern 'A' class roads had a van service along their length at least three times a week, and often more frequently, and some of even the smallest villages had a direct contact with one big town - Stowting with Canterbury, for example. Thus for those who needed to travel or needed to send goods there were facilities for doing so, but equally obviously those facilities were limited in size, as well as being comparatively infrequent. It certainly seems that it would be necessary for shopkeepers either to be wholly independent - making what they sold - or to keep very large stocks on the grounds that it was not easy to replace them in a hurry. Modern mass-production ("just in time") supply systems *would hardly succeed* with a three-times a week van.

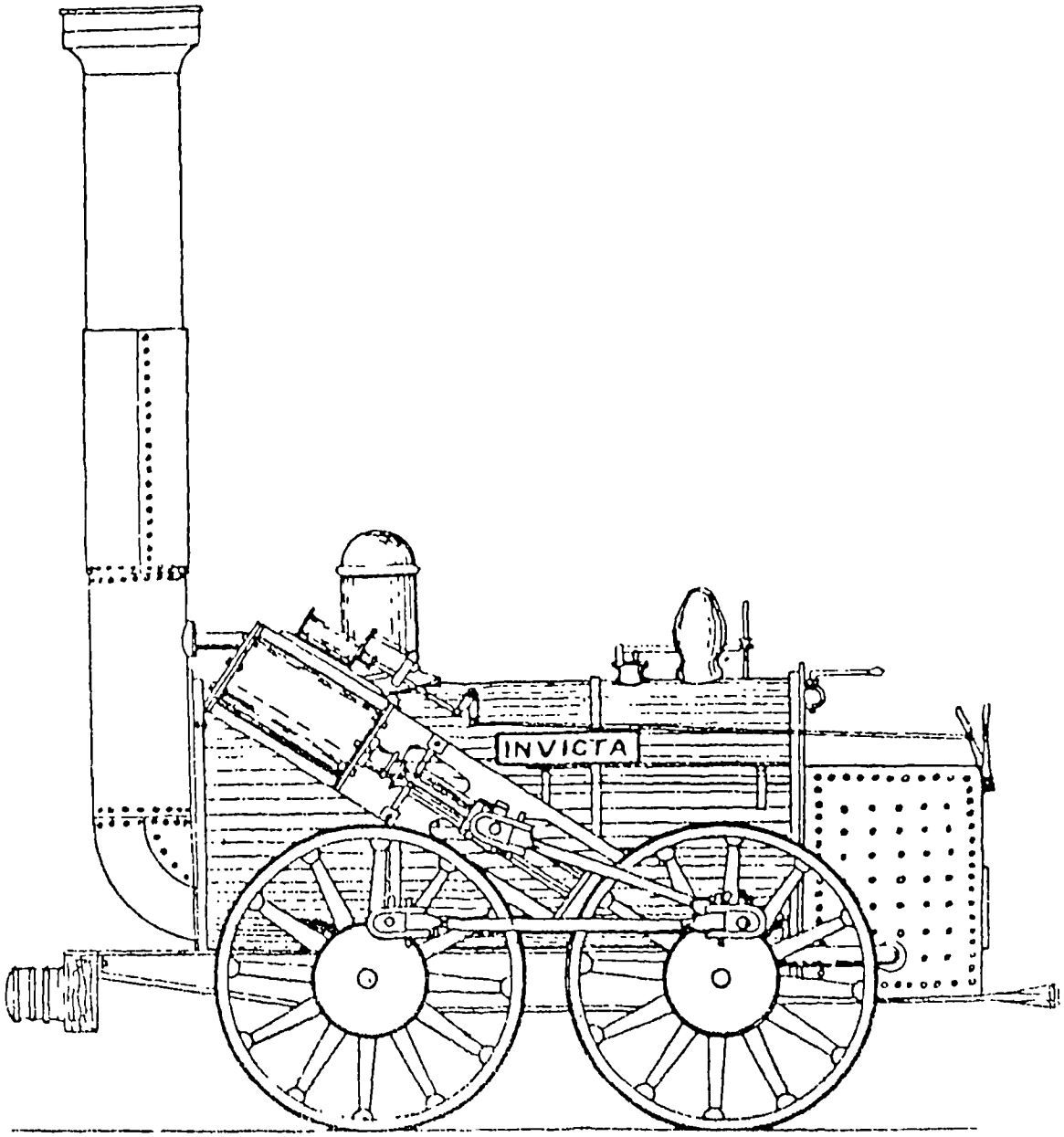
In any discussion of transport in East Kent before the railway it must, however, be borne in mind that, the size and shape of the area being what it is, very roughly twenty miles square, nowhere was more than ten miles or so in a direct line from the sea, and there were, round the edge of that square, a number of harbours. Clockwise, from the north-west these were Faversham and its creek, Whitstable, Margate, Broadstairs, Ramsgate, Sandwich, Dover and Folkestone, to which should perhaps be added Deal; then, as now, there is no harbour at Deal or Walmer, but the Goodwin Sands protect the off-shore area known as the Downs, which was used as a place of refuge in storms, and a victualling area, though the landing of cargo, except for small, high-value items,

or coal, was not really practicable. Inland water communication was much less satisfactory. Nominally Fordwich could be reached up the Stour from Sandwich, but this was becoming less and less practicable as time went on and the Stour continued to silt up; it was this very problem which produced what was hoped to be the solution of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway. All the same, taking into account the maze of lanes and roads which criss-crossed East Kent, it was not too laborious, though certainly not very convenient, an undertaking to transport heavy goods from the harbours into the heart of the area - but quite sufficiently laborious and inconvenient for an easier alternative to be an attractive proposition, and even investment.

East Kent in the years just before the railway came therefore appears to have been very largely inward-looking. Population was increasing, as was that all over the British Isles, but apart from a certain amount of specialized trade with the London markets (fish, vegetable produce) there were virtually no centres of industry supplying the outside world. Tourism did not exist in its modern form; only the largest Thanet resorts were really dealing with visitor trade. On such a society the arrival of a modern system of high-speed bulk freight and mass passenger traffic might be expected to have made great changes. What the local expectations of such changes were will be considered in detail below.

Chapter III:

THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY.



CHAPTER III: THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY.

"Remember that railways were in business to make money."[1]

The earliest railways had very simple objectives. Professor Clapham describes such railways as being " a means of moving bulky goods over short distances at moderate speeds to and from tide or navigable water,"[2] and the bulky goods in question were usually, in the first instance, coal.

It is easy to forget, in today's multi-fuel society, how all-dominant coal was as a fuel during most of the nineteenth century. Though wood-fuel was available in the country for domestic heating, in the towns and in industry it was coal that had to be burnt in the grate or furnace, or nothing. Coal is heavy, bulky, and surprisingly fragile if treated roughly. Transport by road, apart from being very expensive, was very apt to reduce the coal to dust if the journey was a long one, hence the need to get the coal to water for shipment by the smoother canal barge or coastal collier. Before 1825 almost all railways had been built simply to transport coal from the pit-head to the nearest river or canal. Inland towns sought for a way for their coal to come in by water if possible, though this was not always the perfect solution: for example at Deal it

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[1] Jenkinson, D., *British Railway Carriages of the Twentieth century, Vol I* (1988), p. 115.

[2] Clapham, J.H., *An Economic History of Modern Britain: Vol. I: The Early Railway Age* (Second edition reprinted, Cambridge, 1950), p. 90.

was the custom until the arrival of the railway to beach the colliers at high tide, and then to shovel the coal into carts drawn out through the shallows during the intervals between tides.[3]

SOME SUCCESSES OF THE EARLY RAILWAY SYSTEM.

Had railways in general had no better financial success than Kent's pioneer Canterbury and Whitstable, it seems very unlikely that the system would have developed, but the Liverpool and Manchester line had proved to be a very different kettle of financial fish. In 1831 the population of the city of Canterbury was 13,679; that of Whitstable was 1,926. The population of Liverpool in that year was 202,000; that of Manchester 182,000. If the combined population of Canterbury and Whitstable had been added to either of the northern cities, it is doubtful if anyone would have noticed the difference. The northern line was longer - some 30 miles all told - but it connected towns with a combined population of some 400,000, one of which was a major manufacturing town, and the other a major seaport. By contrast with the Canterbury and Whitstable, this railway was a runaway financial success. Rival road coach traffic disappeared within ten days of the line's opening, leaving the railway with an effective monopoly of passenger traffic. Dividend rates were limited to 10% by the railway's Act, but such was the company's success that in order to overcome this

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[3] House of Lords Record Office: Select Committee of Railway Bills (South Eastern); Branch to Deal, and extension of the South Eastern Canterbury, Ramsgate and Margate Railway Bill, Committee Office evidence, 1845, Vol. 77, p. 86. [Henceforth "Railway Committee evidence"]. Evidence of James Bates.

restriction, additional stock was issued, suggesting that the actual rate of interest on an original investment was in the order of " at least forty to fifty per cent", and by 1836 stock at a face value of £100 was changing hands at £280.[4]

Hardly surprisingly the result of the Liverpool and Manchester's success was a stream of other proposed railways. Francis lists 83 Acts authorizing railways which were passed between 1826 and 1836.[5] Twenty-six of these Acts were passed 1826-30, and must have been in preparation whilst the success of the L&M, and the financial failure of the C&W, still lay in the future and it is notable that most of these early lines were very short, the average length of the twenty-two for which a length is given being just under thirteen miles. Lines whose Acts were passed in 1831 and 1832 must have taken great encouragement from the L&M's success but these too must have been proposed and planned before that success was evident; the average length of these ten lines - or rather the seven for whom a length is stated - is just over ten miles. It would be a grave error to suppose that all these new lines were planned with the use of steam locomotion in mind. For some little time after the Rainhill Trials of 1829 and the success of the L&M, lines were still being planned, and built, with cable haulage, inclined planes and even horse haulage in places: the Whitby and Pickering line opened with horse haulage as late

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[4] Jackman, W.T., *The Development of Transportation in Modern England* (third edition, 1966), pp. 527-31.

[5] Francis, J.A., *A History of the English Railways* (1851, new edition Newton Abbot, 1967), Vol II, pp. 19-30.

as 1840 the London and Blackwall railway used cable haulage, even though its line was nearly level, having an average gradient of only 1:247.[6] It is fair to say though that Whishaw said that this form of haulage was a deliberate choice on the part of the promoters on account of the nature of the line; built-up area, short distances between stations, etc., and commended the civil engineer responsible for the railway for his solution to the problem.[7]

Lines whose Acts date from 1833 onwards were more likely to have been conceived in the light of the L&M's success, and the average length rose sharply to nearly thirty-eight miles 1833-35, and remained at just over thirty-two miles for the twenty-nine lines whose Acts were secured in 1836. Fifteen more lines secured an Act in 1837, with an average length of 28 miles. It is very evident therefore that the success of the L&M suggested to many speculators that the financial future lay with the new railways, with the results indicated[8]. It may be noted, however, that the passage of an Act was no guarantee of the creation of a railway. For example, the railway which had the longest authorized

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[6] Ransom, P.J.G., *The Victorian Railway, and how it evolved* (1990), pp. 58-9.

[7] Whishaw, F., *Railways of Great Britain and Ireland* (1842, new edition, ed. Clinker, C.R., Newton Abbott, 1969), pp. 255-56.

[8] It is interesting that the arguments for and against the construction of railways in these early days are almost exactly paralleled by the surmised consequences of the opening of the Channel Tunnel, and the effective extension of continental railways into the United Kingdom. Gibb, R.A., Knowles, R.D. and Farrington, J.H., "The Channel Tunnel rail link and regional development: an evaluation of British Rail's procedures and policies", *Geographical Journal*, Vol 158, No. 3 (November, 1992), pp. 273-77.

mileage, the Eastern Counties (from London to Yarmouth, 126 miles) only managed to stagger as far as Colchester (51 miles).[9]

Many of these lines were planned to act as branches from extant (or proposed) lines, or to be end-on extensions to them, but it is of particular interest to examine the fortunes of four of what were to feature among the major railways of England, before attention is turned in detail to the railways of East Kent.

These four lines are the London and Birmingham, which became the London North-Western, (1833, 112 miles), the London and Southampton, which became the London and South Western, (1834, 77 miles), the Great Western (London to Bristol) (1835, 117 miles) and the London and Brighton, which became the London, Brighton and South Coast, (1837, 42 miles). These four lines were to be very successful, and though that success was not on the spectacular scale of the Liverpool and Manchester, the shareholders had little to complain about. The LNWR paid a five-yearly average dividend on its ordinary shares of between 6% and 7% for most of the years 1842-1914, and that fell only once below 5%. Though the LSWR's success was not so remarkable, its five-year average ordinary share dividend generally hovered between 5.5% and 6%. Apart from a disastrous period in the late 1860's and early 1870's (no dividend was paid at all on ordinary shares in 1867), the LBSCR paid at about the same level. The Great Western, bedeviled by the expenses of trying to expand its broad-gauge empire, and burdened

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[9] Moffat, H., *East Anglia's First Railways* (Lavenham, 1987), Chapter 2.

by debts of some of the lines it acquired, spent twenty years in the financial doldrums 1855-75, but from the 1880's onward that line too was paying about 5% on ordinary shares.[10]

These lines have in common with the very successful L&M three main points:

a. They joined towns of very considerable size[11]

b. They could expect good traffic from end to end of the line

c. For three of them, there were good freight prospects: only the LBSCR was not a freight line.

and it is not unreasonable to suggest that these three points between them were a good recipe for a financially successful railway, provided always that the actual legal and constructional costs involved in setting the railway up were not grossly burdensome.

THE EARLIEST KENT RAILWAYS.

Canterbury was, at the beginning of the century, faced with the problem that river traffic along the Stour was becoming increasingly

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[10] *Bradshaw's Railway Manual, Shareholders' Guide and Directory, (1914);* Entries for the railways concerned. MacDermott, E.R., *History of the Great Western Railway,* Volume I (Revised edition, 1964, edited by Clinker, C.R.), Chapter IX, *passim.*

[11]

Birmingham	144,000
Bristol	104,000
Southampton	19,000
Brighton	41,000

THE CANTERBURY AND WHITSTABLE RAILWAY.

Though this map shows the SER and LCDR lines as well as the C&W, the site of the original C&W terminus in Canterbury is still clear and the locations of the various engine houses and inclined planes are shown, as well as the "Boghole Level" along which Invicta failed to work very well.

difficult as the river silted up, and the need for an alternative route for its coal supply to the natural course of the river was rapidly becoming imperative. The first proposed solution was, not surprisingly, a canal from Sandwich to replace the river, and in 1825 an Act was secured for the purpose, amid general rejoicing, especially at Sandwich.[12] However, suggestions had already been made as early as 1824 that a railway from the coast at Whitstable to Canterbury might be a better solution to the problem, and an Act to construct this was obtained; in fact this Act received the Royal Assent twelve days before the canal's Act was passed. The railway was to be about six miles long; the water route (from Whitstable to Canterbury via the North Foreland and the new canal) would have been about 70 miles long, and the realization that the costs of the canal scheme had been greatly underestimated brought about its death by 1827.[13]

The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway opened on 3rd May, 1830, a few weeks before the Liverpool and Manchester line (15th September), but despite the aspirations of its promoters, it was not a financial success. In 1842 Whishaw said of it "although it is of great use to the citizens of Canterbury, and the district generally through which it passes, it is far from having answered the proprietors' expectations."[14]

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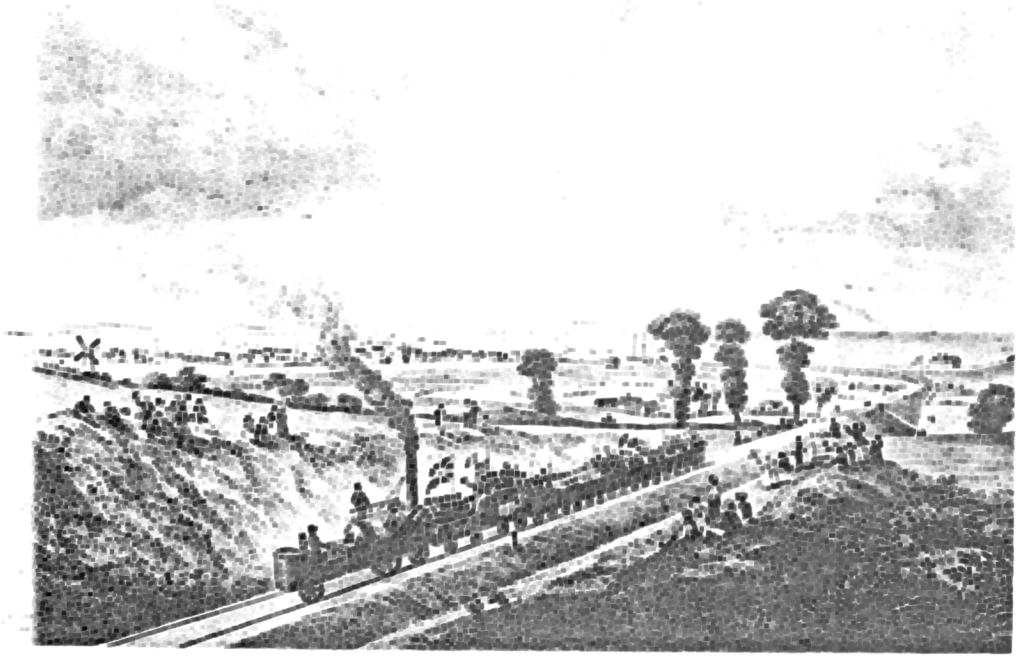
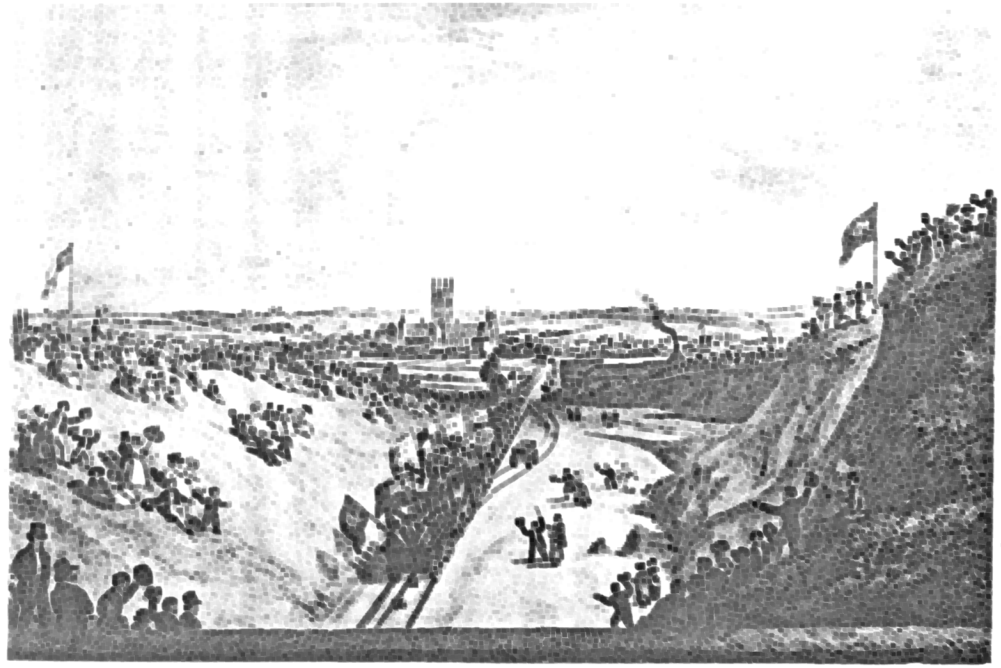
[12] Fellows, Rev. R.B., *History of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Canterbury, 1930), pp. 9-10. The Act was 6 Geo IV, c. 166.

[13] Fellows, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13 and 20.

[14] Whishaw, F., *op. cit.*, p. 50.



View of the Canterbury & Whitstable Railway from Church Street, taken on the opening day, May 3, 1830.
From a coloured lithograph in the collection of the National Railway Museum, York.



View of the Canterbury & Whitstable Railway from the tunnel entrance, taken on the opening day, May 3, 1830.
From a coloured lithograph in the collection of the National Railway Museum, York.

No dividend had been paid by 1836, and only when the line was leased in 1838 was any money available for the shareholders. Within three years, however, the lessees had become bankrupt, and the line was repossessed. The Company continued to make optimistic noises, but to pay no dividends, and in 1844 was (probably thankfully) able to lease the line to the South Eastern Railway, which eventually bought out the Company in 1853.[15] (See below).

The next railway in Kent was the London and Greenwich, opened in stages in 1836. Though this would seem to have fulfilled points (a) and (b) above, it too was not a financial success; ordinary shareholders had received almost nothing up to 1844, and this would seem to have been the direct result of the great cost of construction: the London and Greenwich eventually cost £267,000 per mile to build, compared to the London and Birmingham's £53,000, and the London South Western's £28,000.[16] To some extent this was an experimental line; it was very short (3.75 miles), it was suburban and though its method of construction (on brick viaducts throughout) saved a great deal of legal wrangling, it was, as noted, appallingly expensive.

THE SOUTH EASTERN RAILWAY.

The proposed line was intended to take advantage of the lucrative continental traffic, which was still splashing down to Dover as Mr.

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[15] Fellows, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 54, 57, 59, 60 and 66.

[16] Thomas, R.H.G., *London's First Railway* (1972), pp. 124, 131.

Jarvis Lorry was portrayed as having done in Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* some fifty years before. It is not clear just how extensive that traffic was in the 1830s; few figures seem to have survived to say just how many passengers crossed the channel year by year from Dover until rather later. One source suggests that 8,000 passengers crossed to France from Dover in 1824,[17] but in 1840 almost 87,000 passengers made the crossing from England to Boulogne, Calais, Dieppe or Ostend or vice versa, and it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of them embarked or landed at Dover. Assuming that there was a cross-channel sailing seven days a week throughout the year, that implies that each day nearly 240 persons crossed the Channel, a source of traffic revenue well worth exploiting: within a year of the railway's arrival at Dover and Folkestone the daily total had almost reached 350.[18]

The only other figures on which any estimate of potential passenger traffic could be based were those derived from known coach passenger traffic. In October, 1838, there were 82 stage-coaches running from London into Kent, making a total of 706 journeys a week, and carrying, it was estimated, some 275,000 passengers a year. According to figures produced by William Cubitt, the SER's engineer, the intended

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[17] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: Vol II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 21. Unfortunately White gives no authority for this figure.

[18] Croft, R.J., "The nature and growth of cross-channel traffic through Calais and Boulogne, 1840-70", *Transport History*, Vol IV (1971), p. 265.

destinations and annual numbers of passengers currently travelling by road were quoted as:

London and		London and	
Canterbury	39,000	Hastings	34,000
Tunbridge Wells	31,000	Sevenoaks	11,000
Maidstone	26,000	Canterbury & Dover	26,000
Tenterden	5,600	Canterbury & Deal	13,000
Dover	33,000	Herne Bay & Dover	18,000
		TOTAL PASSENGERS	236,600

In addition to this, the Company hoped to steal some of the 130,000 persons who travelled by steamboat into Kent, and perhaps half of those who came into Kent in their private carriage. All in all, the promoters believed that they could hope to carry half a million passengers a year, and make a profit of £191,000 on a capital of £ 1.4 million, some 13.6% gross.[19] A set of figures had already been laid before the Committee on the South-Eastern Railway bill in May, 1836[20], and though these differed very considerably in detail from the figures Cubitt quoted eighteen months later, the overall conclusion was much the same, with currently:

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[19] Bishop, C.H., The building of the South-Eastern Railway: Some facts and figures. *Cantium*, Vol V, (1974), pp.86-7.

[20] *Supplement to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, pp. 953-75, Monday, 16th May, 1836: Report on the London and Dover (South Eastern) Railway bill.* Pages 968-72 describe current road traffic, anticipated rail traffic and potential revenue.

252,356 road passengers

25,345 steamboat passengers

whose total numbers were expected to double when these people came to use the railway, plus those

64,896 people using post-horses

who would transfer to the railway, bringing the total number of expected passengers to 620,298 yearly.

These figures proved to be under-estimates: in 1845 the SER carried a total of 840,365 passengers over its line[21], which at that time reached only as far as Dover. A rather higher proportion than expected of the passengers carried had travelled only short distances, and a rather lower proportion had travelled the length of the line, but in sheer passenger numbers the SER appeared to have justified its promoters' optimism from the start. However, as will be shown below, the profits were never anything like so great as those the promoters had hoped for: in 1836 annual expenses had been calculated at £175,293, and income from all sources £329,040[22], but despite the greater traffic than expected, the Company's gross income in 1845 had been no more than

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[21] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts enactments*, Appendix 5: PP HoC 1846 (XIV), pp. 576.

[22] *Supplement to the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons*, Monday, 16th May, 1836, pp. 968-72.

£239,000[23]. Constructional costs for the line, estimated in 1836 at £1,335,000 had by 1846 amounted to £3,867,253, though this also included the costs of the Bricklayers' Arms extension (£250,000)[24].

The obvious route for the new line would have been to parallel the route of what had been the Roman Watling Street and is today the A2 road. This road runs effectively along the coast as far as Faversham and then turns inland to follow a more or less straight line through Canterbury to Dover, and various schemes were put forward suggesting a line that more or less followed this route. This route would have had a number of advantages:

a. it was fairly straightforward from a geographical and gradient point of view;

b. there was already a sizeable body of population in the north-west of Kent who might use the line for local purposes;

c. the line would pass through Canterbury, which was effectively the capital of East Kent, and not too far from Maidstone, the county town.

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[23] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts enactments*, PP HoC 1846 (XIV), Appendix 5, pp. 576-8.

[24] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments*, PP (HoC) 1846 (XIV), Appendix 2, part 45.

Unfortunately there were also a number of problems, and it was these which caused this route to founder.

d. Those controlling the barge and hoy traffic along the Thames were, hardly surprisingly, implacably opposed to the appearance of a means of transport which would certainly rival, and quite possibly extinguish, their means of livelihood.

e. Passenger fares on the steamboats were extremely cheap, and the railway could probably not have competed.

f. The obvious beginning to such a route lay in an eastward extension of the London and Greenwich, but the Admiralty, fearing for the stability of the Royal Observatory instruments, refused to sanction such an extension until 1878.[25]

g. In the extant state of civil engineering, the crossing of the Medway which would be required at Rochester was a very formidable obstacle, the river being all but a quarter of a mile wide at that point. The Wardens of Rochester Bridge were also likely to object strongly[26].

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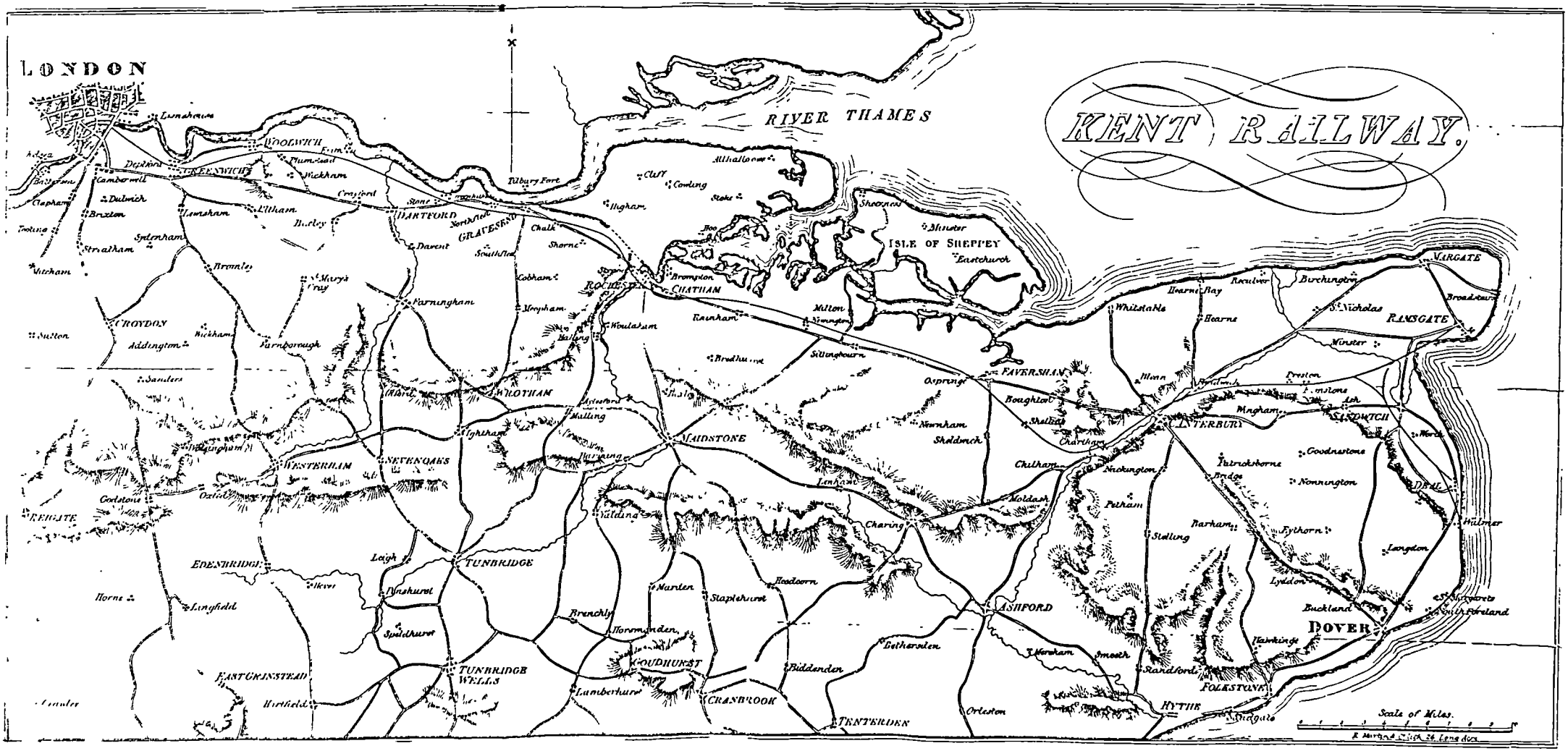
[25] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol III: Greater London* (Second edition, Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 45., and White H.P. *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: Vol. II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 21.

[26] I owe this reference to Dr. John Whyman.



One of the various schemes for a railway for Kent which came to nothing: this one dates from 1837.

The upshot was that a circuitous course was proposed through the Weald of Kent, and it was this route that was accepted by the SER's Act of 1836. This route, running via Oxted, Tonbridge, Maidstone, Ashford and Folkestone to Dover[27] was a very long way round, but at least had the merit of linking as many of the major centres of population of Kent to London and Dover as was reasonably practical[28]. The point has already been made that of the various factors which might militate against a railway's financial success one very important one was high initial cost, and the SER Board were obviously eager to save money if at all possible.

No one, in the 1830s, could reasonably be expected to foresee the extent to which rail travel was to come to dominate the transport industry for all but the shortest journeys, and there was considerable feeling that the railways ought to be kept out of the centre of London. Stations, their buildings, trainsheds and the necessary ancillary sidings would and still do take up a great deal of space, and the approach routes would take up more, and cause immense traffic problems, even if, as with the London and Greenwich, the approach line ran on a viaduct throughout its length. Thus so far as possible, railway companies were to be encouraged to share their London terminal facilities.

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[27] Nock, O.S., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (1961), p. 12; Dendy Marshall, C.F., *History of the Southern Railway* (Revised single-volume edition, revised by Kidner, R.W., 1968), p. 283.

[28] A proposal to associate the SER with Sir John Rennie's Central of Kent Railway, which would (very roughly) have followed the line of the later LCDR from Lewisham to Maidstone and Ashford was still-born. White H.P. *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: Vol. II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 27.

For these reasons therefore it was originally proposed that the Great Western Railway should share Euston with the London and Birmingham; and the Midland Railway was forced into unhappy partnership with the Great Northern at King's Cross. In the south of the capital the authorities hit upon the happy notion of using the London and Greenwich station, London Bridge, as a sort of Grand Central Station. The London and Croydon Railway was effectively a branch of the L&G, and ran into London Bridge. The London and Brighton Railway's Act allowed it to use both lines to gain access to London Bridge station, and since the SER's proposed route paralleled part of that of the London and Brighton, it was suggested that the two Companies unite to build the line (in agreed shares) as far as Earlswood Common (which became Redhill Junction), and for the SER to branch off from the London and Brighton at that point and head across country for Dover.[11] The SER agreed, and the route was modified to suit.

In the short term this agreement saved the SER a lot of money (though their share of the line constructed jointly with the London and Brighton proved to be the most expensive part of it), but in the long run it was disastrous.

Between Redhill (where the SER left the London and Brighton line) and Dover the only town of any size on the new route was Tonbridge (1831 population 10,380); Folkestone had only 4,296 inhabitants, and Ashford,

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[11] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 26-7.

very much a country market town, had but 2,809. Little could be expected from intermediate passenger traffic along such a route. Maidstone was bypassed, and so was Canterbury, though both were later to be reached by branch lines. At London Bridge sharing the station with two other companies and the owner company produced major operating problems, which were not solved by the building of a separate "West End Terminus" at Bricklayer's Arms in 1844.

Thus though the SER was one of the largest of the railways of the period (it was ninth in size of those lines authorized 1826-36) it had no towns of major size along its length, even at the far end, so had no prospect of much intermediate traffic. With little major industry in Kent, there was not a lot of hope of major freight income, though rather surprisingly railways in general in the early years seem to have been slow to realize the value of long-distance freight carriage and their own potential ability to dominate this field.[30] Hardly surprisingly then, the South Eastern Railway was never a great financial success, as a study of the tables of dividends paid by the various Companies in the pages of *Bradshaw's Railway Manual, Shareholders' Guide and Directory* of 1914 shows. (See Graph 3.1.) In comparison with the London North-Western, the Great Western, the London, South-Western and the London, Brighton and South Coast railways, the SER was rarely more than one place from bottom in the ranking order of dividends paid. The SER rarely paid better than 5% in a quinquennium, the LNWR rarely less than 6%. The

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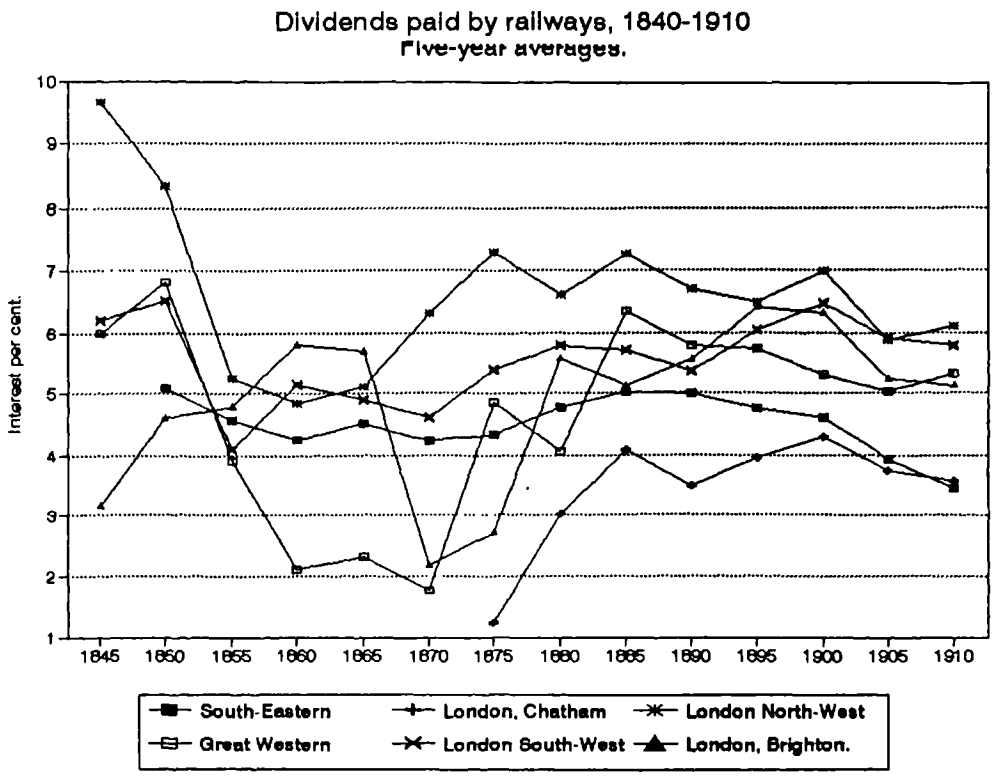
[30] Mitchell, B.R., "The coming of the railway and United Kingdom economic growth", in Reed, M.C. (ed.,)*Railways in the Victorian Economy* (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 15-16.

most obvious consequence of this was that in future years the SER had very few financial reserves for modernization of motive power, rolling

Graph 3.1: PERFORMANCE OF SER, LCDR, LNWR, GWR, LSWR & LBSCR COMPARED.



NB: The SER figures are for ordinary, and those for the LCDR for preference, shares.

stock and permanent way: in later years the SER's performance in all three fields was a bad music-hall joke[31].

[31] The SER's early reputation was considerably better. It was only the ruinous war with the LCDR in the 1860s and after which destroyed alike its finances and its reputation. White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol. II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 164.

The SER's original main line reached Dover in February, 1844: by then branches were in construction from a point in the middle of nowhere, called Maidstone Road, which later grew to be Paddock Wood, to Maidstone (opened in September, 1844) and, via Canterbury and Ramsgate, to Margate (reached in February, April and December 1846 respectively). The town of Maidstone had originally fiercely opposed proposals to route the SER main line through the town[32]; now, in common with many other towns and cities which had taken up a similar attitude to the new railways, the town had come to regret it, and had to make do with its branch. In 1847 another branch was opened, this time from one of the branch lines: the new line was a short one from Minster on the Canterbury-Ramsgate line to Deal.

Hastings was in 1841 the largest town on the south coast between Lewes and Hythe, and so was the obvious target for another branch. On military grounds the War Office was very anxious to have a railway roughly paralleling the coast with France, and thus threw its weight behind the SER in its argument with the proposals of the Brighton, Hastings and Lewes Railway for an independent line from Lewes to Ashford, via Hastings. The SER's line from Ashford to Hastings was opened in February 1851, precipitating a rivalry crisis with the London and Brighton line which had absorbed the Brighton, Hastings &

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[32] Jackman, W.T., *The Development of Transportation in Modern England* (third edition, 1966), p. 503. White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol. II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 38. Dendy Marshall, C.F., *History of the Southern Railway* (one-volume edition, 1968), p. 324.

Lewes.[33] Another branch to Hastings, this time from Tonbridge, via Tunbridge Wells, was opened in stages, reaching its destination in February, 1852. The Ashford-Hastings route can never have been a money-maker, and may well have lost money through most of its life: even today (1993) it is only single track.

The pioneering Canterbury and Whitstable line was as already indicated in financial difficulties almost from the beginning: as planned, the South-Eastern line through Canterbury would have crossed that of the C&W on the level, which situation was simplified by the lease of the C&W to the SER in 1844, when the C&W terminus was integrated into the as yet incomplete SER station. Henceforth the SER worked the line, which was reconstructed for locomotive haulage throughout in 1846, and the C&W shareholders finally sold out to the SER in 1853.[34]

A potentially lucrative source of passenger traffic was the north-west Kent coast area, and very early on in railway history bitter battles were fought out over this possible prize. The first victory went to the South Eastern, which in July 1847 opened its North Kent route from a junction near London Bridge via Dartford and the old Thames and Medway Canal tunnel[35] to Strood, on the bank of the Medway opposite

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[33] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol. II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 33-34.

[34] Fellows, Rev. R.B., *History of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Canterbury, 1930), Chapter VII.

[35] The technical and practical difficulties of carrying the line through the canal, at first on a staging over part of the canal bed, and subsequently over the filled-in canal bed are described in Conder, F.R., *Personal Recollections of English Engineers*,

to Rochester. In June 1856 a connecting link was opened between Strood and Maidstone.

At the end of 1856 therefore the SER's rail network of 267.5 route-miles was as shown in Map 3.1. Most of the main towns in Kent were served by SER trains, though possibly by a very roundabout route. The managers of the line, however, had every reason to be pleased with themselves: they had a monopoly of Kent traffic, with a good reputation[36], and even the dividends were on their way up (see graph of quinquennial dividends, (Graph 3.1, above)).

Within a decade things were going wrong; within two decades the rot had set in.

THE LONDON, CHATHAM AND DOVER RAILWAY.

A glance at the map will show that by 1847 the SER ran along the north coast of Kent to Strood, along the centre of Kent to Dover and having connections from that line to Maidstone and to the Thanet resorts of Ramsgate and Margate. The obvious gap lay along the north coast from Rochester (on the other side of the Medway from Strood) to Canterbury or Whitstable, and from very early on in the Railway Mania of 1845 and in the years that followed there were a number of schemes for railways

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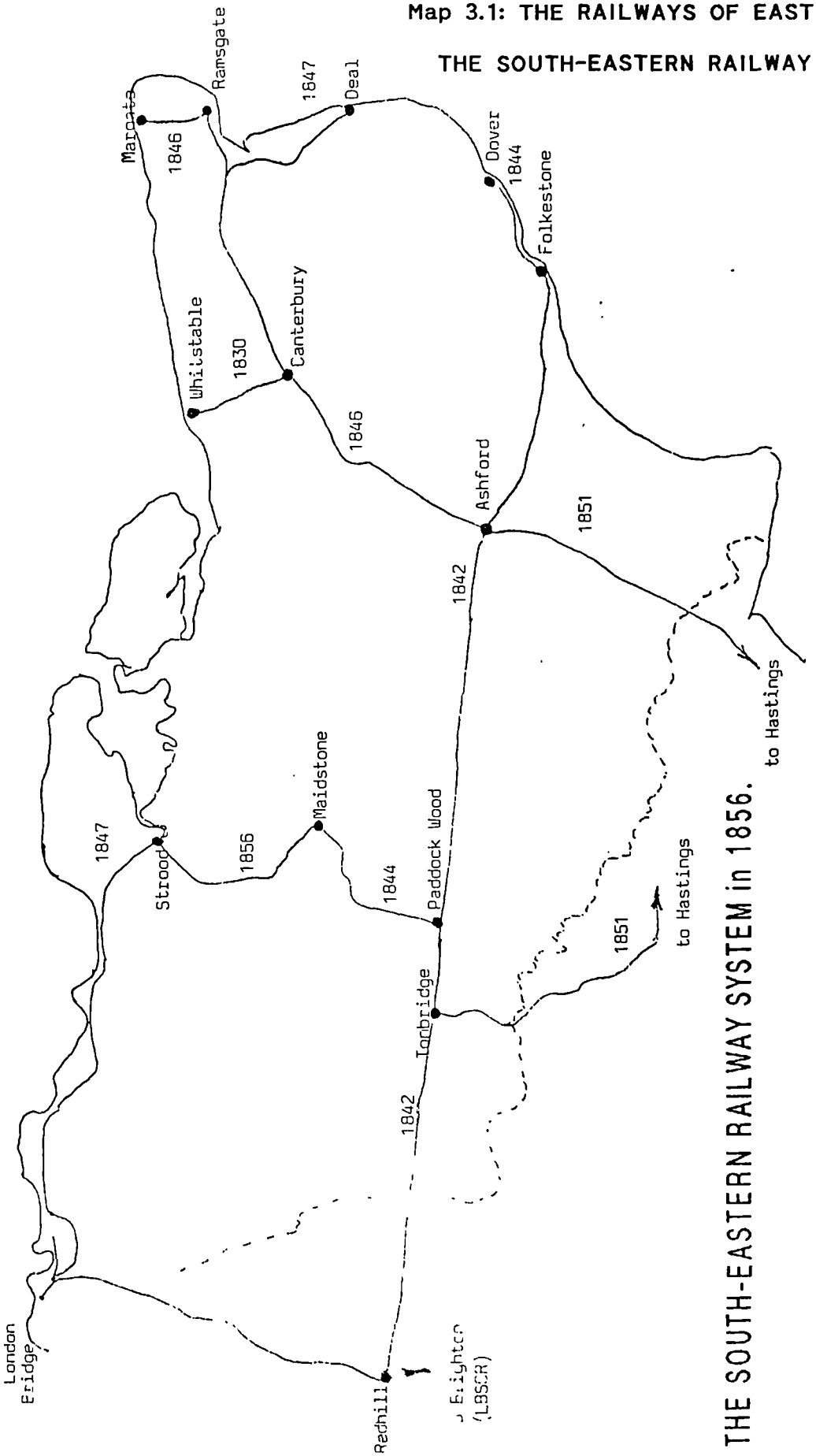
originally published anonymously in 1868, reprinted as Simmons, J. (ed.) *The Men who Built Railways* (1983), Chap. XX.

[36] White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Vol II, Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 39.

Map 3.1: THE RAILWAYS OF EAST KENT :

THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY IN 1856.



THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY SYSTEM in 1856.

which would plug that gap and (probably) continue from Canterbury to Dover - lines which would in effect parallel the London-Dover road route, the modern A2, to complete the railway route that the SER had not been allowed to build only a few years previously[37]. The details of the various schemes are not relevant here, suffice to say that though the SER found itself forced to promote various routes, and to give an undertaking to build a line to Dover by this route[38], it does not seem to have been very anxious to spend money in actually doing so, and only (in 1856, as described above) completed the London-Redhill-Maidstone-Strood-London circle by building a connecting line along the banks of the Medway between Strood and Maidstone.

However, pressure among local landowners for a line along the coast from Strood towards Canterbury remained strong: the fruit-growing industry area through which the new line would pass would greatly benefit from the railway, increasing growers' incomes, rents and land values generally.[39] Eventually (in 1853) an Act was secured by the East Kent Railway for a line from Strood to Canterbury: the same Parliamentary session saw the Act for the Strood-Maidstone link described above. It was one thing for the North Kent landowners (who were behind the agitation for the new line) to want a line which would give to them the advantages the railway had already given the Wealden

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[37] The history of the various competing schemes is well covered in Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), Chapter 1.

[38] Gray, A., *op. cit.*, p.2.

[39] Lampard, K., "The promotion and performance of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway", *Journal of Transport History (3rd series)*, Vol. VI (1985), p. 51.

farmers, but a very different matter for them to invest in its construction.[40] Apart from traffic from the Gillingham, Rainham and Faversham areas along the line, little new traffic could be reasonably expected, though the promoters made out a vigorous case, working from traffic tables which one authority describes as "the most careful and conservative estimates made up to that date",[41] and, drawing a parallel from the SER's very successful North Kent line through Gravesend to Strood, had high hopes of similar success, forecasting dividends of a minimum of 7.5%

Canterbury was already on the railway (though a long way in railway terms from London), and so was Dover; the new line, if extended to Dover, and it seems to have been taken more or less for granted that in due time it would be, could only share in the existing traffic as handled by the SER. Thirty years later a contemporary authority summed up the situation on the Dover line in just those terms.

> "The little Chatham and Dover is to be praised for the spirited way in which it runs over its hilly route. But during a great part of the year it is wasting its substance on the seven Dover expresses while duplicates of these are running at identical times on the neighbouring South Eastern. These fourteen Dover expresses merely divide, and

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[40] Gray, A., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[41] Lampard, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

> do not breed, any continental traffic, for none of them are third class, and the fares are excessive."[42]

Prospects for the new line in terms of investment value were unpromising. Moreover, it was to prove an expensive line to build, with long and heavy gradients on its saw-tooth profile, tunnels in the Chatham area and a swing bridge over the Medway. [It is interesting to note that the Medway crossing, which had been regarded only twenty years ago as a major civil engineering obstacle, was now only an obstacle in the terms of how much the bridge would cost, such was the pace of the improvement in engineering techniques].

The result of this lack of local willingness to invest was that the East Kent Railway became a "contractor's line", where the contractor who built the line took some or perhaps almost all his payment in the form of railway company stock. Of necessity the EKR had to be built as cheaply as possible therefore, hence the saw-tooth profile to avoid, as far as might be, expensive earthworks. The SER waited for the whole enterprise to collapse into financial ruin, when they would be able to pick up a very useful line for a song - but they waited too long.

Whilst the original line was still being built, and whilst the wrangles over who should pay were still proceeding, the EKR board began actively to promote their extension from Canterbury to Dover. The War

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[42] Foxwell, E., *Express Trains* (1888), quoted in Ahrons, E.L., *Locomotive and Train Working in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, Vol V* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 39.

Office had come to realize the strategic value of railways, and also to appreciate that the SER's line along the foot of the cliffs between Dover and Folkestone was very vulnerable to artillery bombardment: an alternative, non-coastal link between Dover and London was, in the War Office's eyes, highly desirable. Hints were dropped that a loan of up to £ 400,000 might be made available from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, but when the Bill was passed and the EKR committed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that no funds were available, a major financial blow to the Company.[43] Local interests in Dover saw the line as an excellent stick with which to beat the SER to persuade it to pay greater attention to local needs and requirements, but that did not say that those interested were prepared to invest, forcing the EKR to plunge further and further into the financial morass from which it never emerged. The original line was opened from Strood to Faversham in January 1858, to Canterbury in July 1860 and to Dover itself in July 1861.

Awkward relations with the SER at Strood and tactics of which the SER was a past master by reason of its squabbles with the London and Brighton Railway, meant that the EKR could not remain content with things as they were at the western end of their line, where they were at the mercy of the SER. Thus the EKR was forced to extend westwards, through a series of end-on junctions and running agreements, and at enormous and financially fatal expense[44], finally secured a continuous

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[43] Lampard, *loc. cit.*, p. 53.

[44] *Ibid*, p. 61.

route into London at Victoria which was in operation from December 1860; to celebrate its new importance the Company was re-named the London, Chatham and Dover Railway from August 1859.

A further obvious extension for the railways of East Kent was a line along the north coast from the Faversham and Whitstable area to Thanet. There was very little intermediate traffic to be expected, except for that generated by Herne Bay, but such a line would very much shorten the tortuous route rail passengers to Margate had to follow by the SER service. Local interests resulted in pressure for what became known as the Herne Bay and Whitstable Railway, from Faversham to Herne Bay, for which an Act was obtained in 1857. Although the H&W was nominally an independent line, the EKR was obviously very interested in its successful promotion, and certainly the EKR secretary had been the main speaker at a meeting to launch the proposals in 1856.[15] The H&W was subject to the same financial problems as the EKR, and was also a "contractors' line".

Nothing daunted by the financial problems, the H&W directors decided to push on to Margate, obtained an Act in August 1859, and renamed the Company the Margate Railway at the same time - just a fortnight after its supporting Company became the LCDR, as noted above. The section of the line from Faversham to Whitstable opened in August 1860; the next month it was agreed to rent out the whole line (including the as

[15] All details regarding the Thanet extensions to the EKR and LCDR are based on Gray, A., *op. cit.*, Chapter 9.

yet uncompleted section to Margate) to the LCDR. Herne Bay was reached in July 1861 and in August the Margate Railway obtained a further Act to allow an extension to Ramsgate, and making another change of name, this time to the Kent Coast Railway. Ramsgate was eventually reached by public services in October 1863.

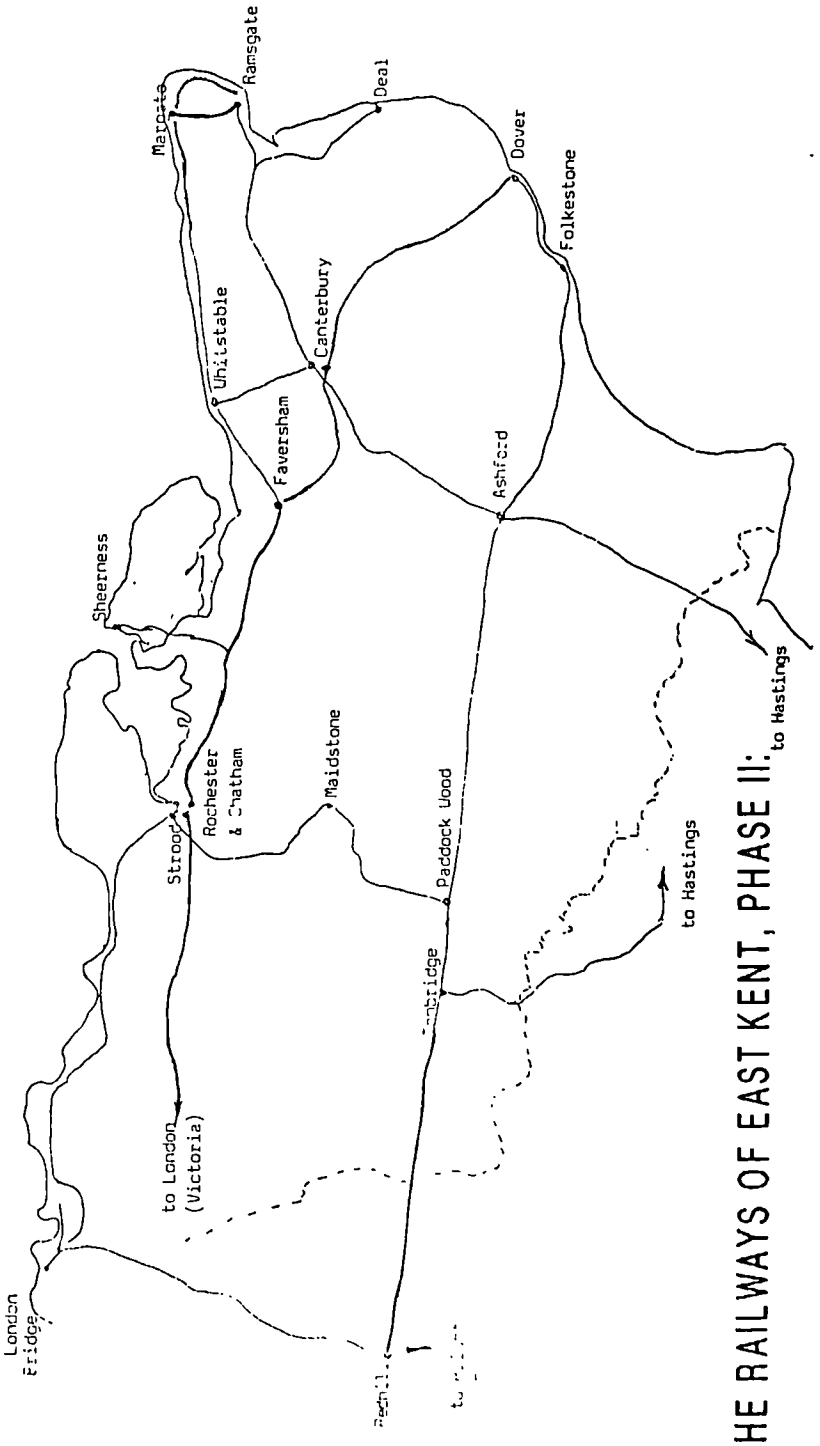
The Kent Coast Railway, which had not in fact proved to be as successful as its promoters had hoped, was formally taken over by the LCDR in 1872. Though it is strictly speaking inaccurate to do so, the whole of the EKR system, at whatever date, and the various sections of the line from Faversham to Ramsgate will be referred to in this thesis as being part of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway, LCDR. The extension from Faversham eventually through to Ramsgate appears to have been so described in public time-tables from its opening in the various stages, and it is certainly far less confusing to do so.

The result of the LCDR's arrival at Ramsgate - to a site on the sea-front, approached by a tunnel on a vicious gradient, which caused operating problems throughout its life - meant that it was now possible to reach Margate by train over 74 miles of railway track (via the LCDR) rather than over 102 (via the SER). The situation in 1863 is shown in Map 3.2: The Railways of East Kent, Phase II.

Not surprisingly, the SER was very disturbed by this threat to its financial position, and various proposals were made to obtain direct access to Herne Bay at least, but nothing came of these plans: the

Map 3.2: THE RAILWAYS OF EAST KENT, PHASE II:

THE SITUATION IN 1863.

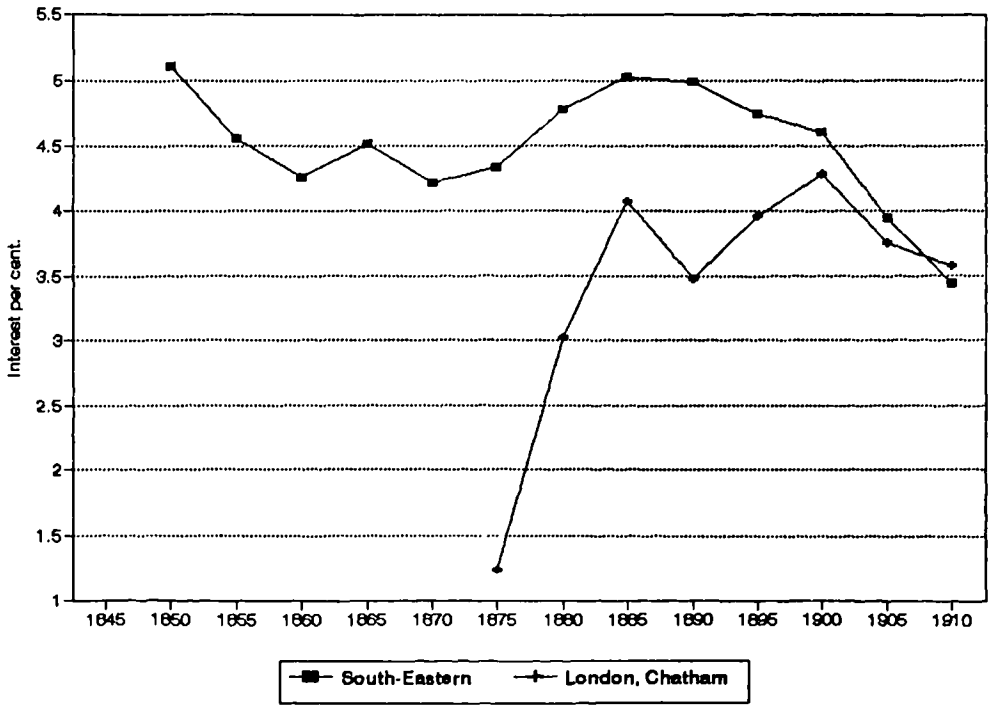


certain cost, against problematic returns, was an effective deterrent. The LCDR's financial problems, vastly exacerbated by their ruinously expensive London extensions, finally came to a head in 1866 when, following the collapse of the bankers Overend and Gurney, the Company became bankrupt, (bringing their principal contractor, Sir Morton Peto, down with them), and staggered on in receivership until 1871: its ordinary shareholders did not receive a dividend until 1923. Notwithstanding, the two Companies waged a bitter war of the branches in the 1870s and 1880s, which raged from end to end of Kent.

BRANCH LINE WARFARE.

The effect of this warfare can clearly be seen in Graph 3.2; a comparison of the quinquennial averages of dividends paid by the two companies. It must be emphasized at the outset that *these graphs are NOT a strict comparison of like with like*: the SER figures are for the Company's ordinary shares, and the LCDR for the preference shares: as has been stated above, the LCDR never paid a dividend on its ordinary shares, which wavered in price between about 12 or 16 in the period 1902-13: in comparison the SER's ordinary shares over the same period fluctuated between averages of 95 (highest) and 77 (lowest), though the general trend was steadily downwards, which, it is only fair to say, was a national trend among railway shares at this period. The sad state of the two companies' finances is clearly indicated in the graph. The SER was generally speaking less and less profitable as time went by, and though things were getting better for the LCDR's preference share-

Graph 3.2: PERFORMANCE OF SER AND LCDR ONLY COMPARED.



holders, even they had nothing very much to shout about. Both Companies were short of ready cash; the branch line warfare was carried on at the expense of the consumer. One embittered critic of the LCDR described the Company's trains as being

> "formed of unclean cattle trucks propelled at snail-like speeds with frequent stops of great length by Machiavellian locomotives of monstrous antiquity held together by pieces of wire, rusty bolts and occasionally by lengths of string which clanked, groaned, hissed and oozed a scalding conglomeration of oil, steam and water from every pore."[46]

[46] Quoted in Bradley, D.L., *The Locomotive History of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (First edition, Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, 1960), p. 48. "In 1892 the Chatham sued a third-class passenger for riding in a second-class carriage without paying the difference. The Court awarded the company that difference, but refused costs, considering it very natural for a civilized Englishman to shy at the Chatham third

Not that the South Eastern trains were a lot better.

> "Each carriage consisted of two portions - the outside and the inside - of which it is hard to say which beat the other.... The first thing a third-class passenger... did, immediately on entering a South Eastern carriage, was to emerge with great alacrity and have another look at the outside."[47]

Of the branches constructed as part of this war, only those which actually affected East Kent will be considered here.

Taking the various branches in chronological order, the first to be built was the Sandgate branch. The SER was very dissatisfied with its approach to Folkestone Harbour. It had actually bought the harbour in 1843 after the Harbour Company had gone bankrupt and had put in a branch from near its Folkestone station (which later became Folkestone East) down to the harbour, but this was very steeply graded and involved a reversal at the junction - as it still does in 1993. The SER was anxious to improve its approach to the harbour, and so in 1874 a branch was taken from the main line at Sandling Junction through Hythe to Sandgate. It had been the SER's intention to carry this line

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class." Ellis, H., *Railway Carriages in the British Isles from 1830 to 1914* (1965), p. 145.

[47] Ahrons, *op. cit.*, p. 4. These two lamentable companies were however pioneers of good signalling practice; Simmons, J., *The Railway in England and Wales 1830-1914: Vol I: The System and its Working* (Leicester, 1978), pp. 218-22.

along at the foot of the Lees in the same way that the line between Folkestone and Dover ran at the foot of the cliffs just above beach level, but local opposition stopped the plan, and the branch got no further than the hills above Sandgate[41].

In 1881 the SER and the LCDR co-operated to construct a connecting line from Deal to Dover, and the LCDR actually began to run trains via Kearsney through to Walmer, the station to the south of Deal. Three years later, in 1884, the LCDR extended their branch from Sevenoaks to Maidstone (opened in 1874) on to Ashford: quite what passenger traffic or freight it hoped to collect from the engineering home of the SER is a mystery. However, such trespassing did alarm the SER as to the sanctity of its own port at Folkestone. The harbour facilities at Dover it had no option but to share with the LCDR, but it actually owned Folkestone harbour, as described above. The SER was very much afraid that the LCDR would in some way promote a line which would give it access to Folkestone. After a great deal of scheming, which need not be considered here, the SER supported, and eventually took over before it opened, the nominally independent Elham Valley line, which ran directly from Canterbury to Folkestone. It was a line the SER did not want, and certainly did not need to build to the main line standards it adopted, but it felt that if it did not build the line, the LCDR would[42].

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[41] Hart, B., *The Hythe and Sandgate railway* (Didcot, 1987), Ch. 4, *passim.* (1983).

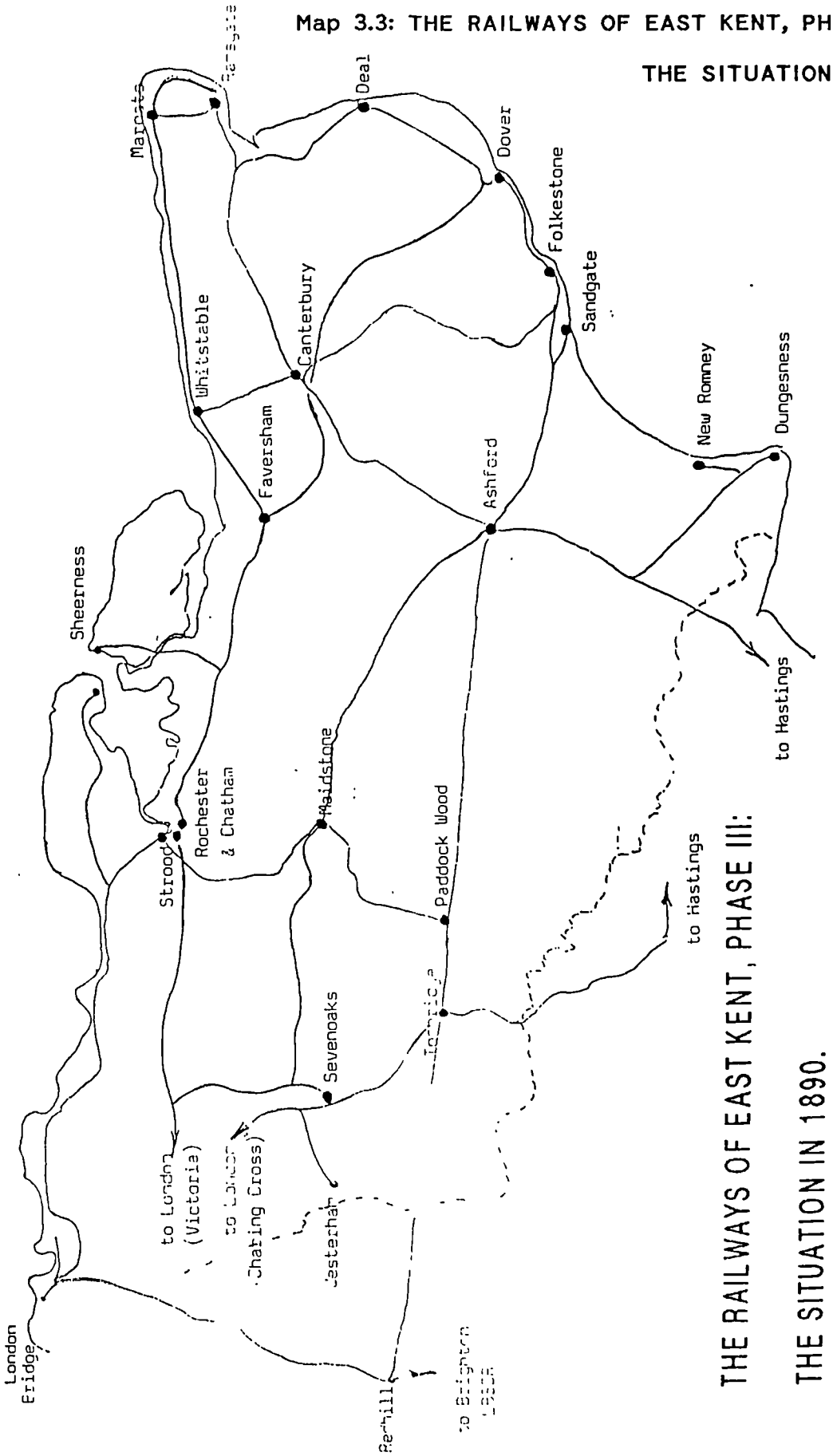
[42] Forwood, M., *The Elham Valley Railway* (Chichester, 1975), Chapters 1 and 2.

By 1890 therefore the construction of railways in East Kent was complete, and the network was as shown in Map 3.3: The railways of East Kent, Phase III. It is virtually the pattern of 1990. There has been a rationalization in Thanet; while the Elham Valley, Sandgate and Dungeness branches have gone, as has the Canterbury and Whitstable line, but all else survives in this really very dense network: East Kent was (and really still is) very well provided with railway transport. It follows that very few places in East Kent were very far from the railway, certainly at the end of the century, and even as early as 1863 when the LCDR's main lines were complete. Map 3.4 shows those parts of East Kent which were not within three miles (as the crow flies) of a railway station in 1863, when the LCDR main lines to Thanet and Dover were complete, and Map 3.5 shows the picture for 1890 when the whole East Kent network was in place.

There were very few places which were outside the three-mile radius. A tiny strip along the sea wall between Herne Bay and Birchington in the north, and a narrow strip inland from the Graveney Marshes in the north-west is common to both maps. In the south of the area there was a large uncovered district in 1863, crossed by the Roman Stone Street, and later to be crossed on its eastern side by the Elham Valley line, but the only village of any size in that district which was not within three miles of a station even in 1863 was Elham, though Lyminge and Barham were on the extreme edge of the three-mile limit. To the south-west of Sandwich and Deal there was in 1863 a long narrow strip

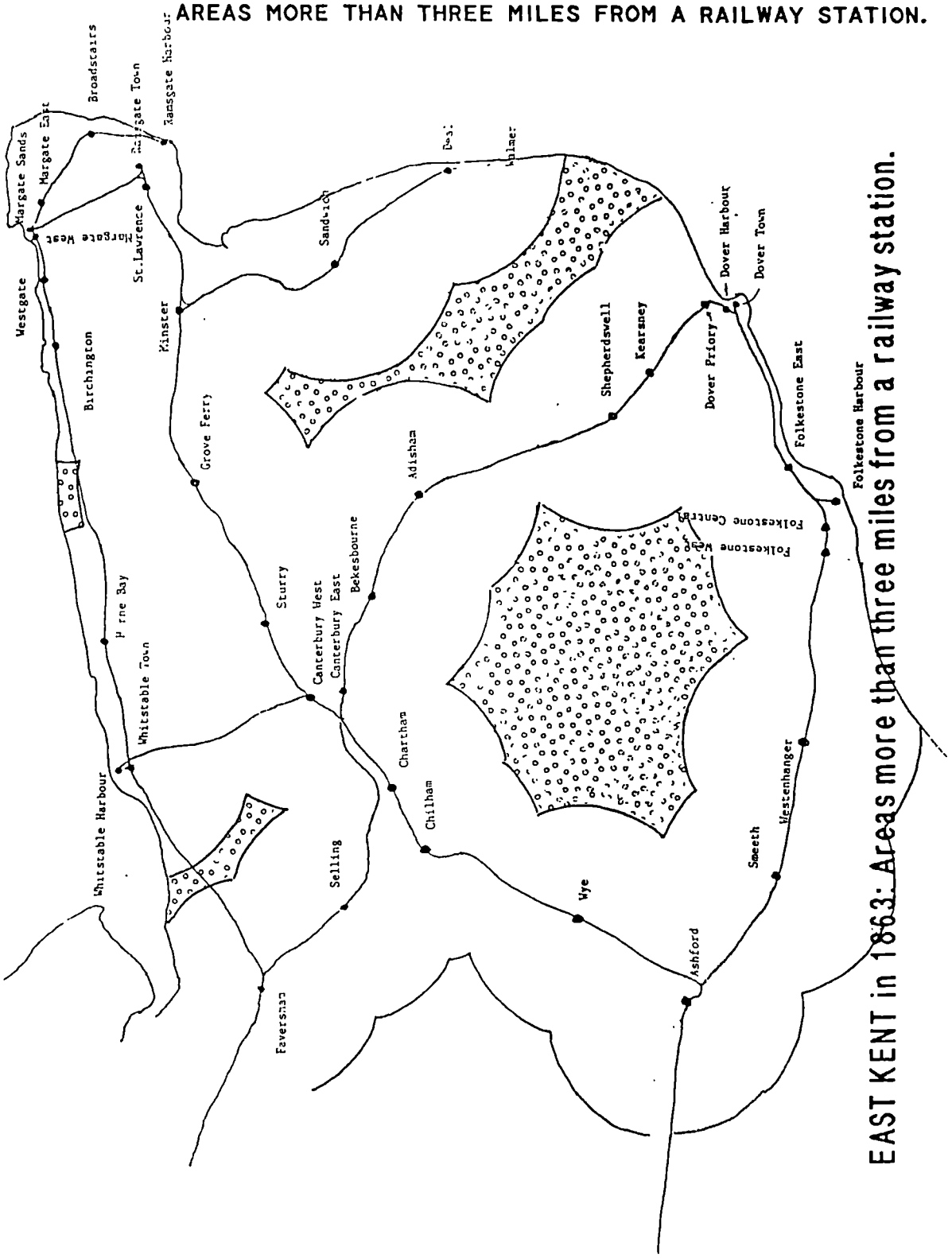
Map 3.3: THE RAILWAYS OF EAST KENT, PHASE III:

THE SITUATION IN 1890.



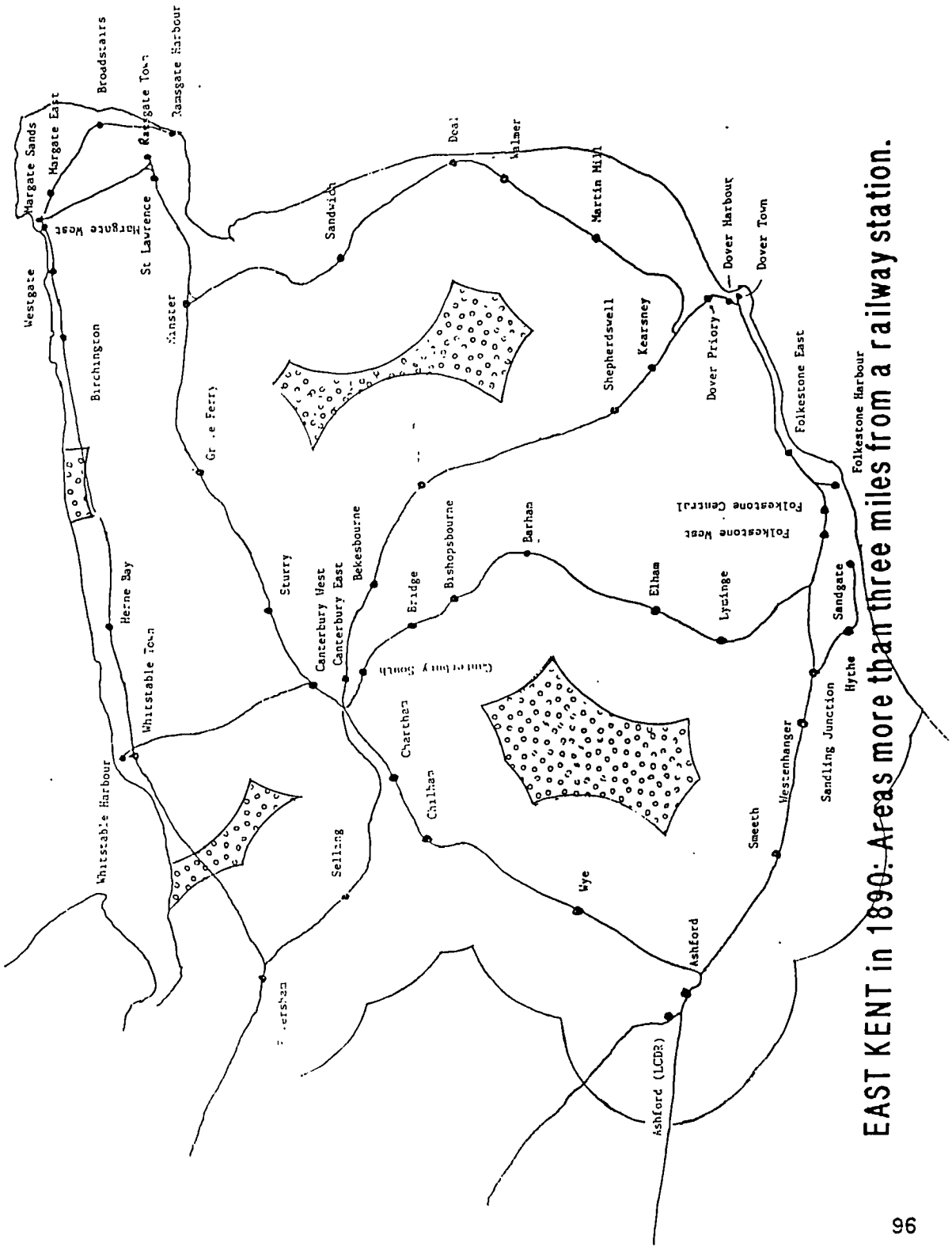
Map 3.4: EAST KENT IN 1863:

AREAS MORE THAN THREE MILES FROM A RAILWAY STATION.



Map 3.5: EAST KENT IN 1890,

AREAS MORE THAN THREE MILES FROM A RAILWAY STATION.



EAST KENT in 1890: Areas more than three miles from a railway station.

reaching down to the coast: the only settlement in that strip that later acquired a station was Martin Mill, which even today is a tiny place.

The construction of the Deal-Dover link, the Elham valley line and the LCDR's Ashford branch produced the picture of Map 3.5: most of the gaps left open in 1863 had been filled, and hardly anywhere was thereafter more than three miles from a station. The only settlements of any size to remain so deprived were Ash and Wingham on the road from Sandwich to Canterbury, in the strip south and west of Sandwich and Deal. Everywhere else in East Kent was within, at most, little more than an hour's walking distance of the railway.

With such dense coverage of the area, it seems clear that the arrival of such a complete system of rapid transport for passengers and freight, employing a very considerable workforce to operate it must have had a considerable impact on the settlements in the district. The question is, what effect? The first aspect to be considered, in Chapter IV, is the extent to which the railway system provided employment.

APPENDIX 3.1: DATES OF OPENING OF THE VARIOUS STATIONS IN EAST KENT.

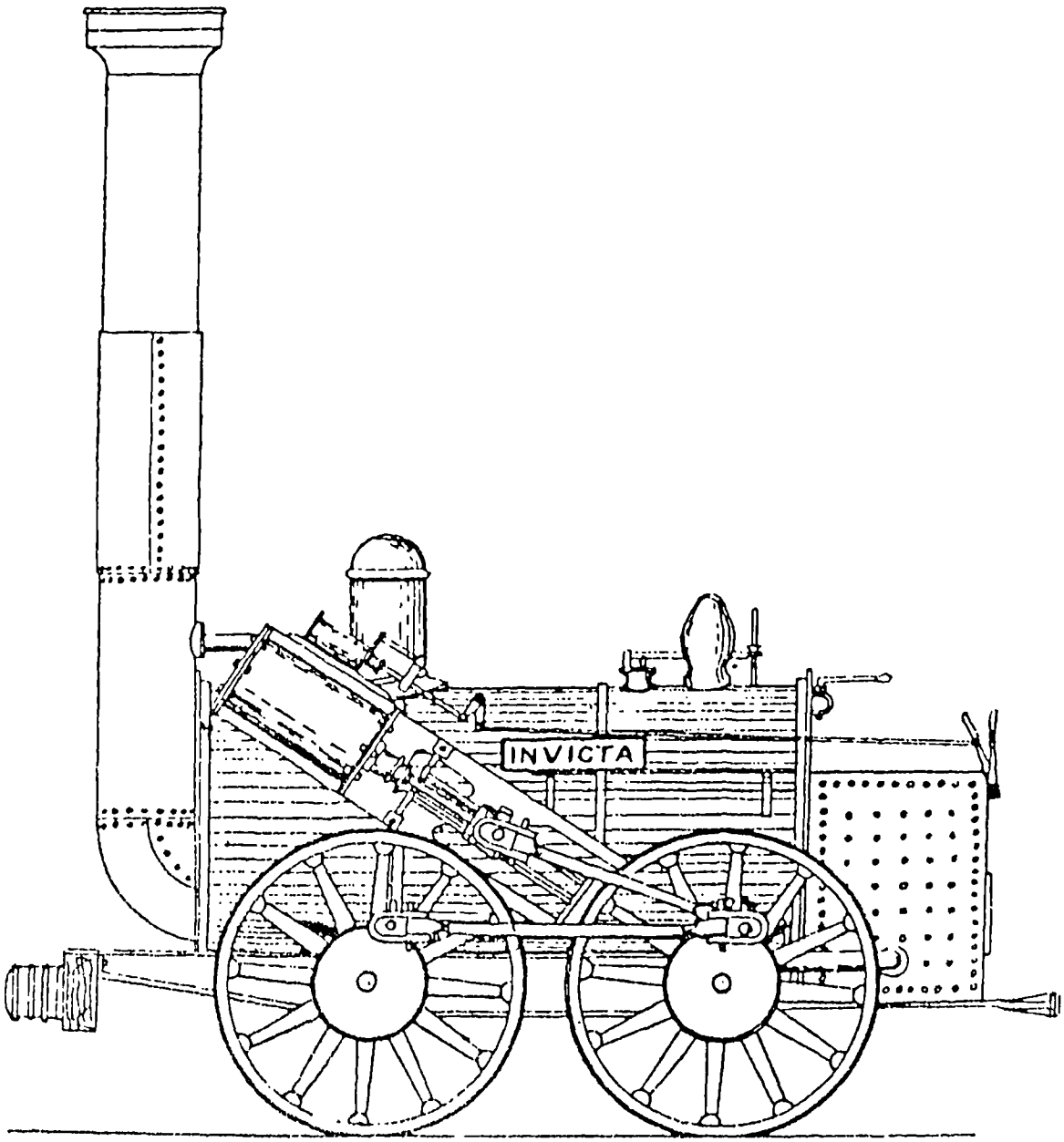
STATION	Line	Opening date
Canterbury North	C&W	3rd May, 1830
Whitstable		4th May, 1830
Whitstable Harbour		19th March, 1832
Ashford	SER	1st December, 1842
Folkestone [East]		28th June, 1843
Dover Town		7th February, 1844
Westenhanger		
Canterbury West		6th February, 1846
Chilham		
Wye		
Grove Ferry		13th April, 1846
Minster		
Ramsgate Town		
Margate Sands		1st December, 1846
Deal		1st July, 1847
Sandwich		
Sturry		1848
Folkestone Harbour		1st January, 1849
Smeeth		1852
Faversham	LCDR	25th January, 1858
Chartham	SER	1859
Canterbury East	LCDR	9th July, 1860
Whitstable town		1st August, 1860
Selling		3rd December, 1860
Herne Bay		13th July, 1861
Adisham		22nd July, 1861
Bekesbourne		
Dover Priory		

STATION	Line	Opening date
Shepherdswell		22nd July, 1861
Dover Harbour		1st November, 1861
Kearsney		1st August, 1862
Birchington		
Broadstairs		
Margate West		5th October, 1863
Ramsgate Harbour		
Shorncliffe [Folkestone West]	SER	1st November, 1863
St. Lawrence		October, 1864
Margate East		1870
Westgate	LCDR	April, 1871
Hythe		
Sandgate	SER	9th October, 1874
Martin Mill		15th June, 1881
Walmer	SECR	
Ashford	LCDR	1st July, 1884
Cheriton Arch [Folkestone Central]		1st September, 1884
Barham		
Elham		4th July, 1887
Lyminge		
Sandling Junction	SER	
Bishopsbourne		
Bridge		1st January, 1888
Canterbury South		

Note: Certain of these dates should be viewed with some caution. It was the SER's policy when opening a new station to set up a building with the most basic facilities with a view to assessing partly whether the station was in the right place, and partly to see whether a station in that place at all was a worthwhile proposition. Some stations are therefore given different opening dates in different authorities; in some cases, no exact date for opening appears to survive (eg Margate East). Dates given here are taken from Dendy Marshall, C.F., *History of the Southern Railway* (combined volume, 1968), pp. 509-35.

Chapter IV:

THE RAILWAYS AS A SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT.



CHAPTER IV: THE RAILWAYS AS A SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT

"Servant of the South Eastern Railway Company."[1]

Railways provided employment in two ways, firstly during the construction of the line, and then in operating the system when it was complete.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILWAYS.

The lines were built by the specialist labouring gangs who are usually lumped together, slightly inaccurately, as "Navvies". Stories abound of the hard-working deep-drinking navvies who built the lines and whose social habits caused fear and trembling in the areas where they congregated. The immoral and violent life which some navvies led in the shanty towns which they built to provide themselves with shelter in the more remote parts of Britain tarred the whole race of navvies with the brush of social ostracism.

Nationally, the construction of the railways had a major effect. New skills were required in civil engineering and mechanical engineering, and new production methods to produce the volume of rails and iron and steel needed for the locomotives and carriages: railway construction was the leading edge of the technology of its day. Many of the great names of the early days of the railway began their careers in positions

[1] Daniel Mills' of Kingsnorth's description of himself to the census enumerator, 1881: PRO RG 11, West Ashford, 15/29.

of great responsibility at what seem ridiculously early ages. Isambard Kingdom Brunel was only 27 when he was appointed Engineer to the Great Western Railway, and he was instrumental in appointing as Locomotive Superintendent one Daniel Gooch, then not yet 21,[2] an age at which, two decades later, engine cleaners were looking forward to their promotion to firemen. Perhaps a fair modern parallel would be the leaders of the modern computer industry.

In many areas of Great Britain the construction of a railway line brought about what might be described as a social blight, especially where the works were prolonged, and the location isolated - the construction of the Woodhead Tunnel on the line between Sheffield and Manchester between 1839 and 1845 is an excellent example[3]. East Kent happily escaped the worst of this problem. For this there are two main reasons. Firstly, Kent was, by the standards of many areas through which the new railways were being constructed, quite densely populated: there were very many little villages and hamlets dotted about, so that it was not too hard for a navvy to find lodgings. Thus the excesses which characterized the navvy villages of Woodhead Tunnel, and the later Settle and Carlisle line did not occur: the navvies tended not to be too herded together[4]. The second reason is that, by and large, the construction of the line through East Kent was relatively

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[2] MacDermott, E.T., *History of the Great Western Railway, Vol I.* (revised edition by Clinker, C.R., Newton Abbot 1964), pp. 3 and 27).

[3] See the very vivid account given in Chapter 7 of Coleman, T., *The Railway Navvies* (pb edition, Harmondsworth, 1968), pp.114-38.

[4] Course, E., *The Railways of Southern England; Vol I: The Main Lines* (1973), p. 26.

simple. From Redhill to Ashford the South Eastern Railway main line follows country easy enough to make possible a virtually straight track with only modest gradients, in the order of 1:260 for the most part[5], and the line beyond to Folkestone presented few constructional difficulties. Even when the line came to cross the Foord Valley at Folkestone on the splendid brick viaduct which stands today, and to pass along under the cliff-edge on its way to Dover the same gradients were preserved. Only the Foord Viaduct took any great time to build - it was not ready when the line opened, and Folkestone's first terminus was a temporary one - and only the under-cliff line provided any great challenge in the way of earthworks. The branch line from Ashford to Margate and Ramsgate was easier still: it followed the valley of the Kentish Stour almost all the way.

The London, Chatham and Dover Railway was not so fortunate. The line along the coast from Faversham to Margate was generally easy enough, though it ended in a tunnel on a vicious incline down to Ramsgate Harbour, but the route from Faversham to Dover was a different matter. That ran across the grain of the country, instead of along a valley, or the sea-shore, and posed difficulties accordingly. Apart from the geography, the LCDR had another over-riding problem, one which never went away throughout the whole course of its existence - money, or rather the lack of it. The line was built on a shoestring, and the Company could not afford the great cuttings and embankments which characterized Joseph Locke's superb and steadily graded London and

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[5] Kidner, R.W., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (Blandford Forum, 1963), plate opp. p. 47.

South-Western Railway between Basingstoke and Winchester[6]. The LCDR simply had no choice but to avoid expensive earthworks wherever possible, and accept the stiff gradients and sharp curves that resulted, gradients in the order of 1:130 for much of the way between London and Dover[7]. This saw-tooth profile produced an operating problem for the LCDR with which British Rail is still having to cope.

Thus the SER did not need great earthworks, and the LCDR could not afford them, so East Kent was spared the notoriety of other railway sites. The work seems to have proceeded very smoothly; accounts of the building of Britain's railways and of the men who built them largely ignore Kent[8]. It does not seem to have taken very long - by railway standards - to build the line; the longest period of constructional occupation was along the Dover cliff section of the SER, six years and three months.[9] Actual builders' numbers in Kent were not as great as might be expected, reflecting the relative ease of construction. When the Canterbury and Whitstable line was built 140 men were recorded as

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[6] Despite the need to climb to 430ft at one point along the line, the ruling gradient is never worse than 1:250, with no sharp curves. White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain; Vol II: Southern England* (Third edition, Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 114.

[7] Dendy-Marshall, C.F., *History of the Southern Railway* (Combined volume, revised by Kidner, R.W., 1968), pp. 326-28.

[8] The two standard works on railway navvies (Brooke, D., *The Railway Navvy* (Newton Abbot, 1983) and Coleman, T., *The Railway Navvies* (pb edition, Harmondsworth, 1969)) virtually ignore Kent. F.R. Conder's personal account of railway building (ed. Simmons, J., *The Men who Built Railways* (1983), originally published anonymously in 1868 as "Personal Recollections of English Engineers" describes the conversion of the Thames and Medway canal tunnel for railway use, but gives no other information of value.

[9] Course, E., *loc. cit.*

being at work[10]; this too, apart from the tunnel under Tyler Hill, was an easy line to build from the earthworks point of view. Over the much longer and more difficult stretch of the LCDR from Canterbury to Dover only 250 men were at work in May 1859, though the Board was complaining about slow progress[11]. The Board's complaints seem to have fallen on deaf ears - or possibly financial realities prevailed; two years later the census only showed 298 men at work on the same stretch[12]. Twenty years before the Great Western Railway had been employing 1,255 men on the 18 miles between Wootton Bassett and Box, which included Box tunnel, nearly 70 men per mile[13], sharply contrasting with the LCDR's 23 or so; the GWR line was of course a much more difficult section to construct.

It is easy to forget that, for all his fearsome reputation, the navvy was both a skilled and specialized earth-moving worker, and the aristocrat of the railway construction industry. Thomas Brassey, one of the great railway contractors, estimated that a standard day's work for a navvy was to shift nearly sixteen cubic yards of muck, almost twenty tons, into wagons, which entailed lifting it above head-height. Some navvies reckoned to do more[14]. This sort of work could not be done by casual local labour, and the sub-contractors who agreed to build the various

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[10] Maxted, I., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Blandford Forum, 1970), p. 6.

[11] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 21.

[12] Brooke, D., *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[14] Coleman, T., *The Railway Navvies* (pb edition, Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 41-2.

parts of the line would perhaps bring their own men with them (in the sense that navvies would continue to work for a known employer) or recruit navvies on the tramp. The diversity of the railway army during the building of the SER's Sevenoaks cut-off, admittedly a very heavy piece of construction, is shown by a progress report dating from February 1865.

> "There is [sic] in direct work 5 locomotives, 16 pumping and winding engines, 12 brickmaking and sawing machines, 500 earth wagons, 150 horses, and 1,500 workmen, bricklayers, carpenters, miners and navvies"[15]

It was the horses and their attendants, the carpenters and bricklayers who were recruited locally, as well as a crowd of unskilled labourers who acted in effect as navvies' assistants. When the LCDR company was building its Canterbury-Dover extension in 1861, 59% of the workforce came from the south-east; during the construction of the SER's Sevenoaks cut-off, the figure was 53%[16].

Throughout the country farmers complained bitterly that the railway works stole their men; in harvest time, the railway contractors complained that their men had gone off to help with the harvest[17]. In the summer of 1859 F.D. Turner, the engineer to the Herne Bay and

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[15] White, H.P., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[16] Brooke, D., *The Railway Navvy* (Newton Abbot, 1983), p. 188.

[17] Brooke, D., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Whitstable Railway (locally known as the Herne Bay and Faversham, and one of the constituent parts of what was later to be the LCDR), reported to his Directors that "for the last six weeks a great scarcity of labour has existed throughout the country and during that period the earthworks have been almost at a standstill. Harvest being now nearly over, men are beginning to come in, and in another fortnight the work will again be proceeding vigorously."[18]

One contemporary observer, however, did not believe that this source of work was of any great benefit to the communities through which it passed. In March 1842, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner E. Carleton Tufnell wrote a very long report[19] to his superiors discussing the effect of the construction of the South Eastern Railway's main line through his district, which appears to have covered Kent and Sussex. He reported that in April 1841, 3,470 men had been working on the line, of whom 1,599 were working in Kent. Basing his calculations on figures drawn from the Eastry Union, he estimated that there were in Kent some 105,639 men available for work on the railway, so that at best only 1.51% of the population could have been employed on the line. Tufnell believed that only 10% of the labour force was "local", and so calculated that the railways only offered employment to 0.15% of the population. This figure

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[18] Quoted in Hart, B., *The Canterbury and Whitstable Railway* (Didcot, 1991), p. 43.

[19] Memorandum from E. Carleton Tufnell, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner to the Poor Law Commissioners, dated 1st March, 1842. (PRO MH 32/71). The memorandum is bound into a book of Tufnell's correspondence, each item of which is paginated individually; in addition there is a further series of page numbers which does not appear to be continuous through the book. Page references would therefore only be confusing. Tufnell seems to have been in charge of a district which covered most, if not all, of Kent and Sussex. I owe this reference to Professor Alan Armstrong.

of only 10% of the labour force being local is not necessarily a contradiction of Brooke's figure of 59%: Brooke's "south-east region" covers Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, London, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Sussex,[20] and from the context of his report, Tufnell clearly took "local" to mean "from Kent". So far from being a benefit, Tufnell saw the construction of railways as an unmitigated evil; "the making of railways not only brings no advantage to the districts through which they run, but are a very serious evil, and cause considerable addition to the poor rate."

Industrial accidents threw the casualties on to the local poor rate, and he quoted Coulsdon parish which had had to pay £273 16s. in railway accident relief. The truck system of wage payment and the evils of drink had had a major unsettling effect on persons of former good character[21]; moral standards had been lowered, and one result had been an increase in bastardy, often resulting in a further charge on the poor rate. All these were cited as a direct result of the construction of the railway through a previously peaceful countryside; evidence was adduced from the Chaplain of Lewes Gaol to show how most of the prisoners were "strangers", and the Chairman of the Cuckfield Union

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[20] Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[21] Wages paid to navvies (22s. a week in the Ely and Peterborough area) and to platelayers (30s. to 36s. per week) for a week of 70 hours (in the summer season) must have been tempting to agricultural labourers earning 10s. or 12s. a week for at least the same number of hours, but though they could fill the wagons with spoil, they had not the necessary skill to be effective barrow-men. Many of those labourers who tried to join the navvy gangs found that they could not stand the pace. *Report of Select Committee on Railway Labourers, PP (HoC) 1846, XIII*, pp. 425-704. Replies to questions 309, 895, 899, 1269, 1273, 1274 and 1275.

was quoted on costs and demoralization. Yet, in national terms, Kent appears to have got off lightly by comparison with those areas which unwillingly hosted the gangs responsible for some of the great works, such as the first Woodhead Tunnel. It must not be thought that Tufnell was an obscurantist reactionary: on the contrary, he saw railways as a great potential benefit.

> "I believe that both here and elsewhere Railways will be of the greatest advantage to the community, and should wish to see one formed wherever there is the slightest chance of profit attending the outlay. I simply wish to attack the common opinion of supposing the benefit to accrue from the act of constructing them, and not from their use when finished.... Though I should wish to see as many railroads as possible here, I could wish to see none <u>making</u>."

Some local labour must have acquired sufficient skill during the construction of the line to move off when it was finished to seek other railway work elsewhere, but the preponderance of relatively local labour in any railway construction work suggests that this was comparatively unusual: once the demand for labour had passed with the completion of the earthworks and the various structures - bridges, stations, goods sheds, etc. - required, most local labour seems to have returned to its normal job. The specialist permanent way gangs - platelayers, signal fitters and the like - were of course regular railway staff, though their

numbers were steadily augmented as the miles of track and signal wire and rodding that required maintenance increased.

In East Kent both the long-term and immediate effects of the construction of the lines seem to have been much less evident, despite Tufnell's strictures. None of the heavy industries which supplied the new plant were based in East Kent, and the civil engineering was traditional in style, bridges and viaducts being built mainly with brick. Certainly construction work was brought into the area but, for reasons discussed above, it was not of a long duration, and it seems to have had no long-term effects on the communities through which it passed.

THE RAILWAYS IN OPERATION: (1) THE NATIONAL SCENE.

The line having been built had to be operated. At the national level, the censuses show a steady increase in the numbers of railway employees both absolutely and as a proportion of the occupied work force (Table 4.1). Moreover, there was a continued increase over time in the ratio of staff per mile of line open, for example, an increase by a factor of two in the years 1881 to 1911. This represents the increased staff necessary to deal with the increased number of passengers (over the same period an increase of 50%) and also the increase of freight traffic, which rather more than doubled 1881-1911. It also represents an increasing sophistication of railway travel: passengers expected a higher standard of comfort as well as faster trains.

Table 4.1 STAFF EMPLOYED BY THE RAILWAYS OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1841 to 1911.[22]

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Railway staff '000, male	2	29	60	96	157	212	318	370
All occupied males, '000	5,093	6,545	7,266	8,220	8,850	10,010	11,548	12,927
Percentage of males in railway service	0.04	0.44	0.83	1.17	1.77	2.12	2.75	2.86
Staff employed per mile of line open		4.63	6.35	7.17	9.98	12.23	16.85	18.49

The Midland Railway's decision of 1875 to abolish second class passenger carriages, and to up-grade all their third-class stock to the standards of the vanished second and to admit third-class passengers to all their trains caused alarm, despondency and fury in all the other companies, who were forced to follow suit in the years that followed[23], and provided a great deal of work in the carriage and wagon building shops of all railways as they built the new, bigger and more luxurious stock Sir James Allport's decision had forced on them. The faster trains needed bigger and more sophisticated engines to pull them, and so more work came into the locomotive departments' shops.

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[22] Compiled from Mitchell, B.R. and Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historcal Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 60.

[23] Ellis, C. Hamilton, *Railway Carriages in the British Isles from 1830 to 1914* (1965), p. 65; Jenkinson, D., *British Railway Carriages of the Twentieth Century, Vol. I: The end of an era* (1988), p. 8.

As the years passed, railway productivity became lower, and this has been a matter of considerable debate and discussion among economic historians. There are various ways in which this trend can be measured, using the data given in Table 4.2[24]. It has been pointed out that the

Table 4.2 THE RAILWAYS' PRODUCTIVITY, 1861 to 1911.

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Total working receipts (£m)	27.1	46.6	64.5	78.7	102.7	122.7
Net receipts (£m)	14.1	24.6	31.1	35.3	37.6	46.9
Percentage net of working receipts	52.03	52.8	48.2	44.9	36.6	38.2
Passengers (m)	163.0	359.7	608.4	823.3	1145.5	1295.5
Tons of freight (m)	92.6	166.5	241.4	305.9	410.8	517.0
Passengers carried per £ of expenses	12.0	16.4	18.2	19.0	17.6	17.1
Tons of freight per £ of expenses	6.8	7.6	7.2	7.1	6.3	6.8

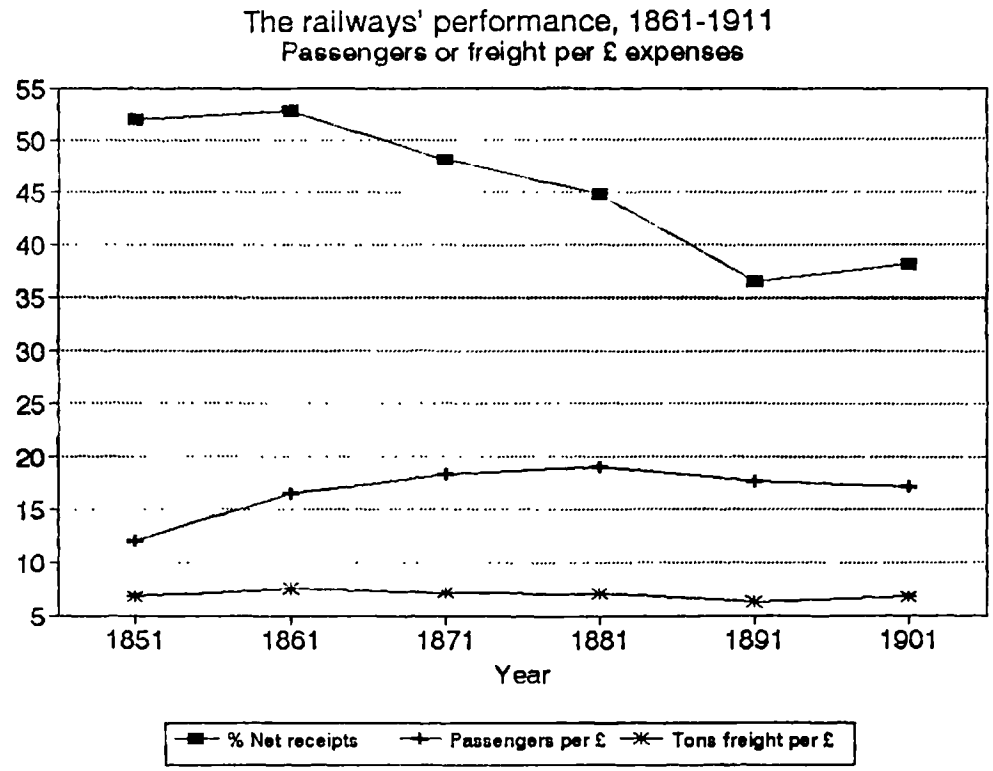
running of the railways took up a steadily greater proportion of working income from 1871 to 1901, when the trend began very slowly to reverse[25]. The number of passengers carried per pound spent rose slowly until 1891, and then began to decline: by 1911 the level was about what it had been 35 years before. Freight productivity slowly declined from 1871[26], though after 1901 a slight improvement began; by 1911 it was what it had been fifty years before. (Graph 4.1). If the

[24] Compiled from Mitchell, B.R., and Deane, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26.

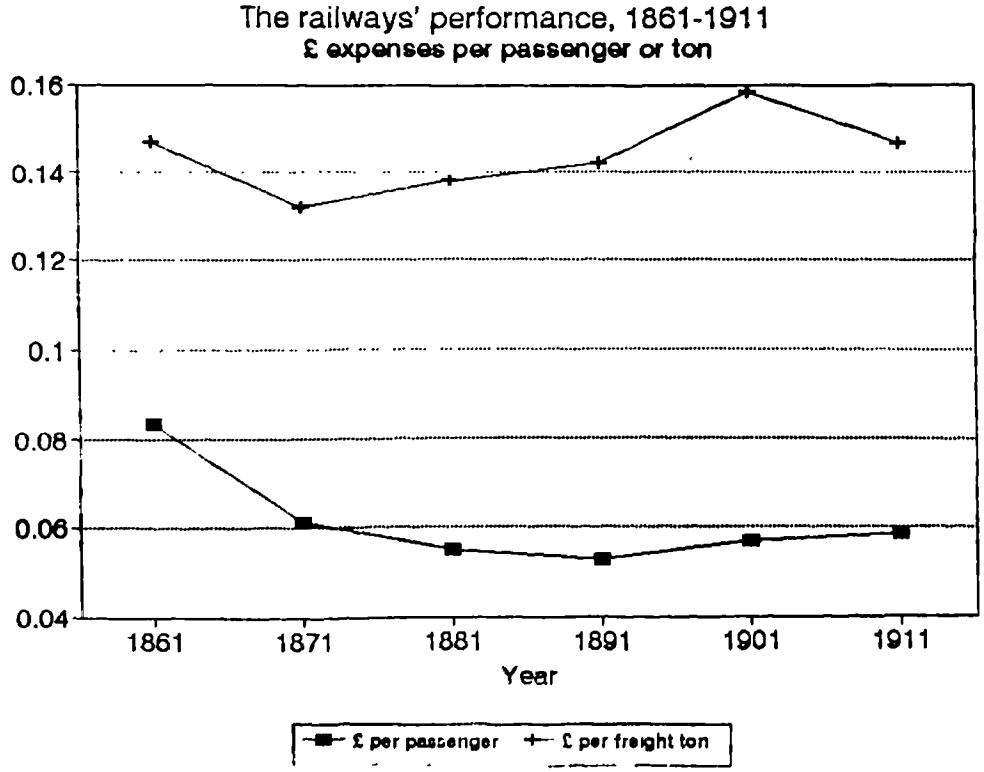
[25] The various factors which gave rise to this weakness are discussed in Aldcroft, D.H., *Studies in British Transport History, 1870-1970* (Newton Abbot, 1974), pp. 31-39.

[26] See *ibid.*, pp. 39-45 for a discussion on the reasons for the relative inefficiency of the railways' handling of freight in the period 1870-1914.

Graph 4.1: PASSENGERS OR FREIGHT PER £ EXPENSES.



Graph 4.2: £ EXPENSES PER PASSENGER OR TON OF FREIGHT.



figures are looked at the other way round (£ expenses per passenger, or freight ton carried), the result is shown in Graph 4.2: freight was more and more expensive to carry, and the cost of carrying passengers was rising (though more gradually) over the same period. It has been suggested that this failure to advance was due to the proliferation of unprofitable branch lines which were being built more or less nationwide in the 1880s - a good example is the wasteful competition of the SER and LCDR described in Chapter III above - but a recent analysis has suggested that the problem was a creation more of a fairly rapid and substantial increase in railway staff wages without any increase in productivity[21]. The costs of the more luxurious stock[22] described above must also have had an influence on productivity, though the disgruntled passengers on the SER and LCDR non-boat train services might well have bitterly asked "What luxurious stock?"

This problem was not unique to the railways of Britain; there is also evidence that the railways, in common with industry in general in the British Isles, Europe and even the United States, were suffering from a general falling-off in the rate of economic advance in the years 1890-

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[21] Irving, R.J., "The profitability and performance of British Railways, 1870-1914", *Economic History Review (Second series), Vol. XXXI*, (1978), pp. 46-66. See also Aldcroft, D.H., *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34.

[22] In 1863 the GWR had had to pay no more than £250 for a railway carriage; by the 1890s an eight-wheel, upholstered, gas-lit coach cost the company over £1,000. Aldcroft, D.H., *op. cit.*, p. 35. It was costs at this level which meant that the poverty of both the SER and the LCDR effectively precluded upgrading passenger rolling stock on any but the prestige routes.

1914[29]; that there was an economic climacteric in the 1890's which affected the whole of the industrialized western world.

Nationally the railways' staff represented a very considerable workforce, but it must be recalled that, unlike trades such as mining, or pottery, brickmaking, cement making and glass-making, which tended to be concentrated into highly specialized areas, the railway workforce was, by and large, spread more or less evenly over the whole of Great Britain. There were obvious exceptions to this such as the great conurbations with a multiplicity of suburban services, and those towns where the railway companies had established their principal works, though these in turn ranged from the all-embracing, such as Swindon, to the almost picturesque, as at Melton Constable.

The printed census returns, upon which these conclusions have been based, can be regarded as accurate only up to a point, even at the national level. 1911 Simmons quotes an official census figure for those in railway employment as 400,626, but points out that the census officials suggested that if all the various categories of persons who actually worked on the railways were to be taken into account, the real figure was 542,965, an increase of 36%[30].

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[29] Phelps-Brown, E.H., and Handfield-Jones, S.J., "The climacteric of the 1890's: a study in the expanding economy", *Oxford Economic Papers* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 266-307.

[30] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914*, (Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 18. The figure for 1911 quoted in Mitchell, B.R. and Deane, P., *op. cit.*, p. 60, is 370,000 men and 3,000 women, a shortfall on Simmons' figure of 27,000. This may be accounted for by persons under the age of 20 who were in railway employment.

THE RAILWAYS IN OPERATION: (2) LOCAL AND REGIONAL SOURCES.

There are three main sources of statistical information for the staffing levels of the railways at the local or regional level: published census materials, as already briefly discussed; census enumerators' manuscript returns, and the various registers and records of the Railway Companies themselves. Between them however they are, as suggested above, far less useful than might be expected.

THE PUBLISHED CENSUS RETURNS.

These are of course only available at decennial intervals, and the Statistical Office translated "Railway employment" to mean those jobs which could not be done other than on the railway - signalman, guard, platelayer, etc. Anybody who worked for a railway doing a job he could have done elsewhere - such as carpenter, joiner, blacksmith - appears to have been counted as woodworker, metal worker, etc. Even "Engine driver" is not as simple as it seems; a man who looked after the engine which operated the press in an oil mill was an "Engine driver", as was anybody who drove a steam traction engine, so that unless the driver was specified as "Engine driver, railway" by the census taker, he might well have been overlooked. Further, the published returns became more and more generalized as the century went on. In 1841 details of the pattern of employment in Kent were only given for the county as a whole and for nine towns - Canterbury, Chatham and Rochester, Deptford, Dover, Greenwich, Maidstone, Margate and Ramsgate, Tonbridge and Woolwich. Information about any other town was buried in the "All Kent" section. In 1851 information was given by Registration District,

but railway staff were only split between "Drivers/Stokers" and "Others". In 1861 information was still by district, but the classifications had been further broken down into "Driver", "Official", "Servant", "Police" and "Other" - which raises at least as many questions as it solves. In 1871 the classifications were reduced again, this time to "Drivers and stokers", "Officers and clerks" and "Attendants and Servants", and the geographical breakdown was reduced to all Kent, Dover and Canterbury. In 1881 there was no geographical analysis at all, and occupational division was into "Drivers and stokers", "Guards", "Pointsmen and level crossing keepers", and "Other railway officers and servants", a classification which was not significantly changed in 1891, when again there was no general geographical analysis[31]. Thus the published returns generally speaking do not permit a discussion of railway employment by any area smaller than the whole county, and they confine "railway employment" to a very narrow definition.

THE CENSUS ENUMERATORS' MANUSCRIPT RETURNS.

These are much more helpful. For one thing, it is possible to identify railway staff very precisely on the ground, to the street or village as the case may be. For another, the enumerators usually but evidently not always specified that so-and-so was a carpenter, or a smith, or a painter, or whatever, for the railway. Thus there is a much fuller picture of the extent to which the railways were employers. The census enumerators' problem, "Who was a worker on the railway?" is easy to

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[31] The availability of occupational analysis material in the printed census reports is detailed in O.P.C.S., *Guide to Census reports: Great Britain, 1801-1966* (HMSO, 1977), pp. 47-80.

appreciate. If a man was a blacksmith, and worked in the railway works, was he primarily a blacksmith, or a railway employee? The enumerators seem to have taken the not unreasonable view that he could be a blacksmith anywhere, but happened to work for the railway. So he was a "Worker in metal" rather than a "Worker on the railway". A railway engine driver, or a platelayer, or a signalman, could only do that in railway employment, so his position was clear. But the railways employed a host of people whose connection with the railway at first sight was at best marginal. There were four young ladies who were on duty at the SER's buffet on Dover Town station on census night in 1881; not far away was the manageress of the LCDR's Temperance Restaurant, and closer at hand the 25 resident staff of the Lord Warden Hotel, all of whom were in railway employment[32], but who were unlikely to be counted under that heading by the enumerators.

It is possible to get a sort of snapshot of the complete staff at any one time of the railway system of East Kent only from these census enumerators' returns. In 1881 those whom the census enumerators clearly identified as being employed by the railway companies In East Kent numbered a total of 1,814. They ranged from lordly people like station superintendents to the youngest railway employee recorded in the area, a 12-year old telegraph clerk at Canterbury, Frederick Bourne, who was following his signalman father's footsteps in railway employment. They included on the way the fifty staff at the South

[32] Strictly speaking, these people were in the employment of Spiers and Pond, the official caterers for the LCDR, or in the employment of the tenant of the Lord Warden Hotel, but since the railway was most certainly the source of their employment, even if it was not their direct employer, these people are included below in subsequent analysis.

Eastern Railway's Pavilion Hotel at Folkestone and the twenty-five at the Lord Warden Hotel at Dover, and the young ladies who ran the station refreshment rooms at Canterbury, Dover, Faversham, Margate and Ramsgate.

This figure is certainly incomplete. For one thing, it excludes almost the entire workforce of the cross-channel ferries (only three seamen were described as being in railway employment) though other evidence suggests that that workforce must have been in the order of 400 or more. Only ten shunters are shown, though other evidence suggests that the number employed in this way must have been much higher: in 1914 there were thirty-nine shunters in Ashford, Dover, Faversham and Folkestone alone. Further, there is a great discrepancy between the numbers of staff employed at the SER works at Ashford according to the enumerators (496) and according to the SER staff registers (1366), a point to be considered in detail below. This discrepancy alone of almost 900 throws any calculation based solely on the census enumerators' returns into grave doubt.

Of the workforce more reliably identified, station staff of course make up a large part. There were 202 porters, who were in many ways the maids of all work of the smallest stations, who did everything that was to be done from issuing the tickets and receiving parcels to lighting lamps and shunting in the yard. There were also 34 station-masters, or station superintendents. There seem to be one or two omissions in that list: Hythe and Sandgate do not seem to have had station-masters of their own, and the four Margate stations (Sands, East, West and

Westgate) seem to have been managed by only two station masters - presumably one per competing company. Folkestone's three stations (Harbour, Junction and West) were managed by only two station masters, though Dover's three stations (Harbour, Priory and Town) had three Station Superintendents to look after them - one for the SER, one the LCDR and a third whose loyalty is not stated. The omissions may be evidential quirks: nine railway staff are listed as resident in Hythe parish, and Sandgate was not a parish in its own right. The 85 signalmen already mentioned are part of this station staff group, whose total strength (porters, stationmasters and signalmen, plus 106 clerks and 90 catering and hotel staff) is therefore 517.

As well as these people were those employees responsible for the locomotives themselves, the drivers, the firemen and the cleaners. Nothing so well demonstrates the progression through the railway hierarchy than the age distribution of these three classes of workers. The 84 engine drivers had an average age of 41.38 years, the 52 firemen an average age of 28.65 years, and the 48 cleaners 20.95 years. To become an engine driver it was necessary to start at the bottom, cleaning them, to progress to stoking them, and then at last to driving. Of those 48 cleaners, ten were sixteen years old or younger, and the youngest was only 14, George Stucky from Dover - whose 15-year old brother James was also a cleaner. It seems unlikely that with less than a year's service to his credit, James could usefully have put in a good word for little George, but the extent to which the railway tended to be a traditional family occupation stands out with vivid clarity from the pages of the census enumerators' returns. Still at Dover, John J.

Durrant, an engine cleaner at 16, had followed father John, a driver of 48 into the Company's service; Alfred Newman, a driver of 40, had secured a job for his son, 14-year old Thomas as a railway engineer's fitter's assistant, and both Thomas Stockbridge (43) and his son, another Thomas (17) described themselves as railway servants. Further examples would merely be repetitious.

As well as these employees, who were in the main based at the engine sheds and depots of the line, there were strung along the line of the railway like intermittent beads the signalmen of the lonely block posts, and the lengthmen, responsible for checking on the state of the permanent way, and the crossing keepers. Shown in the 1881 census enumerators' returns there were for example twenty level crossing gate keepers, many of them elderly: evidence from the staff registers (see below) suggests that this was the sort of light job that a railwayman could carry out in his "retirement" and earn a wage. Platelayers were much more numerous, 165 altogether. Some of these were centred on the major towns, such as the sixteen at Canterbury, for example, with other concentrations at less obviously likely points, such as the nine at Minster in Thanet, or the nine at Chartham, but many of the others were scattered in ones and twos along the length of the running lines. There were 85 signalmen: most were of course in the big stations at the major junctions, but they too appear in ones and twos in the little stations along the line.

The overall 1881 snap-shot picture, with all its faults and omissions, is summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 BREAKDOWN OF RAILWAY STAFF AS LISTED IN THE 1881 CENSUS EUMERATORS' RETURNS FOR EAST KENT.

Ashford works		496
Station staff:		
Station-masters	34	
Signalmen	85	
Porters	202	
Clerks, various	106	
Catering and hotel	90	
TOTAL		517
Locomotive staff:		
Drivers	84	
Firemen	52	
Cleaners	48	
Guards	48	
TOTAL		232
Permanent way staff:		
Platelayers	165	
Gatekeepers	20	
TOTAL		185
Labourers (not SER works)		160
Others (signal fitters, etc.)		224
GRAND TOTAL		1,814

RAILWAY STAFF RECORDS.

It might be thought that a comparison with the railway companies' own figures would be something of a formality, simply confirming the census enumerators' records, but in fact this is not so; it seems certain, from railway staff records, that the enumerators' totals for railway staff were very much lower than was the true case.

The statistics and records of employment made by the SER or the LCDR which have survived appear almost to have done so by accident: they are represented by the odd volumes of returns that nobody seems to have remembered to throw away, or the odd letters and returns that survived purely by chance, and odd references in Directors' Minutes or the local press. No run of figures showing the size, expansion or contraction of the workforce in any branch seems to exist - certainly at least not for the railways of East Kent - and so all statistical discussion must be based on a jig-saw picture which is necessarily incomplete, and which is made up of pieces of differing ages in that the various records and references used are not always contemporaneous. The resultant picture can therefore at best be a "best guess." The historian must, as usual, do the best he can with the materials which lie to hand, rather than bewail the absence of that which is missing.

The staff records for the SER, the LCDR or the SECR Managing Committee which still exist are voluminous and heavy - each of the nine SECR Registers which cover station staff weighs upwards of 40lbs ! - but they do not seem to have survived as part of a carefully maintained series. The Registers for both Companies and for the Managing Committee cover between them five groups of staff:

a. Carriage and wagon staff - the people who actually made and maintained the railways' rolling stock;

b. Locomotive depot staff - the people who built and maintained the engines, and those who drove and fired them;

c. Coaching department staff (not to be confused with the carriage and wagon staff) - these were those employees who actually operated the railway, the station staff, the signalmen, the shunters and the guards on the trains;

d. Goods staff - specifically those members of the station staff who dealt with goods traffic and who had nothing to do with passenger traffic. There appears to have been considerable overlap as far as the records go between this group and the coaching department staff;

e. General management staff - senior staff at management level. Mainly this appears to have been confined to London staff, but station masters appear to have been included in this list as well as in the coaching department staff lists.

In each case such records as survive appear to be fair up-dated copies of earlier registers which had presumably become too confused in their organization efficiently to fulfil the purpose for which they were designed. In each case, too, the Register which survives appears to have been superseded by another record or register. Unfortunately it is not clear in any of these registers,

a. when the copy was made; though in some cases this can be approximated by the way in which the registers are compiled and by a change in the style of copperplate handwriting. The scale of the work involved in the recopying suggests that the copy date

for the first entries of the register may well be several months before the copy date for the last entries, a complication the research student could well do without, bearing in mind the extent of staff turn-over and movement between stations, or

b. when the register ceased to be used, and was abandoned for a further, more up-to-date, version.

The carriage and wagon, and locomotive depot registers[33] quote an employee's starting date, his position, his wage rate, and the station or depot at which he began work, and (if appropriate) when, and why, he left, and from which station or depot. Unfortunately they give no idea at all as to when the member of staff transferred from one depot to another, or whether he was employed at any other depots or stations before arriving at the place from which he left, or whether an employee who was still on the books was still at the place where he joined the Company in the first place. Thus it is not at all clear how many men were employed at any one depot at any time, though in some trades the problem is eased by the fact that a boilersmith employed (say) by the SER was unlikely to be working anywhere other than at Ashford. In any case, trying to work out how many men were on the Company's pay-roll at any one given date involves a subtraction sum, taking away from the number who had been taken on the books before that date those who had apparently left; the nearer to the end of the period of time the

[33] LCDR: Staff at Longhedge (Locomotive depot) and outstations, 1864-1918, PRO RAIL415.110; SER Register of Locomotive Department workmen, 1845-1900, PRO RAIL 635.307 and .308; register of Carriage and Wagon Department staff, 1845-1905, PRO RAIL 635.309.

register covers this date is taken to be, the greater the possibility of arithmetical error, and of missing an entry. Since the registers cover different periods of time, and were compiled at different dates, it is not possible to produce an accurate figure derived from all the registers for one date. It has seemed best to produce the most accurate figure possible in each case, which has meant choosing a more or less arbitrary date near the date of the register's original compilation or re-copying, so far as this can be deduced from internal evidence.

The Coaching department registers produce a more laborious problem. The volumes in the two series which survive[34] were apparently copied from earlier volumes at differing times, and thus cover staff who were employed over differing ranges of years. The registers quote staff number, name, date of birth, date of entering the Company service (and in the second series, which Company, if that date is prior to 1899 when the Management Committee was set up), and date of appointment, position on appointment and wage on appointment. There is as well a most meticulous staff history for each employee - at which station he or she served, giving exact dates of the transfer, the various wages paid as promotion was earned, and at the end when and why the employee left the Committee's service - many to "Active Service", that is to the armed forces during the First World War; all too often the further dated note "Killed in action" appears. This record of service seems to have been most meticulously maintained for each employee: when the Registers were first copied from the original or previous

[34] SECR Management Committee Registers of Coaching staff; nine volumes PRO RAIL 633.349 to RAIL 633.357

Register, the history of each member of staff at each station was written out in detail, but as the years passed by and employees moved from one station to another, though the fact and date of their transfer from (say) Dover to (say) Ashford was noted, and their name was now entered on the Ashford list, the actual service record continued to be maintained as part of the original entry on the Dover page, and the Ashford entry bears the note "For history see Volume X, folio abc". If the employee were then to be transferred to (say) Folkestone, a similar entry would be made in the Folkestone record, but the Ashford record was not struck through. Thus obtaining an exact picture of the staff at the various stations at any one date is a most laborious and time-consuming process, and must have been so even when the Registers were in daily use. This particularly applies to the smallest stations, to which staff seem to have been attached as often as not for a few weeks or a few months at a time, each attachment being most meticulously recorded. Thus without many hours of work the student can only be sure of the position of those people who were at any one particular station when the register was compiled; they are either clearly shown as being still on the strength or as having moved away or left; for those who have come to the station since, and who have left their service histories in their original station records, the student can only say, without a very long trawl though the nine volumes concerned, that they <u>may</u> have been at that station at the date in question.

The Register of Goods staff is only available for the SER[35] and does not appear to have been maintained to the same standards of accuracy as the Coaching Department Registers described above. It gives name, date of appointment and leaving, and position filled and wage, and in some cases who that employee replaced on the station staff, but that record is not always made, and in some cases the person replaced does not seem to appear in the earlier pages of the Register. This Register may well have been superseded by the Coaching Register, which included shunters, etc., in its classifications.

Management records concern Headquarters staff, and so do not concern a study based on East Kent; the Station Masters who are listed here also appear in the Coaching Register.

There are in addition various odd documents which have survived, apparently by chance, obviously produced to meet a single specific requirement, which quote numbers employed in certain departments and certain depots at a specific date[36]. Lastly there are the Board of Trade returns for the Companies' ships, which quote the manning levels of the ships - these survive only for odd six-monthly returns in the period 1892 to 1905 - and some ships' logs, which in effect duplicate the BoT returns[37]. These too seem to have been chance survivals: to judge from

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[35] SER Goods staff Register, 1847-1913. PRO RAIL 635.306

[36] Examples are the list of tradesmen and labourers employed in the Carriage and Wagon depot at Ashford in January 1904 (PRO RAIL 633.378) and a table showing the working hours and scales of wages for staff at Ashford in August, 1872 (PRO RAIL 635.217).

[37] Details of these various documents are given below, as and when they are quoted.

the superscription on several of them, the Master of the *Breeze* was the squirrel to whom we owe the survival of many of these maritime documents.

THE RAILWAYS IN OPERATION: (3) THE PATTERN OF EMPLOYMENT IN EAST KENT.[38]

Having considered the possible sources of staffing information, what emerges from an analysis of those sources? What was the pattern of employment by the railway companies in East Kent?

By far the most important centre of railway activity in Kent was Ashford, which was not only a major junction on the SER main line but more importantly was the engineering centre of the SER from as early as 1847[39]. However, an examination of the railway workforce at Ashford illustrates beautifully the sort of problem the student confronts in trying to decide how many people worked where, doing what, and when.

A site was purchased in 1846, and the engineering works commenced operation in early 1847[40]; by 1850 over 130 houses had been built by the SER for their staff (called "Alfred Town" by the railway, but "New

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[38] The various employment figures quoted in this section are brought together in Table 4.4 on page 137.

[39] *Ashford Works Centenary, 1847-1947*, a pamphlet published by the Southern Railway (1947), p 5.

[40] At first locomotives and rolling stock were bought from outside contractors and simply repaired at Ashford: the first new locomotives were not constructed until 1852-53. Bradley, D.L., *The Locomotive History of the South Eastern Railway* (Second edition, 1985), p. 10.

Town" by everybody else)[41], but according to the census returns there were only 71 persons in railway employment in the registration districts of East and West Ashford in 1851, and only 105 by 1861[42], which seems on the face of it to be very unlikely. According to one modern authority, the works employed about 600 persons in 1851[43], a labour-force which had increased to about 950 by 1861, figures which are wildly at variance with the census figures.

Nor was the position in Ashford in 1881 much clearer. The enumerators very helpfully wrote "in railway works", or "SER railway", or in the case of people living in the New Town and Willesborough parish generally "in the works" - there was only one "works" in Willesborough - but the total of those so described in Ashford and Willesborough parishes, where the works actually were (the boundary between the two parishes actually passes through the middle of the works and New Town) and the surrounding parishes was only 494; there were only 571 described as working for the railway in general terms, which includes all the station and running depot staff. But a statement of the SER works staff in 1882 put the total workforce as in the order of 1,300, nearly three times as many as those positively so identified in the census return[44]. Even this figure may well be too low: the staff

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[41] Turner, G., *Ashford, the Coming of the Railway* (Maidstone, 1984), p. 76.

[42] *PP HoC 1852-53, Vol LXXXVIII, Part 1*, pp. 64, 88-89 and 112; *PP HoC 1863, Vol LIII, Part 1*, pp 85, 110.

[43] Turton, B.J., "The railway towns of southern England", *Transport History, Vol II*, (1969), p. 110.

[44] *Kelly's Kent Directory, (1882)*, entry for Ashford. Presumably this information was supplied by the SER for the SER works.

registers for the carriage and wagon departments and the locomotive department suggested that the staff strength as at 31st March, 1881 was 1,366[45]; while by March 1904 the carriage and wagon department alone employed 1,201 people[46]. None of these figures included station staff or goods yard personnel. In 1851 the station personnel at Ashford numbered 30[47], and the goods yard staff seem to have numbered some eight or so more[48], so that the total Ashford staff may have been over 1,400 rather than 1,300, a very far cry from the evidence of the census enumerators' returns. In August 1914 the station staff at Ashford (which includes staff operating the goods yard as well as signalmen, porters, clerks etc) was at least 124 in number, and may have been as high as 150.[49]

It is incidentally rather difficult to see where this huge Ashford works labour force came from. The total population of Ashford and Willesborough parishes in 1881 was 12,369, which suggests that the adult (that is, aged 21 or over) male workforce was rather over 3,000. Certainly some of the workers at the Ashford works lived in other local parishes, but even so the percentage of the Ashford and Willesborough men who in 1881 depended <u>directly</u> on the railway for their livelihood

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[45] PRO RAIL 635.308 and RAIL 635.309.

[46] PRO RAIL 633.378.

[47] PRO RAIL 635.196. This is a printed record of all station staff at all the stations of the SER in 1851.

[48] PRO RAIL 635.306. This register lists all members of staff who were ever employed in the goods yards of the various stations of the SER, but it is not at all clear just what the staff <u>establishment</u> was at any of these stations.

[49] PRO RAIL 633.349.

must have been enormous, and to that must be added all those traders whose commercial existence was only justified by the existence of the railway workforce and its pay-packets. It is certain that by 1881 the SER works dominated the economy of the town absolutely: even with the minimum workforce of 571 of the census enumerators' returns no other industrial concern was even vaguely a rival to the SER. Those who did not actually earn a living as railway employees and who were not of independent means must have depended very largely on the money that was paid in wages there to maintain their own cash-flow. As the years passed and the workforce increased in number, that economic dependency must have increased very considerably.

In August 1872 the SER paid its Carriage and Wagon staff from fifteen shillings a week (for basic unskilled workers) to thirty-six shillings weekly to experienced smiths and spring makers[50]. Few members of staff would have been earning under about twenty-two shillings a week. Assuming that the locomotive department staff was being paid at about the same level, and the staff strength was not far from what it stood at in 1881 according to the railway's staff registers, that would mean that the railway was pumping over £1,400 into Ashford's economy every week, which must have represented a very large fraction of all the money that changed hands in the town week by week. The railway as an employer of labour in Ashford was all-important, and the occasional "Reduction of hands" mentioned in the staff registers as the reasons for so-and-so's leaving the Company must have been potential major

[50] PRO RAIL 635.217: A table showing the working hours and the lowest and highest rate of wages paid for the following classes of workmen, 3rd August, 1872.

economic calamities for the town. Fortunately, however, such reductions seem to have affected only a few people, and not to have been of any long duration.

Next in importance after Ashford in East Kent were the running depots (engine sheds) of the two rival lines, depots where a number of engines were based, cleaned and maintained, and where the majority of the footplate crews were based. Not very surprisingly, since these sheds were where lines terminated, or at major junctions or towns, the two companies' sheds tended to be in the same place. Thus both the LCDR and the SER had sheds at Dover and in Thanet, though the SER's was at Ramsgate and the LCDR's at Margate West. The SER had a shed at Ashford and the LCDR one at Faversham. In addition, the SER boasted sub-sheds (a sort of branch office) at Canterbury, Sandgate, Folkestone Junction and Deal[51]. In all these places there was obviously a greater concentration of railway staff than at other places along the line, but among them, pride of place was taken by Dover.

Given that it was the port of embarkation for the continent, and the basic goal of the exercise of the building of both the competing lines in the first place, Dover's railway community was a very large one. All told the 1881 census enumerators' evidence numbered it at 319, with another eight persons who were probably, but not certainly, in railway employ. The sum total included carmen, seamen from the cross-channel

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[51] Information on SER sheds from Bradley, D.L., *The Locomotive History of the South Eastern Railway* (second edition, revised, 1985), p.224, and on the LCDR sheds from Nock, O.S., *The South Eastern and Chatham Railway* (1961), p. 87.

ferries, hotel and catering staff and so on as well as those more predictable grades of cleaner, fireman, guard and shunter and driver. Railway staff register evidence suggested that the true figure was much higher. The SER motive power depot staff alone numbered 51 in 1881[52], and twenty years later the LCDR's motive power depot staff numbered 145[53], and of course these figure take no account of coaching department staff, ferry staff and catering staff.

In 1898 the LCDR prepared a very detailed list of staff in the locomotive, carriage and marine departments[54]: this gave the staff at the Dover running shed as 80, and added another 231 in the Dover marine department. In the following year a Board of Trade return showed that the combined fleet of the SECR (18 ships all told, sailing from Dover and Folkestone) employed 447 crew members, plus their masters[55], and at the outbreak of the First World War, the combined Dover stations employed a total staff of 265[56]. This suggests that the total railway work force in Dover at the outbreak of the war in 1914 was approaching a thousand, without taking into account the staff of the goods depots and the platelayers, for whom no records have survived in a datable form. It seems very unlikely that any other single company had as many employees in the town: the SECR and before it

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[52] PRO RAIL 635.308.

[53] PRO RAIL 415.110.

[54] PRO Rail 415.173.

[55] PRO Rail 635.310, return dated 30th June, 1899.

[56] PRO Rail 633.351.

the two rival lines must have dominated Dover as the SER did Ashford. In July 1886 the LCDR's ships' crews list (a list of 128 men, which does not appear to have included ships' stewards, or the masters) quoted a monthly wage bill in the order of £ 820[57]. Assuming that the SER paid its staff at the same general rates, this would mean that by 1899 the total amount of money being paid into the economy of Dover every month, from the wages of the seamen (447 SER, plus 128 LCDR) only, must have been in the order of £ 3,600. The 1898 return of LCDR locomotive and marine staff[58] also quotes wage rates; the Dover marine department's daily wage bill for its manual worker staff of 224 was £47 18s., a monthly total in the order of £ 1,150. If this is doubled to account for the station staff, the result would be that the two railway companies were pumping at least £ 5,800 into Dover every month. Few shopkeepers cannot have benefited directly or indirectly from money which came into the town on this scale.

Moving to the question of railway employment at wayside stations, we meet a very different case. Most rural stations had a staff of at least six[59] and perhaps up to a dozen[60], who between them carried out the duties of station-master, signalman, booking clerk, ticket collector,

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[57] PRO Rail 415.111, return dated July, 1886.

[58] PRO Rail 415.173.

[59] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), p. 116. In 1851 the sixteen stations of the SER in East Kent shared a total staff of 243, an average of 15 each. Only Westenhanger (3), Chilham (3), Grove Ferry (2), and Wye (2) had fewer than five staff, and that did not include lengthmen. PRO RAIL 635.196.

[60] By August 1914 Sandwich, by no means a major station, and certainly no junction, had a station staff of 14. PRO RAIL 633.355.

porter, shunter, lengthman and lampman. The duties sound onerous, but with only perhaps half a dozen stopping trains a day each way in the early days, only the signalman was more or less constantly "on duty"[61]. Pay was never over-generous: in 1857 the LCDR recruited porters for 16s. a week, and gate-keepers at 12s., the latter with a house thrown in, but with agricultural wages at maybe 9s. or 12s. a week, such wages were much sought after[62]. Inspectors and guards might look for a weekly wage of 34s. and 32s. respectively, ticket collectors 26s. and signalmen 20s.; at the bottom end of the scale signal lads took home a proud 5s.[63].

Simmons has commented that "we have not even any satisfactory figures for the numbers of people the railways themselves employed,"[64] and this is as true of the size of the railway work-force in East Kent as anywhere. He hoped that a study of the census returns would go far to solve the problem[65], but this hope does not seem destined to be realized, at least in East Kent. The only time the student can be certain that X is employed by the railway is if the return actually says so; engine drivers work in factories and drive traction engines, porters

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[61] Thomas, D. St.J., and Whitehouse, P., *The Great Days of the Country Railway* (Newton Abbot, 1986), pp. 55-6.

[62] Gray A., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[63] PRO 633.351, a combination and correlation of various entries. These rates seem to have been those paid on promotion into the various grades listed; there was usually a fairly steady progression up the financial ladder for most staff.

[64] Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), p. 18.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Table 4.4: SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON RAILWAY EMPLOYMENT IN EAST KENT, 1851-1914.

Workforce group	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1898/9	1901	1904	1914
Census: published information									
All Kent	562	1041	1528	2342	3109				
East Kent	372	540		1814					
Canterbury & Dover			214						
Railway staff lists and registers									
SER station staff list	243								
Ashford C&W dept list				745				1201	
Ashford: Loco dept list				621					
Motive power staff, LESS Ashford MPD				132					
LCDR MPDs, East Kent							341		
LCDR Loco, carriage & marine depts, East Kent						406			
Crews of SER & LCDR ships						447			
SER marine depot									164
Ashford station staff									131
Dover stations (4) staff									265
Faversham station staff									71
Folkestone stations (3) staff									138
Deal station staff									39
Sandwich station staff									15

NB: The census figure for East Kent in 1881 is derived from the enumerators' returns, and NOT from the printed analyses.

work in hotels, blacksmiths and carpenters work all over the place. Perhaps the only trades which are exclusive in their nomenclature to railways are platelayers and signalmen; for the rest, the student must look for the word "Railway" somewhere in the job description - and all

too often it is not there. In 1881 virtually all the sea staff of the railways were not classified as railway employees, and it seems certain from the evidential discrepancies described above that some of the numerous carriage builders, metal-workers and carpenters who lived in Ashford must have worked at the SER works, though they are not so described.

Taking the sea staff into account in 1881, the total railway workforce in that year in East Kent, basing the figure simply on census enumerators' evidence, was in the order of 2,200. Nationally, the number of railway staff employed per mile doubled in the period 1881 to 1911; if this is true in East Kent, then the total railway workforce at the outbreak of the First World war must have been approaching 4,500. However, SER staff registers suggest that the staff at Ashford works in 1881 was 1,366, a long way from the 496 of the census return. Even if no other staff figures need correction on that scale, the railway workforce of East Kent in 1881 would have risen therefore to some 3,000. Not only did the staff per mile increase generally across all the railway systems, but the Longhedge (Battersea) locomotive works of the LCDR were closed down in the years after the working union, and the staff transferred to the greatly enlarged Ashford works, which by 1914 may have had a total workforce in the order of 3,000 or more.[66]

By 1914, therefore, the total workforce of the railways in East Kent may well have been over 6,000, but this figure still depends on a large

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[66] Turner, G., *Ashford: the Coming of the Railway* (Maidstone, 1984) p. 165.

number of ifs, buts and maybes: in detail, the situation remains that we still do not know precisely how many people were in railway employment.

On the other hand, there appears to be no doubt that, taking the two competing companies together, they employed more staff than any one other single company by 1881, and very possibly by considerably before that date. There were of course far more agricultural labourers and domestic servants than ever there were employees of the railway, but they were employed by a myriad of small employers, whereas the railway staff were employed by but two, and after the working union of 1899, effectively by only one company. No other company can have had quite the economic influence on East Kent that the railways did, no two companies can have paid out more cash in wages into the East Kent economy than the SER and the LCDR, and later the SECR did, week by week.

Moreover, railway employment was quality employment; it was secure. Railway officials expected a high standard of work from all grades of staff, but for those who did their work well the railways were good if paternalistic employers, who were, generally speaking, as anxious to retain their staff as their staff were to be retained[61]. The records of the staff at Ashford works show few staff to have been dismissed, and those who were went mainly for drunkenness, or causing a disturbance in the works - which may have been the same thing. A few were

[61] Simmons, J., *Railways of Britain*, (3rd edition, pb, 1986), p. 207.

dismissed as unsuitable, but most left (when they did) of their own accord. One worker who suffered a broken leg had his wages augmented by 10s. a week whilst he was incapacitated, rather unusual treatment one imagines[68]; at Ashford John Paine's surgeon's bill of £5 was paid by the Company, and he was paid a proportion of his wages whilst he was recovering from an injury received in the Company's service[69]. Often staff whose "Services were dispensed with" were later taken back into railway service, presumably when demand revived again with the new season. In an age when general staff pensions did not exist, the railways might well keep elderly staff on the payroll for nominal duties. William Chadband, of the London South Western Railway, had been yard foreman at Waterloo, and at the age of 70 was working on light duties in the station signal-box, at the same pay-scale he had been receiving as a yard foreman[70], and there are many examples in the SECR Management Committee Coaching Section staff registers of elderly porters and signalmen being found jobs as gatekeepers and the like, though the one-time yard foreman who found himself as the lavatory attendant at Faversham may have had his doubts about the value of the system. Five of the staff at the Ashford works were 70 or over, and there is no indication in the returns that they had retired. Some SER employees did receive a pension: when the foreman porter at Whitstable goods yard retired, having been earning 21s. a week, he was given a weekly pension of 5s. Rather more generously treated was the

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[68] PRO RAIL 635.308

[69] Jackson, K.E., "A new town called Alfred" (University of Kent at Canterbury extended essay, 1968)pp. 59-60.

[70] Simmons, J., *The Railways of Britain*, (pb edition, 1986), p. 209.

Harbourmaster, whose salary on retirement had been £ 235 per year: his annual pension was £ 155[11].

There were of course additional advantages, such as travel concessions and the uniform, and the pride in the service of those who had obtained a post on the railway beams from the hundreds of faded sepia photographs of proud porters, guards and the like, resplendent in their railway uniforms. Twenty-five year old Daniel Mills of Kingsnorth, Ashford, proudly described himself to the census enumerator as a "Servant of the South Eastern Railway Company", and at Deal there was a nineteen year old "Railway Official". It was by no means a dead-end job; every cleaner looked forward to the day when he would be an express passenger engine driver, and every porter had dreams of being a station-master.

For those with real ability, the prospects were limitless. James Staats Forbes, who became Chairman of the LCDR, began his railway career as a seventeen year old booking clerk at Maidenhead on the Great Western Railway[12]. In May 1899 the SER recruited a new junior clerk, then thirteen years and three months old, for their not very important station at Bishopsbourne, on the Elham Valley line, paying him seven shillings a week. In November 1902, after a spell at New Romney, he was posted to Lydd, on the edge of Romney Marsh, and his pay went up to seventeen shillings a week. In a Lydd station group photograph, which

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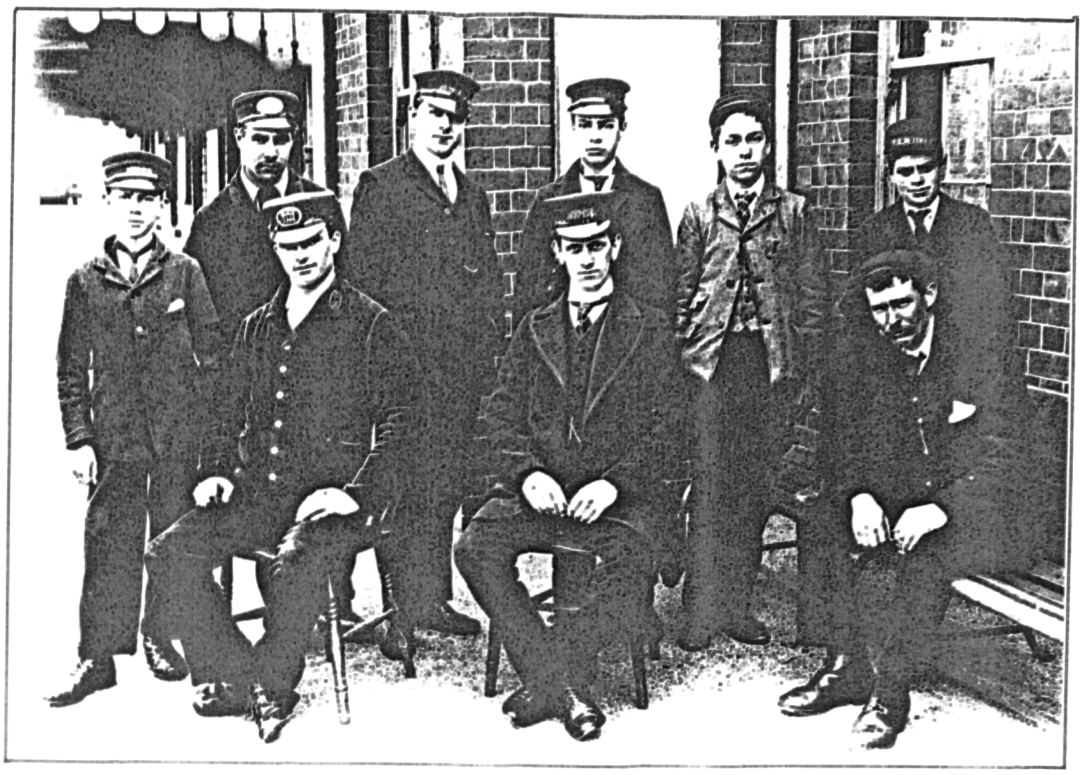
[11] PRO RAIL 635.306.

[12] Gray, A., *op. cit.*, p. 180.



THE STATION STAFF AT LYDD, c. 1903.

Lydd was a small station on the now-closed SER Dungeness branch, but it boasted a staff of nine at the time this photograph was taken, some time between November 1902 and January 1904.

The stationmaster is in the centre, and is clearly the important man in the group, but the most junior member of the staff (far left), who was at the time seventeen and earning 17s. a week was to become the Chairman of British Railways Executive in 1947: he is [Sir] Eustace Missenden.

must have been taken very shortly after he arrived there, he stood at the extreme edge of the group, as befitted his junior status, but his shining shoes and his stiff, stand-up collar (the only one of the group to boast one) show that he intended to make an impression in railway circles. Indeed he did: young Eustace was to become Sir Eustace Missenden, Chairman of the British Railways Executive, and even to have an engine named after him[13]. More perhaps than in any other industry in Victorian Britain there was a strong esprit de corps among the staff of a railway: when in 1887 the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway experienced a disastrous accident at Hexthorpe, the railway staff offered to forgo a day's pay to help defray for the cost of the collision, an offer the Directors very properly declined[14]. The pride of the young gentleman of Kingsnorth was not misplaced.

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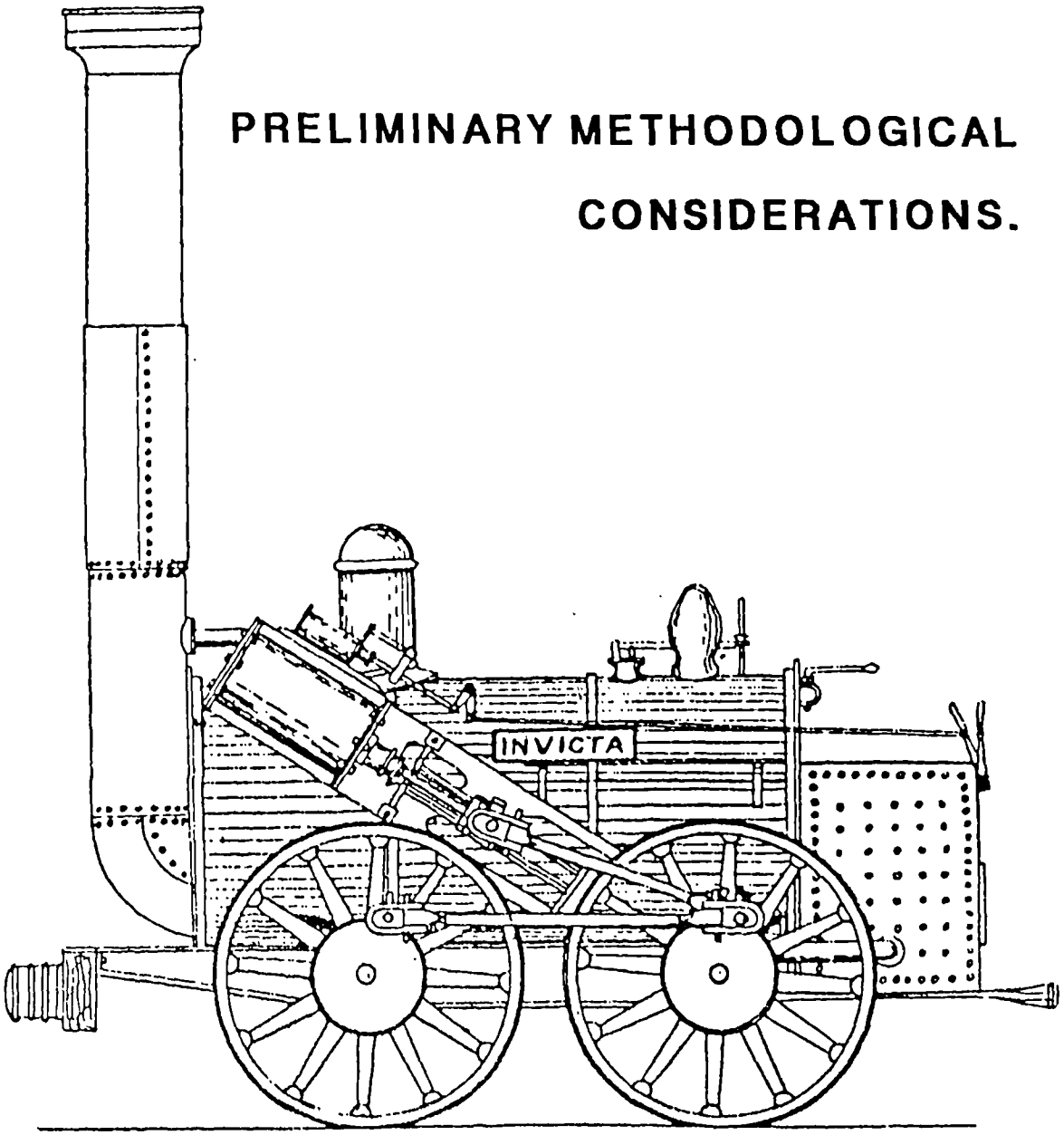
[13] Details of Missenden's early career with the SER are from the SECR Managing Committee's register of management and clerical staff, (1853-1922), PRO Rail 633/346. The photograph is in Jenkins, A., *Along South Eastern Lines* (Maidstone, 1986), p. 21. Other biographical details from the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography, 1971-80*. The engine was the Bulleid light Pacific 34090 Sir Eustace Missenden, Southern Railway.

[14] Rolt, L.T.C., *Red for Danger* (pb edition, 1960), p. 71.

Chapter V:

THE IMPACT OF THE RAILWAY ON KENTISH TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.



CHAPTER V: THE IMPACT OF THE RAILWAY ON KENTISH TOWNS AND VILLAGES: PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

For Chapters VI to X the basic source material and the method by which this has been analysed and used is the same, and a discussion of the problems raised and the methods used may be of value at this point in order to avoid undue repetition.

THE NATURE OF THE DIRECTORIES.

The principal source has been the series of directories, which included, or were exclusively devoted to, Kent, and which were published between 1830 and 1913: details are given in the Bibliography. The work of consulting these has been very greatly facilitated by the production by the Kent County Council Library service of microfiche copies of all the *available directories for the county, and these microfiches*, and suitable readers, and printer-readers, are available in the major libraries of Kent. In each case, photocopies of the relevant entries have been obtained, and it is these photocopies which have formed the raw material for the subsequent analysis. The value of, and the problems raised by, directory evidence have been discussed in two published *Guides*[1], but it is of value to reconsider the problems here.

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[1] Norton, Jane E., *A Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales* (1950); this covers the period up to 1850; and Shaw, Gareth and Tipper, Alison, *British Directories: a Bibliography and Guide to Directories published in England and Wales (1850-1950), and Scotland (1773-1950)* (Leicester, 1989). There is in addition a very useful guide to the whereabouts of original copies of various Kent directories,

It is essential to keep in mind the fact that directories were not compiled with the needs of the research student in mind, but as a hard-headed commercial speculation. They were in effect the "Yellow Pages" of their day, arranged on a basis of local town and village communities, since few people were likely to be interested in any range of services available on the other side of the county. There is a suggestion, in the way that the entries are phrased, that often the individual traders either wrote for themselves what they wanted to appear, or dictated it to the agent. For example, the phrasing of the Kelly *Directory* entries for three of the four people who advertised furnished apartments in The Terrace, Sibertswold,in 1887 are so similar in tone and phrase as to suggest that either they got together to agree a similar, if not exactly common format, or that the agent told Mrs. Ells at No 7 what Mrs. Burchell at No. 10 had said, and reported both conversations to Mr. Burgess at No. 3, with the result that all three said more or less the same thing. Only Mr. Thomas at No. 4 made up his own mind as to what to say. Thus the actual tone of the entry is not a reliable guide to the sort of service provided, though it may give a clue as to the character of the provider. No doubt the girls who went there in the 1890s were glad that Mgnr. Daniewski had described their school in Upper Walmer as for "Young ladies of the upper class", though the boys who attended Mr. G.W. Lott's "Middle class boys' school" at Folkestone in 1867 may have wished that their mentor had described their school in less forthright terms.

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covering much more than the normal trade directory lists in Bergess, W.F. and Riddell, B.R.M., *Kent Directories Located* (Second edition, Maidstone, 1978).

Not all directories had the same purpose: the series published by Pigot & Co, and the later series published by Kelly, concentrated on the commercial entries; Bagshaw's *Directory and Gazetteer* of 1847-8 devoted much more space to the gazetteer element of each entry. Melville's *Directory* of 1858 had a more idiosyncratic approach to making a choice of entries, and some trades, eg. the industrial service group (bankers, accountants, insurance agents) were much less well chronicled than in other directories for the same town: "private residents" appear to have been much more selectively chosen, as well. Later directories gave much more detail of local government, reflecting recent legislation.

The category of "Private Residents" is a difficult one. The local incumbent was usually, but not always, listed as a private resident, and many professional men appeared in both the private residents and commercial sections of the directories. In any case, who was a "private resident"? Was it possible for the *Barchester* Lookalofts to demand to be included under such a heading, or for Mr. Holbrook of *Cranford* to insist upon being excluded? It is at least possible that the compilers of the directories became less selective as years passed by: the 1887 *Directory* listed approximately 23,500 private residents in the county, among an 1881 population given as 977,585: in other words, about 2.4% were "private residents". By 1899 the population of the county had been reduced by some 335,000 as a result of the creation of the County of London[1], but the *Directory* of that year listed about the same number

[1] Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 22, gives Kent's population, within the revised boundaries, as 961,000.

of private residents, a slight increase in persons per thousand. In the present context the Gordian knot has been cut by not making individual computer entries for such people, as indicated below.

If directory evidence is to be used as the basis for any quantitative conclusions, two problems in particular need to be considered. These are:

a. how complete is the directory? Was there any economic cut-off point below which any commercial enterprise was not considered worthy of inclusion, and equally significant, did all agents agree on what should, a nd what should not, be included?

b. If two directories are to be compared, how strictly comparable are they, either from year to year, in the case of a series (eg the Kelly Post Office series), or from one publisher's directory to another's?

Kelly's directories, and perhaps others, were compiled by local paid agents[1]; how reliable were they? How far did they hunt for additional entries and how far was their work checked and/or supervised ? Though no exact answers to these questions can now be ascertained, the author's comparison of directories published by two rival companies, such as Bagshaw's 1847 directory, and Kelly's 1851 edition suggests that

[1] Letter from Kelly's to the author, June, 1989.

either one agent went round with a copy of the rival publication in his hands, or the coverage is in fact reasonably complete.

A further indication of the completeness of directory cover may be obtained by a reconstruction of the trading pattern of the main streets of a town when an exact address - 102, High Street and the like - is available. Where this information is given it is possible to sort the entries for those streets into numerical order, and identify the extent and frequency of the gaps in the sequence. Where such a reconstruction is possible, the indication is that, for the major commercial centres and concerns, the coverage was largely complete. Smaller streets, where little shops and businesses were scattered among private houses, are of course not amenable to this treatment: there are too many gaps naturally arising for an assessment to be made, and unfortunately it is especially among these smallest business concerns that the coverage was likely to be least complete.

Internal evidence, however, casts some doubt on the degree of completeness of cover. In the light of contemporary accounts, for example this 1833 reference "[there are] Boarding houses [at Margate], numerous and respectable, from £1 10s. to £2 12s. 6d. a week"[4] suggests that the low number of lodging houses listed in the directory entry for Margate in 1845 (just seven, in addition to the eight hotels) was extremely unlikely to be correct. Similarly, during the period, most large towns' entries contained a specific long list of insurance agents,

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[4] Quoted in Whyman, J., *The Early Kentish Seaside* (Gloucester, 1985), p. 136.

some of whom, but by no means all, were listed again in the body of the town's entry. The 1909 directory entry for Ashford does not contain a long list: whilst there are many insurance agents listed in the town in the normal course of the entry, were they all there? How complete was the coverage of insurance agents?

Directories do not of course give any idea of scale of production in industrial concerns, or of volume of trade in retail and wholesale establishments. To obtain a bold-type directory entry, or a three or four line "puff", the advertiser had to pay. Was this the sign of a confident business (the most likely possibility), a new business seeking to drum up custom, or a collapsing one staking all on one last despairing publicity card ?

There is also a problem of terminology at times. Certain agents described a number of licensed premises as "public houses", others described the same set of premises as "inns". Strictly speaking, an *inn* offers accommodation, and though a *public house* might originally have offered accommodation, by the later part of the nineteenth century, it had come to mean more commonly a place where ale, beer, wines and spirits were sold[5]. It seems reasonable to assume that in fact there was no change of use, simply a different preference of nomenclature.

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[5] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (third edition, reprinted 1950), entries for "inn" and "public house".

In sum, the directories do appear to afford reasonably complete cover of the commercial activities of the towns considered at the time of publication. It is possible that the variance between blocks of evidence - for example, regarding the boarding-houses of Margate - may be a result of some degree of selection by local agents: certain businesses were considered to be on too small, or too uncertain, a scale to merit inclusion. So far as comparison goes, it is a question of which directory is compared to which. Bagshaw's 1847 directory for example has much more of the gazeteer element about it than the Pigot directories which preceded it, or the Kelly series which came later, and to some extent this is also true of Melville's 1858 directory. Early Kelly directories - the 1845 edition, for example - are very different in layout and composition to those published just before the First World War, but if any directory is compared with that which chonologically precedes it, or that which follows it, in whatever series, there is a far greater element of continuity than of disparity, and provided those elements of disparity are kept in mind when drawing any conclusions about the changes in commercial composition of the towns, the directories can be used with some degree of confidence.

METHODOLOGY APPLIED TO DIRECTORIES.

For each town or village which had a station, four directories have been examined.

a. First: for a year immediately *PRIOR* to the coming of the railway through that town or village; to show what the place was like before the railway arrived.

b. Second: for a year *FIVE YEARS* after the arrival of the railway, to guage the immediate effects of the railway's opening.

c. Third: for a year *TEN YEARS* after the arrival of the railway to assess its medium-term effects.

d. Fourth: for a year *TWENTY-FIVE YEARS* after the arrival of the railway, thus identifying the long-term effects. [**N.B.** In a town where there were two or more stations (because both competing Companies had stations in the town, eg Dover or Canterbury), that date is taken as twenty-five years after the opening of the *LAST* station to enter service. This has produced certain anomalies: the LCDR station in Ashford, for example, did not open until 1884, so the final directory date is 1909, almost sixty years after the first, rather than the "standard" twenty-five. At Canterbury the "last station" is taken as the LCDR's Canterbury East, rather than the SER's minor Canterbury South.]

In practice a directory does not in fact exist for every year between 1840 and 1914, and this has meant that the year intervals between the directories used are not the desired precise five, five and fifteen years

in each case, but a directory has been chosen in each case which so far as possible represents the situation as indicated[6].

The approach taken with villages, as distinct from the towns, was rather different. Since, by definition, the non-railway villages did not have a railway station, the dating of directories chosen for analysis as described above was inappropriate: for these villages only THREE directories have been analysed. The first is for 1845, as being at the beginning of the "railway age" and also because that year saw the first of the Kelly Directories for Kent. The second is the Kelly Directory for 1882, chosen as being almost halfway to the third directory chosen, the Kelly Directory for 1913.

The actual method of analysis of the directory material, the computer data-base sort fields, etc., is exactly the same for all parishes, with or without stations. In every case, whether urban or rural, the information from the directory has been entered into a computer data-base[7], with typical fields of:

Place - the town, or parish, under consideration

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[6] In the case of the largest towns (Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, Faversham, Folkestone, Margate and Ramsgate), an attempt was made to consider those parishes which immediately abut the parishes which constitute the town, that is, parishes which might be called the "suburbs", in association with each town. In fact this proved not to be very helpful: unit numbers within trade classifications were so small that no sensible conclusions could be drawn.

[7] The programme used is CORNERSTONE, a database developed by Infocom, of Cambridge, Mass, USA. The hardware is a VIGLEN VIG III.LS, using an 80386DX chip, which has meant that processing the material has been a very easy and rapid operation, once it is installed in the database.

Date - the date of the relevant directory

Name - in the form of [Surname] [Title if any] [Forenames] [Mrs/Miss/Misses]

Occupation - the occupations or professions of the individual, in the detail contained in the directory, especially in the case of multiple occupations.

Address - detailed street address where available, in the form [000] [High Street], or in the rural areas, the subordinate district where given.

Those described in the directories as "Private Residents" have not been made the subject of individual entries in towns, though the total number has been noted in each case, under that occupational title. However, in the small rural parishes, where there are only one or two cases, individual entries have been made.

The design of the database programme has meant that it is possible to sort by any field in any sequence desired, such as "Sort all places into alphabetical order, then sort dates into order, then occupations," or to select from within a field or group of fields. Thus it is possible to call up for example, all grocers, or all grocers resident in Dover, or all grocers resident in Dover in 1887, or all grocers who were resident in Dover in 1887, and were trading in Snargate street, or all grocers who were resident in Dover in 1887, who were trading in Snargate Street, and who were single women. Equally, it is possible to trace continuity

of trade or occupation at any given address, or by any given tradesperson, at the original or another address within the town.

This has meant that it has been very simple to identify all those who practised any occupation, at any time, or set of times, and to trace the frequency of that occurrence of that occupational group in any one parish, village or town. The details of information on address for the towns has meant that (where it is available) it has been possible to identify those parts of the town where the majority of the commercial activity was carried on, directory by directory, and identify any change in the centre of gravity of that activity, and to identify whereabouts within the town certain trades were concentrated, and how far that concentration altered with the passage of time.

TRADE AND OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS ADOPTED.

In 1886 Charles Booth attempted to make the information about trades and occupations as provided in the various census returns more meaningful by re-arranging those trades into eleven groups (agriculture, fishing, mining, building, manufacture, transport, dealing, industrial service, public and professional service, domestic service and lastly, others). Armstrong has suggested that at the national level "agriculture" and "fishing" should be combined into a single group, and that the "others", being largely property owners and/or independent, were not really relevant in a discussion of the occupations of society,

and should be omitted, bringing the number of main sections down to nine.[1]

In any discussion of the trades and occupations of the communities of East Kent as given in the trade directories, which obviously ignored large numbers of wage-earners, it was felt that some further refinement of this division was called for. "Mining" as a group would be almost wholly blank, and in the context of East Kent could be conveniently combined with "building". "Manufacture" in East Kent appeared to comprise, in the main, industries on a very small scale, very largely consisting of craftsmen who made goods which they then sold in their shops, and could for the most part therefore be combined with "dealing". (See below.) Moreover, in any consideration of the effect of the coming of railways, some discussion of the impact of those railways on the private residents, very largely (though by no means entirely) the "others" of Booth's classification seemed necessary.

However, simply to classify the various occupations and private residents under what would now be eight headings (agriculture and fishing; mining and building; manufacture and dealing; transport; industrial and commercial services; public and professional services; service at domestic level; and private residents) with no further analysis would, it was felt, produce so coarse a picture as to be virtually useless. Furthermore, if the communities of East Kent were to

[1] This whole section derives from the information and discussion which appears in W.A.Armstrong's chapter "The use of information about occupation", in Wrigley, E. A., [ed.], *Nineteenth Century Society* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 191-310.

be grouped together according to their principal function - railway towns, holiday towns, etc. - such a generalized and broad-brush grouping might well conceal rather than identify and clarify the differences between them. The decision made was therefore to proceed in two stages; firstly, to expand Booth's classification into a total of 25 classes, which between them covered all the commercial entries in the East Kent directories examined without putting strange bed-fellows together, and thereby to include in the database all the directory commercial entries.

The 25 classifications decided upon are given below on pages 161-3. By each classification is given a list of the more frequent occupational designations which were used as the basis of the computer-sort. Where an occupational or trade name appeared in the directory which did not exactly coincide with one of the computer-sort occupation names, the occupation exactly as given in the directory was entered into the database, but an appropriate computer-sort heading was included in brackets to ensure that the trade in question was correctly picked up during the sorting operation. Thus a tradesman who was described in the directory as an "Ale dealer" was entered into the database as "Ale dealer [beer]". Those refined "Establishments for young ladies" were rather brutally noted as "Establishment for young ladies [school]", and so on. Thus the trade names which appear under the following group headings are in no way exhaustive, but represent the trade names used in the computer-sort, and will give an idea of the general composition of the group. Since all occupational entries were entered into the

into the database exactly as shown in the directory, any multiple occupations, eg "Grocer and insurance agent" were automatically picked up during the computer-sort, and some individuals therefore appear in two, or more, categories in the analyses which follow in Chapters VI to X.

Booth's original classification covered 51 sub-divisions: in the context of the present thesis, certain rearrangements of those sub-divisions, (expanded by Armstrong to 80) into the various classifications have been thought advisable. Thus, almost all of the manufacturing section has been re-allocated to join the appropriate class of the dealing sector to make one of the new groups. Booth classified bonnet makers, boot and shoe makers, dressmakers and so on as being within the manufacturing sector: this is of course strictly speaking quite accurate, but on the scale on which this manufacture was practised in East Kent, rather misleading. Boot and shoe makers may indeed have made their boot and shoes on the premises, but it is clear that they sold them in the course of retail trade from those premises as well. The same certainly applied to dressmakers, milliners, etc., and in a different class within the sector, to cabinet makers and upholsterers. By the second half of the nineteenth century clock or watch makers in small country towns almost certainly were not *making* the watch or the clock; the most that they were likely to be doing in that direction was fitting a purchased movement into a purchased case bearing their name[1]. Most

[1] Information from D.J. Jutson, Esq, MHI.

"manufacturers", therefore, have been associated with the appropriate "dealers" to form one of the groups for this study.

In a few cases, trades have been deliberately moved from one of Booth's classifications to another: hotel keepers have been moved from the drink class [XII] and have instead been counted with the lodging and dining facilities group [XIII]: it was felt that in the context of the holiday towns, this would be more helpful. Marine store dealers have been put together with fishermen and smack owners and those engaged in boat-building and equipping to form a sea group [II]. Fancy goods dealers have been put into the household goods group [XVI], as being in sympathy with the other trades within that group.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Booth and Armstrong were both working primarily within the context of the census reports, printed figures or census enumerators' returns, in which in the main only a single trade or occupation is recorded against each individual, presumably the trade which that individual, or the enumerator, perceived as being their primary occupation. The directories were compiled for a wholly different purpose, where it was in the interests of all concerned to indicate the breadth and number of the various trades or occupations followed, or services offered, as in this entry for Margate in 1882:

> Gray & Co, Upholsterers and cabinet makers, paper-hangings, iron bedsteads, bedding and complete house furnishers, 59 & 61 High Street,

or as in this in Folkestone in the same year:

> Sherwood, John, grocer, tea dealer, provision merchant and house agent, and agent for furnished house and apartments, 3 & 5, Sandgate Road.

Since in each case a service was provided (of a sort, and in however limited a fashion) in each of the trades or professions indicated, an entry has had to be made in respect of each in the tables and calculations on trades within this study of the communities of East Kent. The problem is not quite as daunting as it looks, however, since in most cases the various trades do in fact fall into two, or at most three, groups. Thus except for the paperhanging, which is Group III (Building), Gray and Co.'s offerings all come within Group XIV (Furniture); whilst John Sherwood's trades fall within Group X (Food), Group III (Building) and Group XIII (Lodging and dining). In any town, therefore, the total number of retail or professional outlets accounted for is greater than the actual number of outlets which existed. Gray and Co. and John Sherwood would produce between them five entries, Group III (twice), Group X, Group XIII and Group XIV, although there were in fact only two shops.

There may well be statistical anomalies arising from this approach to multiple entries; for example in 1910 a general store in Ickham, a very small village near Canterbury, carried a range of stock of which Harrod's would have been proud, including items of drapery, ready-made clothing, household goods, stationery, chemist's stores, toys, fancy

goods, grocery and toiletries. Yet the whole stock was only valued at £217 8s., and the shop cannot have been a large one in terms of cubic feet,[10] so that a full multiple listing here, which would encompass at least six trade groups, might be seriously misleading in any discussion of the comparative position of Ickham as a commercial centre. Fortunately in this case the directory entry, on which the statistical analyses are based, simply read "Grocer and draper", so the problem is perhaps not as serious as it might appear. The extent to which trade groups overlap certainly differed over the span of time, and according to the place concerned. Thus, in the larger towns, there is some indication that greater specialization developed as the years passed by, but in the smaller towns and villages, the Jack of all Trades remained a very evident commercial personality.

In the larger towns, insurance agents accounted for a considerable proportion of the multiple entries; in most cases an agency was evidently considered a useful side-line rather than as a major occupation. As remarked above, it is also the case that many of those people who were listed as "Private Residents" also appeared in the body of the commercial tables; the two tables were not, unfortunately, mutually exclusive. This was particularly the case with clergy (though not all incumbents were listed in both places) and the professions, especially bankers, doctors and solicitors, and to a lesser extent, the principals of the larger private schools.

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[10] Winstanley, M.J., *The Shopkeeper's World* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 204-7.

The final composition of the classifications as indicated below has been to some extent influenced by this problem; where two trades were very frequently noted in conjunction, they have, if it was reasonable to do so, been placed in the same group, e.g. bricklayer (Building sector, class 2) and brickmaker (Mining sector, class 3), both in group III. Only in Faversham did there seem to have been a major brick-making industry, where the commercial picture may in part be falsified by this allocation.

TRADE AND OCCUPATION DIVISIONS, BASED ON BOOTH'S ORIGINAL CLASSIFICATION.

I LAND

Corn dealer, corn factor, corn merchant, farmer, farrier, gardener, hop grower, horse dealer, nurseryman, seedsman, veterinary surgeon.

II SEA

Boatbuilder, boatman, fisherman, marine store dealer, sail loft, sail maker, sailor, shipbuilder, ships' chandler, smack owner.

III BUILDING

Architect, bell-hanger, bricklayer, brickmaker, builder, carpenter, contractor, decorator, estate agent, electrical fitter, gas fitter, glazier, house agent, joiner, painter, paperhanger, plumber, surveyor.

IV OTHER INDUSTRIES

Blacksmith, engineer, manufacturers not otherwise accounted for, whitesmith, worker in electrical, gas or water works .

V TRANSPORT BY SEA

Hoyman, mariner, pilot, seaman.

VI INLAND TRANSPORT

Carman, carrier, coach maker, coach proprietor, cycle agent, cycle maker, fly proprietor, licensed to let horses, livery stable keeper, motor car agent, postmaster (not GPO), railway, saddler, stationmaster, wheelwright.

VII SERVICE AT DOMESTIC LEVEL.

Artist, assembly room, bather, bath owner, camera dealer, chimney sweep, hairdresser, laundress, laundry or washerwoman, photographer, servants' registry office.

VIII COAL

Coal dealer, coal merchant, coal seller.

IX CLOTHING

Berlin wool supplier, bonnet maker, boot maker, clothier, clothes dealer (second-hand), dressmaker, haberdasher, hatter, milliner, outfitter, shoemaker, tailor, umbrella maker, wardrobe dealer, wool merchant, wool supplier.

X FOOD

Baker, butcher, cheesemonger, confectioner, cowkeeper, dairyman, fish dealer, fishmonger, fruiterer, greengrocer, grocer, milkman, miller, oil and colourman, pastrycook, poulterer, provision dealer, provision merchant, tea dealer, tea merchant.

XI TOBACCO

Cigar seller, tobacconist, tobacco pipe maker.

XII DRINK

Ale and porter merchant, beer retailer, beer seller, brewer, innkeeper, maltster, publican, wine or spirit merchant.

XIII LODGING AND DINING FACILITIES

Apartment keeper, boarding house keeper, coffee rooms, dining rooms, eating house, hotel keeper, lodging house keeper, refreshment rooms, restaurant.

XIV FURNITURE

Cabinet maker, chair maker, furniture maker, furniture seller, furniture warehouse, pawnbroker, undertaker, upholsterer.

XV STATIONERY

Bookseller, library owner, music seller, newsagent, printer, publisher, stationer.

XVI HOUSEHOLD GOODS

China dealer, clock maker, fancy goods dealer, glass dealer, ironmonger, jeweller, musical instrument dealer, piano dealer, silversmith, watchmaker.

XVII SHOPKEEPER

Shopkeeper, not otherwise defined.

XVIII INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SERVICES

Accountant, auctioneer, banker, commercial traveller, insurance agent.

XIX PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Court officials, customs officers, overseer, parish clerk, post office (GPO), rate collector, registrar, tax officer.

XX UNIFORMED SERVICES

Army, fire, navy, police, prison, volunteer.

XXI LAW

Attorney, notary, solicitor.

XXII EDUCATION

Professor, school, tutor.

XXIII MEDICINE

Chemist, convalescent home, dentist, doctor, home of rest, hospital, infirmary, midwife, optician, orphanage, physician, surgeon.

XXIV RELIGION

Clerk in orders, curate, minister, mother superior, priest, rabbi, rector, sexton, verger, vicar.

XXV PRIVATE RESIDENTS

In the first drafts of this thesis, an attempt was made to present an analysis of all these 25 classifications, town group by town group, but while this was perfectly possible and simple from the technical point of

view, it became rather cumbersome in practice, and the resultant tables served more to confuse than to illuminate. Accordingly at a later stage it was decided to group these 25 classifications into seven varying major divisions, and these seven divisions would be used as the basis of an occupational analysis for each group of communities to be studied. The classifications within each division would, however, be varied according to the nature of the communities. The eventual grouping of classifications into these divisions, town or village by town or village was:

RAILWAY TOWNS, and CANTERBURY

Building: [Building].

Inland transport: [Inland transport].

Retailers, (food & drink), and lodging: [Drink, food, lodging].

Retailers (other), service: [Service, clothing, coal, furniture, household goods, shopkeeper, stationery, tobacco].

Public service and professional: [Education, industrial and commercial services, law, medicine, public administration, religion, uniformed services].

Others: [Land, other industries, sea, transport by sea].

Private residents: [Private residents].

HOLIDAY TOWNS and MINOR COASTAL RESORTS

Sea: [Sea].

Transport by sea: [Transport by sea].

Drink and lodging: [Drink, lodging].

Retailers and service: [Service, clothing, coal, food, furniture, household goods, shopkeeper, stationery, tobacco].

Public service and professional: [Education, industrial and commercial services, law, medicine, public administration, religion ,uniformed services].

Others: [Building, land, inland transport, other industries].

Private residents: [Private residents].

VILLAGES, ON OR OFF THE RAILWAY

Land: [Land].

Retailers, (food & drink): [Drink, food, shopkeeper].

Retailers, (other), service: [Clothing, coal, furniture, household goods, service, stationery, tobacco].

Public service and professional: [Education, industrial and commercial services, law, medicine, public administration, religion ,uniformed services].

Building and transport: [Building, inland transport].

Others: [Lodging, other industries, sea, transport by sea].

Private residents: [Private residents].

It will be noted that the "public service and professional" and "private residents" divisions are the same for each type of town or village, but no other divisions are exactly the same for all three town or village types. In each case, it was considered desirable to highlight what might be expected to be the most significant trade classifications into a single division within the town or village. Thus in the villages "land" was an obvious division which would need individual identification; in the other town or village types it could be safely be placed with the "other" trade classifications. In the holiday towns the "lodging and drink" division would obviously be of major and identifiable significance, as would the "sea" division, etc.

In the railway towns, and Canterbury, it was felt that the food, drink and lodging classifications should form a separate division: grocers, butchers and the local public house after all appear in every village and town. In the villages, however, there were so few hotels and lodging houses that the lodging classification was moved to the "other" division. In the reverse direction, tradesmen described simply as shopkeepers in villages were almost certain to include food in their stock in trade[11], (though they would certainly sell many other types of goods)[12] and so shopkeepers were included in the "food and drink" division in the villages. In the holiday towns and minor resorts, however, the food classification had to be put into the division with all other retailing services in order to allow a clear picture to emerge of the "drink and lodging" division. Private residents were sufficiently numerous in all towns, of whatever type, to justify their identification into a division of their own; in the villages, although private residents were so few in number, a minor absolute change might well have represented a considerable *social* change, so the individual division was retained for them in the villages also.

However, since the original 25 classifications were retained as a fundamental part of the computer data-base, it was easy to identify from the initial sort into those classifications any trade or occupation

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[11] Brown, J. and Ward, S., *The Village Shop* (Rural Development Commission, 1990), Chapter 2, passim, but especially pp. 14-15.

[12] ".. the principal shopkeeper of Cranford, who ranged the trades from grocer and cheesemonger to man-milliner, as occasion required..". Gaskell, Mrs. E., *Cranford* (1864 edition, Folio Society impression, 1987), p.147; Chapter XII.

which showed a particular or unexpected point of interest, and to pull that trade or occupation out for detailed examination and discussion.

PRESENTATION OF TABLES.

The material thus gathered has been presented in tables in standard form throughout the text which follows, giving the actual number of cases in each group, year by year, and the proportion which that figure represented per thousand of the population: population figures for the various directory years have been interpolated from the *Victoria County History* information. Where a table refers to a single town, the actual year of the directory used has been quoted in the table, but where data for several towns or villages has been aggregated, and the dates of the directories used differ from one place to another (as described above), no date is quoted in the table, but the various columns are headed YEAR 1, YEAR 2, YEAR 3 and YEAR 4, corresponding to the scheme set out on pp. 152-3. In the body of the text, in order to avoid the constant need to repeat that (for example) in Dover, the 1847 directory has been taken as being that nearest to five years after the coming of the railway, and that that directory is the second in Dover's sequence, the various years have been referred to simply as Year 1, Year 2, etc. The same practice has been followed in the labelling of the various graphs which illustrate the tables. Information as to which directories have been used for each town is given in a footnote to each chapter. Where available, as described below, census information has been presented to the same convention.

CENSUS MATERIALS.

Another possible source of information about the changes in the occupational structure of East Kent is the series of published Census Reports[13]. Unfortunately this source is not as helpful as could be wished. Between the years 1840 and 1913 there were eight census reports; over the same years *Kent Directories Located*[14] lists 25 county directories: there are also numerous directories which cover one or more towns within the area, thus, by comparison, the census reports give a very intermittent picture of what was potentially a very dynamic situation.

THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE, CENSUS BY CENSUS.

As far as Kent was concerned, details were given in the census report for 1841 of the numbers of males and females following the various occupations, distinguishing between those aged 20 and above and those under 20 years of age, arranged alphabetically with no class divisions, firstly for the whole county, and then for certain major towns,

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[13] 1841: PP HoC 1844, XXVII, pp. 142-51,
1851: PP HoC 1852-53, LXXXVIII, part 1, pp. 64-69, and 112-17,
1861: PP HoC 1863, LIII, part 1, pp 460-523,
1871: PP HoC 1873, LXXI, part 1, pp. 63-71, and 83-94,
1881: PP HoC 1883, LXXX, pp. 56-63,
1891: PP HoC 1893-94, CVI, pp. 48-55,
1901: PP HoC 1902, CXIX, pp. 368-83,
1911: PP HoC 1913, LXXVIII, pp.672-677, and LXXIX, pp 198-211.

For details of titles and reference, see the Bibliography.

[14] Bergess, W.F., and Riddell, B.R.M., *Kent Directories Located* (second edition, Maidstone, 1978).

CANTERBURY, Chatham and Rochester, Deptford, *DOVER*, Greenwich, Maidstone, *MARGATE AND RAMSGATE*, Tonbridge (sic) and Woolwich, of which the towns shown in *ITALICISED UPPER CASE* are in East Kent as defined for this study. In the 1851 report the occupations were broken down into classes, with the same information, broken in the same age-groups, again available for males and females in all Kent, and for the towns of *CANTERBURY*, Chatham and Rochester, *DOVER*, and Maidstone.

In the 1861 report, information was given on the same scale as for 1851, with the addition that information was also supplied, by class and by occupation, for the various Registration Districts of the county [Bromley, Dartford, Gravesend, North Aylsford, Hoo, Medway, Malling, Sevenoaks, Tunbridge (sic), Maidstone, Hollingbourn, Cranbrook, Tenterden, *WEST ASHFORD, EAST ASHFORD, BRIDGE, CANTERBURY, BLEAN, FAVERSHAM, MILTON*, Sheppey, *THANET, EASTRY, DOVER, ELHAM* and Romney Marsh] of which, again, those shown in *UPPER-CASE ITALICS* contained one or more parishes considered in this study. Unfortunately, it is not possible to break down the information to parish level from this published information, so that a Registration District (for example, Eastry) would include information on one or more of the larger towns in East Kent (Deal, Sandwich, Walmer), merged with one or more of the parishes which had no railway station, as considered in Chapter XI (for example, Ash-next-Sandwich and Wingham), as well as on other parishes which are not considered in this study at all. Accordingly, published census data is not as helpful as might have been hoped.

For 1871 the layout of the report is very similar to that of 1861, (except that no information is given regarding those under 20 years of age), with detailed information available for the county as a whole, for *CANTERBURY*, Chatham and Rochester, *DOVER* and Maidstone, and for the Registration Districts, though for them the breakdown of the classes into individual occupations was much less thorough than it was in 1861. In 1881 and 1891 the reports gave no information about any town in East Kent at all, only all-county figures for males and females, by class and occupation. In the 1901 report, in addition to detailed information on the county, information was given, by class and occupation for *CANTERBURY*, but for no other town in the administrative county of Kent. In 1911 there was a return to the format of 1881 and 1891, with no run of complete information given but that relative to the county as a whole[15].

Thus it is only possible to make a precise comparison between the commercial composition of any of the communities of East Kent as shown by the various commercial directories and that indicated by the published census reports for the towns of *CANTERBURY* and *DOVER*, for the years 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871, and this is confined to those people who were aged 20 years or more at the time of the census.

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[15] Details of what information is available in the published returns is given in O.P.C.S. *Guide to Census Reports, 1801-1966* (HMSO, 1977).

LIMITATIONS OF THE CENSUS MATERIAL.

From 1851 onward, the householders' instructions said that a person "following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupations in the order of their importance", but the census enumerators (in the author's experience) tended not to transcribe information concerning more than just one trade. In any case, as far as the published returns on occupational analysis were concerned, the compiling census clerks were told to count only the occupation which appeared "most important", usually the first one given[16]. Thus the traders at Margate and Folkestone whose directory entries are quoted above would have been classified, for the purpose of the census occupational analysis, by a single trade only - Messrs. Gray probably as upholsterers (since that came first) and John Sherwood as a grocer - so that their activities in other fields would have been simply ignored. Any calculations based solely on the numbers of persons following a trade given in the published census reports will therefore under-represent, to an unquantifiable though probably small extent, the actual numbers involved in that trade. For example, directory information suggests that those people who acted as insurance agents were almost invariably also employed in another way. Since the insurance agency was almost always the last trade included in the directory entry it is therefore most likely that insurance agents were not correctly represented in the census reports.

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[16] This paragraph is based on Higgs, E., *Making Sense of the Census* (HMSO, 1989), p. 80.

A further complication when using the census reports in association with directory information about specific towns or parishes is that the allocation of trades to classes was not consistent between censuses, so that (for example) domestic servants, who were listed with innkeepers, tailors and shoemakers as part of Class VI in 1851, had a class to themselves (Class IV) in 1901. Where detailed information was given as to the composition of the various classes this was, however, not a total bar to progress, albeit administratively tiresome.

THE MATERIAL IN USE.

It was therefore possible to make comparisons between directory and printed census evidence in two cases only, *CANTERBURY* and *DOVER*[11]. The census information has been transcribed from the reports, and re-cast into the 25 classes and seven groups used in this study, and an analysis made based on those totals, in the same way that the totals available from the directories have been treated. These figures have then been compared with figures obtained from the directory evidence, to see how far any changes shown by the directories were a reflection of those shown in the census returns. The years are of course not exactly the same, but the census time-span (1841 to 1871, thirty years

[11] The figures given for the Registration Districts for 1861 and 1871 would make possible a comparison of the situation in *THANET* (which includes all the holiday towns except Herne Bay), but since only a single comparison would be possible the value of the evidence from those figures is debatable. There is also the problem that for 1871 the figures for *THANET* were aggregated into six classes with fourteen subdivisions with no detailed information provided on individual occupations, so that it would not have been possible to re-arrange the information into the twenty-five classes used in this study. For these reasons, this comparison was not proceeded with.

for *CANTERBURY* and *DOVER*) covers the twenty-five years from the SER's original arrival in East Kent, and in the last decade includes the arrival of the LCDR, so that any comparison of the two sets of figures, whilst not an exact like with like parallel, is not an unreasonable one.

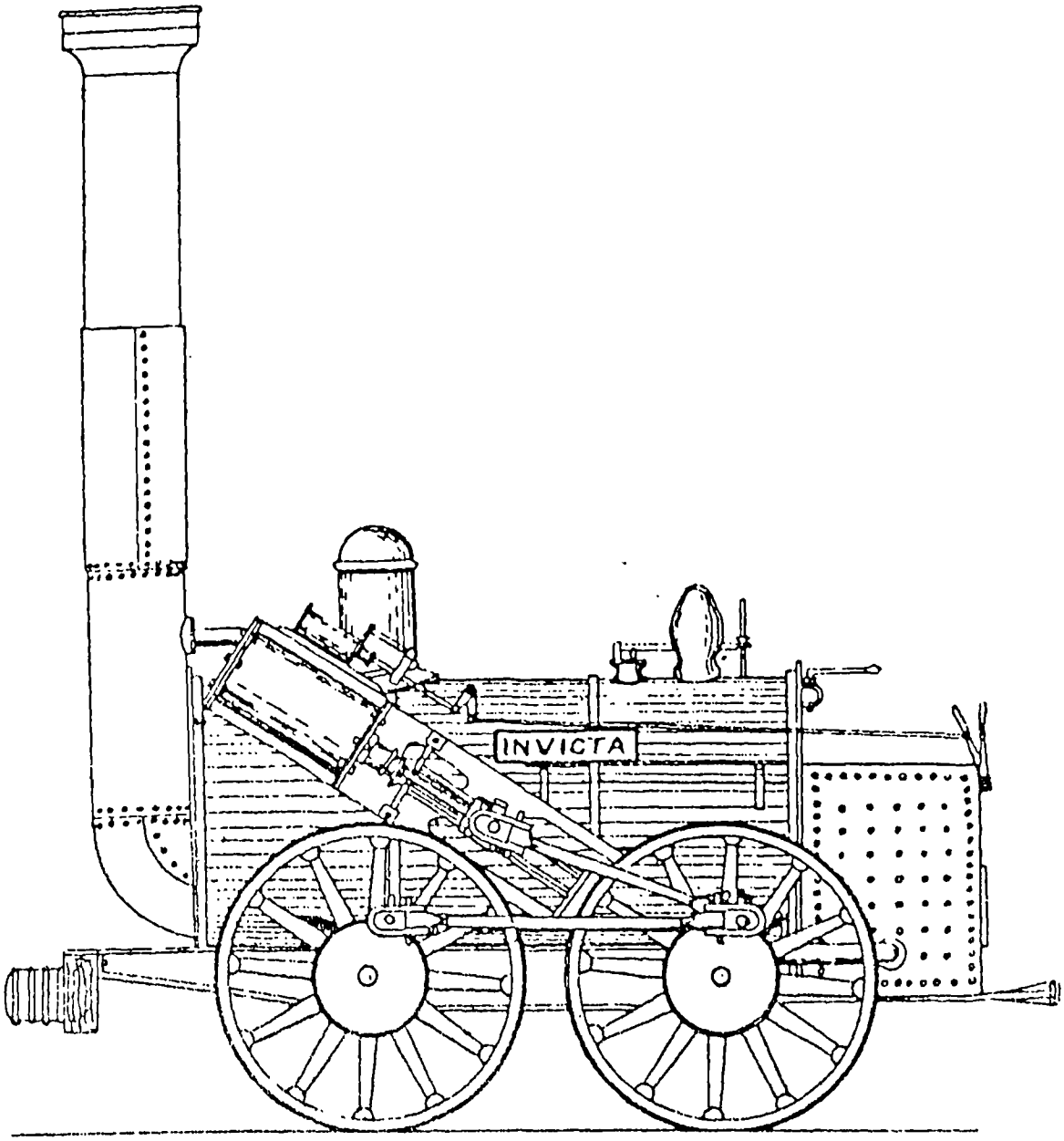
Detailed information for all parishes and for all censuses after 1841 is, of course, available in the census enumerators' books, but the volume of these records, and the problems associated with sorting the data into classes and orders, proved to be self-defeating. The 1881 books were examined to identify persons in railway employment in all the parishes of East Kent, and this material has been used in Chapters IV and VI, but apart from some minor items of information which have been noted from these books in the course of previous research projects, no further attempt was made to utilise the census enumerators' books.

SUMMARY.

The material surviving therefore presents problems of availability, of completeness, of continuity and of comparison. However, the directories offer the only systematic listing of businesses in the period, and the historian must do his best with what is available.

Chapter VI:

THE RAILWAY TOWNS and CROSS-CHANNEL PORTS.



CHAPTER VI: THE RAILWAY TOWNS AND CROSS-CHANNEL PORTS.

ASHFORD, FAVERSHAM, DOVER AND FOLKESTONE.

The first four towns to be considered are chosen for their links with the railway. Ashford became almost at once the engineering centre of the SER, and retained that position after the working union with the LCDR, whose London works at Longhedge (very near to Clapham Junction) were closed in its favour. Faversham was the largest junction on the LCDR line outside London, had its own motive power depot and was the most important LCDR site in East Kent. The cross-channel traffic emanating from Dover was of course the principal object behind building the railways of East Kent at all, and as has been shown in Chapter IV, Dover came to be dominated by the railway (SER and LCDR together) as an employer. Folkestone was also a port of embarkation for cross-Channel traffic; smaller than Dover, its harbour actually *belonged* to the SER, which railway naturally favoured cross-channel traffic from this port as much as possible.

Both Dover and Folkestone also have claims to be considered in the next Chapter, devoted to the holiday towns of East Kent. Dover certainly had a reputation as such, as the directory evidence quoted in Chapter II shows, but this aspect of the town's economy and prosperity became increasingly subordinate to its role as a cross-channel port. Folkestone

on the other hand really started life as a fishing village, with a small holiday trade, through which the railway passed; whereas in Dover the port element eclipsed the holiday trade, in Folkestone the reverse was the case. Lord Radnor's property development westwards along the clifftops from the old town meant that as the cross-channel traffic became more concentrated in Dover, so Folkestone's importance as a holiday resort grew to a peak in the last years of Queen Victoria's reign and the years immediately prior to the First World War. However, in view of the *initial* importance of Folkestone as a railway town, and of Dover's later cross-channel pre-eminence, it has seemed more sensible to treat those towns under the "railway" rather than the "holiday" classification.

Though Willesborough was a parish quite separate from Ashford, it was on a farm which straddled the parish boundary that the SER set up their engineering and locomotive works, and it seems sensible therefore to consider the two parishes of Ashford and Willesborough as a single unit. Faversham has another parish immediately to the south of it, Preston, and by 1841 there was already no clear division between the two: when the LCDR was built through Faversham, the station itself was actually in Preston parish. Davington and Oare are small settlements to the north of Faversham, Ospringe to the south, and west of Preston along the line of the London road; all five were lumped in together with Faversham in the directory evidence, and so it seems sensible to treat them as a unit here. Dover town comprised four small parishes, but by the middle of the century, if not before, the two parishes next up the

Dour valley from the original town of Dover, Buckland and Charlton, were effectively part of Dover township, and were included in the directory evidence for Dover, and so are included here. Folkestone was in two parishes, Town, and Rural: they are also considered together here.

POPULATION CHANGE AND GROWTH

The figures for all four towns are shown in Table 6.1, and illustrated in Graph 6.1 which shows the actual population increase, expressed on a logarithmic scale: this has the great advantage over a simple graph that a constant *slope* in the line of the graph indicates a *constant rate of change.*

The railway came to Ashford for the first time (SER) in 1842, and for the second (LCDR) in 1884, to Dover for the first time (SER) in 1844, and for the second (LCDR) in 1861, to Folkestone in 1843 and to Faversham in 1858. If the railway had any major immediate effect on population, it might be expected to be seen in the population figures for Ashford in 1851 over 1841, and 1891 over 1881; in Dover in 1851 over 1841, and 1871 over 1861, in Folkestone 1851 over 1841, and at Faversham possibly in 1861 over 1851, or 1871 over 1861; long-range changes would of course show up more gradually over the passage of time.

Table 6.1 THE POPULATION OF THE RAILWAY TOWNS AND CHANNEL PORTS.

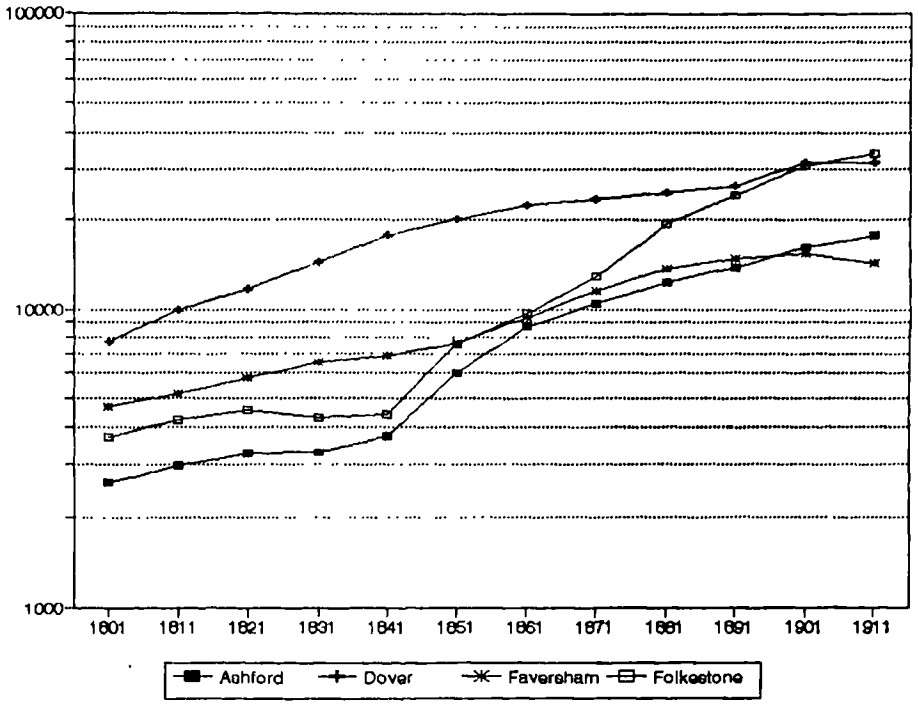
Town	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Ashford & Willesborough	2,593	2,967	3,256	3,281	3,723	6,029
Dover, with Buckland & Charlton	7,709	9,988	11,811	14,476	17,857	20,097
Faversham	4,499	4,989	5,622	6,348	6,714	7,450
Folkestone	3,704	4,232	4,451	4,296	4,413	7,549
TOWN	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Ashford & Willesborough	8,730	10,510	12,369	13,962	16,410	17,856
Dover, with Buckland & Charlton	22,516	23,532	24,917	26,076	31,692	31,692
Faversham	9,178	11,299	13,265	14,336	15,070	14,052
Folkestone	9,678	12,951	19,297	24,232	30,969	33,974

Graph 6.1 suggests that the very marked changes one might expect did not really happen. The population of Ashford, which had been virtually stable 1821-31 had begun to rise again by 1841, and though that rate of increase itself increased 1841-51, that greater rate was not maintained[1], even though the years 1851 onwards saw a steady expansion in the SER works. Folkestone's population had actually declined 1821-31, and that loss had not been wholly regained by 1841. The decade 1841-51, however, saw a very sharp increase, and though that rate was not maintained, Folkestone continued to show a higher

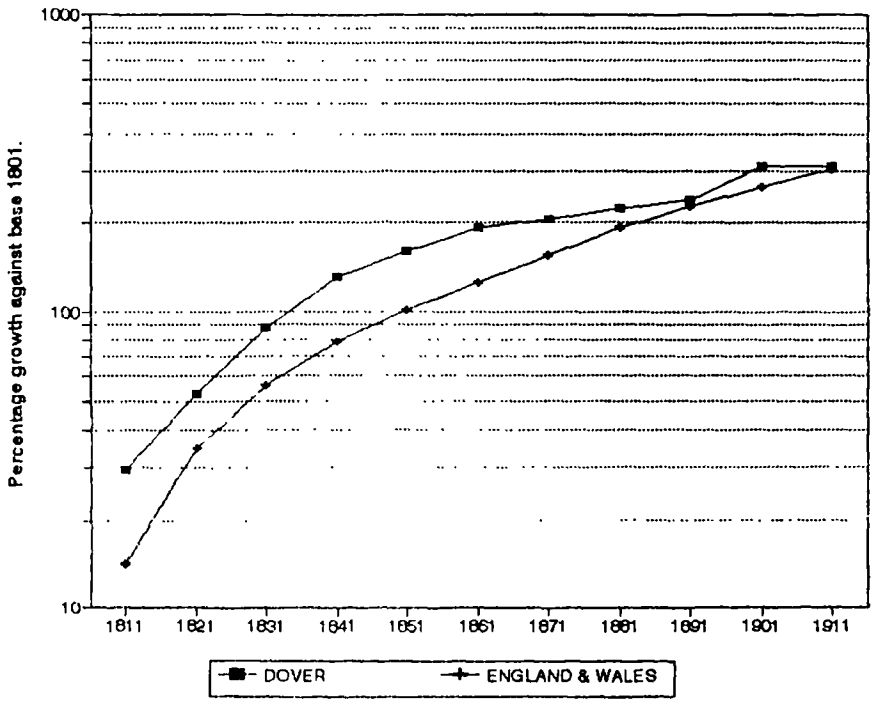
[1] Turton, B.J., "The railway towns of Southern England", *Transport History* Vol II, (1969), p. 112. Turton makes the point that a much larger proportion of the population of Ashford in 1851 had been born in the north-east of England, whence they had come as the railway experts into the new town. This point is further emphasized by Drake, M. and Pearce, C, in "Ashford 1840-1870: a socio-demographic study", which appears as pp. 80-93 of The economic and social history of Kent, 1600-1900, a handbook produced to support a University of Kent extra-mural course held in conjunction with the Kent County Council in 1969 (privately duplicated, Canterbury, 1969).

Graphs 6.1 and 6.2

Graph 6.1: THE POPULATION OF THE RAILWAY TOWNS AND CHANNEL PORTS.



Graph 6.2: THE GROWTH OF POPULATION in ENGLAND & WALES, & DOVER.



rate of increase than any of the other three towns in this group. Dover was growing rapidly during the century, at a rate faster than the national (graph 6.2), and the arrival of the railway seems to have had no particular impact on the pattern of the Dover figures. Though the Faversham figures do show a slight steepening of the rate of increase 1851-61, that was not maintained; by 1911, Faversham's population was in very slight decline.

The arrival of the LCDR at Dover in 1861 seems to have had no impact on the population at all, nor did that railway's arrival at Ashford make any difference there. Folkestone's second period of growth (1861-1881) seems to have been independent of the railway, and more a function of Lord Radnor's development plans, as will be further considered below.

The overall conclusions from these figures and graphs would therefore seem to be:

a. Only Ashford and Folkestone experienced a major population expansion which can be directly associated with the coming of the railway; Faversham's growth, though clear, is much less marked.

b. The rate of population growth of Dover seems not to have been affected by the coming of either railway: it was already increasing at a faster rate than in any of the other three towns long before the railway came, and remained (until 1911) the largest of the four.

c. Ashford's population was not affected at all by the arrival of the LCDR, as really was only to be expected.

d. In no case was any increased rate of growth associated with the coming of the railway *maintained*; what sudden growth there was seems to have been a once and for all event.

RAILWAY EMPLOYMENT

In Chapter IV the economy of Ashford was shown to have been dominated by the SER carriage and wagon, and locomotive works, where perhaps as many as 1,400 persons may have been employed as early as the 1880s. At Dover with much the same effect the two competing railways maintained until 1899 separate motive power depots as well as marine departments, giving a total railway force for the SECR of about 1,000 just before 1914. But what was the situation in the other railway towns, Faversham and Folkestone?

The 1881 census enumerators' returns showed 175 persons as being in railway employment in Folkestone, but the distribution of those figures indicated clearly how partial was the coverage. Of the 175, there were:

Staff at SER's Pavilion Hotel	50
Clerks, undifferentiated	13
Railway firemen	7
Labourers	10
Platelayers & platelayers' labourers	6
Porters	20
Signalmen	10
Sailors	3
Railway engine drivers	3
Railway engine cleaners	1

The remaining 52 persons included the two stationmasters, the five female waiting-room attendants and the like, but since Folkestone was a sub-shed motive power depot for the SER it seems on the face of it unlikely that there were only three engine drivers and three cleaners, especially as there were seven firemen. An internal register of SER locomotive shed staff suggests that at the end of March 1881, there were in fact 51 staff employed at the Folkestone shed[2]. Similarly, since Folkestone was one of the SER's main cross-channel ports, there must have been more than three seamen employed. The SER seems to have used its cross-channel fleet from Dover and Folkestone without firmly committing any one ship to any one route, but there is some evidence to suggest that in the early 1880s the Folkestone service was maintained by three ships, the *Albert Victor*, the *Louise Dagmar*, and the *Mary Beatrice*.[3] In 1892, these ships seem to have had a crew of 28 each[4] so, if this allocation is correct, there must have been at least 84 crew

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[2] PRO RAIL 635.308.

[3] Bucknall, R., *Boat Trains and Channel Packets* (1957), p. 70. These three ships are described as being on the Folkestone-Boulogne route in the July 1877 SER timetable, and the implication is that they had been on the route some little time. [PRO RAIL 977/5, p. xi].

[4] PRO RAIL 635.310.

members who worked from Folkestone, and who almost certainly lived there. In August 1914 the station staff at Folkestone's three stations (Central, Harbour and Junction) numbered 138[5], the most numerous categories being:

Clerks, of various grades	34
Telegraph clerks	5
Porters, of various grades	29
Signalmen	16
Guards	4
Guards, specified as goods guards	3
Shunters	8

which incidentally, clearly reflects Folkestone's position as a *passenger*, rather than a freight, centre.

If, despite the disparity of dates, these figures are all added together, the result is:

Motive power depot staff in 1881	51
Crew of three ships, mid 1880s	84
Station staff, August 1914	138
Pavilion Hotel staff, 1881	50
TOTAL	323

As in Dover, figures of this order of magnitude must have meant that the SER was by far the largest employer in the town, and was the occasion of more employment still in the way of staff at other hotels, cab traffic and the like.

[5] PRO RAIL 633.351.

Faversham was larger than either Ashford or Folkestone in the years before 1851, but the census of that year put Faversham in the third place: Faversham exhibited the lowest rate of overall growth in the period 1801-1911 of all the four towns considered in this Chapter (see graph 6.1). Faversham, like Ashford, was a market town of considerable local influence, but whereas Ashford became the SER's engineering headquarters, and Dover and Folkestone had the major cross-channel traffic to swell the railway staff level, Faversham merely had a motive power depot. All the same, this certainly gave employment to a considerable number of people.

In 1881 the enumerators' returns showed 93 persons in railway employment in Faversham and Preston. Apart from the stationmaster and the lady in Spiers and Pond's station refreshment rooms, there were, among others,

Clerks	7
Engine drivers	9
Engine firemen	4
Guards	6
Labourers	13
Platelayers	8
Porters	11
Signal fitters	3
Signalmen	5

On the LCDR system, Faversham was second only to Dover as a motive power depot; by 1901, the relative strengths of the two depots were as shown in Table 6.2.

Faversham's position as a depot which carried out repairs is indicated by the presence of the boilersmiths and the smith, and its position as a major source of motive power by the number of footplate staff; Dover's position as a centre of passenger traffic is indicated by the carriage cleaners. There must also have been carriage cleaners at Faversham, though they were not listed as such: the carriages can hardly have been allowed to remain dirty.

TABLE 6.2: MOTIVE POWER DEPORT STAFF AT DOVER AND FAVERSHAM,1st January, 1901.[6]

Occupation or grade	Dover	Faversham	Occupation or grade	Dover	Faversham
Engineman (driver)	33	37	Carriage cleaners	8	
Fireman	38	31	Examiner	3	6
Cleaner	44	36	Foremen	2	1
Boilersmith		2	Storemen	4	
Fitter	10	2	Coalmen	3	3
Smith		1	TOTALS	145	124
Pump enginemen & night firelighters		5			

By 1914, the station staff at Faversham (coaching department, and so excluding all locomotive depot staff) totalled 71[7]. There were, apart from the station-master,

[6] PRO RAIL 415.110.

[7] PRO RAIL 633.351.

Clerks, of various grades	6
Collectors, presumably ticket	5
Guards	6
Guards, goods	16
Porters	6
Shunters	6
Signalmen, or signal lads	16

plus various other staff, such as the ladies' waiting room attendant, the single platelayer, and the lavatory attendant, which suggests that by 1914, Faversham was a major centre for freight traffic, more so perhaps, than for passenger traffic. Assuming that the 1901 figure for the locomotive staff in the motive power depot was still approximately correct at 124, this suggests that by the outbreak of the First World War, the LCDR employed at least 195 staff at Faversham. The gunpowder works almost certainly employed as many, or even more, by the time all the clerks, labourers and ancillary staff whom it is not possible to identify as gunpowder works staff from the 1881 census enumerators' returns are taken into account, but no other industry is likely to have rivalled the gunpowder factory and the railway works: even the breweries seem to have been on a relatively minor scale.

From the point of view of employment therefore it seems clear that at Ashford, Dover and Folkestone the railway was far and away the largest single employer (taking the SER and the LCDR together for this purpose) in each town, and must in consequence have had far more economic influence in the town than any other employer. In Faversham only the gunpowder works can have been a rival: between them, the

railway and the gunpowder factory must have dominated the town and its economy.

TRAIN SERVICES

It is obvious that the effect of the railway on the commercial and social pattern of any area is a function of the train service. If trains do not stop at a station, they might as well not run. Information about passenger services for the four towns is available from the Companies' published timetables, and from timetables printed in local newspapers; information about the goods services appears in the Companies' working timetables, though these are only available from the 1850s onwards, and not necessarily as a continuous run[8]. Almost all the stations considered in this study had at least one siding, intended for dedicated goods traffic, and though it was sometimes the case that goods trucks were marshalled with passenger trains, especially on branch lines[9], the vast majority of goods traffic must have been by the freight services.

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[8] The main collection of railway timetables, public and working, is at the PRO, in class RAIL 900ff.

[9] The GWR train involved in the accident at Sonning in 1841 was composed of two passenger coaches and eighteen wagons. Though the practice was strongly condemned by the Board of Trade inspector, the GWR continued the practice for a number of years: Rolt, L.T.C., *Red for Danger* (pb edn, 1960), pp. 31-32. Covered, brake-fitted vans continued to be coupled to local branch line passenger service trains until the services disappeared in the 1960s.

PASSENGER TRAINS: LONDON SERVICES

The original purpose of the construction of the SER was to link London with the Channel ports, Dover and Folkestone: the line to Thanet, however important, was originally thought of as a branch. The LCDR's primary purpose was to bridge the awkward gap which existed in the SER's network, along the north Kent coast between the Medway at Strood and Thanet: this was soon lost in the determination to challenge the SER by running over a new line via Canterbury to Dover: this sequence of events has been discussed at length in Chapter II above. The services which the two lines offered over the years to London are therefore of considerable importance: those services were almost certainly the SER's bread and butter, though the LCDR probably did better out of its Thanet and London suburban traffic. What services were in fact available as the years passed by? Four timetables have been examined in this connection, those of 1857, 1865, 1887 and 1910. 1857 was chosen for the first SER timetable as being the last year in which that Company had East Kent to itself, and 1865 as the first year by which the LCDR was fully established. 1887 saw the railway network in East Kent all but complete - only the northern section of the Elham valley line remained to be opened - and for both 1887 and 1910 there is a convenient re-published Bradshaw.

The scale on which traffic to the Channel ports increased is obvious [Table 6.3]. In 1857 there were nine daily trains to Dover, and ten to Folkestone. By 1910 the Dover figure had risen, over the two combined

Table 6.3 PASSENGER TRAIN SERVICES TO AND FROM LONDON.

Services from London:				KENT STATION	Services to London:			
1857	1865	1887	1910		1857	1865	1887	1910
11	11	12	17	ASHFORD (SER)	9	10	11	15
Not open		7	5	ASHFORD (LCDR)	Not open		7	7
9	7	15	17	DOVER (SER)	9	4	14	15
	11	9	15	DOVER (LCDR)		10	10	15
10	7	12	14	FOLKESTONE	9	4	11	12
Not open	11	10	14	FAVERSHAM	Not open	8	12	13

routes of the SER and the LCDR, to 32 down trains, and 30 up; the Folkestone figure by 1910 stood at 14 down trains and 12 up (most of which were of course trains to or from Dover, making a stop along their journey). Though the improvement in services to Ashford and Faversham was not so great, it was still remarkable: Faversham was connected to London by 11 down trains in 1865 and 8 up; by 1910 the figures were 14 down trains and 13 up. Ashford was originally served by 11 trains down from London and 9 up: by 1910 (when the LCDR had a station in the town as well) there were 22 down services and another 22 up. Most of the SER services were making a stop on their way to or from the Channel ports of course, but the LCDR Ashford station was a terminus. For all four towns the suggestion is that the demand for travel to or from London had increased considerably from the date the line (SER or LCDR) was established until 1910. The lowest figure is for the down service to Faversham, an increase of 27%; the greatest the combined down service, over both routes, to Dover, an increase of 255% over the SER's original service.

VOLUME OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC

Just how many passengers travelled by these trains for nearly all these years there is, unfortunately, no way of knowing. It is possible that the frequency of the service to the Channel ports was a function of the two companies' rivalry, rather than the demands of the traffic: Ahrons quoted Foxwell's *Express Trains* to the effect that the two companies divided, rather than bred, continental traffic[10]. Certainly the LCDR's branch to Ashford, the engineering heart of the SER, cannot have been a money-spinner and the LCDR terminus was closed as soon as the working union of the two lines came into being in 1899. The LCDR metals had been extended a few yards to join the SER main line to allow for transfer of freight traffic, and after reference to the Railway Commissioners LCDR passenger trains were allowed to run through into the SER station[11], thus providing a useful alternative route to and from London in case of emergency. However, the SER supplied information to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Railway Enactments details of their train services in 1845, giving the number of passengers in each of the three classes between the various stations on the system[12], which at that time consisted only of the main line to Dover, so for this

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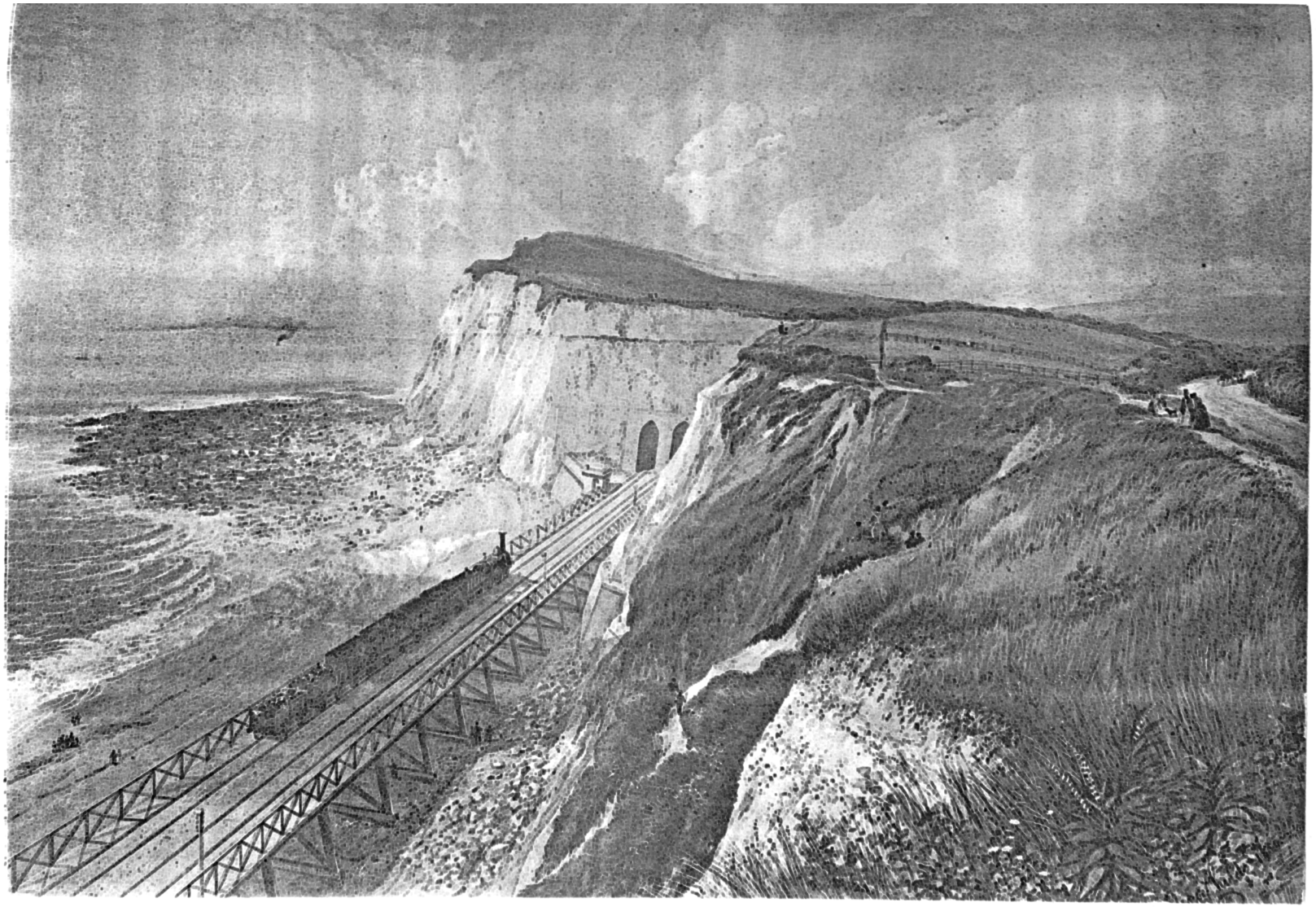
[10] Ahrons, E.L., *Locomotive and Train Working in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Vol V* (Cambridge, 1953), p.39. The book consists of reprints of articles in the *Railway Magazine*; this reference dates from 1917-18.

[11] Gray, A., *The London, Chatham and Dover Railway* (Rainham, 1984), pp. 162-63.

[12] *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Acts Enactments: Appendix: Minutes of Evidence*, PP HoC 1846 (XIV), pp. 571-81. These figures also appear in PRO RAIL 1124/35.



TRAIN APPROACHING SHAKESPEARE CLIFF, 1850 (SER).
Watercolour by George Childs, National Railwayt Museum Collection.

The engine is a Sharp Roberts "Single" 2-2-0. The first and fourth coaches seem to be second class, and the second and third to be first class vehicles. The last two "coaches" are the open trucks which acted as third class accommodation in the earliest days - and they seem to be crowded.

year alone there is a snapshot of the pattern of railway traffic on the SER.

Total numbers of passengers travelling over the whole system in that year were:

First class	159,297
Second class	332,602
Third class	348,466
TOTAL PASSENGERS	840,365

Of these, the following travelled, by all classes between London and:

Ashford	32,193
Dover	88,949
Folkestone	46,419
TOTAL	167,561

of whom 135,368 travelled to Dover or Folkestone. The total number of passengers to or from Boulogne, Calais or Ostende in that year is given by one authority as 115,117[13]: if all these arrived or left the Channel coast by train, that leaves some 20,000 who travelled between London and Dover or Folkestone for purposes other than crossing the Channel: assuming that the 20,000 journeys were equally divided between up and down passengers, that suggests that on average, only about 27 non-ferry passengers travelled between London and the Channel ports each

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[13] "The nature and growth of cross-channel traffic throygh Calais and Boulogne, 1840-70", *Transport History, Vol IV* (1971), p. 265. A similar table in PRO RAIL 633.425 gives figures for the period 1850-1913, but where the two tables overlap there is considerable disparity of detail, though the figures are generally of the same order of magnitude. Jones, R. Bavington *Annals of Dover* (First edition, Dover, 1916), p 167, gives figures for traffic between Dover and Calais and Ostende, but these in turn are at slight variance with figures in the very patchy Dover Harbour Board records (Kent Archives Office, DHB, FA4). However, in the overall scale of the figures, the errors are not signifigant in the present context.

day, hardly a heavy loading for one train, let alone several. Local loadings will be considered in the section below.

Further indication of the level of passenger traffic between London and the Channel ports is, however, available from the general figures for cross-channel traffic during the nineteenth century.

In the three years 1841-43 (that is the last years before the coming of the railway to the Channel ports) the average number of persons making a crossing between the Channel ports and Boulogne, Calais or Ostende, inward or outward bound, was 88,310. The average for the three years 1844-46, that is the years following the establishment of a rail link between London and the Channel ports, was 130,880; the run of figures is given in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4 PASSENGERS CROSSING BETWEEN THE CHANNEL PORTS AND BOULOGNE, CALAIS OR OSTENDE; three year averages[14]

Years	Persons	Years	Persons
1841-43	88,310	1880-82	383,526
1844-46	130,880	1890-92	427,277
1861-63	315,831	1900-02	427,277
1870-72	317,103	1911-13	1,006,010

[14] Figures 1841-72, Croft, *loc. cit.*; figures 1880-1913 from PRO RAIL 633.425.

A very early poster for the South Eastern Railway's services to France. The original is in bright red, white and blue. Notice the open third class "coach" in the decorative border, and the two private carriages on flat trucks at the rear of the train. At the left of the border is a drawing of the impressive tower at Dover Town station which does not, in the event, ever seem to have been built.

National Railways Museum collection.

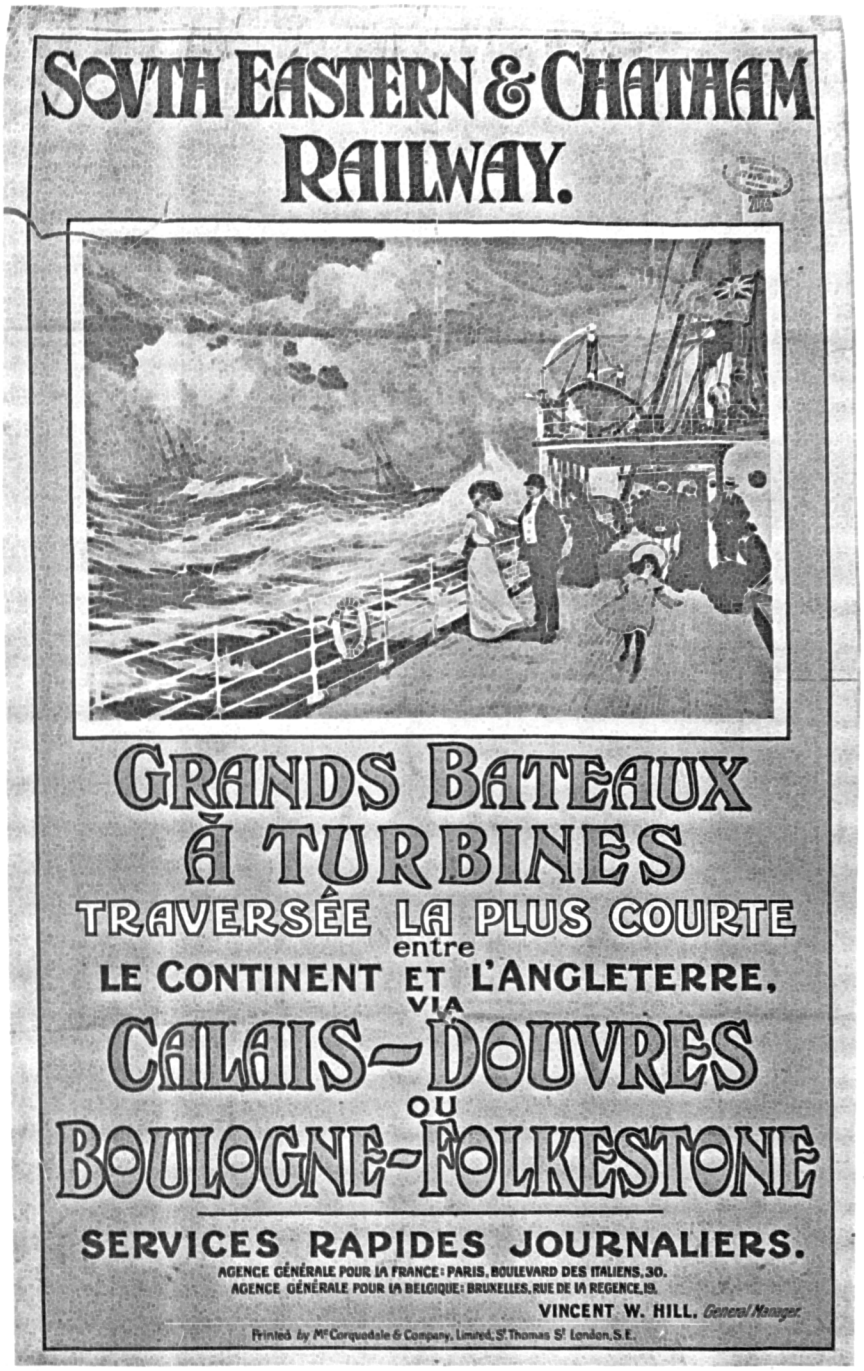
The scale of increase is enormous: over the seventy years between 1840 and 1913 it was elevenfold. However, some degreee of caution is needed in interpreting the significance of these figures in the present context.

Take for example the average of the three years 1886-88, 390,364 (not included in the previous table), being the number of persons who crossed between the Channel ports (almost certainly, bearing in mind the continental ports involved, Dover or Folkestone) and three continental ports, Boulogne, Calais and Ostende, outward and inward bound, in the course of a year. That is, some 535 persons travelled each day from England to the continent, and another 535 travelled back. There were, in 1887, 22 up and down trains a day between London and Dover which also called at Folkestone, two which ran to or from Dover direct and one train a day each way between Folkestone and London direct, 25 trains in all. Their individual share of those 535 passengers would have been 21. Between the two competing companies eight down trains were described as "Continental Expresses" or "Mail Expresses" and ten up trains. If all boat passengers travelled to or from the Channel ports by rail (which is unlikely) and then only travelled by the boat trains (rather more probable) the down trains would have carried only some 67 passengers each, and the up services 54. The figures for 1845 suggest that, for that year at least, the <u>total</u> number of rail passengers was 18% greater than the number of ferry passengers - unless these figures were improved by the last quarter of the century, those down Continental express boat trains were carrying no more than

80 passengers each, and the up services about 65. No wonder the two companies were floundering for most of the years of their existence.

In any case, the effect that the continental passengers had on Dover and Folkestone cannot have been great. Their only object in coming to either town was to leave it as quickly as possible. Their patronage gave employment at the railway motive power depots, and at the marine depots, and on the ships, and the wages thus earned must have been spent in the town, as considered in Chapter IV above, but this apart, these transient souls cannot have affected the towns a great deal. Some must have stayed in the very large SER-owned Pavilion Hotel at Folkestone, or the Lord Warden Hotel at Dover: both Dover and Folkestone showed major increases in the proportion of the population engaged in the lodging and catering trades in the years following the railways' arrival, (on this point, see the discussion below) but some at least of that increase must have been residential holiday trade, especially at Folkestone.

The suggestion is, therefore, that though the train service between London and the Channel ports increased very greatly in scale over the period considered, that increase may well have been a function of the rivalry between the two lines rather than a function of a massive increase in real demand, that is, the passenger capacity was more than ample. All the same, this traffic must have brought more employment to the two ports in the docks, apart from the railway staff, and must have attracted more shipping agencies and the like. Between 1903 and 1906



SECR poster advertising the turbine steamers which had been introduced on to the cross-channel service between 1903 and 1907, when this poster appeared.

To judge from the illustration, the new ships were not only faster, but much more steady at sea - one wonders if they were really as steady as the drawing suggests.

Dover was even a port of call for the Hamburg-Amerika trans-Atlantic liners, including the fleet's record-breaking flagship, the *Deutschland*[15]. Though most of the cross-channel passengers' idea must have been to leave the towns with all convenient speed, one way or the other, and much of the cargo which arrived can only have been passing through East Kent, the side-effects of all this activity must have been enormous, in terms of money coming into the towns' economy.

PASSENGER TRAINS: LOCAL SERVICES

All four of the towns here discussed may be taken to have had a sphere of railway influence; for the purpose of this section it has been taken to radiate from the town itself to the station which represents the half-way point to the next major station. Between Dover and Folkestone there are no intermediate stations, so each has been taken as being on the edge of the other's circle.

Tables 6.5.1 to 6.5.4 list the number of passenger trains which linked the towns and villages given: these are actual booked services, and in all cases are regular week-day trains. No attempt has been made to quantify Sunday services, and the occasional "Monday only", etc. services have not been included, though these might have had considerable local significance, for example the Tuesdays only services to and from Ashford in connection with the market day. The service

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[15] Bucknall, R., *Boat Trains and Channel Packets* (1957), pp. 21-2, and figures 17 and 18.

shown, therefore, is an absolute minimum for the dates and journeys concerned.

Certain points are common to all sections of these Tables.

a. Between 1887 and 1910 very little change in the pattern of services took place. The only exception was along the length of the Dover-Deal-Minster line, which was by 1910 used as a link between Dover and Thanet.

b. There was not a great deal of change between the earliest timetable and that of 1887, especially along the LCDR lines. The SER was inclined to increase the number of intermediate stops its semi-fast trains made rather than increase the number of slow trains, hence the improvements to services at intermediate stations.

c. All these journeys were, by definition, short; the longest is the 19 miles from Ashford to New Romney, and the shortest the four miles from Faversham to Teynham, therefore journey times did not significantly change over the years.

All these three points, however, fade into insignificance when the fourth point is considered, namely

d. With all their short-comings in terms of modern railway services, these services, even the least frequent, represented a staggering advance over what had gone before. For example, Rye had a single daily carrier service connection with Ashford in 1840 (see Map 6.2 below); by 1857 there were three trains a day. It seems unlikely on the face of it that a carrier could have carried more than say a dozen people per trip; a single third-class four-wheel carriage of 1857 could have carried at least three times that number, and the shortest train must surely have consisted of more than one single such carriage. Thus by 1857, at the meanest computation, the railway was offering seats for ten or so times as many as could previously have made the journey by carrier - and in 38 minutes.

ASHFORD

Ashford was, more than any other town in this group, the centre of a railway network - partly at least because it was not on the coast; there was a demand for railway routes in all directions, not just over half the compass rose. By 1887 there were 32 trains arriving at Ashford which between them had served all the local settlements, and another 32 offered a return journey; some settlements had a better service. The services were not always very convenient: for example, unless the would-be passenger from Rye in 1857 was prepared to catch the 06.56 train, which arrived in Ashford at 07.35, he would have had to wait until 14.01, which would have brought him to Ashford at 14.45 - and the

Table 6.5.1: SERVICES TO ASHFORD

Services to Ashford from:				DEPARTURE/DESTINATION	Services from Ashford to:			
1857	1865	1887	1910		1857	1865	1887	1910
Not open		10	12	Sandgate	Not open		11	11
		10	12	Hythe			11	11
Not open			13	Sandling Junction	Not open			12
5	3	10	8	Westenhanger	3	5	11	8
4	?	7	8	Smeeth	4	3	8	8
3	?	5	7	Rye	3	?	5	7
Not open		5	6	New Romney	Not open		4	5
		5	6	Lydd			4	5
		5	6	Brookland			4	5
3	?	5	7	Appledore	3	?	5	7
3	?	5	6	Ham Street	3	?	5	5
6	?	8	9	Staplehurst	5	?	7	10
4	?	7	9	Headcorn	3	?	7	10
4	?	7	9	Pluckley	3	?	7	8
Not open		7	8	Lenham	Not open		7	7
		7	8	Charing			7	7
		7	8	Hothfield			7	7
3	4	6	6	Chilham	4	6	7	8
3	4	6	6	Wye	4	5	6	8

last train back left at 18.30. The point is also worth making that booked connections tended to favour traffic which might have originated from

London. Thus the services on the Hythe & Sandling branch when it opened were booked to connect with the London services (which favoured Ashford) rather than with services to Folkestone, which would have been more natural.

DOVER

Services to Dover [Table 6.5.2] are of course dominated by the London expresses, which are not relevant here except in that most of them stopped at Folkestone and Dover in both directions, and thus provided a much more frequent service between the two than might have been expected; to what extent passengers travelled from Folkestone to Dover, or vice versa, is, unfortunately, quite impossible to calculate except for the single year 1845, as discussed below. To begin with Dover's only rail route was via the SER to Folkestone, and one reason why the arrival of the LCDR at Dover was so popular was the belief that this would end the SER's unhelpful attitude to Dover as a town, rather than as a port. It certainly opened up the Dour valley to rail travellers, and seven trains stopped at all three stations in the catchment area on their way to Dover. It may be significant of a failure of this traffic to expand to any great extent that the number of trains had hardly changed by 1910: Kearsney's big increase sprang from the LCDR's determination to get its money's worth from its investment in the joint SER/LCDR line between Deal and Kearsney Junction by stopping a number of trains to allow passengers to take a connection to Deal, rather than from an increase in its own size or importance.

Table 6.5.2 CHANGES IN THE FREQUENCY OF TRAIN SERVICES TO DOVER, 1857-1910.

Services to Dover from:				DEPARTURE/DESTINATION	Services from Dover to:			
1857	1865	1887	1910		1857	1865	1887	1910
Not open		8	14	Deal	Not open		7	14
		8	14	Walmer			7	14
		8	12	Martin Mill			7	12
9	7	16	17	Folkestone	8	5	17	14
Not open	7	7	7	Adisham	Not open	7	8	8
	8	7	7	Shepherdswell		7	8	9
	7	9	11	Kearsney		7	10	11

In addition to the services shown above, there were in the 1887 and 1910 timetables, four or five trains each way run by the LCDR between Kearsney (on their main line) to Deal via the joint SER and LCDR joint line between Deal and Kearsney Junction. They are not included here as they would have been of very little use to anyone wishing to travel between Deal and Dover for whom the trains operated by the SER were available.

FAVERSHAM

Faversham [Table 6.5.3] showed a not dissimilar picture: the frequency of services between Faversham and Whitstable or Herne Bay along the coast line, or to Selling on the line to Canterbury hardly changed in 45 years, though the number of trains which stopped at Teynham doubled: the fact that the population of Teynham hundred (only 2,368 in 1841) had increased to 3,296 by 1911, of which the greatest increase had been in Teynham itself is presumably very relevant. The LCDR was in no financial position to ignore any possibility of increased revenue.

Table 6.5.3 CHANGES IN THE FREQUENCY OF TRAIN SERVICES TO FAVERSHAM, 1857-1910

Services to Faversham from:			DEPARTURE/DESTINATION	Services from Faversham to:		
1865	1887	1910		1865	1887	1910
4	8	9	Teynham	6	7	10
9	7	8	Herne Bay	9	8	8
6	6	8	Whitstable	7	8	8
7	8	7	Selling	7	8	6

FOLKESTONE.

Folkestone [Table 6.5.4] was dominated by the channel services, as was

Table 6.5.4 CHANGES IN THE FREQUENCY OF TRAIN SERVICES TO FOLKESTONE, 1857-1910.

Services to Folkestone from:				DEPARTURE/DESTINATION	Services from Folkestone to:			
1857	1865	1887	1910		1857	1865	1887	1910
4	?	7	8	Smeeth	4	?	8	8
3	6	9	8	Westenhanger	5	3	11	8
Not open			12	Sandling Junction	Not open			13
Not open		6	7	Elham valley line	Not open		6	7
8	5	17	14	Dover	9	7	16	17

Dover, but until the opening of the unwanted and never financially successful Elham Valley line had no way out other than via Ashford or Dover. The stops at Sandling Junction were to service the Sandgate and Hythe branch, not to help the people of Saltwood to visit Folkestone; Westenhanger's eleven up trains which stopped in 1887 were to service that same branch before Sandling Junction opened, and when the branch trains began their journey from Westenhanger; the drop-back in 1910 reflected the opening of Sandling Junction, and had no reference to the demand (or lack of it) for rail travel from Stanford parish, in which Westenhanger station was.

Once again no direct information is available about the number of passengers who travelled, except for the solitary year 1845. (Table 6.6). Except at Folkestone, where most of the traffic went to or from Dover, London traffic dominated the demand, followed by aggregated traffic to the various local stations. Journeys to stations more than about 15 miles away, other than the Dover-Ashford run (some 20 miles long) accounted for only 10-15% of the traffic: in other words, in the first years at least of the SER in East Kent, other than London traffic, the railway made its profit in the main from people travelling only one or two stations along the line. This will be considered again later, in Chapter IX on the railway villages, but it may be noted here that the only other evidence for the pattern of traffic along a stretch of line which has been

Table 6.6: NUMBER OF PASSENGERS TRAVELLING BETWEEN VARIOUS STATIONS IN EAST KENT IN 1845.[16]

Station 1	Station 2	Passengers	Per cent of total
ASHFORD	Dover	10,865	13.05
	Folkestone	6,906	8.30
	Headcorn	3,214	3.86
	Pluckley	7,038	8.46
	Staplehurst	3,360	4.04
	Westenhanger	7,400	8.89
	LONDON	32,193	38.68
	All others	12,258	14.73
	TOTAL	83,234	100.00
FOLKESTONE	Dover	84,280	56.17
	Westenhanger	3,409	2.27
	LONDON	46,419	30.94
	All others	15,935	10.62
	TOTAL	150,043	100.00
DOVER	Ashford	10,865	5.12
	Folkestone	84,280	39.68
	LONDON	88,949	41.88
	All others	28,299	13.32
	TOTAL	212,393	100.00

examined in detail, that for the Settle and Carlisle line between 1876 and 1922, shows a precisely similar pattern[17].

[16] Based on PRO RAIL 1124/35.

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

On the whole, it seems clear that though the railways provided an unprecedented level of passenger transport, they did not generate a constant increase in demand. Generally speaking, the LCDR services did not improve, in terms of numbers of trains calling at the various stations, from the beginning; what was adequate, or even generous, in 1857, was certainly still enough by 1910. The SER did increase the number of trains which called at the smaller stations over the years 1857 to 1887, perhaps in response to complaints about the awkwardness of the services provided, since the rural population certainly was not increasing at a rate to justify a doubling of the train service, but at that point stagnation set in; the line had evidently reached the limit of its capacity to attract more passengers.

FREIGHT SERVICES

Information about passenger services is fairly easy to come by: in the early days of railways timetables for the local services were often printed in the local press, and as railways ceased to be a nine days' wonder the more prosaic Bradshaw appeared: the Public Record Office has a good collection of these, and recently a number have been reprinted. By contrast, information about freight services is much scarcer. Details of goods trains were only published in the Companies' working timetables, and these of course had a much more restricted circulation than the passenger train timetables sold to the general public. There is a collection in the Public Record Office, but the items

for East Kent's railways are few[11]. A further problem is that railway working timetables are very complex documents, increasingly so as time passed by, and trains suddenly appear and disappear in a very puzzling manner. In any case, working timetables give no indication at all of the load factors involved, for passenger or freight trains.

There is the additional problem that very large quantities of goods must have travelled as "parcels" (that is, items weighing less than two hundred-weight) by van traffic by passenger trains, either in the brake van which formed part of the train's normal formation, or in one or more additional brake-fitted parcels vans. Heavy freight, such as coal, building materials, etc., must have travelled by dedicated freight trains, but a great deal - perhaps the greater part - of *shopkeepers'* stock must have come by passenger van as "parcels". Unfortunately, at this remove of time, there appears to be absolutely no way in which the amount of this parcels traffic can even be estimated, much less calculated, but the point must be kept in mind in any discussion of the volume of freight traffic, in this or later Chapters, that the freight which came into or was sent from East Kent by goods train was only part, and very possibly the smaller part, of the total volume and value of goods moving about the area.

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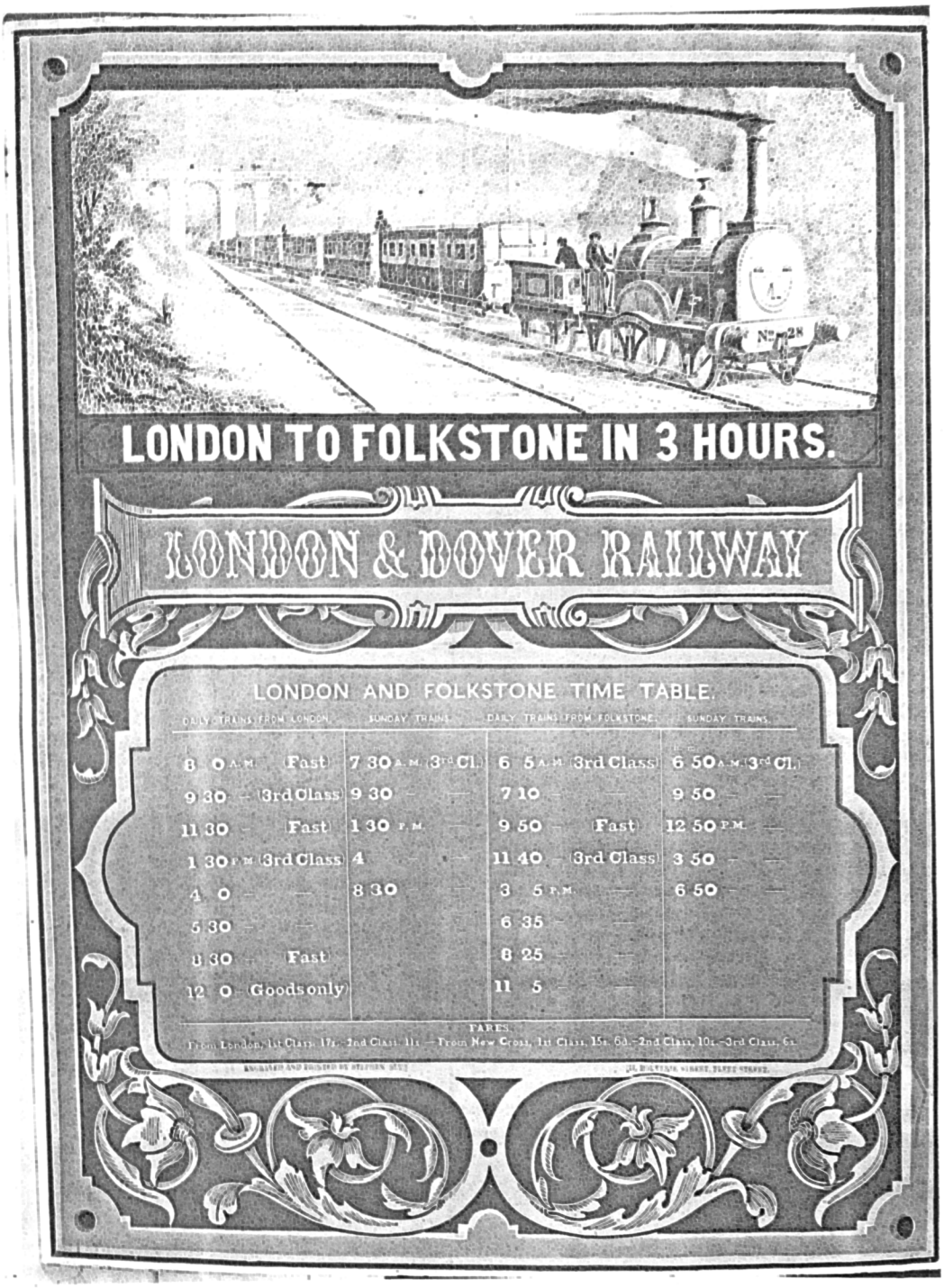
[11] Working timetables for the LCDR are in class RAIL 955, but only cover a decade or so in the 1880's. The SER items (class RAIL 977) are even fewer, and many of those are timetables of public passenger services. The SECR (class RAIL 975) is represented by one item only.

Basically, compared to the major industrial areas of Britain, there was no very great freight traffic into East Kent. When the SER reached Folkestone, but had not yet reached Dover, a timetable for the "London and Dover Railway", which must date from the autumn of 1843, showed one goods service up and one down each day. The down train took almost five hours to cover the 82 miles involved, a considerable improvement on a passenger stage-coach, and a staggering improvement on a loaded horse-wagon. By 1862 the SER was running three daily down goods services and two up between London and Dover, and the scale of services steadily increased, as shown in Table 6.7, below. Where no figure is given, it indicates that no information is available, rather than that no service existed. Ashford only benefited from the SER route, except in 1907 when a train from Dover ran through to Maidstone, just as Faversham only received trains on the LCDR line. There were in addition to the above a number of conditional, "as required" services, which by 1907 included a down service over LCDR metals described as a "wool train"; in 1887 one of the LCDR down trains listed in the table was described as a "Marine coal special". There were also at various times a number of very short workings over three or four stations, which have not been included here.

Clearly the amount of freight traffic to Dover and Folkestone (and to Ashford and Faversham on the way) increased very much over the period and much of this must have been continental traffic: the customs revenue in Folkestone increased from £ 4,800 in 1847 to £ 140,000 in



EARLY TIMETABLE FOR THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY.

This timetable must have been produced between June 1843 (when the first (and temporary) Folkestone station was opened, and February, 1844, when Dover Town station opened. The engine shown cost the SER £1,800, and was later named "Kentish Man". Notice the guard sitting on the roof at the rear of the first coach.

Table 6.7 FREIGHT SERVICES BETWEEN LONDON AND THE RAILWAY TOWNS

Year	Ashford		Dover SER		Dover LCDR		Folkestone		Faversham	
	Down	Up	Down	Up	Down	Up	Down	Up	Down	Up
1843	1	1	Line not open		Line not open		1	1	Line not open	
1862	3	2	3	2			3	2		
1877	4		4		3	3	4		3	3
1883	3	3	2	2			2	3		
1887					3	2			3	2
1907	5	5	4	2	2	2	5	3	2	2
1912	7	7	5	5	2	4	7	7	2	4

1854[19]. By 1913 the actual value of goods passing through the port of Folkestone exceeded £15 millions annually[20]. At Dover there had been 4,570 ship movements in 1844 with a total tonnage of 296,589 tons [21]: in 1911 there were 4,900 movements, a total tonnage of 1.76 million tons (so the ships were, on the average, seven times as large) bringing in, or taking out, cargoes with a total value of almost £14 millions[22]. Eleven times as many passengers crossed the Channel in 1913 as had done in

[19] Bishop, C.H., *Folkestone: the story of a town* (published privately, Folkestone, 1973), p.90. The figure of £140,000 seems to be far too high, though it is in accordance with the other fgures quoted.

[20] *Kelly's Directory for Kent (1913)*, p. 300.

[21] *Kelly's Directory of Kent (1845)*, p. 254.

[22] *Kelly's Directory of Kent (1913)*, p. 243. These totals exclude the 3,237 ship movements in ballast, (another 1.86 million tons.)

1840; customs revenue had increased to over £61,000 in 1904[23], and though the actual number of ships entering or leaving Dover harbour in a year had increased by only 31%, the tonnage involved had increased nine-fold. It is at least clear that such a volume of trade could only be moved with the aid of the railways' bulk transport: horses and carts simply could not have coped. The additional traffic here was obviously port, harbour and railway generated: but how much of the total railway freight traffic which ran to or from Dover and Folkestone was internal East Kent traffic? Some indication may be given by whether or not trains proceeded to the dockside themselves.

At Dover all SER trains arrived at the Town station, which was next door to the Admiralty Pier and so need not necessarily have proceeded immediately on to the pier for goods to be shipped to the continent; it is therefore not possible to be sure how far any SER train to Dover was dominated by continental traffic, and how far by local - unless it was described as "Continental Goods", of course. But the LCDR trains, if they were carrying goods or passengers for the continent, ran on through the Priory station (the normal terminus for inland freight) to the Harbour station before going out on to the pier. At Folkestone, all continental traffic would have passed down the branch from the Junction station to the Harbour station.

Working on this hypothesis, in 1907 the SER and LCDR routes had one up service each which ran from the Admiralty Pier; the SER had one

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[23] *Kelly's Directory (1905)*, p. 228.

down service to Folkestone harbour and three up services. By 1912 the SER route's goods services did not even list Folkestone Harbour, and there was only one service which might, if required, run on to the Admiralty Pier. The LCDR route listed the conditional wool train down, and all four up services, plus two Saturdays only services.

Thus in 1907 of the seven up services from Dover (both routes) and Folkestone, five started from the pier or the harbour, but only one service in eleven ran to the harbour (at Folkestone). By 1912 there were 16 up services, but only four began from the pier (at Dover) and only one of the 14 down services ran on to the pier (at Dover), and that was a conditional service only. The implication of this is that the majority of this increased goods traffic carried goods to or from the East Kent area, rather than goods to or from the Continent, but this may not be a reliable method of sorting continental from inland traffic: of the five trains in the timetables examined which were specifically described as "Continental goods", one, (LCDR down, 1877) was not shown as proceeding to the Harbour station or the Admiralty Pier. Working timetables still often do not list "trips", that is, very short local journeys (e.g. between any of the Dover passenger stations and the Admiralty Pier, or between Folkestone Junction and Folkestone Harbour) so that it is at least possible that some wagons and their contents were moved in this way to or from the Admiralty Pier or Folkestone Harbour, thus increasing the actual, as against apparent, amount of continental traffic.

It seems clear, however, that the volume of freight for East Kent over the two routes to Dover considerably increased in the period, certainly far more tonnage than horse and cart could have carried. Whilst the railway provided an alternative method for existing demand in the 1840s, it seems certain that easier and faster transport stimulated demand for goods and services. In addition, it is certain that a considerable volume of parcels and packet traffic passed over the railway in the luggage vans of passenger trains, or in vans attached to them.

One cargo which must have travelled in this way was fish. Compared to the tens of thousands of tons which left Grimsby, Hull and the ports of the north-east[24], and even Ramsgate, by rail, the volume through Dover

Table 6.8 TONS OF FISH CARRIED BY RAIL FROM DOVER AND FOLKESTONE[25]

Port and railway company	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1887
DOVER [SER]	139	117	127	115	125	142	102	-
DOVER [LCDR]	65	28	40	8	43	78	8	-
FOLKESTONE	721	706	913	799	714	1,197	1,170	614

[24] Cheap rail traffic brought down the price of fish from Hull and other East Coast ports in Manchester from 8d. per lb. to 1½. per lb. Robinson, Robb; "The evolution of railway fish traffic policies, 1842-46", *Journal of Transport History (3rd series)*, Vol. VII (1986-87), pp. 32-44.

[25] PP HoC 1878-79, LXV, pp. 239-45 gives figures for 1878; a series of other papers continues the series forward, of which PP HoC 1884-85, LXXI, pp. 145-62 covers the years 1879 to 1884, and PP HoC 1886, LX, pp. 231-249 the years 1880 to 1885. Figures for 1887 are taken from PP HoC 1888, LXXXVIII, pp. 511-573.

and Folkestone was small, but there was such a steady traffic, year in and year out[21]. As far as Dover was concerned, fish traffic clearly declined in importance over the period, and the same seems generally true of Folkestone: presumably in both cases the industry was pushed to one side by the newer occupations and greater emphasis on the resort and continental traffic and industries.

CHANGES IN THE PATTERN OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN THE FOUR TOWNS.

What effect did the arrival of railways have on the pattern of retail and service activity in the towns discussed? Assuming that the pattern of railway travel as shown by the 1845 figures continued to be the pattern of railway passenger traffic throughout the period studied - domination either by London traffic or very local traffic - it seems that there may have been two groups of possible consequences:

1. in small towns, retail outlets and professional services may have increased in number as transportation from larger, neighbouring towns, became easier;

2. in the larger towns,

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[21] See the graph in Winstanley, M., *Life in Kent at the turn of the century* (Folkestone, 1978), p. 95. The reference is to the value of fish actually landed, but it seems inconceivable that £30,000 worth of fish can all have been consumed locally each year.

a. the actual number of retail outlets and professional services may have increased to cope with an extended demand, or the existing services and outlets may have increased their turnover and customer base; and/or

b. services may have become more sophisticated to satisfy the new and more extensive market.

To trace those changes, and test these hypotheses, recourse has been made, as described above, to the various directories of the period[21]. Details of the numbers of persons involved in the various trade groups are given in Tables 6.9: the composition of the groups themselves was described in Chapter V, pp. 164-65. Where a trader is described in the directory as following two or more trades, which appear in different groups - eg draper and grocer - that trader is included in both groups. Thus the number of actual retail outlets is considerably less than the totals in the various columns suggest to be the case. To obtain the figures for the population at the date of the various directories, the information was interpolated from Table 6.1.

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[21] Since a directory is not available for every year, the directories actually used for this Chapter are:

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Ashford	1840	1847	1852	1909
Dover	1840	1847	1855	1887
Faversham	1858	1862	1867	1882
Folkestone	1840	1847	1852	1867

Table 6.9, part 1.

OUTLETS OR WORKERS PER '000 OF THE POPULATION IN THE RAILWAY TOWNS AND CHANNEL PORTS.

TOWN	ASHFORD				ASHFORD			
DATE	1840	1847	1852	1909	1840	1847	1852	1909
POPULATION	3,679	5,107	6,299	17,567	3,679	5,107	6,299	17,567
	Number of directory entries				Outlets per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	22	23	24	57	5.98	4.50	3.81	3.24
Gp 2: Inland transport	22	9	16	55	5.98	1.76	2.54	3.13
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	84	79	74	216	22.83	15.47	11.75	12.30
Gp 4: Other retailers	84	101	85	271	22.83	19.78	13.49	15.43
Gp 5: Public service; professional	38	52	38	195	10.33	10.18	6.03	11.10
Gp 6: Others	40	70	42	105	10.87	13.71	6.67	6.98

TOWN	FAVERSHAM				FAVERSHAM			
DATE	1858	1862	1867	1882	1858	1862	1867	1882
POPULATION	8,870	9,610	10,683	13,884	8,870	9,610	10,683	13,884
	Number of directory entries				Outlets per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	23	37	39	54	2.59	3.85	3.65	3.89
Gp 2: Inland transport	7	14	18	16	0.79	1.46	1.68	1.15
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	114	149	164	167	12.85	15.50	15.35	12.03
Gp 4: Other retailers	70	100	114	141	7.89	10.41	10.67	10.16
Gp 5: Public service; professional	52	60	74	75	5.86	6.24	6.93	5.40
Gp 6: Others	61	76	88	92	6.88	7.91	8.24	6.63

Tables 6.9, part 2.

Table 6.9, part 2

TOWN	DOVER (Directory)				DOVER (Directory)			
DATE	1840	1847	1855	1887	1840	1847	1855	1887
POPULATION	17,600	19,300	21,200	25,000	17,600	19,300	21,200	25,000
	Number of directory entries				Outlets per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	108	140	81	97	6.14	7.25	3.82	3.88
Gp 2: Inland transport	33	34	34	43	1.88	1.76	1.60	1.72
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	373	395	410	628	21.19	20.47	19.34	25.12
Gp 4: Other retailers	189	341	245	438	10.74	17.67	11.56	17.52
Gp 5: Public service; professional	179	209	131	220	10.17	10.83	6.18	8.80
Gp 6: Others	171	179	126	155	9.72	9.27	5.94	6.20

TOWN	DOVER (Census				DOVER (Census)			
DATE	1841	1851	1861	1871	1841	1851	1861	1871
POPULATION	13,872	22,244	25,325	28,506	13,872	22,244	25,325	28,506
	Number of census entries				Workers per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	326	589	922	660	23.50	26.48	36.41	23.15
Gp 2: Inland transport	128	296	489	421	9.23	13.31	19.31	14.77
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	383	837	1,038	1,083	27.61	37.63	40.99	37.99
Gp 4: Other retailers	758	1,682	1,771	1,774	54.64	75.62	69.93	62.23
Gp 5: Public service; professional	609	1,259	2,420	3,372	43.90	74.58	95.56	118.29
Gp 6: Others	738	1,356	1,394	1,585	53.20	60.96	55.04	55.60

The population figures for the Directory table are derived from the Victoria County History figures [which are corrected to refer only to the original Dover parishes, plus Buckland and Charlton], as used elsewhere in this thesis. The census figures are those given in the census returns, and refer to the civil parish of Dover, hence the discrepancy between the figures.

Table 6.9: Concluded.

TOWN	FOLKESTONE				FOLKESTONE			
DATE	1840	1847	1852	1867	1840	1847	1852	1867
POPULATION	4,200	6,300	7,700	11,200	4,200	6,300	7,700	11,200
	Number of directory entries				Outlets per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	14	38	27	40	3.33	6.03	3.51	3.57
Gp 2: Inland transport	8	14	11	20	1.90	2.22	1.43	1.79
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	71	109	150	274	16.90	17.30	19.48	24.46
Gp 4: Other retailers	63	82	75	122	15.00	13.02	9.74	10.89
Gp 5: Public service; professional	29	53	57	75	6.90	8.41	7.40	6.70
Gp 6: Others	28	51	40	53	6.67	8.10	5.19	4.73

TOWN	ALL RAILWAY TOWNS & PORT				ALL RAILWAY TOWNS & PORT			
DATE	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
POPULATION	34,349	40,317	45,882	67,651	34,349	40,317	45,882	67,651
	Number of directory entries				Outlets per thousand of population			
Gp 1: Building	167	238	171	248	4.86	5.90	3.73	3.67
Gp 2: Inland transport	70	71	79	134	2.04	1.76	1.72	1.98
Gp 3: Food & drink; lodging	642	732	798	1,285	18.69	18.16	17.39	18.99
Gp 4: Other retailers	406	624	519	972	11.82	15.48	11.31	14.37
Gp 5: Public service; professional	298	374	300	565	8.68	9.28	6.54	8.35
Gp 6: Others	300	376	296	405	8.73	9.33	6.45	5.99

The contents of these various groups have been discussed and described in detail in Chapter V above.

Certain points are immediately obvious from these tables. In the period immediately before the railway came (Year 1), among the four towns here considered, Ashford had a higher number of outlets per thousand of the population [OPT] in every group: the immediate effect of the railway's arrival (Year 2) was a big drop in every group except Group 5, Public service and professional. In the other towns, the exact reverse was the case: of the 21 groups involved, there was an increase in 17, with the result that the pattern in Ashford came more or less into line with that of the other three towns.

GROUP 1 (BUILDING)

At Ashford the OPT fell to three-quarters of what it had been, and this level continued to decline for the rest of the period considered. Dover's builders seem to have flourished for a year or so, but it did not last, and by Year 3 the builders' OPT had dropped to half what it had been when the railway came: Folkestone saw a similar boom and recession, except that the final figure (Year 4) was almost exactly what it had been in Year 1. Faversham had the most modest post-railway boom, and perhaps because it was modest, kept it. Since Dover's population was rising steadily in the period, at a rate faster than the national, it is at first sight surprising that the number of those engaged as masters (or at least self-employed) in the building trade did not at least remain constant; the answer must be that the size of those building units increased: further evidence on that point will be introduced below.

GROUP 2 (INLAND TRANSPORT)

Between Years 1 and 2 Group 2 (inland transport) declined at Ashford and Dover, but rose at Faversham (by a factor of two) and at Folkestone; in the long term the decline continued at Ashford and Dover; Folkestone could not maintain the growth, and fell back by Year 4 to a level lower than Year 1, and by Year 4 Faversham had lost much of the ground it had gained in Years 2 and 3. Ashford's figure fell so fast because the carriers, coach proprietors and those engaged in coach building disappeared from the directory in Year 2, and had only begun to make a modest return in Year 3. Where there was growth, it was not as a result of an influx of railway references: at best the directory listed the station master, and in the early years of railways, often not even him. The increase at Faversham was due to an increase in the number of carriers, saddlers and wheelwrights: Faversham had evidently become much more of a local transport centre than it had *been before* the railway arrived. At Folkestone the increase was entirely due to the appearance in the directory of fly proprietors and livery stable keepers, perhaps a result of the town's growth as a holiday centre rather than a reflection of its importance as a port of embarkation.

GROUP 5 (PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL)

Only this group saw little overall change in the period: apart from a slight hump in Year 2 at Folkestone, the graph is pretty well flat in each case. The last group, the residual "Others" saw little change at Faversham and Folkestone, though Ashford experienced its usual fall,

particularly between Years 2 and 3. Dover's figure decreased by Year 4 to two-thirds of what it had been in Year 1, mainly as a result of a big decline in the "Other industries" class between Years 2 and 3.

Ashford's apparently disastrous decline in all groups must be seen in context. The apparently indifferent retail and business performance after the railway came is because Ashford was so very well supplied with services before that event - there were proportionately more retail outlets and business concerns in Ashford than in any of the other three towns considered here, a clear reflection of its local importance as a market centre for a very large area of Wealden Kent and Romney Marsh.

In 1856 a new market, 8½ acres in area, was laid out in Ashford, adjacent to the railway line, and the market company's promoters stressed that the SER was willing to provide a siding into the new market[28], though all the running had been made by the promoters. To gain that siding, they had given the land to the SER and had agreed to pay 5% for 20 years on the capital costs involved, so important was that connection deemed to be[29]. By 1937 that siding was big enough to accommodate 27 cattle trucks at once[30]. Such was the advantage that this new, rail-served, site gave Ashford market over other local markets

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[28] *Ashford Market Company prospectus, 1856*, (Ashford reference library). To the reverse of the prospectus are glued some undated and unattributed, but obviously contemporary, newspaper cuttings on the subject.

[29] Jackson, K.E., "A new town called Alfred" (University of Kent at Canterbury extended essay, 1968), pp. 81-82.

[30] *Official handbook to Ashford Market* (Bristol, for the Ashford Cattle Market Co. nd, but probably 1937), p. 15.

that many declined and eventually died: Ashford market became the largest (in terms of numbers of animals handled) in the south-east[31]. Accordingly, the professional and public service group was still better represented in Ashford in Year 4 than in any of the other towns, and inland transport was also better represented than elsewhere. Though it had dropped to last in food, drink and lodging (Group 3) by the end of the Year 4, only Dover had a higher proportion of other retailers (Group 4): Ashford still held second place in the proportionate number of specialist retail outlets. The rail service and the carrier service (considered below) meant that Ashford remained a major *specialist* trading and market centre long after the SER brought its main engineering works, (the first part of which were coming into use in the autumn of 1847[32]) to the town, and Ashford became synonymous with "railway works".

The general picture is clear: in each town, in almost every group so far considered, a big change took place in the years immediately after the coming of the railway, between Years 1 and 2. Sometimes that trend continued, sometimes it was reversed, but a big change took place very soon after the railway came. It seems most unlikely that the two events were unconnected.

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[31] Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), pp. 115-6.

[32] Anon., *Ashford Works centenary, 1847-1947*, (Southern Railway, 1947), p. 7.

GROUP 3 (FOOD, DRINK AND LODGING)

It is worth looking at these three classes in rather greater detail, (Tables 6.10 and 6.11). At Faversham and Ashford, where there was no resort element in the towns' economy, the proportion in the food and drink and lodging group fell, continously at Ashford, in the long term at Faversham: Dover, and especially Folkestone, showed a long-term sharp rise. Folkestone's sharp rise in this group (from an OPT figure of 16.90 in Year 1 to 24.46 in Year 4, an increase by a factor of 1.5) is made more apparent by the fact that the lodging and dining trades just did not exist (as far as the directory evidence went) in Year 1 (1840). This may well be an exaggeration: early figures for lodging facilities in Margate are very suspect, as described in Chapter V, and the Folkestone figures may be equally inaccurate, but these are the figures as given in the directories. Table 6.10 reflects clearly the extent to which both Dover and Folkestone had become places where people stayed and ate rather than shopped: Dover's OPT figure for the lodging and dining class had reached 7.40 by Year 4, and at Folkestone it had reached 11.43. These figures were very modest compared to those of the holiday towns in Year 4 (see Chapter VII), where the OPT for this class was 29.12, and at Margate 39.33 but they were well above those for Canterbury (1.47, see Chapter VIII) and for most of the minor resorts (Chapter IX), where only Hythe with 17.57 had a higher OPT figure in that class for Year 4. By Year 4 Hythe was of course very much influenced by neighbouring Folkestone. People came to stay at Folkestone, and though they were more likely to pass through Dover

Table 6.10 COMPARISON OF FOOD, DRINK AND LODGING TRADES AT ASHFORD, DOVER, FAVERSHAM AND FOLKESTONE.

Date	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Occupation	Actual numbers in each occupation				Outlets per thousand of population			
ASHFORD								
Food	61	43	45	123	16.58	8.42	7.14	7.00
Drink	22	32	28	56	5.98	6.27	4.45	3.19
Lodging & dining	1	4	1	37	.27	.78	.16	2.11
DOVER								
Food	233	196	186	250	13.24	10.16	8.77	10.00
Drink	122	183	199	193	6.93	9.48	9.39	7.72
Lodging & dining	18	16	25	185	1.02	.83	1.18	7.40
FAVERSHAM								
Food	74	92	101	97	8.34	9.57	9.45	6.99
Drink	37	52	57	62	4.17	5.41	5.34	4.47
Lodging & dining	3	5	6	8	.34	.52	.56	.58
FOLKESTONE								
Food	42	56	62	78	10.00	8.89	8.05	6.96
Drink	29	49	50	68	6.90	7.78	6.49	6.07
Lodging & dining	0	4	38	128	.00	.63	4.94	11.43

than to stay for any length of time, they stayed long enough to want to eat, and perhaps to sleep for a night as well.

Dover had a much greater long-term increase in those engaged in the drink industry than at Faversham, though both towns saw the OPT increase sharply in Year 2, a level maintained in Year 3 before a fall

back in Year 4. Folkestone and Ashford showed a long-term drop, at Ashford to about half (in proportional terms) of what it had been though Folkestone's drinkers were temporarily better catered for by a short-term expansion in Year 2.

The most curious figures in this detailed analysis are those for the retail food trade. In every case the proportional figure dropped by a considerable figure: at Ashford to less than half of what it had been, and in the other towns to roughly three-quarters. Apart from at Faversham, most of that fall took place between Years 1 and 2: Faversham's modest rise in Year 2 was not sutained in Year 3, and fell back to almost exactly the Year 1 figure.

GROUP 4 (OTHER RETAILERS)

In Group 4 three trades may be considered in detail here, all three strongly retail in character; clothing, household goods and shopkeepers (so described) (Table 6.11).

At Ashford, the OPT fell in all three cases, in the long term to only about half of what it had been in each case, and very rapidly between Years 1 and 2, immediately following the arrival of the railway. At Folkestone the long-term pattern was similar, though the decline was not on such a scale; the clothing trade enjoyed a short burst of prosperity in Year 2 after the railway came, but was unable to sustain it: by Year 3 the proportion was below what it had been in Year 1, and

Table 6.11 COMPARISON OF CLOTHING, HOUSEHOLD AND SHOPKEEPER TRADES AT ASHFORD, DOVER, FAVERSHAM AND FOLKESTONE.

Date	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Occupation	Actual numbers in each occupation				Outlets per thousand of population			
ASHFORD								
Clothing	47	53	40	97	12.78	10.38	6.35	5.52
Household	13	17	12	35	3.53	3.33	1.91	1.99
Shopkeepers	12	11	8	41	3.26	2.15	1.27	2.33
DOVER								
Clothing	46	162	108	135	2.61	8.39	5.09	5.40
Household	42	39	34	68	2.39	2.02	1.60	2.72
Shopkeepers	3	34	15	81	.17	1.76	.71	3.24
FAVERSHAM								
Clothing	35	48	44	45	3.95	4.99	4.12	3.24
Household	12	16	20	25	1.35	1.66	1.87	1.80
Shopkeepers	0	6	10	24	.00	.62	.94	1.73
FOLKESTONE								
Clothing	18	36	32	41	4.29	5.71	4.16	3.66
Household	11	14	9	21	2.62	2.22	1.17	1.88
Shopkeepers	13	8	7	12	3.10	1.27	.91	1.07

declined even further by Year 4. Dover did well in all three cases: as at Folkestone the clothing trade enjoyed an immediate post-railway boom which faded, but the long-term result was a doubling of the proportion of clothing retail units. The number of shopkeepers in Dover increased in proportion tenfold at once, and almost twentyfold by Year 4; the household class had increased in proportion by Year 4, but not by very much, and this was a recovery from something of a slump in Years 2

and 3. Faversham's pattern resembled that of Folkestone more than either of the other two towns; an immediate, if modest, expansion among the clothing retailers which did not last, but in the long run the proportion declined. Household stores gradually increased between Years 1 and 3, and then suffered a very slight decline, though the final proportion was higher than it had been in Year 1. Shopkeepers, however, appeared for the first time after the railway came, and continued to expand in proportion thereafter.

In this group the pattern for these trades is, in general terms, very similar to those looked at in the food, drink and lodging group, and in the pattern of groups generally: an immediate change following on the railway's arrival, with, in most cases, something of a retreat from that economic high ground as the years passed by. The impression is that the railway stimulated consumer growth almost everywhere - except at Ashford, where the coming of the railway, opening up a wider market to those who had hitherto exclusively patronized it as their market town, caused Ashford's superfluity of retail outlets to reduce to levels similar to, but still higher than, the levels in the other towns studied.

However, that consumer growth in the other towns proved, in most cases, to be too optimistic; the small retailer could not compete, and though the number of outlets increased in absolute terms, they must (assuming that aggregate demand for the goods supplied was driven upwards by population growth) have been larger in terms of turnover, staff employment and perhaps even physical size to accommodate not

only the customers but the increased volume of stock presumably required.

It was suggested that one possible consequence of the arrival of the railway was that services may have become increasingly sophisticated to satisfy the new, presumably enlarged, catchment area for retail shopping. There is in fact no evidence for this. The classification "Service at domestic level" has been used to gather such occupations[33], and though in each case the OPT had increased by Year 4 - by a factor of three at Ashford (over a much longer time-span than the other three towns), by a factor of almost two at Folkestone but appreciably less at Dover and Faversham (Table 6.12), the type of occupations did not fundamentally change except at Ashford.

Table 6.12: NUMBER OF OUTLETS PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION OF THE SERVICE AT DOMESTIC LEVEL CLASS.

Town	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
	Outlets per thousand of population			
Ashford	.54	.98	.79	1.94
Dover	1.42	1.19	1.13	1.76
Faversham	.56	.83	.84	.65
Folkestone	.95	.48	.91	1.52

[33] For details of the sorts of occupations and professions included in this classification, see Chapter V above.

In 1840 all those who came within this class at Ashford were hairdressers; by 1909 there were in addition chimney sweeps, photographers, a public baths and laundry services, but this merely meant that (again) Ashford's trade pattern within this class had become similar to that of the other three towns. Photographers began to appear in all the towns, but this was a result of technical advance not railway service[34]. The same can be said of the piano warehouses which appeared[35], though the coming of the railway and the upright piano must have meant that moving a piano from its place of manufacture to its place of use was now a lot simpler.

THE DIRECTORY EVIDENCE AND THE CENSUS EVIDENCE COMPARED

All that has gone before has been based on evidence obtained from the directories: all the people whose trades or occupations were covered were in charge of their business, on however humble a scale, and information is therefore only available on the number of retail outlets, or professional service points available, rather than the number of persons engaged in such occupations. That information is in theory available from the census returns, but unfortunately for the present purpose detailed figures at <u>town</u> level are only available for a run of

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[34] Dry plate photography, which meant that a plate need not be developed immediately it had been exposed, did not come into general use until the 1880s, and the roll-film camera not into general use until the late 1890s. Coe, Brian, *Cameras* (Gothenberg, Sweden, 1978), Chapters 4 and 8.

[35] Considerably assisted by the appearance of a hire-purchase system: Mr. Pooter's "new cottage piano" was "on the three years' system". Grossmith, G. and W., *The Diary of a Nobody* (1892), Ch. 1.

years for Canterbury and Dover (see Chapter V above), and then only for males and females aged 20 and above. The figures which are available for Dover have been rearranged into the same format as for the directories, and the results are presented and compared with the directory figures in Table 6.9[36]. The picture there painted reinforces the conclusions drawn above, though some of the details cast an interesting sidelight on the way trade and commerce were carried on.

It was observed above that, despite the amount of building which was going on in Dover, the number of independent persons involved in the building had, proportionately to the population, approximately halved. Table 6.10 shows that, according to the census returns, the proportion of the population actually involved in building work was almost exactly the same in 1871 as in 1841: assuming that the situation did not greatly change before 1887, the implication is that, on the whole, building firms were nearly twice as big at the end of the period as at the beginning; the small man was being squeezed out. The level of change was at its greatest in 1861; thereafter the smaller man seems to have made a slight comeback, but he seems never to have fully regained ground.

A similar, but not so marked, change can be seen in Group 3, Food & drink, & lodging (Table 6.13). The directory OPT rose from 21.19 to 25.12, an increase by a factor of 1.18. The census figure of workers per

[36] The census years do not, of course, tally exactly with those of the directories which have been used. The year difference is probably insignifigant, however, except perhaps in Year 4, where the census return used is that for 1871 and the directory examined that for 1887.

thousand of the population [WTP] rose from 27.61 to 37.99, an increase by a factor of 1.37: again, the size of the units in terms of persons employed per unit, rose, if not very much: the greater part of this change seems to have taken place very soon after the railway came.

Table 6.13: FOOD, DRINK AND LODGING GROUP IN DOVER: A COMPARISON OF THE DIRECTORY AND CENSUS EVIDENCE.

Food, drink and lodging group: Dover figures.	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
	Outlets or workers per thousand of the population			
Directory figures	21.19	20.47	19.34	25.12
Census figures	27.61	37.63	40.99	37.99

If detailed figures for the food trade alone are examined an interesting picture may be seen (Table 6.14). The directory figure in 1840 (13.24 OPT) is very similar to the census figure for 1841 (15.14 WTP):

Table 6.14: FOOD RETAILERS' CLASS IN DOVER: A COMPARISON OF THE DIRECTORY AND CENSUS EVIDENCE.

Food retailers' class: Dover figures	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
	Outlets or workers per thousand of the population			
Directory figures	13.24	10.16	8.77	10.00
Census figures	15.14	22.66	21.40	19.47

the implication is that almost all the firms at that time were one-man businesses. But in 1887 the directory figure had dropped to 10.00 OPT,

and the 1871 census figure had risen to 19.47 WTP - most food retail outlets by the end of the period apparently had at least one paid assistant. This change took place within the first five years of the railway's arrival: the OPT (directory evidence) dropped at once and dropped again by the ten-year point (Year 3), to stage a modest revival (to the five-year level) by Year 4, but the number of persons engaged in the trade (census evidence) rose immediately, and though there was a decline, it was only a slight and gradual one.

The Other retailers group showed a different pattern to that of the two groups discussed: the OPT (according to the directory) increased from 10.74 to 17.52, an increase by a factor of 1.6, whilst the census evidence showed the numbers employed in the group to have risen from 54.64 WTP to 62.23 WTP, an increase by a factor of only 1.14: in this group the number of employees per unit seems to have actually fallen.

This is clearly illustrated by one trade within that group, the clothing trade (Table 6.15): whilst the OPT as shown in the directory evidence increased from 2.61 to 5.40, the number of persons actually engaged in the trade according to the census dropped from 36.48 to 31.96 WTP: thus in the clothing trade the number of persons engaged per retail unit seems to have fallen, quite substantially. One possible explanation is that the increasing catchment area which the railways made possible round the towns favoured the growth of the one-man or one woman tailoring or dressmaking business; little capital was presumably needed and no special accomodation. Again, the change took place soon after the

railway arrived, though that initial swing, in whichever direction, was not maintained.

Table 6.15: CLOTHING RETAILERS' CLASS IN DOVER: A COMPARISON OF THE DIRECTORY AND CENSUS EVIDENCE.

Clothing retailers' class: Dover figures	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
	Outlets or workers per thousand of the population			
Directory figures	2.61	8.39	5.09	5.40
Census figures	36.48	42.48	42.45	31.96

The full figures for the public service and professional group for Dover are distorted, in the census returns, by the inclusion of the military garrison of the town: if the military are left out, the group still showed a growth in WTP by a factor of 1.25 between Years 2 and 3, largely made up by growth in persons in goverment employment - post office, civil servants, police, etc. - presumably arising from the increasing growth of the cross-channel traffic passing though the town, though if that is so, it is a little surprising that the growth between Years 2 and 3 was not sustained; between Years 3 and 4 there was no proportional growth at all.

Directory and census figures thus both present a similar picture: the railway had an immediate effect on the commercial life of all four towns, and on all the trades examined in detail. The extent of that change was not constant, even its direction was not constant, but it was likely that the rate of change, in whichever direction, would have slowed down, or

even gone into reverse to some extent, within ten years of the coming of the railway, and that slowing down or reversal was almost certain to have taken place within twenty-five years.

CHANGES IN THE LOCATION OF THE TRADING NUCLEI OF THE TOWNS

Where the directory information is available, street names certainly, and where possible street numbers, the trading patterns within the streets can be reconstructed, noting where certain trades concentrated and (over the years) how far this pattern changed. It seems unlikely that any *certain* connection can be made between this information and the coming of the railway, but one thing is very clear, the railway station was certainly not a commercial magnet. The great coaching inns were in the middle of the town, and were surrounded by its commerce, but this was probably because the inns were in the middle of the town to start with, and only became coaching inns and posting houses with the expansion of the stage coach and posting services in the second half of the eighteenth century. Certainly many of these inns became centres of urban trade in that the traders set up shop around them[31].

This does not seem to have been the case with railway stations, and certainly was not in the towns of East Kent. There are probably two major reasons why this was so. Firstly, railways and especially stations, were very greedy of land, so that the railway companies were in

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[31] The largely neglected history of the urban inn is briefly discussed in Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), Chapter 8.

general anxious to simplify the problems of land purchase by dealing with as few landowners as possible, which in turn meant dealing with holders of large estates - which in towns tended to be the poorest areas[31], and so not very likely to attract major commercial investment.

Secondly, the station might well be placed on the edge of the town's built-up area, if possible, in order to reduce the costs of compensation and demolition. There was also a third reason; in the early days of railways, very few towns-people were anxious to have the line run near them - the "not in my back yard" syndrome is by no means a twentieth-century invention.

Ashford station was built appreciably south and east of the centre of the town as it existed in 1840; Folkestone's first station was by the harbour, reached by a branch line from the Junction station which ran through then open country. The present Folkestone Central (which is anything but) is a relatively recent arrival on the railway scene. Dover's first (SER) station was right by the harbour, and reached by a line along the cliff-foot; the second (LCDR) was built along the edge of the built-up area and approached by a line clinging to the side of the Dour valley and hiding in two tunnels. Faversham's station was built more or less on the parish border between Faversham and Preston, south of Faversham's shopping district, and north of Preston's few shops.

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[31] See Binford, H.C, "Land tenure, social structure and railway impact in north Lambeth, 1830-61", in *Journal of Transport History*, New series, Vol. III (1973-74), pp. 129-54.

This situation has not appreciably altered. Ashford has grown out of all recognition, but there are still no large shops in the area of the station[39]. Folkestone Junction station has been closed and demolished, but there are no shops in the area in which it stood. The retail centre of Faversham has developed north of (that is, away from) the railway.

The influence of the railway on the position of the centre of concentration of trade is most vividly illustrated in Dover. In 1840 the main commercial street of Dover was Snargate Street, which bordered the Wellington and Granville basins which formed Dover's inner harbour, but though this street had the SER's Town station and the LCDR's Harbour station at one end, and the LCDR's Priory Station not far from the other, the smart shops were deserting Snargate as the years passed, and migrating into the street which passed from the sea-front up through the original parishes of Dover, and the two neighbouring parishes of Buckland and Charlton, following the line of the Dour valley, to which fact Dover owes the curious legacy that the main street has seven different names in the course of just over half a mile[40].

In 1840, rather more than one in eight of all those trading units which comprised the food, drink and lodging outlets was operating in Snargate Street; by 1887 less than one in ten was. The High Street complex had had more to begin with - just under one in six - but by 1887 nearly

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[39] Though very recently two or three retail-park style warehouses have sprung up immediately adjacent to the railway, and to the south of the old town.

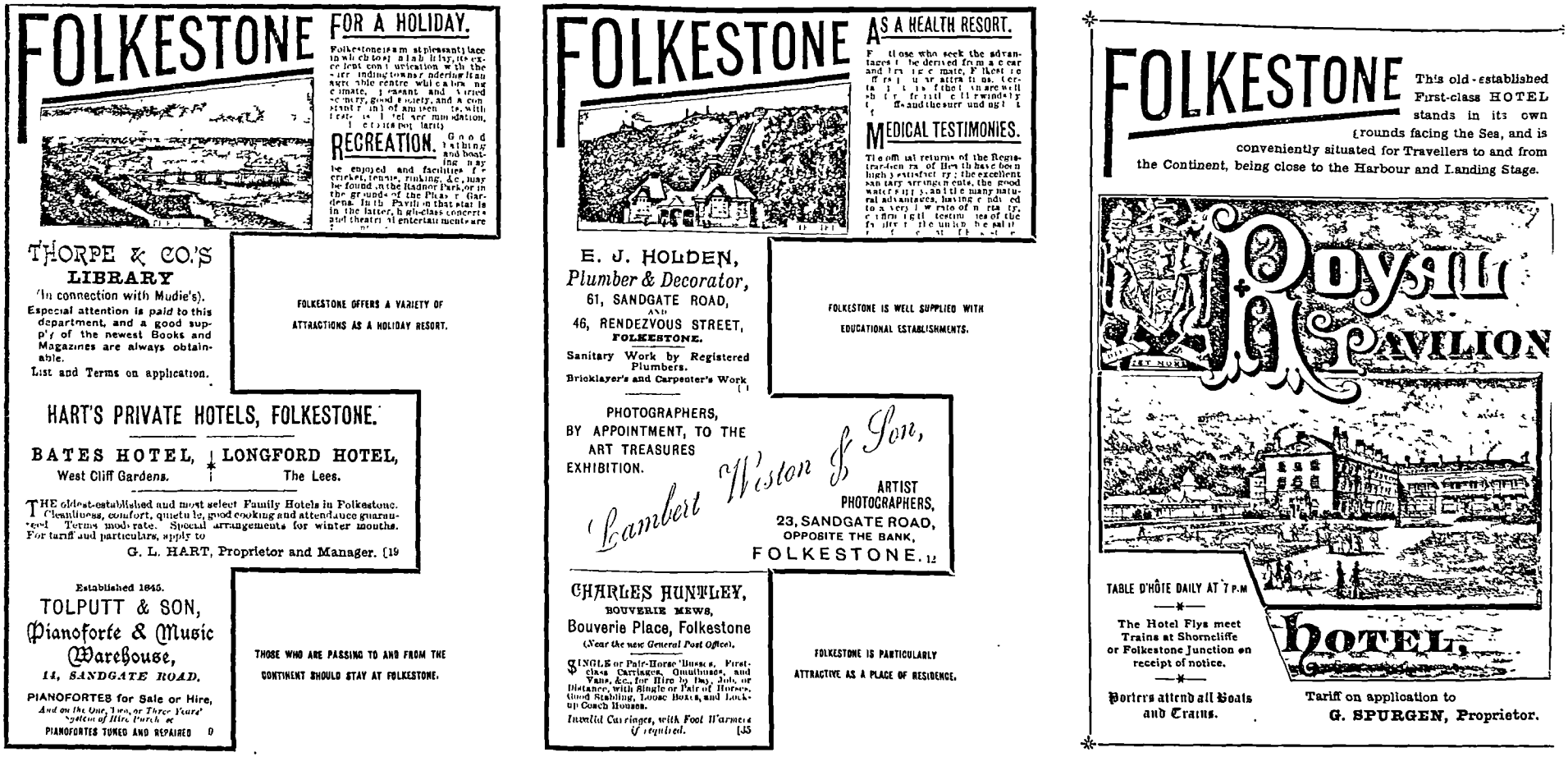
[40] In order from the sea front, Bench Street, King Street, Market Square, Cannon Street, Biggin Street, High Street and London Road.

one in four units were there. Only in the drink trade pure and simple had Snargate Street increased its share of the whole, by a factor of

Table 6.16 COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP REPRESENTED IN SNARGATE STREET AND THE HIGH STREET COMPLEX, DOVER IN 1840 AND 1887.

Street	Snargate Street		High Street	
Occupation	1840	1887	1840	1887
Gp. 1: Building	7.41	6.19	11.11	25.77
Gp. 2: Inland transport	9.09	0	21.21	37.21
Gp. 3: Food & drink, lodging	13.94	8.76	15.01	22.29
Gp. 4: Other retailers	47.09	19.41	26.98	26.26
Gp. 5: Public service & professional	15.08	4.55	11.17	15.00
Gp. 6: Others	4.09	2.58	14.04	17.42

two, but the High Street drink trade had increased in just the same proportion. The change in the group of "other retailers" was even more remarkable. In 1840, 89 of the town's 189 other retailers had traded in Snargate Street, almost one in two; in the same year 51, or rather more than one in four had been trading in the High Street. By 1887, High Street's proportion of the total was little changed, though the actual number of units had increased to 115, but though in Snargate Street the actual number of units had fallen only slightly, to 85, Snargate Street's share of that group had dropped to just less than one in five. In the clothing trade, the largest unit within that group, the number



Part of the Folkestone advertisement in the South Eastern Railway's Official Guide for 1892. The Royal Pavilion Hotel was originally built by the South Eastern Railway. It was worth pointing out that hotel flies met trains on request.

of traders in Snargate Street had virtually halved, and had more than doubled in the High Street complex. Snargate Street's share of the public service and professional group fell to less than a third of what it had been; the High Street's share increased by one half. In every group, Snargate Street's share fell in the period, in every group but one (Group IV, which was almost stable) the High Street complex' share increased. In addition, private residents almost vanished from Snargate Street, but by 1887 over 130 were living in London Road (the northernmost part of the High Street complex) alone. In effect, the SER Town and the LCDR's Harbour stations seem to have driven traders out of Snargate Street rather than attracted them into it; the High Street complex is at the nearest almost half a mile from the LCDR's Priory Station and showed no tendency to spread in that direction. The railway, it seems clear, did not attract the shopping centre of the town to itself in Dover.

Folkestone's commercial area moved in a similar way: in 1840, just under a third of the town's businesses could be found in the three small streets at the centre of what was still little more than a fishing village, namely Rendezvous Street, High Street and Church Street: by 1867 that figure had dropped to about a sixth. In 1840 there was no commercial activity in the Sandgate Road because it was still an open field, but by 1867 the new buildings of Sandgate Road and Bouverie Square were between them home to a sixth of the traders of the town. As the principal landowner in Folkestone, Lord Radnor had been making attempts to develop his estates for some time before the railway came,

and had made plans for development in the Wear Bay and West Cliff areas, not far from where Folkestone Junction station was eventually built, but without success. After the arrival of the railway, he began to develop the area which is now the Sandgate Road, which soon became the main shopping area, and also to develop the foreshore area west of the harbour. The movement of the centre of gravity of Folkestone's commercial area was thus a result of a deliberate policy of development by the landowner, but in noting Lord Radnor's changed direction of expansion for his estates, it is significant that though Folkestone Junction station was near Wear Bay, Lord Radnor seems to have made no attempts to revive plans for estates which would have been near the railway station, but moved instead to the other side of the valley for a site for his new houses[11]. As at Dover, the railway station seems to have repelled retail commercial growth, rather than attracted it[12].

THE PRIVATE RESIDENTS

As will be seen in later chapters of this study, the numbers of private residents listed in the directories increased very markedly as time passed, and there was also a very considerable increase in the number of such per thousand of the population [Table 6.18]. The proportional

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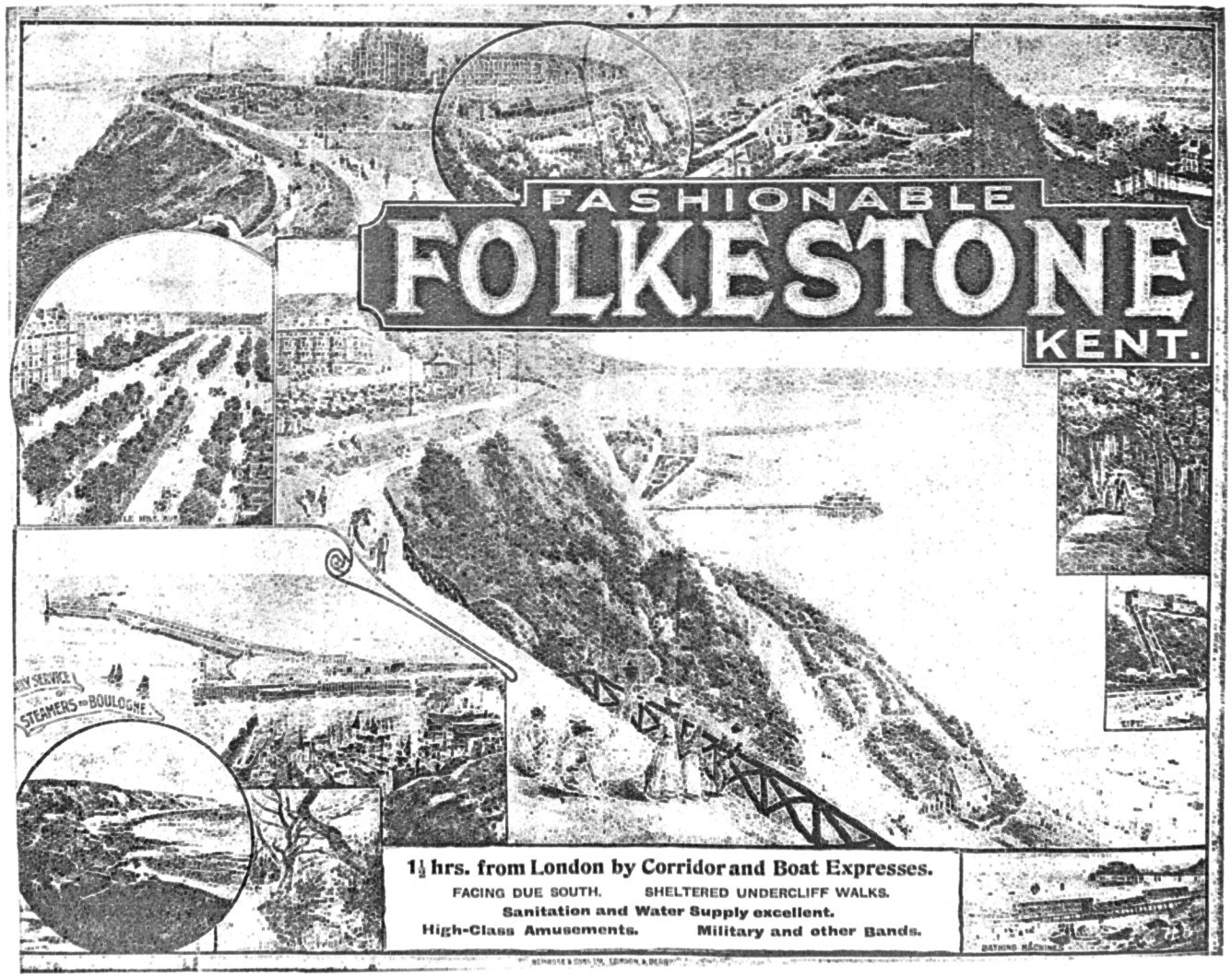
[11] Bishop, C.H., *Folkestone; the story of a town* (privately published, Folkestone, 1973), pp. 100-02. Lord Radnor's enterprise was well rewarded: the Folkestone Estate yielded income which increased by about 25% per decade 1852-1900. Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 180-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), Table 16, p. 263.

[12] The SER's Cheriton Arch Station (opened in September 1884), later Radnor Park (September, 1886) and later again Folkestone Central (June, 1895) was built to serve the new development, rather than the other way round.



"Fashionable Folkestone"; an advertisement from the 1907 SECR's Official Guide, emphasising how near (in terms of time) Folkestone was to London. This advertisement started life as a full-sized coloured poster.

increase was greatest at Dover, by over 250%, though Folkestone was not far behind with almost 150%: it might have been expected that Folkestone would show the greater growth, but the anomaly is explained by the fact that Year 4 at Folkestone was 1867, whilst at Dover it was 1887. By 1905 Folkestone's figure for private residents stood at over 30 per thousand, more than double the Year 4 figure, and by that time some of Folkestone's residents appear to have been commuting to London[43]. Faversham's increase was more than 200%, though the final level remained low (9.65): Faversham was not a smart place in which to

Table 6.18: PRIVATE RESIDENTS.

Date	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Town	Number of private residents				Number per thousand of population			
Ashford	54	32	49	338	14.68	6.27	7.78	19.24
Dover	183	272	140	950	10.40	14.09	6.60	38.00
Faversham	28	114	106	134	3.16	11.86	9.92	9.65
Folkestone	24	57	76	159	5.71	9.05	9.87	14.20

live, it appears. The pattern at Ashford is familiar from the discussion of services, above. In Year 1 Ashford led the way among this group of towns with 14.68 private residents per thousand of population, half as much again as its nearest rival, (Dover, with 10.40) but by Year 4,

[43] The SECR's Summer 1899 timetable [July-September] showed a non-stop "Folkestone Express" which left Folkestone Central at 8.55am to run non-stop to Cannon Street (10.30am): a balancing working left Cannon Street at 4.35pm and ran non-stop to Folkestone Central, arriving at 6.11pm before going on to Dover (arrived 6.28pm). *South Eastern and Chatham Railways (S.E. Section): General Service Timetables, July, August & September, 1899*, (London Bridge Station, June 1899).

which was 1909 at Ashford, the figure had climbed only to 19.24. Ashford then stood second in rank order, but the increase had only been of the order of 30%: it may have been the great engineering centre of the SER but it clearly did not attract private residents.

THE PATTERN OF TOWN EXPANSION

If the shops did not move into the area of the station, nor were overall settlement patterns much affected. This is illustrated in Maps 6.1 to 6.4. These are based on the New First Edition of the One-Inch Ordnance Survey map, and the earliest three editions of the Six-Inch Ordnance Survey maps, dated approximately 1876, 1898 and 1908. Though the sheets of the First Edition one-inch maps were later revised to include the various railways in the area, the detail of the layout of the towns does not appear to have been brought up to date[44], so that the towns appear to be the size and shape that they were in 1840. At Ashford, the majority of new growth appeared to the north of the town, with only a small triangle of development pointing to the station, though there was a considerable housing development some way to the south of the railway between 1870 and 1914 in connection with the steadily expanding railway works[45]. At Dover, the local geography (the narrow valley of the River Dour, with very high hills on either side) meant that scope for any development was very constrained, up the valley towards

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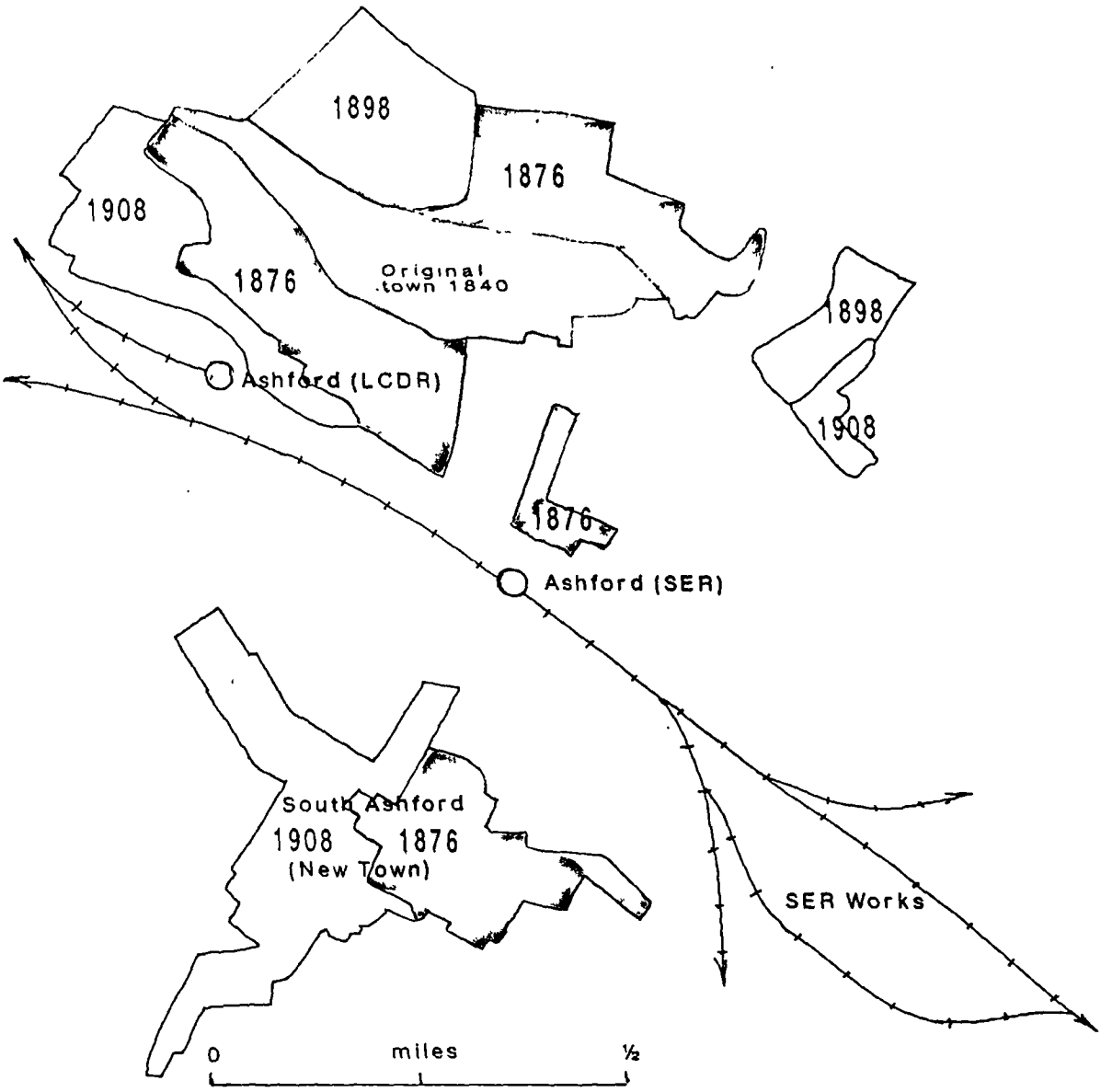
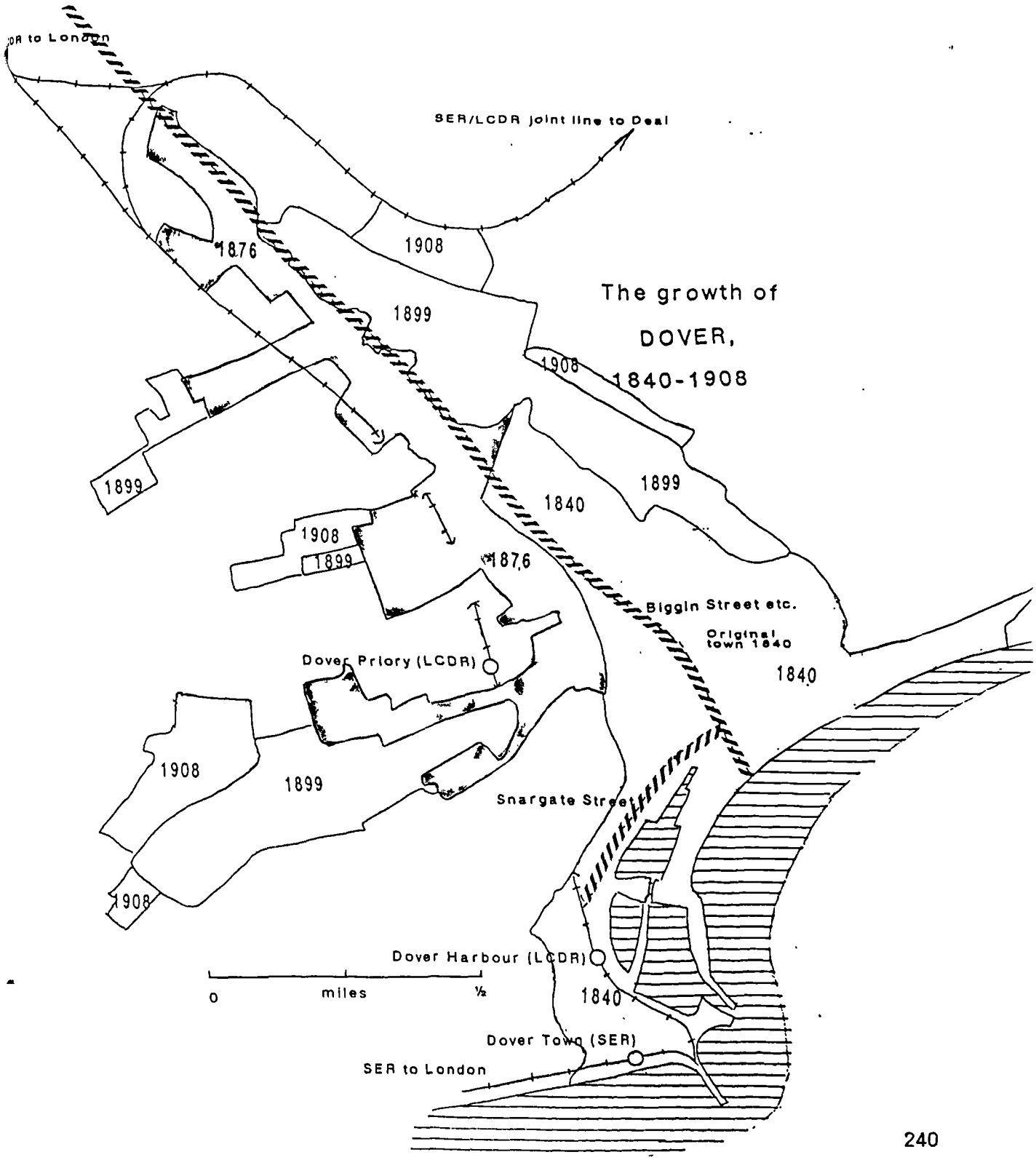
[44] See Harley, J.B., *Notes* provided with the modern reprints of the First Series maps (Newton Abbot, 1968).

[45] Turton, *loc. cit.*, map, p. 131, and pp. 117-8.

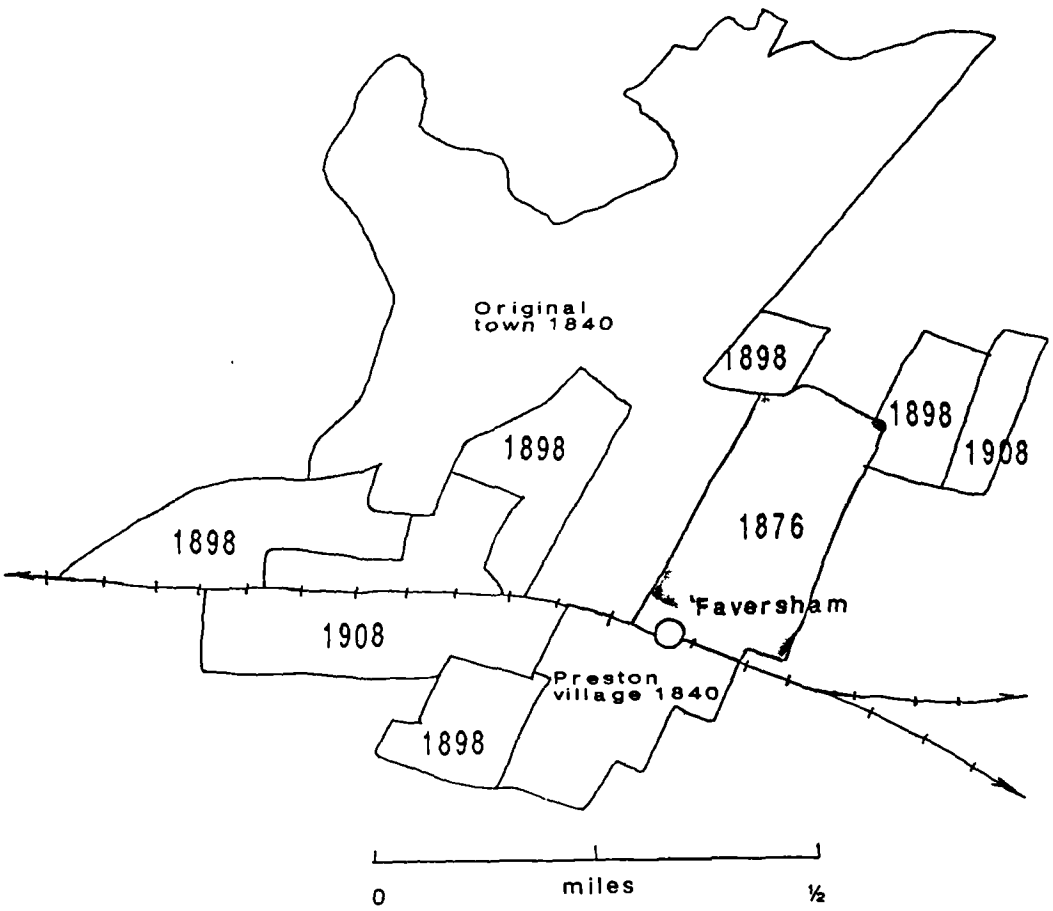
Map 6.1.1: THE GROWTH OF ASHFORD.



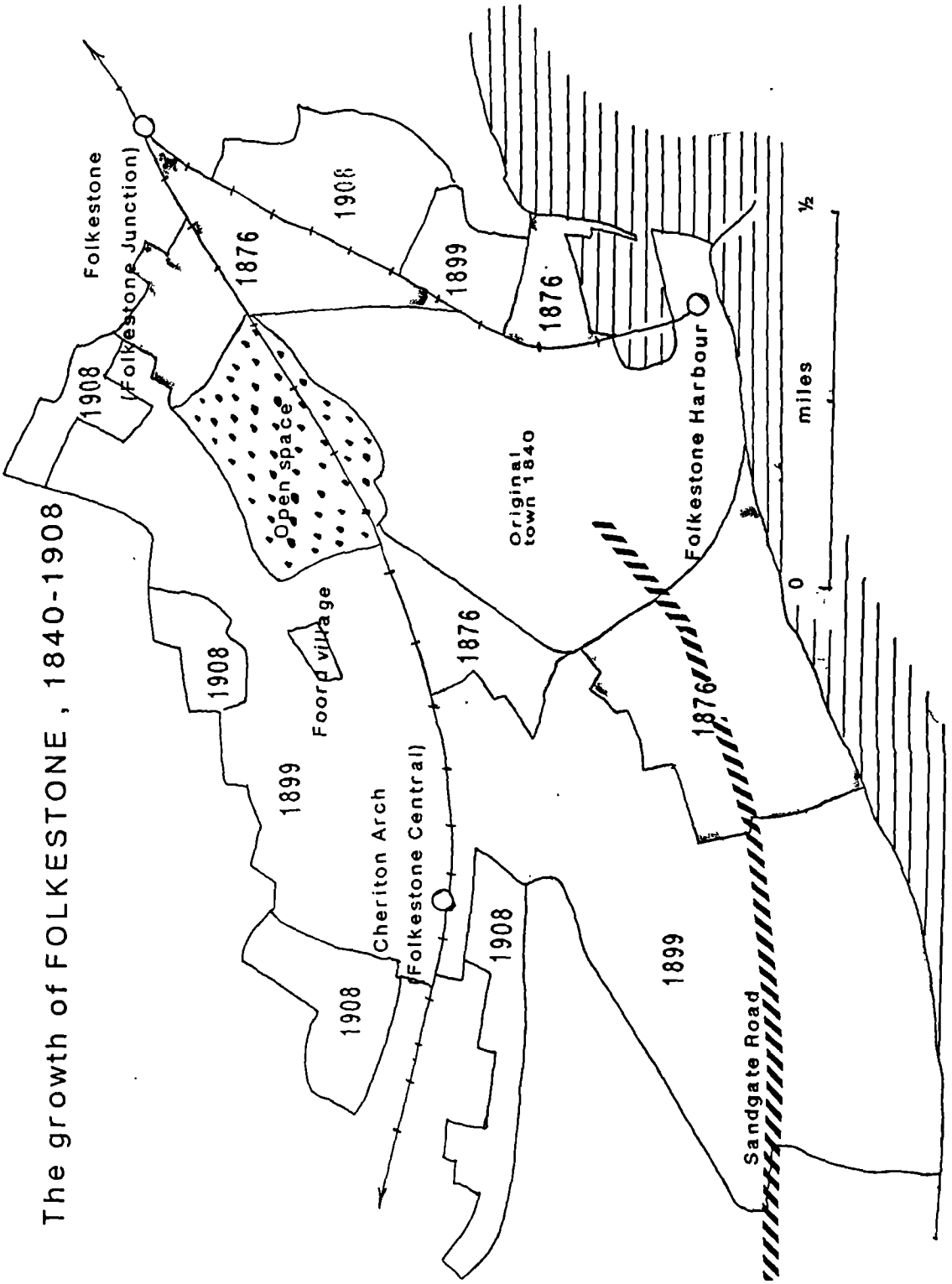
Map 6.1.2 THE GROWTH OF DOVER.



Map 6.1.3: THE GROWTH OF FAVERSHAM.



Map 6.1.4: THE GROWTH OF FOLKESTONE.



the north, and up the dry valleys to the west: the eastern Dour valley side was so steep, with no dry valleys running into it that no development took place on that side. At Faversham, the built-up area round the station did not expand very much; what little development there was, was to the west, along the line of the main London road, though Ospringe village.

At Folkestone, development was more or less even all round the original nucleus of the town; by 1914 the site of the original Junction station, which had been right outside the 1840 built-up area, was on the edge of the town, but certainly it was not especially favoured by development.

The implication would appear to be that, however useful railways were perceived to be, they were not the sort of thing to attract either retail or housing development; people did not, generally speaking, want to shop near the station, or live by the railway. Railways were of course a physical barrier to development in the way that a main road, or even perhaps a river or a canal was not. Passing by or through the town, perhaps in a cutting or on an embankment, it divided the area as decisively as a modern motorway does, so that development when it came was often on the side *away from* the railway for this very practical reason. Where there was plenty of flat land available for development - as at Ashford and Faversham, there was no reason to build in an awkward place if there was a convenient one to hand. The railway might well be a social as well as a geographical barrier, summed up in the

American term for the poorer parts of a town "The wrong side of the tracks"[46].

LOCAL TRANSPORT SERVICES

The general pattern of coach services in East Kent in 1840 has been considered above in Chapter II, *East Kent to 1841*, where it was shown that there was a regular, if not necessarily very frequent, passenger coach service along most of what are now 'A' class roads, and that there was an effective network of local van and carrier services, some of which certainly carried passengers as well. To examine the effect of the railway on these services, so far as the towns considered in this chapter are concerned, two years have been chosen to compare the pattern of carrier services, 1840 and 1899; 1840 as being what might be regarded as the hey-day of pre-railway coach and carrier services, and 1899 as the date of the last Kelly directory for the nineteenth century, together with a brief glance at the coach services five or so years after the railway first came to the town considered.

Ashford (Maps 6.2.1 and 6.2.2)

The point has already been made that, in the days before the railway, Ashford was a flourishing market town, with a very generous supply of

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[46] These pictures are of course not unique to East Kent; various other examples of stations on the edge of towns to which new growth did not stretch out, and barriers created by the line are considered in Simmons, J., *The Railway in Town and Country, 1830-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1986), pp. 142-45.

services, many of whom presumably depended at least in part on trade derived from the catchment area of the market. In 1840 there was a reasonable network of transport services (map 6.2.1), which included coach, van and carrier services to London. The coach (*The Times*) was actually the London-Folkestone service, which took 8½ hours on the trip, and could accommodate only four inside and eleven outside passengers[41]. The carriers and vans seem to have begun their journeys in Ashford.

The 1847 directory makes no mention of coach services at all, though a list is given of omnibuses and van services to Hastings (daily), Maidstone (daily), Lydd, Romney, Faversham and Folkestone (each three times weekly). Apart from Folkestone, none of these places was in direct railway communication with Ashford in 1847, and all were well within Ashford's catchment area as a market town for the eastern Weald and Romney Marsh. The railway quite obviously killed parallel coach services in Kent as it did elsewhere. By 1899 (map 6.2.2) the pattern of local transport was much more complex, and at the same time rather more local.

What is at first sight a little surprising is the survival of carrier services which paralleled the railway - services to Maidstone, Canterbury, Folkestone and Rye. Presumably these services were a convenience to those people who lived in the scattered houses or settlements along the way: carriers were not merely collection and

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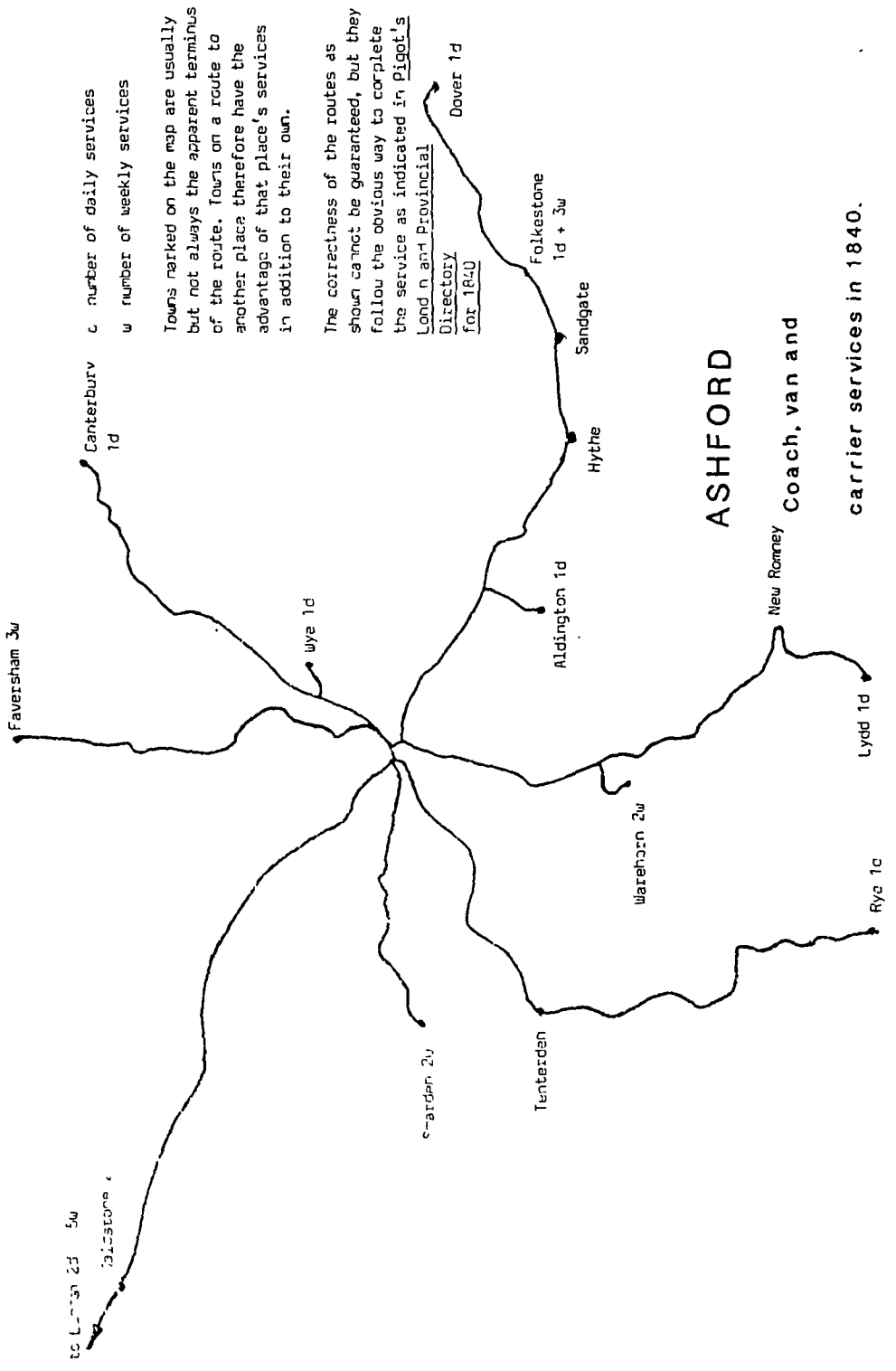
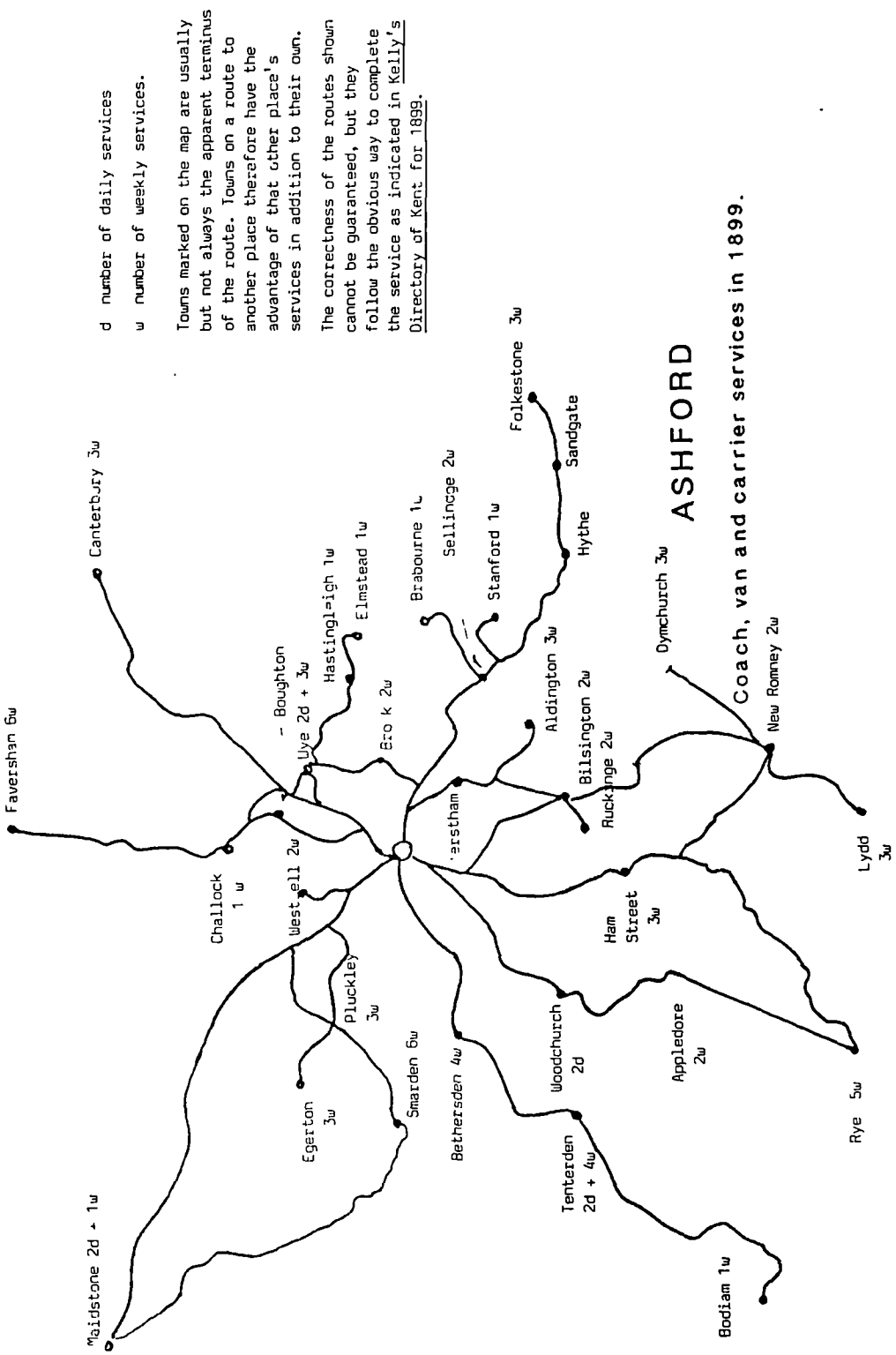
[41] Bates, A., *Directory of Stage Coach Services, 1836* (Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 23.

Map 6.2.1: ASHFORD, 1840.



Map 6.2.2: ASHFORD, 1899.



delivery agents, but they provided personal transport - David Copperfield was a passenger on Barkis' carrier's cart - and were shopping agents[11], which latter service the railways could hardly provide. It is very clear from the map of the 1899 services that, as pointed out above, Ashford retained a major position of importance in the area as a market and general trading area regardless of the extent to which it was by then dominated by the economy of the SER.

Dover (Map 6.3).

The picture for Dover is a rather different one. The 1840 directory listed no less than ten daily coach services to London, (*Telegraph, Eagle, Express, Eagle II, Tally-ho, Defiance, Eagle III, Phoenix,* and *Union,* as well as the Royal Mail service). Four years previously, in 1836, there had been only six daily services, which could have carried 24 inside and 66 outside passengers[12]; if the 1840 coaches were of the same type their total capacity would have been 40 inside and 110 outside passengers, who will have taken something between $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours to complete their journeys. There were also daily coaches to Hastings and Brighton during the summer, and two or three daily coaches, depending on the time of year, through Deal and Sandwich to Ramsgate and Margate. Five years later the picture was very different. Gone were the London and long-distance coaches, but there remained a

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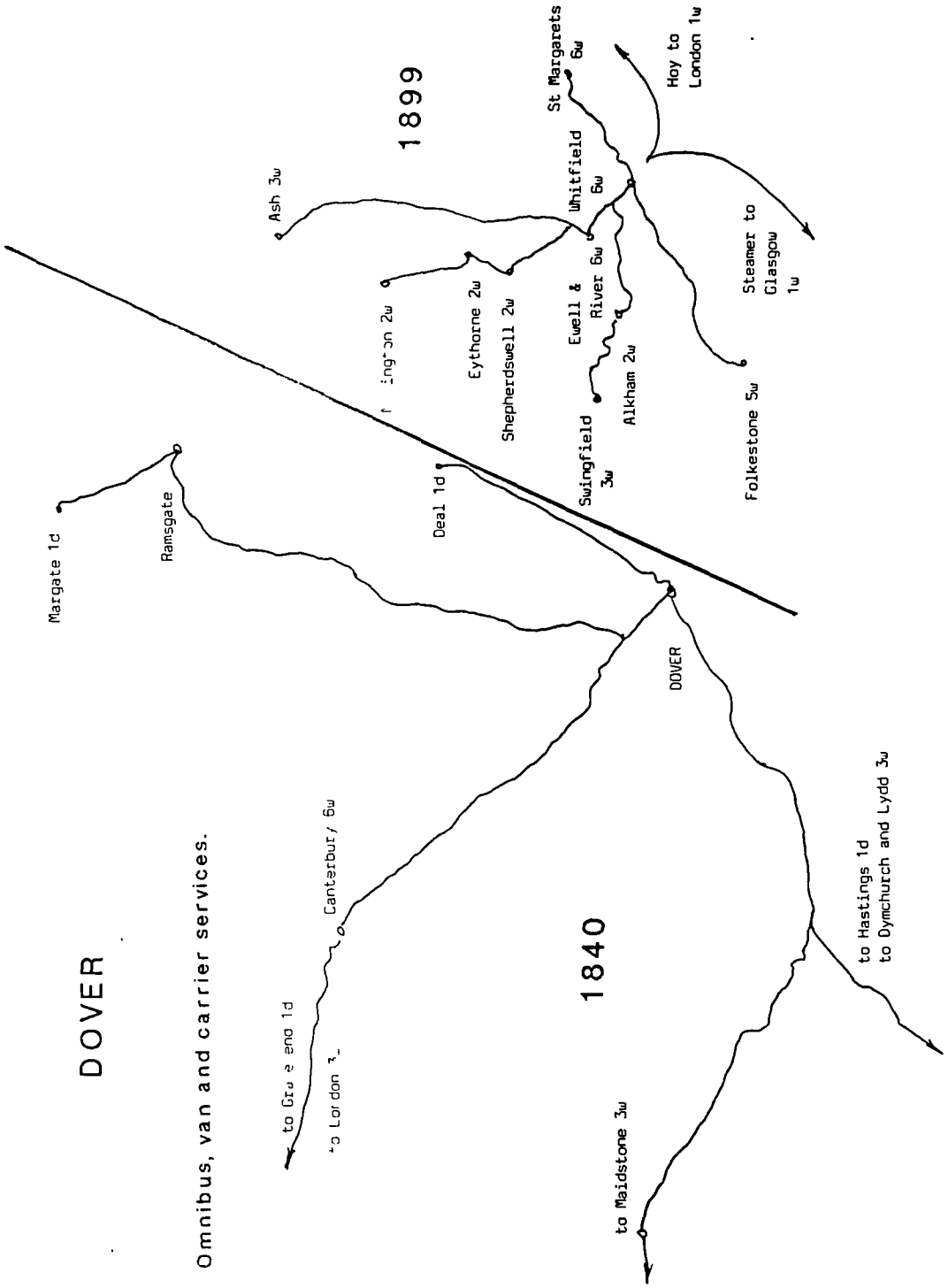
[11] Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985) discusses the various functions of the country carrier, pp. 281-4.

[12] Bates, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

Map 6.3: DOVER


DOVER
Omnibus, van and carrier services.
1840
1899
Margate 1d
Ramsgate
Deal 1d
DOVER
to Maidstone 3w
to Hastings 1d
to Dymchurch and Lydd 3w
Canterbury 6w
Ash 3w
Eythorne 2w
Shepherdswell 2w
Swingfield 3w
Alkham 2w
Ewell & River 6w
Whitfield 6w
St Margarets 6w
Hoy to London 1w
Steamer to Glasgow 1w
Folkestone 5w

network of local coach, and omnibus services, going daily to Ashford and on to Maidstone, thrice daily to Canterbury, six times daily to Deal, Ramsgate and Margate, and once daily through Folkestone to Hythe, plus local carriers to Elham[50] (thrice weekly), Lydd (twice weekly) and to Lyminge, Hythe and New Romney, and Leeds once a week each. Again, the services which remained were in the main to those places which were either not served by the railway, or from the point of view of anybody starting from Dover, only inconveniently served. The immediate effect of the railway is again obvious.

In 1840 Dover had had a number of long-distance carrier services, going to London (three times a week), Gravesend (once a week), Margate (daily) and Maidstone (three times a week), but no regular local services - unless the daily van to Deal, six miles away, can be counted. By 1899 all these had gone, and had been replaced by a really very intensive network of local services, with long-distance services represented only by the modest eight-mile, five times a week service to Folkestone or the three times a week, twenty-two mile service to Ashford[51]. A weekly hoy service to London existed in 1899: no such service was listed in 1840, but since there were such services from Sandwich to London in that year, it seems a little odd that there was no hoy service from Dover also. An even more interesting appearance was the weekly steamer to

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[50] The directory states "Eltham", but this is presumably a misprint.

[51] The directory states "Ash" very clearly, but from the location of the inn from which the service started (on the Folkestone road) this must be a misprint or contraction for "Ashford", which would certainly make much more commercial sense.

Glasgow, which took three days on the voyage, calling at Newhaven, Southampton and Waterford *en route*.

Effectively the railway had killed Dover's long-distance carrier trade as it had killed the long-distance coach traffic, even if it took a little longer to do so, and replaced it with what might be considered as a local road feeder service.

Faversham (Map 6.4).

The picture at Faversham resembled that at Ashford more closely than a casual glance at the map might suggest. For coach services, the 1840 directory offered the daily Royal Mail London and Dover service which passed through Faversham at the splendidly convenient times of 12.30 am (up) or 2.00 am (down): in addition the *Tantivy* made a daily trip to London, but could only accommodate four inside and five outside passengers for the six-hour journey[52]. The 1858 directory gave no transport information, but by 1867 apart from a daily van to London, and a thrice-weekly hoy service to near London Bridge, only local carriers were listed.

In 1840 Faversham had been the centre of a network of long-distance van and carrier services (Ashford, three times a week; Gravesend, twice daily; Lenham, twice weekly; and a daily London hoy), and there were no really local services, unless the six weekly journeys to Canterbury, or the thrice weekly service to Whitstable are counted. By 1899 there

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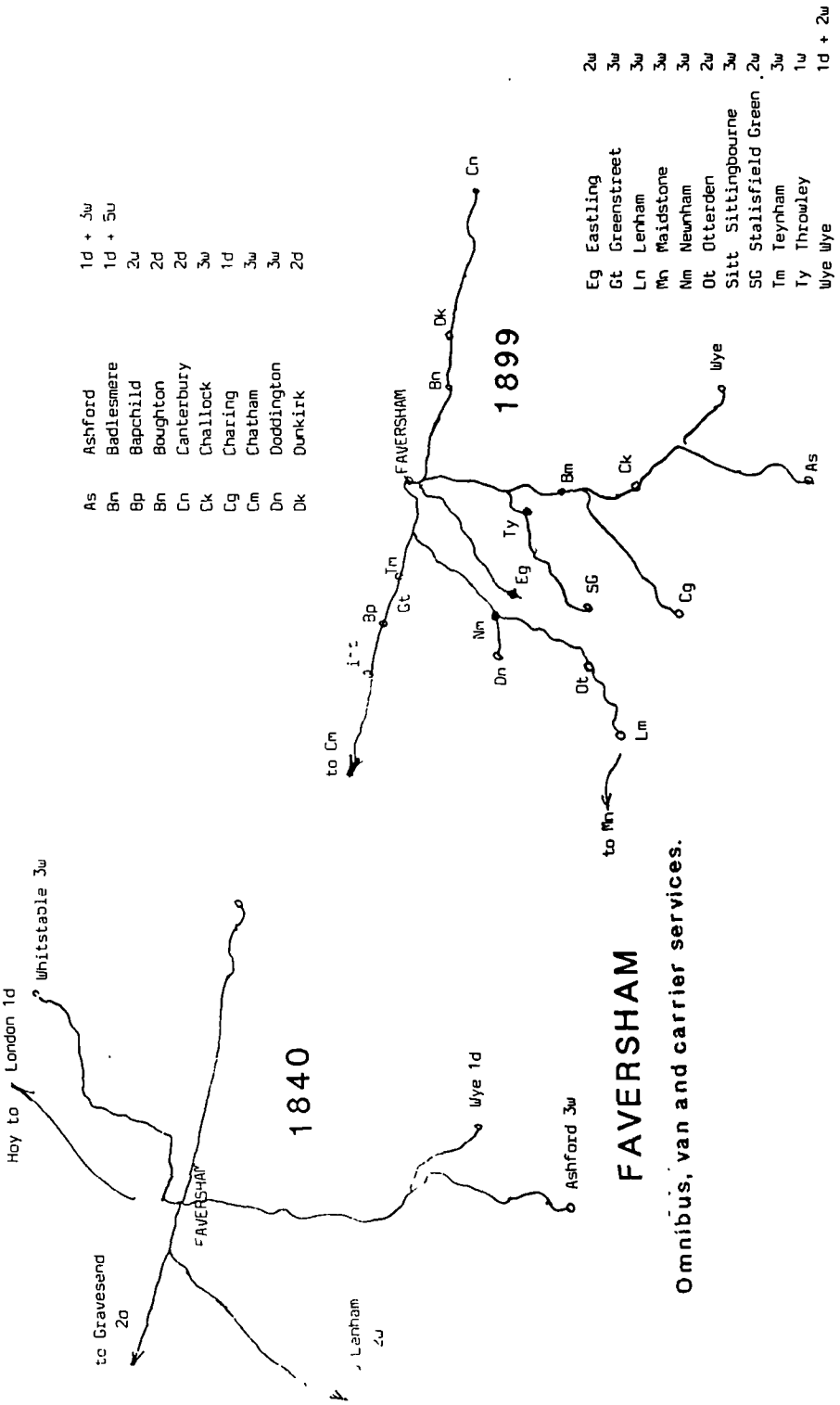
[52] Bates, A., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Map 6.4: FAVERSHAM.



was a very intensive pattern of local services. In Dover these services might almost be described as suburban, but in Faversham they stretched out quite a distance into the countryside, reaching a number of very small settlements. Services still survived to Maidstone (three a week) and to Chatham (also three a week), and of course to Canterbury (twice daily), but the London and Gravesend services had gone.

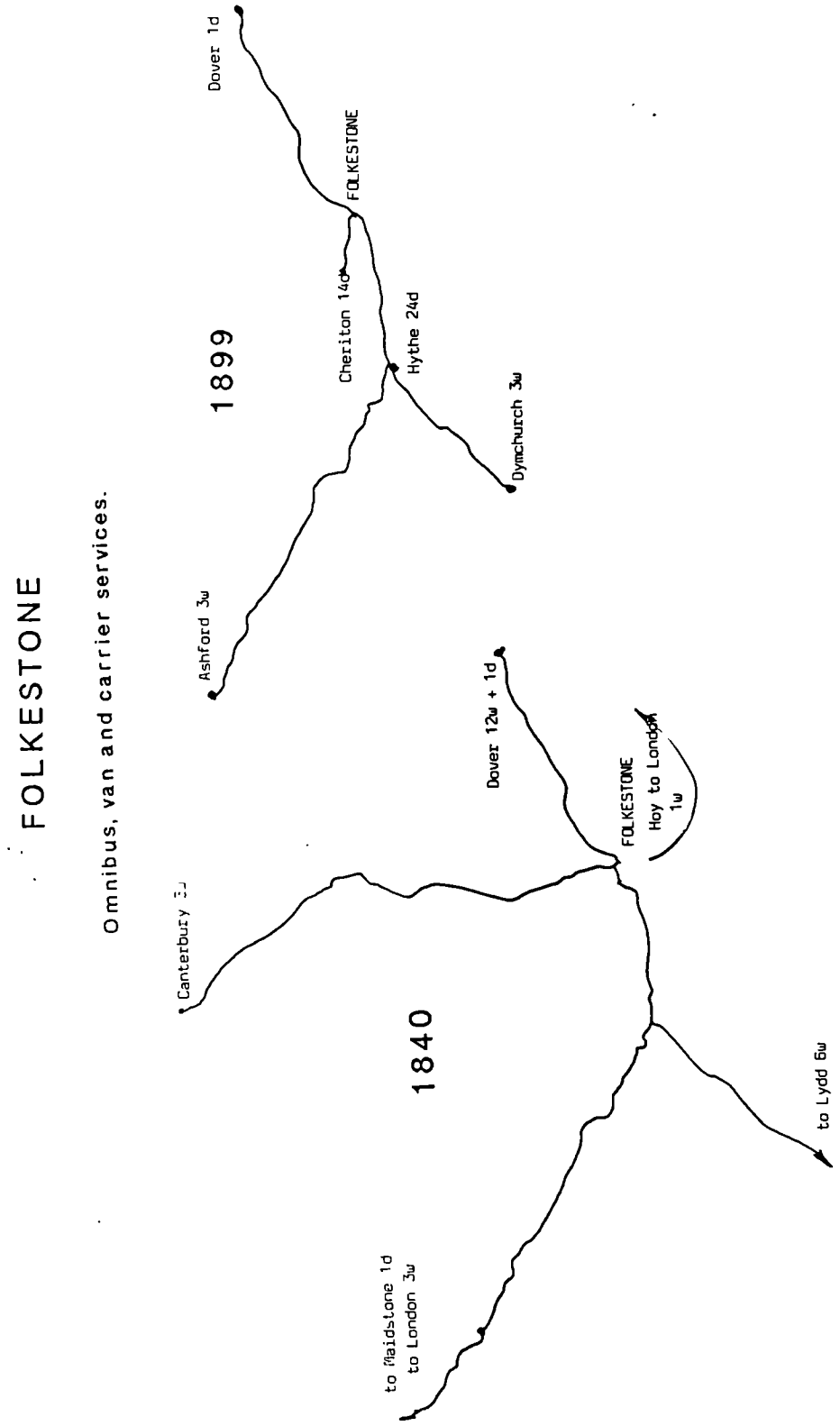
Faversham clearly was still an important local shopping and market centre; though on a far more modest scale than Ashford, it retained a trading influence in the locality which, if the evidence of the carriers' routes is a reliable guide, was much greater than that retained by Dover.

Folkestone (Map 6.5)

The picture here was similar to that at Dover. In 1840 a daily coach ran from Folkestone to London, the *Times*, which as already noted passed through Ashford; the daily post-coach between Dover and Brighton called at the Rose Inn. By 1845[53] the only surviving coach service was the daily coastal mail service to Hastings, a town not reached by a railway until 1851. Long-distance carrier and van services were frequent in 1840 (London three times a week, and a hoy; Maidstone daily, and Canterbury three times a week) but by 1899 almost all had gone. Hythe, virtually a suburb of Folkestone, had a half-hourly service during the day; Cheriton, another suburb in which by then the new Folkestone Central station had been built, had an hourly one, with a

[53] No information about road services was given in the 1847 directory.

Map 6.5: FOLKESTONE.



daily total of 24 and 14 services respectively. There was a daily van to Dover and a thrice weekly service to Ashford, presumably a service primarily for the benefit of the little villages and isolated houses along the road for whom the railway was too far to be of much use, rather than as a means of getting Folkestone's goods to or from Ashford or Dover.

Some caveats concerning the general approach taken to local transport services should, however, be entered at this point.

a. Directories tended to become increasingly full of detail as the century passed, and so the increase in local services may be more apparent than real.

b. The 1840 directory was published by Pigot; the 1899 by Kelly's; the format of the two is very different, and a comparison may suggest differences which really did not exist.

c. The carrier services described in both cases were regular, that is, they operated on set days at (presumably) set times. There must have been many local Barkises who worked on an "as and when" basis, who therefore do not appear, and this is probably more true of 1840 than 1899. It seems very unlikely for example that the area between the Ashford-Folkestone road, and the Ashford-Canterbury road had no carrier services at all in

1840, even though it was (and still remains) a very rural and sparsely populated area.

d. Villages and towns through which a carrier passed on his way to or from Ashford must presumably have been able to use his services. Thus, in 1899, Bethersden (WSW of Ashford) had a direct carrier service to Ashford four times a week, but through the village passed in addition the two daily and the four weekly carriers to Tenterden, as well as the weekly carrier to Bodiam, a total of nine carrier services a week. Sellindge (on the road to Folkestone) only had two dedicated weekly services, but if all the others which must have passed through the village are counted, the real weekly total is seven. Nowhere was very far from a carrier service by 1899.

The railway clearly killed long, and even medium-distance coach traffic stone dead unless the route ran to towns either not served by the railway or to towns to which a railway journey would have been tedious and awkward. Local coach traffic survived only briefly, and then apparently mainly for the benefit of intermediate towns and villages. In general terms, within a very short time after the railway's arrival, it offered the only means of transport to or from that town other than the network of van, omnibus and carrier services.

By contrast, overall, the actual <u>number</u> of van, omnibus and carrier services greatly increased in the period 1840-1899, and the <u>miles</u>

covered must have increased too: the railway certainly did not kill the East Kent carrier, or his horse, but it did make him alter his route, and the distance it was worth both their while to travel[54].

CONCLUSION

Whilst the effect of the railways on the economy of the towns considered here was considerable - far more cross-channel traffic passing through Dover and Folkestone, a whole new industry appearing at Ashford and Faversham, and one which came to dominate the life of the town - the side-effects were less profound than might perhaps have been expected. Though the population of all four towns increased over the years, Dover's at a rate greater than the national figure, only Folkestone saw a really massive increase compared to the expansion of East Kent as a whole, and much of that expansion took place in the last third of the period, some twenty odd years after the railway first came. That expansion can be linked to Lord Radnor's developments, which only succeeded after the railway came, and to Folkestone's growth as a holiday resort, which certainly must have been very greatly facilitated by the easier communication with London which the railways provided; in 1882 Kelly's directory listed nineteen hotels and boarding houses in Folkestone, together with 357 lodging houses. Ashford's expansion was also considerable - almost five-fold in the years 1841-1911 - but much

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[54] For a comparative picture of the carriers based on Leicester, see Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), Chapter 11. For the expansion of the use of horse transport in the period up to 1914, see Thompson F.M.L., "Nineteenth century horse sense", *Economic History Review* Second series, Vol XXIX (1976-77), pp. 60-81.

of that took place in the first decade after the railway came; the rate of growth slowed down thereafter to a rate not dis-similar to that of the rest of East Kent.

Though a new railway village was built at Ashford[55], there was very little other effect on the growth pattern of the four towns which can be directly attributed to the railways: growth was in the directions away from the railway, and the stations certainly did not act as a magnet either for commerce or for housing: Lord Radnor seems to have shied away from the railways. Where the commercial centre of gravity did move - Dover - it moved away from, rather than nearer to, the railway.

There is some evidence that the pattern of retail commerce in the towns and their suburbs was influenced by the overall pattern of local transport, railways and carriers. The carriers became more local in their coverage, though both Ashford and Faversham clearly retained their position as local market centres, there is only slight indication that basic retail traders were expanding into the suburbs, and that units within the towns were becoming larger. The local train service does not seem to have increased the demand for such a service; it seems to have

[55] In 1921, the South-Eastern and Chatham Railway was eighth in ranking order among the main railway companies for the number of dwellings provided for its staff, and eighth also in the proportion of houses to actual numbers of staff. Those further up the tables were either very large, or very remote. The bulk of the SECR's share (1,086 of the total of 1,386) were originally provided by the SER. Biddle, G., *The Railway Surveyors* (1990), p. 153.

had much less effect on the travelling habits of the locality than one might expect.

All in all, the surprise in examining the effect of the railway upon these four major towns is not the great extent of that change, but how limited those changes were, in so far as they are quantifiable in the terms used.