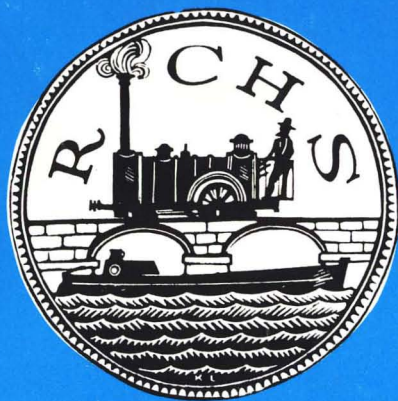




Journal

of the

Railway and Canal Historical Society

VOLUME XXV

No.2

JULY 1979

THE RAILWAY & CANAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1954 Incorporated 1967

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JOURNAL OF THE RAILWAY & CANAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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A Message from the President

It is a very great honour to serve as President of the Railway & Canal Historical Society, but especially so in the Society's Silver Jubilee year. If Jubilees exist for any real purpose, it is as a time to look back, and even more, to look forward.

So we have the opportunity to pay tribute to the imagination, foresight and hard work of Charles Clinker, our first President, and of the other pioneers who inaugurated the Society in 1954. With their names must be coupled that of Charles Hadfield, at whose insistence the study of canal history was included in the field of the Society.

But the best tribute to the founders is the extent to which the original objectives of the Society, quoted in the prospectus prepared last year, have been achieved. They were, simply, to promote historical research and to raise the standard of published history and undoubtedly this is just what has happened since 1954. True, some classic company histories and some good articles in various journals had existed before that date. But the emphasis still remained on the technological aspects, rather than on the financial, economic and social.

The greater interest in the methodology of historical research, in the use of primary sources, and above all in the reciprocal relationship between the development of transport on the one hand and economic and social developments on the other hand have all been marked. To no small extent this has been due to the influence of the Society. Our first twenty-five years, recorded by R. A. Cook elsewhere in this *Journal*, have therefore provided a foundation for the next twenty-five and we shall be able to go forward on this strong basis.

One of our greatest assets is our *Journal*, which under Jeffery Spence's Editorship has gone forward from strength to strength. It has great potential, with an influence beyond that of the Society itself. It is up to all of us to ensure a constant flow of high-standard articles. Our Publication Fund is also of great value in furthering the objectives of the Society, and encouragement must be given to workers to make use of it. Of immense value too, as a repository of information, is our Register of Research.

But the very heart of our Society is the Groups. They are vital to our future. Their strength, of course, lies in their local membership. It is one of the privileges of a President to visit them and to see something of the work they do. They deserve all the support of individual members and of the main Society. We should do all we can to support them in their work, meetings, excursions, and publications.

The study of Transport History, with its reliance on the collection and analysis of local data to support studies of national trends, is an ideal meeting place between the amateur and professional, for each depends on the other more than they will perhaps admit. Here is another opportunity for our Society.

We should also welcome enlargement of the field of study of the Society. The Transport Revolution, which set in during the 18th century, was an essential basis of the Industrial Revolution and of the Technological Revolution which succeeded it. Roads, coastal shipping and other modes were an essential part of the Transport Revolution. The foundation of the Road Transport History Group is an important step forward.

Space forbids mention of the work of all the other officers and members, without whose devotion the Society would soon collapse. We are lucky in our membership, and in it lies the key to our future. It is my pleasant duty to wish all of you, our Society, well for the next twenty-five years. H. P. WHITE

The Society – The First Twenty-Five Years

BY R. A. COOK

Inception

From the late nineteenth century men have studied and written about railway history. The pioneers appear to have worked in isolation, deriving their resources from membership of the professions and in some cases from their employment by railway companies. In the inter-war years, the growing interest in all things railway led to the formation of several societies. The strictures of the 1939–45 war inhibited organized interest in current railway activities, but encouraged consideration of their history in its widest sense, so that by early 1954 the idea of a society to cater specifically for such interests was being circulated. It found formal expression in a letter from Kenneth Seaward which was published in the July 1954 issue of *Railway World*:

“Although there are many Societies within the British Isles devoted to the study of railways and railway matters, very few show a deep interest in railway history. The majority of the Societies focus their attention on the locomotive and aspects of railway operation. There is, therefore, I suggest a need for a Society specializing in the serious study of railway history, with a view to the regular publication of a journal on this subject.”

All this activity brought together about sixty supporters and it was on this encouraging note that an inaugural meeting was called. Initially the promotion of a railway society was envisaged but amongst those interested were two concerned with canals, the history of which had been opened up by the publication in 1950 of *British Canals* by Charles Hadfield. At his suggestion it was agreed that if a society were formed, canals should be included in the prospectus and title.

The place chosen for the meeting was quite fortuitous, the promoters being temporarily in the area. Behind the unpretentious facade of the Grandmere Hotel in Preston, against a background of staccato exhausts from locomotives labouring up the main line from the Ribble Docks, the motion was proposed and approved at about 7.30 in the evening of 4 September 1954, that a society be formed with the title of *The Railway & Canal Historical Society*. Those present were Maurice Greville (who became member number one), Bertram Baxter, Gordon Biddle (the first Hon. Secretary), Charles Clinker (the first President), Kenneth Seaward and the writer. Geoffrey Holt (unfortunately unable to be present) was elected the first Hon. Treasurer *in absentia*. By the end of the year the Society had in its membership the majority of the leading railway and canal historians at that time.

The Early Years

Upon inauguration a maximum membership potential of 300 was envisaged, a reasonable figure considering that by July 1955 it had reached 103, but the formation of the Society undoubtedly promoted a wider interest in the history of both railways and canals. Initially the serious study of canals was confined to a handful of members, but the happy marriage of interest in these closely interrelated forms of transport has resulted in many railway historians widening their scope to include canals and vice versa. One of our founder members, Bertram Baxter, was a tramroad historian, and over the years there has been a

growing interest in this early form of railway, which constitutes one of several links between canal and railway studies.

The principal aims of the Society were printed in the first issue of the *Journal*: to foster serious research into railway and canal history and to establish closer links between these two studies, by providing the means for interchange of ideas and information between members.

Long-term objectives were the compilation of a bibliography of railway and canal history and an index of original documents and other material. The first was largely achieved by George Ottley's epic *A Bibliography of British Railway History* (1965) in which other members played a part, but no comparable canal bibliography has yet been compiled. Our research index of some 10,000 entries is a substantial collection of references to original source material from national, county and city archives down to the smaller local libraries. The task of adding references to the index, which covers both railways and canals, is a continuous one performed by a small research group led since 1964 by Harry Paar, the Research Officer.

Administration

The administration of the Society's affairs in the early days was carried out by a small Council under the chairmanship of the President. As the membership increased, so too did the work-load and the need for a broader-based administrative structure. A separate post of Chairman of the Council was created in 1957, Maurice Greville being the first to hold the position. Subsequently in 1964 a two-tier structure was adopted, with a smaller Managing Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Bertram Baxter, and other officers, to look after the detailed administration and answerable to the elected Council, which was still responsible for overall policy. Following our incorporation in 1967 this structure was retained, but the Managing Committee was expanded, as required by the Board of Trade, to include some elected members of Council as well as the officers.

The enlarged MC was ably led by Michael Reading as Chairman for 8 years from 1969 to 1977. However it became steadily more apparent that both MC and Council were too large and there was too much overlapping between the two. Following the report of a working party set up in 1976 to examine the constitution, structure and working of the Society, the committee work was streamlined; whilst the two-tier system has been retained, the numbers on both MC and Council have been reduced. Another change was the formation of a publications sub-committee chaired by Harry Paar, to deal with the detail of all publication matters, so that only firm proposals come before the MC.

Over the years the Council and MC have received considerable professional help from our Honorary Solicitor, David Tew, a recent example being the changes in our constitution required by the Companies Act 1975.

Journal

With a small and widely scattered membership it was imperative to establish a journal, and a modest beginning was made in January 1955 with the first issue of volume 1, containing little more than the Society's aims and introductory substance; yet it carried an enquiry by Geoffrey Holt for information on the opening of Carlisle Citadel station, and oddly enough in our Jubilee year the answer to that question is as elusive as ever.

The first volume consisted of four slim issues of duplicated typescript in quarto format. In the third issue Jeffery Spence was confirmed as Honorary Editor, a

position he has held with distinction ever since. In the fourth issue there appeared three important features which were to remain for many years: the annual list of railway opening centenaries (by Maurice Greville); the annual listing of railway Acts (by Charles Clinker and later by Geoffrey Webb), and the invaluable "Recent Literature" section which was, until his retirement at the end of 1978, under the able hand of William Skillern. In the late 1960s the compilers' circumstances caused the termination of the first two features, but the third has fortunately been taken over by Donald Steggle. Another major research feature was begun in 1957 with 'Accessions to Record Offices', which continues in the hands of its originator Maurice Berrill.

The number of pages in the *Journal* gradually increased and from 1956 there were six issues per year. The content was also improving in quality, reflecting the great scope of members' interests and the vitality of the Society. Volumes 9 and 10 (1963 and 1964) were improved by use of an offset litho process to reproduce the quarto typescript. With volume 11 the long-awaited change to a printed octavo format in card covers was welcomed, although the number of issues was reduced to four per year. From 1974 (vol. 20) rising costs forced a further reduction to three issues, but from the second issue in 1975 (vol. 21) the more modern, and cheaper, offset method was adopted, together with a change to A5 size; this has permitted a substantial increase in the number of pages and the content.

The 'Letters to the Editor' feature has always proved a lively platform for the exchange of views and the enlargement of knowledge. Our most prolific contributor has been Mr. H. V. Borley, with some 80 letters and articles to his credit; they are models of both interest and accuracy.

Although the *Journal* has never been on general sale it is a reflection of the growing interest in our field of study that 50 libraries now subscribe.

Bulletin and Book Reviews

All Society news was initially contained in the *Journal*, but as pressure on space increased it was decided in 1959 to launch a separate monthly Bulletin of forthcoming events, queries, administrative notes and general news. For a period it was duplicated and despatched by a commercial printer, but the Society is greatly indebted to Rhodes Thomas, the editor for the last few years, for the considerable savings he has achieved by carrying out the full production himself. The number of issues per year has recently been reduced to 9 in order to contain continuing inflationary pressures on costs.

Book reviews were also published in the *Journal*, but with their increasing number, this feature too was replaced in 1975 by a duplicated work which, at small cost, contains far more reviews than could be printed in the *Journal*. The reviews are also now more topical.

Library

Until 1974 the books sent for review formed the core of the Society's lending library, to which were added the books and other material donated by members. For many years the library was housed and administered by Peter Stevenson, before being transferred to Leicester Museum under the care of Philip Stevens. The usefulness of the facility was greatly reduced by the withdrawal of the special postage rate for printed matter, and the decision was taken to dispose of all the printed books.

Arrangements were made for the manuscript and other special research material in the Society's collection to be housed in the Birmingham Central Reference Library.

Events

It is impractical to mention more than a selection of the events which the Society has promoted over the last 25 years. The first visit was in March 1955 when Charles Hadfield led a party to tramroad and canal sites near Wolverton, Blisworth and Stoke Bruerne. This was of particular interest to those of us who were not then familiar with canals and was also the occasion of our first misadventure when the coach became stuck crossing a humpbacked bridge. In September we journeyed on the St. Helens Canal to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the commencement of its construction. Such a trip is now unrepeatable because the canal has been filled in. The event had its moment of humour, although it was not apparent to the trail of disgruntled motorists held up when the Sankey Bridge was lifted long before our boat hove slowly into view. Here, too, we had our first media publicity when Gordon Biddle was interviewed by the BBC Northern Home Service. In the following year our visit to the Ellesmere Canal was filmed for television.

Another historic canal cruise was that in 1961 to celebrate the bi-centenary of the opening of the Bridgewater Canal and which included the unique experience of being transported by the Anderton Lift. Boat trips have played a large part in the popularity of the canal visits; many members have been introduced to the pleasures of canal cruising by these events. Even the totally industrialized landscapes are more attractive and interesting when viewed from a passing boat, as some of us first discovered on the Birmingham Canal Navigations cruise in 1957. In complete contrast was the Chelmer & Blackwater Navigation trip in May 1970 organized by John Boyes.

Visits to the sites of defunct canals have also proved equally popular and there are many members, through the expertise of our tour leaders, who know that a canal is far more than just a trough of stagnant water wandering through the countryside, and that the visible remains are many.

The earliest railway visit was on 30 April 1955 with a tour of the remains of the Leicester & Swannington Railway. There were suspicious looks from house-holders as members studied the ventilation shafts in the streets lying over Glenfield tunnel. On the following day some of us were introduced to tramroads, when we viewed the site of the Ashby Canal lines. This day was somewhat marred by our finding an unfortunate rabbit afflicted with myxomatosis, which had to be despatched as humanely as possible. Both visits were led by the President, Charles Clinker.

In 1958 we celebrated, with the Railway Correspondence & Travel Society, the 200th anniversary of the first railway Act, that for the Middleton Railway. Other early railway visits included those to the Surrey Iron Railway and the Canterbury & Whitstable Railway. In 1975 the Society A.G.M. was held at Darlington and Ken Hoole and Dr. Barnett led a most interesting two-day tour of the Stockton & Darlington Railway to celebrate the 150th anniversary of its opening. The furthest north we have ventured has been to Carlisle when a small party was conducted over the Carlisle & Silloth Bay Railway and associated docks. Other visits of especial interest have been to South Wales, the Forest of Dean and the Cromford & High Peak Railway. Tramroads have formed an integral part of many tours, amongst them being the Stratford & Moreton Railway, the Peak Forest Tramway, and various lines in South Wales and near Congleton. Similarly many tours have reflected the close link between railway/canal history and industrial archaeology. For example the Reading area tour in 1977 included a visit to the Crofton pumping engine house to see the beam engines in steam. Street tramways have not been totally excluded, the Blackpool

system being included in the itinerary of May 1973. Several museums have also been visited, even those featuring model railways at Derby and Pendon.

Weekend seminars were held at Pendley Manor in 1973 (on the theme of Waterway Engineering over Three Centuries) and at Bristol University in 1975 (on Railway Stations). They were both very successful and enjoyable occasions, but the officers, mindful of the formidable and rising cost of attending such functions, and desiring to retain the AGM as an annual week-end feature, did not feel it wise to continue the venture.

A public lecture by an eminent invited speaker was organized by the Society at the Science Museum, London in 1972. Although it was intended that this should become an annual event, it was regretfully discontinued after 1974 as it did not prove effective in its main aim — to introduce the Society and its subjects to a large number of non-members.

Local Groups

The largest membership has always been in London and the south-east, approximately a third of the total, but other concentrated groupings lay in the east and west midlands and in the north-west. The first local group to be formed was in Birmingham and its first meeting was on 6 September 1955. The group prospered and in 1960 changed its title to West Midlands Group. The inaugural meeting of the East Midlands Group took place in July 1956. Soon afterwards a group was formed in London, and the North Western Group held its first meeting in March 1958. A North Eastern group was formed towards the end of 1959, and it has resolved the problem of providing facilities for a more dispersed membership by joint arrangements with the North Eastern Railway Association. A small group was formed in the south-west in 1962, but the sparse membership there, and great travelling distances, led to its disbandment as a formal group although occasional visits in the area have continued from time to time. These are the 'official' dates of formation (as recorded in the early volumes of the *Journal*) but in all areas members had been meeting and organizing visits much earlier, sometimes within a few days of our inauguration.

The groups have pursued particularly active policies and the adherence of their members has been very marked. All groups have been responsible for many visits, and many of the tour notes have been printed for general circulation. Particularly noteworthy are those of the East Midlands Group which have card covers and are of bookcase size and form a useful permanent reference series. The groups have also taken it in turn to organize the Society AGM weekends, and this has taken a heavy burden from the Council. The success of these events is but one example of the solidarity achieved by the group structure of the Society; no voluntary central organization, however dedicated, could have achieved such programmes.

The fieldwork these visits provide under expert guidance is of great value, whilst the tour notes generally embody the best information available, and the social aspects are by no means to be undervalued. In many instances the visits have also provided the opportunity to study how transport fitted into the industrial pattern of the area, and this interweaving of transport, industrial, economic and social history points to a pattern for the future.

The comprehensive survey, undertaken by the West Midlands Group under the leadership of John Denton, of what is now Telford New Town, before the entire site was cleared for building, merits special mention. Details of the sites of tram-roads, canals, railways and industries were recorded on cards which are now

lodged in the Shropshire Record Office. To visit the area now is to realize how important this task was.

Many members live in places remote from group activities — those in the west country have already been mentioned. The scarcity of members in South Wales, and in the Edinburgh and Glasgow areas of Scotland, is both surprising and unfortunate. Many questions about the complex transport networks in these regions remain to be answered, lest anyone surveying the now crowded book shelves feels that the last word has been written.

Publications

The first Society publication appeared in 1965, being a short history of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway by one of our founder members, Geoffrey Holt. Our then President had offered in 1959 the Clinker Premium to encourage original research in a competitive way, and our second publication, *How Ffestiniog got its Railway* (1965) by Michael Lewis, resulted from this scheme, running to a second edition in 1968. Although some other awards were made from time to time the Premium did not bring forth the results envisaged in the long term, and was withdrawn in 1977.

Our third publication was a map of the Kington, Leominster & Stourport Canal by Richard Dean, an excellent example of cartographic history which sold well. Others include railway chronologies of Lancashire and Cheshire by the late Maurice Greville, reprinted, with corrections, from the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, the Warrington booklet by Peter Norton, and the historical maps of pre-grouping company systems. Mention should also be made of the two invaluable Decennial Journal Indexes by our former Sales Officer, Bertram Cooper, whose hard work in publicizing and selling our work was of such great value during his long period of office.

Financial

In any voluntary organization first priority must always be to ensure that all financial matters are fully accountable to the members. It is also essential to keep the subscription to a minimum and to provide a service giving good value for that subscription in order to make membership attractive. A comparison of subscriptions over the years is meaningless due to the enormous change in money values, but for the record the first subscription was £1 - 1s - 0d.

At first all monies were held in a central fund. As the question of publications arose a separate fund was set up for this purpose, initially by a grant from the central fund, but to build it up voluntary donations were solicited. Since then the fund has shown quite a healthy surplus for a society of our size. The general fund itself has, in most years, shown a small surplus. In late 1971 the voluntary method was invoked to set up the Research Fund, to provide grants to those whose original research is hampered by financial considerations.

The Society has always paid its way and maintained the necessary surplus to continue its operations. For 14 years, from 1964 to 1978, credit for this goes to John Broadhurst who discharged the duties of Honorary Treasury impeccably. These years included the very difficult period of high inflation, which could have been damaging if our finances had not been skilfully handled.

Incorporation

At the mid-point in our course to date the step was taken to elevate our Society from an association to a bona-fide legal entity. Many meetings preceded this important action, both at Council and membership level, and with the Board

of Trade. It is a tribute to the skill, financial generosity and devotion of Charles E. Lee, closely supported by David Tew, that all affairs went smoothly and on 14 November 1967 we became an incorporated body having charitable status within the framework of the Companies Acts. This raised our nominal status and enabled us to go forward with a greater sense of responsibility and purpose towards our declared objectives. The practical advantages include the ability to own property, to take legal action if necessary, and to enjoy the benefit of covenanted subscriptions.

Conclusion

Our membership showed a steady increase over many years, but latterly has remained at just below the 500 mark; this and other matters were studied by the working party of 1976, which consisted of Professor White, Grahame Boyes and Keith Holt. Their well-reasoned report, based upon a questionnaire circulated to members, and the subsequent debate within the Council and at an Extraordinary General Meeting, showed that there was widespread support for a broad-based approach to transport history; whilst railways and canals will remain the twin primary subjects at the core of our activities, there was general agreement that the Society should also encourage research into other forms of transport associated — either in competition or in cooperation — with railways and canals. The formation of a Road Transport History Group is a firm step in this direction, although our *Journal* has for long reflected such wider interests in a limited way.

In retrospect, what have we achieved in the last twenty-five years? That we have achieved growth and sense of purpose is beyond question. The various facilities built up painstakingly over the years — the *Journal*, the research index, the index of members' interests, the book reviews, and others — are ample proof of this. However, we must dwell no longer on our past, there is still much to do and in looking to the next twenty-five years we must be mindful that the greatest asset of the Society is its individual members and their contributions to the common weal, contributions which nearly always bring rewards in the form of tangible support for personal projects, additional or amending information, and channels of publication.

Postscript

This account of the Society's development is a story of achievement through the voluntary labours of many individual members. Some of them have been named, but inevitably there are many omissions. The list of principal Society officers below fills only some of the gaps. Although it is not practical to list all the past and present officers of the Society and the Groups, in our Jubilee year it is right to acknowledge the enormous contribution made by them, particularly those who served in the early years when the foundations were being laid. A special mention is perhaps due to those who have served the Society and the Groups again and again in several different capacities. Finally the help given by members without office must be stressed. They write articles, review books and send items to the bulletin and recent literature editors; they assist with the compilation of the research index, and answer specialized queries for the research officer; they give talks and lead visits; and they help in emergencies or in some special task. The history of our Society is the sum total of all these contributions.

PRINCIPAL SOCIETY OFFICERS 1954-79

Presidents

1954-61 — C. R. Clinker
1961-63 — E. C. R. Hadfield
1963-65 — C. F. Klapper
1965-67 — C. E. Lee
1967-70 — G. O. Holt

1970-72 — G. J. Biddle
1972-74 — J. E. Norris
1974-76 — P. A. Stevens
1976-78 — Dr. M. J. T. Lewis
1978— — Prof. H. P. White

Vice-Presidents

1960-61 — E. C. R. Hadfield
1976— — E. C. R. Hadfield
1960-67 — H. A. Vallance
1961-76 — C. R. Clinker

1972-77 — M. D. Greville
1977— — C. E. Lee
1978— — Prof. T. C. Barker
1978— — G. O. Holt

Chairmen of Council

1956-57 — M. D. Greville
1957-63 — C. F. Klapper

1963-64 — B. Baxter

Chairmen of Managing Committee

1964-66 — B. Baxter
1966-69 — A. P. Voce

1969-77 — M. P. N. Reading
1977— — G. A. Boyes

Hon. Secretaries

1954-58 — G. J. Biddle
1958-60 — M. I. Berrill
1960-62 — A. P. Voce
1962-64 — J. Bryant

1964-67 — P. A. Stevens
1967-74 — J. R. Harding
1974-76 — A. P. Voce
1976-79 — M. R. Prew

Hon. Treasurers

1954-58 — G. O. Holt
1958-60 — F. G. M. Watson
1960-62 — M. I. Berrill

1962-64 — C. P. Weaver
1964-78 — J. H. Broadhurst
1978— — P. R. Davis

When did who stop trying?

BY MICHAEL ROBBINS

John Denton's article "When did we stop trying?" in the November 1978 *Journal* raises a number of issues about the "rise and fall" of the canal and railway ages. He puts forward a distinction between the "hard facts" approach, which measures the peak of development by reference to maximum mileage open, tonnages carried, and the like, and the "assessment of faith" approach, and he invites the historian to consider "when we stopped trying". This distinction is indeed important in relation to the external world which the transport providers live in, and it may help to explain why considerable investments have been made and confidence in the future continued to be loudly proclaimed long after the objective or statistical peak had been passed, at a time when by the normal tests decline had already set in.

But I suggest that the analysis needs to be carried a good deal farther, and Mr. Denton's two examples scrutinized carefully, before it can be concluded that the "facts" of belief are more important than the facts of statistics, as he appears to imply.

I believe that there is no answer to the question when "we" gave up believing in "the canal system" or "the railway system", because the words in quotation marks are far too imprecise. "We", presumably meaning the whole community, consists (for this purpose) of at least three major groups who could hold, and have shown themselves to hold, opinions about the future of canals and railways which at certain times have been in conflict with one another; and the so-called "systems" have not been single entities serving one sole purpose, but complexes serving a number of different purposes. If the "many transport historians" referred to by Mr. Denton have fallen into the trap of insufficiently distinguishing between different groups of opinion-holders and different kinds of service performed by the transport providers, so also I think has he.

Three major groups of people who form opinions about the canals and railways can be distinguished, without going into refinements which are unnecessary for the present purpose. The first is the customers, those who choose whether to buy the transport services offered; the second is the transport managements; the third is the whole community of users and non-users acting, or deciding not to act, through political means at national or local level. Of these three groups, the last is most likely to act with less than complete rationality, being subject to pressures from interested sub-groups such as consumer protection associations which can command political weight, or from organized trade union influences; moreover, political considerations having no connexion with the transport-economic issues at stake may prevail in the decision-making, at any rate for a time. The managers will normally fight hard for the continuance and indeed the expansion of the facilities that their form of transport offers, until they have become convinced that their business will be better off without certain elements, or in extreme cases that it is better to shut up shop altogether. Having been trained to operate one kind of business, they will be reluctant to admit that contraction is the best policy until the facts of decline are undeniable, and they will try hard to postpone recognition of such facts by proposing remedies for the most obvious symptoms. These remedies usually require sizeable financial support from public funds. But the first group, the customers, know pretty quickly when they want to turn away from one form of transport to another; they vote, as the saying is, with their feet, they just give up buying what is on offer and the passenger-journeys go down or the ton-mileage carried declines. On this analysis, it might be said, rather crudely, that the passenger and tonnage figures show when the customers stopped trying; the route mileage when the managers stopped; and the flow of public financial support when the politicians stopped.

But this still does not take things far enough. Canals and railways did not and do not offer a single service in a single market; they have offered many kinds of service in thousands of different markets, and the total figures of their overall results conceal a multiplicity of ups and downs going on all the time. Certainly it was important that the totals began to drop at given points which can be ascertained; but it remains true that expansion was continuing in some areas of the market long after the total receipts had begun to shrink. London railway commuter traffic in the 1930s is a case in point; Inter-City traffic on British Railways today is another. So it is important to know which kind of canal or railway service is being talked about; in the case of canals, long- or short-haul traffic, high- or low-rated goods, and whether between inland destinations re-

quiring both delivery to and collection from canal wharves or with direct loading and unloading (as at ports and private quay accommodation); for railways, whether main-line, branch-line, bulk or less-than-wagon-load, long- or short-distance, city or rural traffic. The rise or decline in market share of each of these has its own explanation, and some of the results are bound to interlock in a complex operating system; thus the very high speeds attained on modern inter-city services could not be attained with regularity throughout the day if wayside stations on the main lines were still being served by stopping passenger and pick-up freight trains. So very few of the people or groups who believe and proclaim that the railways have a great future contend that they should be trying to do all the things that they set out to do in 1914, or even in 1948. The management is probably more convinced than anyone else that the limits to be set on what the railways attempt to do need to be tightly set and in favourable markets.

There had, of course, been closures of railway lines and stations, for various reasons including misjudgments of traffic potential, almost since the very beginning of railways; some services withdrawn, and some lines closed, for economy during the 1914–18 war were not reopened or, if they were, succumbed in 1926. In the 1930s, while the Great Western, and the L.M.S. and Southern to some extent, opened new halts along existing lines in an attempt to counter loss of passenger traffic to buses, the L.N.E.R. took a most significant step when they closed all intermediate passenger stations between York and Scarborough except Malton and Seamer. The date, 22 September 1930, was indeed important; but I do not know that transport historians have remarked its significance. That management knew it was beaten in that kind of market; which did not prevent it later in the decade doing some startling things to boost its main-line traffic, and these were winners.

How do Mr. Denton's two examples look when examined with these points in mind? His first, a proposal made in 1944 for a massive improvement scheme for the River Severn and onward connexions, uncosted but evidently very expensive, is regarded by himself as optimistic. It seems to reflect a common war-time delusion that what is proper to be done in an emergency is a reasonable investment in ordinary economic terms; it smacks of ploughing up marginal land, preparing recipes for consuming foods which everyone would rather not eat, and all the other things that a nation is obliged to do when it has to rely on indigenous resources for a time. It is not surprising that "little has been heard of it since".

The second example, the London Railway Plan of 1946, deserves a little more discussion. I cannot follow Mr. Denton when he writes that the publication of this document proves that "in 1946 there was still faith in railways — and we were still trying". What it proves, if anything, is that there was still faith in railways as a contribution to the problem of getting people about in London. It cannot be used to argue anything about belief at the date in the railways' future on rural branch lines, or coal deliveries in small quantities at wayside stations, or even about the railways' contribution to suburban movement in other cities.

For the 1946 report, with its distinguished signatories, set out to do something quite different from the purpose imputed to it by Mr. Denton; and it achieved its purpose. This was to make the government think again about the proposal to pull down the railway bridges at Charing Cross, Blackfriars, and Cannon Street, on grounds of planning amenity. The signatories could not write: "Don't be so stupid! It would cost you at least £230m. and take at least thirty years (and we

are probably underestimating both figures) merely to reproduce underground the surface railways you propose to sweep away. And you would have a frightful station at Tower Bridge Road with five sets of double tracks, all requiring deep-level interconnecting passages. Chuck it!" And yet this is exactly the sense of the words, couched in language appropriate to an official committee's report, that Mr. Denton quotes. The Committee had demonstrated, by a *reductio ad absurdum*, that the planner's dream of no railway bridges below Westminster had to go; and in due course the British Transport Commission's London Plan Working Party scheme of 1948 (published in 1949) for a railway plan based on traffic needs — expanding traffic — was approved and by slow stages brought about. (There is some comment on this sequence of events in the *History of London Transport*, by Prof. T. C. Barker and myself, vol. II, pages 7, 311, and 343, which, though brief, had I hoped made clear what happened.)

To conclude: I agree with Mr. Denton that opinion about railways (and canals) needs to be considered by transport historians. But I think it needs to be done in a much more specific and less generalized way than he suggests.

The New Midland Station at Hucknall, 1895

BY RICHARD L. GULLIVER

Introduction

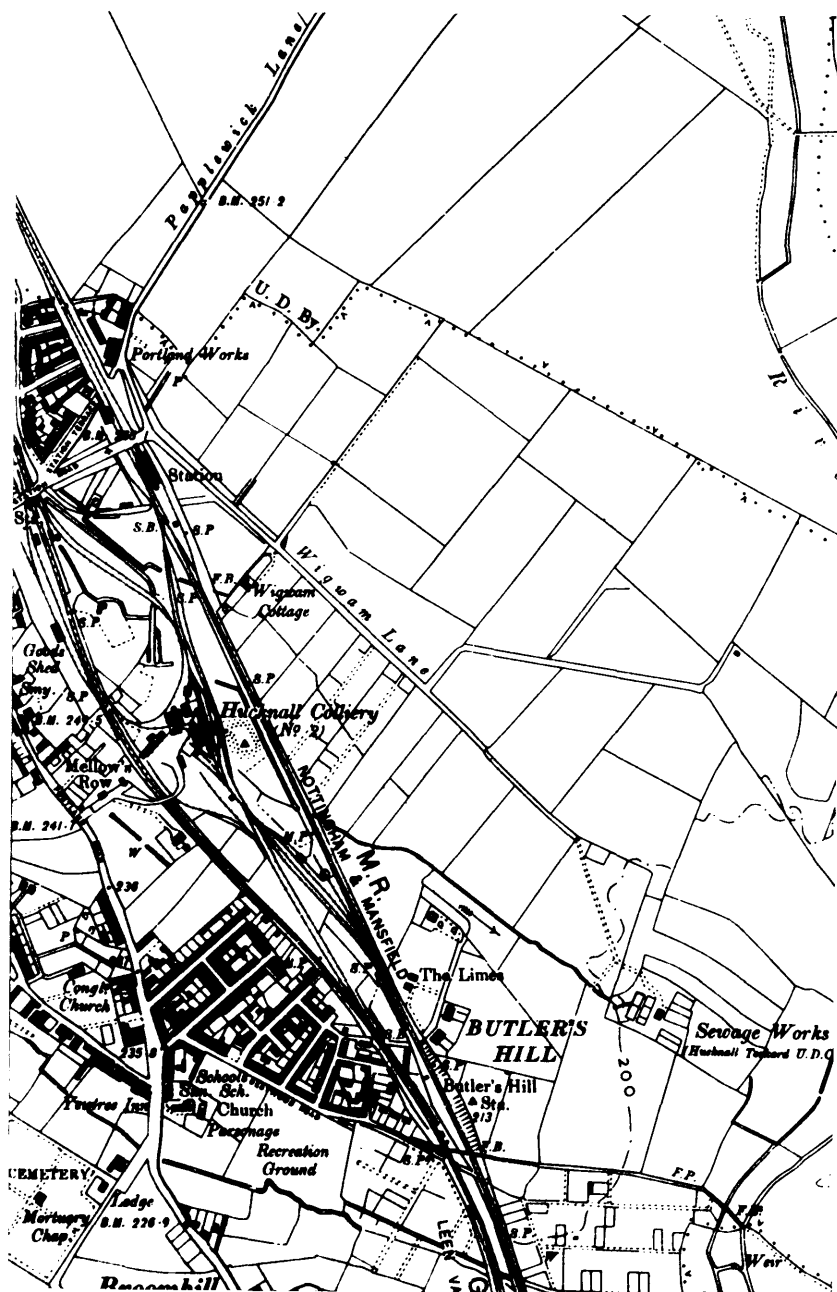
The Midland Railway obtained an act in 1893 to construct a new railway station complex at Hucknall Torkard. This action was probably precipitated by the building of the Great Northern Railway Station at Hucknall (on the Leen Valley Line) in 1882; and by the possibility of a third station being provided at Hucknall, by the Great Central Railway.

Building the Station: A — Costs

The Midland Railway produced a schedule of prices and bill of quantities for contracts. This was a book in which were printed the anticipated quantities of material needed. The contractor then wrote in his prices, and these were summed to make the contract bid. After the bid was submitted the engineer would go over the contract bid with the contractor, in an attempt to reduce the price. Furthermore if the estimating of materials was at fault, the amount paid by the railway company may have been more or less than in the bid. Hence there are at least three relevant sums of money:— the bid, the amended bid, and the final settlement. The figures for Hucknall described subsequently are taken from document RAIL 491/512 at the Public Record Office.

Mr. Tomlinson drew up his contract bid for the construction of Hucknall Station and associated works on 13 June 1894, in time for the deadline of 9 a.m. on 14 June. His bid consisted of a figure of £15,669—3s—9d. The amount paid out by the company was £15,271—3s—8d, the last payment being made on 12 December 1896.

The various bids are listed in the front of RAIL 491/512. In this case Mr. Tomlinson's bid (£15,669—3s—9d) was not amended by the railway company,



but it appears on the final certificate. However the bid has been mysteriously lowered by £1-10s-3d in the list. Only three of the eight bids were below the engineer's estimate.

Hucknall Station – List of Contractor's Tenders

	£	s	d
Tomlinson J. of Derby	15,667	4	0
Wood & Co.	16,030	0	0
Lovatt H.	16,403	19	0
Engineer's Estimate	17,552	0	0
Pauling & Elliott	17,999	5	10
Baldry & Yerburch	18,063	2	11
Walker & Slater	18,501	7	2
Mousley N.	19,400	0	0
Nicholson	19,546	0	0

The actual amounts paid to Mr. Tomlinson are shown below, compared with the contract bid (which in turn was related to the company's estimate). It will be noted that Mr. Tomlinson made an error of £10 in his arithmetic which the company did not detect. The main feature is that earthworks cost even more than anticipated; but this was offset by a saving on additional works and day work.

Summary of Accounts for Hucknall

Category of Work	Original Estimate (Contract Bid)	Actual Payment
	£ s d	£ s d
Fencing	767- 5- 0	679-13- 0
Earthwork	2,629-10- 0	3,048- 2- 6
Bridge over Railway	4,685-16- 8	4,160- 1- 8
Platform Walls	1,110-10- 0	959- 0- 6
Station Building	2,785-16- 9	4,541-19- 9
Goods Shed	934-12- 4	
Station Master's House	399- 3-10	
Ballasting, Drains, Road Metalling	1,693-19- 2	1,791-14- 3
Additional Works	342- 5- 0	77- 9- 0
Day Work	320- 5- 0	13- 3- 0
Total (In Contract)	15,669- 3- 9	15,271- 3- 8
(Actual)	15,659- 3- 9	

The contract gives the aggregate price for each category of work on each building. This is reproduced below.

Background Work

	£ s d
Fencing	767- 5- 0
Earthwork	2,629-10- 0
Bridge over Railway	4,685-16- 8
Platform Walls etc.	1,110-10- 0
Ballasting, Drains and Road Metalling	1,693-19- 2
Additional Works	342- 5- 0
Day Work	300- 5- 0
Total	11,529-10-10

Building Work

Category	Station Building			Goods Shed			Station Master's House		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Excavator	169	19	6	67	16	0	179	6	10
Bricklayer & Mason	721	17	0	331	14	0			
Carpenter & Joiner	283	16	8	243	17	6	94	7	4
Slater				55	2	7	29	3	6
Ironfounder	671	16	0	83	9	2	22	13	6
Plumber & Glazier	347	15	10						
Painter & Plasterer	140	11	9	28	19	5			
Provisions (deductable)									
Fittings									
Insurance	200	0	0	100	0	0	50	0	0
Extra Works									
Stepway & Covering	250	0	0						
	2,785	16	9	934	12	4	399	3	10

It will be seen that the cost of the station building itself is only approximately 18% of the total cost. The price for earthwork is mainly taken up by the embankments leading to the new road bridge; this and the platform filling, amount to 40,000 cu. yds. and cost £2,500 out of the £2,629-10s-0d. The associated girder bridge is the most expensive single item; however this did permit an island platform to be constructed. The platform walls category in fact describes the platform formation itself. Brickwork (including facings) cost £587-10s-0d; and the copings a further £125. The provision of gravel and bottom metalling were £45 and £72 respectively; asphaltting cost £165. Altogether the making of the platform cost more than the new goods shed.

The station buildings were covered by an overall glass roof — this explains the high figure for iron-founders' and glaziers' work and the absence of a slaters' category. The location of the additional works is not given.

The daywork section sets out the rates for the various classes of artisan. The figures include an allowance for the expenses of agents, foremen and timekeepers.

Rates per Day for Artisans

Navigators and Labourers	4s
Bricklayers	7s
Masons	7s
Carpenters	6s
Smiths	5s 6d
Boys	2s
One horse, cart, and driver	8s
Two horses, cart, and driver	15s

Building the Station: B — Materials

The basic materials to be used were specified in the contract booklet. Lime for the foundations was to come from Barrow-on-Soar, for above ground work it was to be "approved". Cement was to be Portland Cement. Source of bricks was unspecified, but they had to be approved by the architect. Stone was to be Red Mansfield.

Timber was to be best seconds Memel, Pitch Pine was allowed for long timber. External joinery was to be with Red Deal; internal joinery St. John's Red Pine.

No iron or steel of foreign manufacture was permitted. The girders were to be tested before leaving the yard:— on application of a third of their breaking weight their deflection should not exceed one fortieth of an inch per foot run. Test bars were to be made with the cast iron, of 3ft. 6in. x 2in. x 1in. These were to be placed between supports 3ft. wide and must withstand a centre load of 25 cwt. Small ironwork was to be dipped whilst hot in linseed oil.

A copy of the specifications for the Chapeltown Branch Extensions (Act 1892) was appended to the specifications for Hucknall. These served as general guidelines for the Hucknall Contract. For the Chapeltown branch the brindled bricks (blue bricks) were to come from the Staffordshire district, and no single supplier was specified. Coping bricks were also to come from Staffordshire. No brickwork or stonework was to be set in frosty weather.

Building the Station: C – Timetable of Works, Layout, Final Payment

The general conditions in the specification state the works must be complete within six months of the date of signing the agreement (date not known) on penalty of £5 per day of delay. However these conditions were waived. The progress of the works has been hand-written on to the front cover of the specification, and this is reproduced below.

Timetable of Works

31:Mar:1895	New “up” line and platform brought into use.
Undated	New “down” line platform brought into use [note new wording].
5:Aug:1895	New bridge opened for cart traffic and public level crossing closed.
21:Oct:1895	Stepway from new bridge brought into use, and level crossing entirely closed same day.
29:Dec:1895	New station buildings opened and old station closed.
12:Dec:1896	Final certificate of £15,271—3s—8d passed.

This station was approached via Station Road, which subsequently passed under the railway. Wigwam Lane also went under the railway. The new layout involved providing a new road between the old Station Road and Wigwam Lane, equidistant from both. This new road crossed over the railway, and then formed a T junction, one arm of the T going to the station and the other to Wigwam Lane. The old Station Road was then renamed Station Terrace, and the new road entitled Station Road. The old station was demolished to allow space for the new goods shed. Rail access to the goods shed was provided by a new siding to the west of the main tracks. The formation for this siding was provided by filling in the under bridge (old Station Road). For a while Station Road must have crossed the tracks on the level (after the underbridge was filled in and before the overbridge was built). This would explain the level crossing referred to in the timetable of works.

The station house was built on the triangle of land between the new Station Road and the old Wigwam Lane (at some stage renamed Bath Lane). Ironically the goods shed and the station house still stand (1978); but the platform buildings have been demolished. Plate 3 shows the layout in 1899, including the access to Hucknall Colliery.

During the building of the station the contractor was paid monthly, but for only a percentage of the work that had been completed. The actual percentage is not given on the contract, but sometimes for the MR it was 80%. After completion of the building the contractor was responsible for maintenance of the works for a set period, in this case probably twelve months. Final payment was

always delayed until the end of the maintenance period, as a safeguard. By an unspecified date (probably December 1895) Mr. Tomlinson had been paid £12,382. On 12 December 1896 he was paid the balance owing to him — £2,889—3s—8d. The balance retained, therefore, represented approximately 23% of existing payments, approximately 19% of total contract. This percentage was very high, normally 5%—10% was held back.

Gas Fittings

Gas fittings to Midland Railway stations were provided by the Locomotive Department. The nominal costs of materials and labour were then entered in a ledger, now RAIL 491/819, 820 at the P.R.O. The figures are reproduced below. The figure for platform extension probably represents basic work in installing below ground pipework, the fittings being added to the new buildings as they were completed. The average ratio of costs wages/materials is 1:1.2, this represents considerable manual work for a period when labour was relatively cheap.

Gas Fittings at Hucknall Station

Gas Fittings to	Date of Account	Total Cost			Cost of Wages			Cost of Materials		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Platform Extension	June 1895	80—	3—	0	Not subdivided					
New Waiting Room	Dec. 1895	61—	14—	8	29—	17—	11	31—	16—	9
New Station	June 1896	88—	16—	10	30—	14—	3	58—	2—	7
New Goods Shed by W.M. House	June 1896	34—	15—	8	20—	2—	10	4—	2—	10
New Goods Shed by W.M. House	Dec. 1896	20—	11—	9	6—	14—	1	13—	17—	8
Totals		283—	1—	11	87—	9—	1	107—	19—	10

Station Receipts: A — General Trends 1898—1922

The Midland Railway kept detailed records of the running costs and receipts at its stations, for the period 1872—1922. These are now housed at the P.R.O. as RAIL 491/673—677. The figures for any one station span five double page tables, and so they have been condensed to four year running means which are presented in table 1. This table commences with the 1898—1901 period. (The receipts for 1872, 1873 and 1922 seem out of character with adjacent years:— leaving a pattern of 1874—1877 through 1898—1901 to 1918—1921: furthermore goods debit records only begin in 1896.)

Season tickets were issued for periods of three, six, nine or twelve months in 1901; (saving on season tickets not known by author). There is a marked increase in numbers sold; probably representing either an increase in the saving achieved, or a lessening of their duration (hence increasing their usage). The peak years for season tickets were 1907 (940 sold) and 1909 (962 sold).

Number of passengers booked shows but little increase until after the war. For 1901, 171,630 passengers booked which would represent 572 commuters each buying 300 tickets a year; assuming all tickets sold were for local travel. The absence of growth of number of ticket holders is probably due to progressively more travellers buying season tickets. Continuing with the all-commuter assumption, the receipts for 1901 represent an average ticket price of 8d; i.e. approximately the third class return fare to Bulwell or single to Nottingham or Mansfield (exact details of local fares not known by author).

In the spring of 1901 there were fourteen trains from Hucknall to Nottingham. However, the early morning departures were 6.15, 7.45, 8.28, 9.00 and 9.56, so the provision for people going to work was not over-generous. There were fifteen trains from Nottingham to Hucknall, early evening trains leaving Nottingham at 5.44 and 6.22. Morning departures from Hucknall for Mansfield were at approximately 6.23, 8.38 and 8.57. There were two trains each way on Sunday. (RAIL 962/33.)

Goods debit (the value of trade deducted from the account of the owner of the goods) shows little change through the period. Livestock shows an increase, possibly a delayed response to improved facilities at the goods station (see below). Coal tonnages handled varied erratically. Peak years were 1900 with 235,550 tons and 1911 with 231,679 tons. From 1911 tonnages declined progressively (with the exception of 1920) in advance of the depression.

Goods carted in and out refer to cartage by the Midland Railway; not carted goods were handled by private carriers or owners. The mineral class was probably mainly bricks; there was a vast number handled in 1918 (17,114 tons), but by 1919 the figure had fallen back to 5,891 tons.

Expenses of the station were mainly wages. They rise in tandem with receipts. The vast increase in 1918–21 is partly accounted for by the decrease in the working week to 44–48 hours (on average) and the large increase in wages to compensate for the rampant inflation during the Great War.

Station Receipts: B – The Building of the Station

The building of the new station had remarkably little effect on the receipts, as can be seen below. There was no drop in season tickets sold or passengers booked. Goods debit records do not commence until 1896. There is an increase in number of livestock trucks; 49 in 1899, 164 in 1900, 269 in 1901; but this is well after the new goods yard had been completed. The goods traffic carted in and out shows little change despite the lack of facilities before 1895. Indeed the non-carted goods traffic plus the mineral traffic show a sharp decline following the building of the new goods shed! Expenses also show a small decrease.

Station Receipts: C – The Great War and the Aftermath

The receipts during the period 1914–1923 show large variations which are not easy to interpret. Number of tickets issued did not fall till 1917 when conscription was introduced. By 1919 the figures had regained their 1916 levels. However after 1920 they fell again, presumably due to high unemployment. Receipts show a similar trend, though low values occurred in 1917 but not in 1918. Strangely, expenses appear to run slightly ahead of receipts. They drop in 1916, though the figures show much year to year fluctuation. They climb sharply in 1918, 1919 and 1920; this was partly due to shortening of the working week, partly to increased wages, and possibly also partly to a short period of double-manning at the end of the war. They fell in 1921 and 1922 (presumably due to lay-off) and this fall (about 27%) is greater than the fall in receipts (about 16%).

On the other hand the goods figures tend to move in the opposite direction, usually rallying in 1922. The goods debits rise in 1920, fall in 1921 and rise again in 1922. Coal tonnage, carted goods (by MR and otherwise), and mineral class all follow the same trend. With the mineral class there is a vast increase in 1918 to 17,114 – repair to war damage, perhaps – and also in 1922 with 12,548 tons (probably of bricks) handled.

Conclusion

Documents covering the building of a station are uncommon, but the station receipts exist for all Midland Railway and North Eastern Railway stations. These figures provide a glimpse of the life of the station, covering such aspects as balance of goods handled, amount of commuter usage (which is roughly proportioned to the number of season tickets issued), and the level of staffing (an average yearly wage was approximately £50 at the turn of the century suggesting that at Hucknall about 20 people were employed). Naturally they pose many questions which lead one into allied fields of study, e.g. what other means of transport were available, how did fares vary between road and rail, what precisely were the staffing arrangements, which locomotives and rolling stock were used on the trains, etc.

Nevertheless the documents described provided useful and fascinating information about the social history of railways, and deserve a wider usage and more detailed study than is, at present, the case.

HUCKNALL TORKARD (M.R.) STATION: RECEIPTS DURING THE BUILDING OF THE NEW STATION

Year	No. of season Tickets	No. of Passen- gers booked	Total Coach- ing Re- ceipts	Live- stock No. of Trucks In and Out	Goods Carted In and Out	Goods Not Carted In and Out	Mineral Class In and Out	Expenses of Station
1894	68	146,328	4880	61	1837	4208	7296	1206
1895	68	157,716	5455	53	2092	3870	6072	1212
1896	109	165,865	5817	41	2161	3839	2761	1085
1897	128	167,130	5774	24	2142	3316	1394	1114

HUCKNALL TORKARD (M.R.) STATION: RECEIPTS & TRAFFIC DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT WAR

Year	No. of season Tkts.	No. of Passen- gers Booked	Passen- ger Re- ceipts	Goods Debit	Coal, Coke & Lime	Goods Carted In and Out	Goods Not Carted In and Out	Mineral Class In and Out	Expenses of Station
				£	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	£
1913	673	193,341	7599	1946	161,685	2279	2790	2342	1477
1914	713	191,697	7497	1917	130,007	2225	3556	4471	1390
1915	560	191,532	7357	2283	154,087	2619	2746	6731	1458
1916	698	215,398	8629	2159	141,855	2554	2103	3361	1378
1917	805	149,567	8170	2041	155,567	2379	2439	2435	1590
1918	474	174,155	8733	2301	144,045	2640	2012	17114	2436
1919	736	216,782	10631	2023	147,691	2816	2747	5891	3166
1920	947	240,448	13534	4354	170,307	2956	4297	4796	4352
1921	614	182,258	11409	3971	89,919	2414	2363	3965	4029
1922	498	160,309	11177	5127	147,662	2717	3511	12548	3165

HUCKNALL TORKARD (M.R.) STATION: FOUR-YEARLY MEANS OF RECEIPTS & TRAFFIC

Years	Season Ticket Holders No.	Number of Passengers Booked	Passengers £	Parcels, Horses, Carriages, Dogs, etc £	RECEIPTS	
					Total Coaching Receipts £	Goods Debit £
1898—1901	227	172,663	5872	312	6184	2572
1902—1905	483	164,192	5702	370	6072	2414
1906—1909	898	176,148	6490	423	6913	2177
1910—1913	742	174,480	6805	608	7413	2288
1914—1917	694	187,049	7913	688	8601	2100
1918—1921	693	203,411	11077	939	12016	3162

HUCKNALL TORKARD (M.R.) STATION: FOUR-YEARLY MEANS OF RECEIPTS & TRAFFIC

LIVESTOCK, MINERALS, AND GOODS TRAFFIC

Livestock No. of Trucks in and out	Coal, Coke Lime and Limestone in and out Tons	Carted in and out Tons	Not Carted in and out Tons	Mineral Class in and out Tons	Trans-hips Tons	Expenses of Station £
130	223,663	2402	3308	2384		1173
286	206,552	2275	3000	3168		1219
291	198,138	2285	2303	3097		1289
247	201,686	2224	3100	4207		1372
341	145,379	2444	2711	4250		1454
227	137,991	2707	2855	7942		3496



Some rather sad news has reached us from our member Mr. H. J. Vincent of Bristol, in the form of a cutting from the *Weston Mercury* in Somerset. It would appear that some brewers called Watney — I believe I did drink their beer on one occasion — have renamed Weston-super-Mare's *Bristol & Exeter Hotel* the *Town Crier*. This, of course, is a very smart and up-to-date move, as the Bristol & Exeter Railway was absorbed by the Great Western in 1876, so no one would remember it. The *Town Crier* might be remembered by some as, according to the *Weston Mercury*, he was last in office as recently as 1929.

JEOFFRY SPENCE

The Kerne Bridge in Herefordshire

BY JOHN VAN LAUN

*Introduction*¹

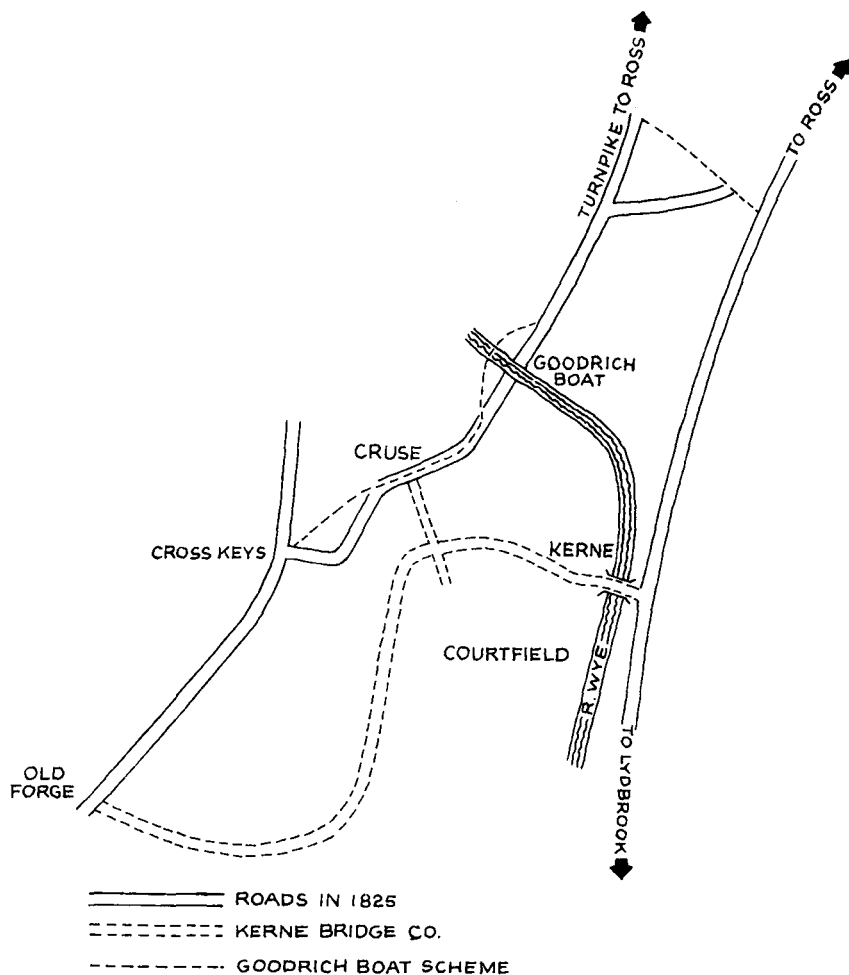
From 1662 onwards a number of serious attempts were made to improve navigation on the River Wye. By 1727 the Wye was navigable to Hereford and coal from the Forest of Dean was able to be transported there from Lydbrook. The scene at Lydbrook in 1770 gives the impression of a busy port but still transportation of coal required ten or eleven men to haul a barge to Hereford. In 1809 an Act was obtained to build a horse towing path for 37 miles from Hereford to Lydbrook and this was completed for £5000. In spite of this improvement, river traffic still depended on the depth of water and as a result a great deal of traffic continued by road. Much of this was forced to make its way to Hereford by Wilton Bridge at Ross (a circuitous route) or to attempt to ford the Wye opposite Lydbrook itself, (apparently dangerous and one on which no right of way existed). Obviously another link from the east to the west side of the river near the wharf at Lydbrook would be highly desirable. In addition the Severn & Wye Railway (Tramroad) terminated at Bishopswood, between the Kerne and Lydbrook, giving an added incentive for such a communication. No doubt these situations lead to the undertaking which is the subject of this paper.

Obtaining an Act of Parliament

The bridge at the Kerne across the River Wye took, from the passing of a special Act of Parliament in 1825, until 1828 to complete. Before March 1823² Petition had been made to Parliament for a bridge at Kerne. This had been made by the Trustees of the Monmouth District Turnpike Roads but failed on Standing Orders. On 6 September a further attempt was made but this too came to nothing³.

On 27 October 1824⁴ a notice (dated 25 October) appeared in the *Hereford Journal* that application was intended to be made to Parliament for leave to bring in a Bill "for building and maintaining a bridge at . . . the Kerne . . . and for opening, making and maintaining proper and convenient roads . . . to communicate [with] the turnpike road leading from the town of Ross". The roads were to lead from Old Forge to Croose (*sic*) and from there to the bridge, with a short stretch on the eastern side of the bridge to link with the turnpike mentioned above. The prime mover behind this undertaking was John Partridge (See Appendix IV), and a stretch of road was also planned to link the estate at Courtfield where he was resident, with Cruse. (Samuel Ireland, in 1797 refers to Courtfield as the seat of the Vaughans and after 1826 William Vaughan was resident there when Partridge moved to Bishopswood.)

On 4 November⁵ the long established Goodrich Ferry issued their notice of intention to construct a bridge at the ferry site. A bridge at this point had been considered as early as 12 November 1821 but it was the Kerne Bridge notice that forced the issue⁶. The ferry at Goodrich was an ancient crossing point into Wales⁷ and it is stated that it was whilst crossing at this point that Henry IV (as Earl of Derby) first heard of the birth of Harry of Monmouth. A meeting had been held 4 November at the Swan Hotel, Ross, "to take into consideration the propriety of erecting a bridge at Goodrich Ferry in opposition to the intended one at the Kerne⁸". A committee was appointed with power to call an early meeting for the production of plans and to raise the money. According to the report, considerable sums had been promised. The *Hereford Journal* obviously



favoured the "Goodrich Boat" undertaking and in their report pointed out the advantages of a picturesque route over the "sombre and uninteresting" route via the Kerne.

The Goodrich Boat went to the extent of drawing up a plan and compiling a book of references⁹ for the intended route from the Cross Keys to the intended bridge and from there to the existing turnpike to Ross; it was also intended that a stretch of parish road should be improved. Five out of the fifteen parcels of land required belonged to a Kingsmill Evans whose land adjoined the Goodrich Ferry which he also owned. Not surprisingly it was he who had chaired the meeting of 4 November.

It was now necessary for the Kerne Bridge to lobby support if they were successfully to petition Parliament to bring in a Bill. With this course in mind they

issued a printed "Case of the Suitors of a Bill, for Erecting a Bridge over the River Wye, at a place called the Kerne, and for Making the Necessary Roads to Communicate therewith". Their case was that there was no bridge over the Wye between Ross and Monmouth, that adjacent parishes on the western side of the Wye obtained their supplies of coal, coke, lime and stone from the Forest of Dean on the other side and that the Kerne Bridge would effect a saving of five miles to those parishes. Because of the long distances involved "many persons [were] induced (in order to avoid the circuitous route through Ross or Monmouth) to risk Fording the River at Lidbrook (*sic*)"^{9A} and that this had proved fatal to some individuals and horses due to the rapid rise in waters on a return journey. The inhabitants of Hereford received supplies of coal from the Forest of Dean, generally by water, but when the river was frozen or too low they were forced to procure it by teams of horses, a lengthy journey via Ross. According to the suitors, the intended bridge would save seven miles on a round journey. About 1½ miles from the Kerne the Severn & Wye Railway (tramroad) terminated, linking Lydney on the Severn with the Wye on the north, and the value of Kerne Bridge as a link was stressed¹⁰. Accompanying the case was a map of the advantages to be gained from the bridge and the link of over 107 persons was collected who obtained their coal through Courtfield over the Lydrook ford.

Powles & Tyler of Monmouth were appointed the solicitors for the Kerne Bridge concern and a number of letters were exchanged between John Partridge and J. Powles. On 6 January 1825 Partridge was able to report that he had obtained "the signature of the Severn & Wye Railway Company who think the Kerne the best thing that could happen for them, but that the Goodrich Ferry concern would be no benefit to anybody"¹¹. In their case the Kerne Bridge concern had stated that on occasions persons had been drowned, but Partridge wrote to Powles on 23 January that he could get no one to acknowledge that anyone had been drowned at Lydrook "but one young man of 19 or thereabouts says he was as good as drowned". Also they experienced some difficulty in establishing that farmers obtained their lime from the Forest as all of them obtained it from the Doward on the west of the Wye. The proposed company now sought leave to bring in a Bill and the petition was being prepared by 13 January 1825 and by 10 February they were able to present it to Parliament (18 February was the last day it would have been accepted), in which the "owners, and occupiers of land, coal, iron and tinworks, stone quarries and lime kilns and other inhabitants of [Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and the Forest of Dean prayed] this Honourable House that leave be given to bring in a Bill". The case was the same as the printed version of the "Case for the Suitors".

Between the petition and the presentation on 25 February there was confusion as to who would present the Bill at its first reading. Lord Somerset had agreed to do this but had informed Dyson & Jones, the parliamentary solicitors for the Bill, that he was "under the necessity of going out of town till Monday next". He therefore requests that they will take the Bill . . . to Sir Charles Morgan who has undertaken to present it". In the event neither did, but Lord Edward Somerset read it the second time on 1 March. Opposition to the Bill had been strong from the Goodrich Boat party on 12 January but by 20 January it was thought to be abandoned. Nevertheless it was not until 9 February that Kingsmill Evans stated "his intention of giving up his opposition . . on certain conditions or fair compensations".

The opposition of the Goodrich Boat was not the only inconvenience the Kerne Bridge project had to overcome. The proposed company required nine owned parcels of land for the approach roads, but of these only five owners assented. One, the Rev. Harry Williams, seems to have been "converted" as he bought, or

was bribed, with two £50 shares, all of which were paid up promptly on each call. Two other dissenters were Miss Swayne and Miss Nourse. William Jenkins (who occupied the latter's land) was called upon for his views (as was required by Parliamentary Standing Orders); he was quoted as saying "will is good but he dare not as that would be contrary to Miss Nourse's wishes". Ultimately these two ladies sold their land to the company on 18 February 1828 for £150 and £100 respectively. (Miss Nourse finally received £110 17s 6d. the extra being for a piece of land she did not require that had been badly scarred). Ultimately land was acquired from six owners at a total purchase price of £491 17s 6d. (see Appendix I at end of Part II).

In order for the bill to be carried forward beyond the petition stage, certain conditions had to be met satisfactorily:

- (i) The three copies of a local paper containing the notice were required,
- (ii) proof that the map had been deposited with the Clerk to the Peace and the Private Bill Office,
- (iii) Proof that the notice of application had been "stuck up" on the Church door for three consecutive Sundays,
- (iv) proof that application had been made to owners and occupiers,
- (v) proof that the estimate had been signed by the Surveyor (otherwise he would have to attend in person) and
- (vi) proof that the subscription paper was a copy of the original.

J. Powles, the Solicitor, was to prove that John Partridge would subscribe £2,600, Richard Blakemore £500, William Vaughan £500 and Rev. Tyler £150. Thomas Bennett would prove the notices and subscription paper and William Metcalf (the engineer responsible for the roads at this time) that application had been made to owners and occupiers. Metcalf also prepared the plan and book of references.

After the second reading on 1 March the Bill went to the committee stage. Witnesses were required for the Bill and opposition views would be heard. Dyson and Jones were writing on 26 March to Powles & Tyler, that "you may have the committee on the Bill any day on or after 13 April" and on 15 April they were writing that "one of you should be here four or five days . . . in order to settle the amendments in the Bill". Dyson and Jones by now wished to fix the Commons Committee for 20 or 27 April.

At the committee stage details would be finalized for the wording of the actual Act, and the proposed company could wish to keep the meaning as broad as possible. It seemed doubtful if sufficient money would be forthcoming to build the road from Cruse to Old Forge, and it was proposed therefore that the company should have five years in which to complete this section. This was later constructed at a reduced rate (see below). The proposed company were also careful not to specify the type of bridge, whether to be of iron or stone¹². The Goodrich Ferry would, of course, be requiring safeguards, and provision was made for this in the Act. The Bill was reported with amendments on 2 May 1825¹³ and passed to the Lords where it passed without amendment but not without some fear of objection from Lord Shaftsbury. Bennett came to London at the time and fared badly on the coach, a twelve-hour journey of 106 miles; "I arrived in town last night" he wrote to Powles "and in consequence of the inside of both *The Regulation* and *The Veteran* being full I was compelled to ride outside. It rained when we left Gloucester [at 7 a.m.] till we arrived at Oxford at 12 and when we arrived there I was completely saturated through both my greatcoats". He then went to Westminster by boat and heard the passing of the Bill which received Royal Assent on 20 May¹⁴.

The Act named the proprietors, two of whom do not appear on a later list of subscribers (see Appendix III). Bennett refers to one of these in a letter to Powles. "I saw Mr. Tyler [Rev. J. E. Tyler] at Whitehall yesterday, who made an appointment to see Mr. Maitland [a member of parliament]. He took £200". Maitland was one of the later subscribers with four £50 shares. The proprietors do not seem to have changed greatly in the early years (Appendix III). The Act stated that any land for the roads must be purchased and the bridge and roads completed within three years or the power of the Kerne Bridge Company would cease. The committee was empowered to raise £6,000 for the building of the bridge and the approach roads and to raise a further £2,000 by mortgage, which the company was ultimately forced to do. The mortgagees were not to be considered as shareholders. A sum of £4,900 had been subscribed according to the Act but the full £6,000 had to be collected before the Act should come into force. This accounts for the later shareholders including Anne Partridge with six shares.

A committee of management was appointed consisting of Richard Blakemore, John Partridge, James Pearce, Thomas Tovey and William Vaughan and they were to serve until the next General Meeting. These were the largest holders in the venture, beside Partridge's wife, Anne. Every person with a share had one vote for each £50 share at General Meetings up to eight and thereafter one for five shares. The committee on management could be elected from those with two or more shares.

The Act laid down a series of maximum tolls and these were to be collected at turnpike gates upon the bridge or approach roads:—

“for every horse or other beast drawing any coach, stage coach, diligence, van, caravan, sociable, landau, chariot, Berlin, chaise-marine, vis-a-vis, barouche, phaeton, calache, curricule, gig, whisky, hearse, litter, chaise or other such like carriages — the sum of 9d.

for every horse or other beast drawing any waggon, weighing cart or other such like carriage — the sum of 6d.

for every horse or mule, laden or unladen and not drawing, the sum of 2d.

for every ass, laden or unladen — the sum of 1d.

for every drove of oxen or neet cattle — the sum of 10d. per score, and so in proportion for any less number.

for every drove of calves, swine, sheep or lambs, — the sum of 5d per score, and so on in proportion for any less number.

for every foot passenger or person on foot (except the person or persons not exceeding two in number actually driving and accompanying any waggon, wain cart or other carriage) shall pass over the said bridge — the sum of 1d.

for every person who shall ride in, or upon any waggon or wain, or any cart or other such like carriage (not being a cart or carriage usually employed for the conveyance of passengers for hire) or who shall ride upon any horse or beast, drawing any such waggon, wain, cart or other such light carriage — the sum of 1d.”

These tolls were to be put up on a board and painted in black letters on a white background with the name of the gate. Payment was to be made only once a day except in the case of stage coaches and post chaises, which paid at each crossing. Exempt from tolls were the Royal Family and those on royal duties including the Post and “any soldiers upon their march . . . providing that such persons be dressed in their uniforms . . . and have their arms, furniture and

accountrements according to the regulations". Prisoners were also exempt from tolls.

Goodrich Ferry was protected by the Act, fair compensation was to be paid to them for any loss or deterioration in value to the ferry. If this could not be agreed upon then the Commissioners (that all similar acts required) were to fix the compensation (see below).

The company were empowered to provide a ferry on the site of the bridge whilst rebuilding, if the bridge should be out of use for any reason.

(To be continued)

REFERENCES

1. Introduction based on *The Canals of South Wales and the Border*. Chap. IX. "Rivers Wye & Lugg". Charles Hadfield.
2. *Hereford Journal*. 26 March 1823. Letter for John Cook of Chase, Ross of 24 March objecting to a further Petition.
3. *Hereford Journal*. Notice of intended application to Parliament.
4. *Hereford Journal* also 3 and 10 November 1824. Three notices were required by H. of C. Standing Orders.
5. *Hereford Journal*, 10, 17 and 24 November 1824.
6. *Hereford Journal*, 7 November 1821.
7. H. L. Timmins *Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire* 1892. At this time the ferry was still in use.
A. G. Bradley *Herefordshire* 1915 Walford-Walesford an important crossing into Wales.
8. *Hereford Journal* 17 November 1824.
9. This paper is largely based on the Kerne Bridge Papers deposited with the County Archivist, Hereford & Worcester County Record Office, Hereford Section, D.48. Where no reference is made information has been gained from this source.
- 9A. The Wharf at Lydbrook is described by W. Gilpin: *Observations on the River Wye* etc; 2nd ed. 1789.
10. "not less than 6 tons of goods and groceries arrives at Bishopswood warehouse every Monday for Ross, via the 'Lydney Railway'."
11. The Severn & Wye Railway had wharfs on the River Wye near Bishopswood. In 1828 Partridge (after the completion of the bridge) "Proposed that the tramroad to Cinderhill Wharf be removed and the tramroad turning off near Pewtner's garden to James Ward's house become the S. & W. line. Partridge allocating ground for a public wharf there" "Similarly, the branch to Bishopswood Wharf was removed in the period 1830-1833 at Partridges request, and the tramroad then terminated at the roadside". H. W. Paar *Severn & Wye Railway*. 1973 p.58 (Pewtner was Partridge's steward).
12. Letter from Partridge to Powles, 10 February 1825 "please think of this in the forming of the Act and also say a sufficient bridge, not confirming as to stone or iron".
13. House of Lords Record Office Commons Journal Vol. 80, p.20.
14. 4 Geo. IV. Cap.60

New Accessions to Record Officers, 1977

BY MAURICE BERRILL

This further annual compilation of items of possible interest to members is extracted from *Accessions to Repositories and Reports added to the National Register of Archives 1977*, Published by HMSO in 1978 for the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (84pp; price £2.50). The division of material follows the style of previous years. Part 1 contains notes of accessions (other than purely routine deposits) to National and Special Repositories (63), Local Repositories in England (91), Wales (10), Scotland (8) and the Isle of Man (1). The total of 173 compares with 161 in the 1976 list (see *Journal* March 1979). Part 2, which lists reports added to the National Register of Archives from April 1977 to March 1978, is not extracted in this present compilation.

Compared with several years ago there are fewer new deposits of material of railway and canal interest, though one or two significant items may be noted in the following extract list under, for example, Cornwall, Devon, Lincolnshire, West Yorkshire and Dyfed.

National and Special Repositories

Birmingham University Library, PO Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT
Shrewsbury & Birmingham Railway Co: minutes, proceedings and reports 1846.

National Library of Scotland, Department of Manuscripts, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW

Sir John Rennie, civil engineer: account book 1821–27.

Local Repositories: England

Berkshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Reading RG1 3EE
Lambourn Branch Railway: deeds 1888–1962.

Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge CB3 0AP
Thorney and Thornhaugh-cum-Wansford (Northants): further deeds and papers of the Duke of Bedford's estates including drainage and Nene navigation records 1589–1957.

Cornwall Record Office, County Hall, Truro TR1 3AY
Redruth-Chacewater Railway: records 1824–1961.

Devon Record Office, Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ
Tiverton Museum collections: misc. borough, parish, charity, railway and canal records relating to the Tiverton area 1650–1963.

Hampshire: Southampton City Record Office, Civic Centre, Southampton SO9 4XL

Southampton & Dorchester Railway Co: minute book 1845–47.

Kent Archives Office, County Hall, Maidstone ME14 1XH
Royal Military Canal: plans and misc. papers 1850–70.

Lincolnshire Archives Office, The Castle, Lincoln LN1 3AB
Sleaford Navigation Co: minute books and accounts 1792–c1882.

Manchester: Greater Manchester County Record Office, County Hall, Piccadilly Gardens, Manchester M60 3HP

Daniel Adamson (1819–90), civil engineer, chairman of the provisional committee for the Manchester Ship Canal: family and business papers 1853–1908.

Merseyside: Liverpool Record Office, City Libraries, William Brown Street, Liverpool L3 8EW.

Exchange Railway Station plans and related papers 1866–88 and n.d.

Somerset Record Office, Obridge Road, Taunton TA2 7PU

Bridgewater dock plans, late 19th cent.

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, County Hall, Ipswich IP4 2JS

Felixstowe Dock and Railway Co: registers, minutes etc 1875–1974.

Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch, Schoolhall Street, Bury St. Edmunds IP33 1RX

River Stour Navigation: abstracts of title and legal papers c1815–75.

Tyne and Wear, County Archives Department, Blandford House, West Blandford Street, Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 4JA

Thomas Wardroper: diaries of a visit to Russia with a Stephenson locomotive 1836.

Tyne and Wear, County Archives Department, Howard Street, North Shields, NE30 1LY

Backworth Station master's correspondence 1870–80.

South Yorkshire County Record Office, Cultural Activities Centre, Ellin Street, Sheffield S1 4PL

Barnsley Canal letters c1820–50.

Sheffield Canal boat register 1878–1916.

West Yorkshire: Calderdale Central Library, Lister Lane, Halifax HX1 5LA

Calder and Hebble Navigation Co: records 1793–1828.

Local Repositories: Wales

Dyfed Archives, Carmarthenshire Record Office, County Hall, Carmarthen SA31 1JP

British Rail, Carmarthen: copy letters from the Station Master and District Superintendent 1879–86.

Dyfed Archives, Pembrokeshire Record Office, The Castle, Haverfordwest

Whitland and Taf Vale Railway: correspondence, plans, etc, c1870–85.

Scottish and Manx Sections: Nil of railway and canal interest.

An Index of Transport References in Thomas Moore's *History of Devonshire*: A Revision

In Volume XXI (1975) of this *Journal* an index of transport references in Moore's *Devonshire* was published. Unfortunately the compiler, Hugh Compton, did not notice that this history was published in two editions, quarto and octavo. In the quarto edition Volume I has 400 pages and Volume II 630 pages and an index of two pages. In the octavo edition, Volume I has 574 pages, while Volume II has 908 pages with an index and imprint of four pages. The first volume of each edition is printed by Richard Taylor, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, the second by W C Featherstone, Exeter.

The set Mr. Compton used was a mixed set, the first three references being taken from the quarto edition and the remainder from the octavo. To put the record on the right lines, the references from both the editions are here listed.

Volume I	quarto (pages)	octavo (pages)	
Book 1, chapter 3	40—4	56—64	The river navigations of the Exe, Teign, Dart, Erme, Plym, Tamar, Tavy, Torridge and Taw
Book 1, chapter 3	45—52	64—74	The Exeter, Stover, Tamar Manure, Tavistock, Bude, Torrington, Grand Western and Crediton canals
Book 1, chapter 3	52	75—6	Plymouth & Dartmoor Railway; Hay Tor Railway
Volume II			
Book 3, chapter 2	223—5	318—21	Tavistock Canal
Book 4, chapter 1	299	428	Stover Canal
Book 4, chapter 1	340—1	488—9	Plymouth & Dartmoor Railway
Book 4, chapter 2	372	534	Exeter Canal
Book 4, chapter 2	374	536—7	Stover Canal
Book 4, chapter 2	377	540	Tavistock Canal

As the history was issued in parts, with two engravings loose in each issue, it is unusual to find a copy with all the 94 engravings complete and in order of issue as listed by J. V. Somers Cocks in his *Devon topographical prints, 1660—1870: a catalogue and guide* (Exeter: Devon Library Services, 1977) pp. 259—62.

I am grateful to Geoffrey Paley for help in compiling this note.

WALTER E. MINCHINTON

Canal Travel

BY HARRY HANSON

“Passenger travel by canal was not common,” Gerard Turnbull commented in the November edition of the *Journal*. “For the serious long-distance traveller the slow-moving barge was no match for the speedier coach. In relatively few instances were viable passenger services by canal operable . . . [and] . . . canal travel was sufficiently uncommon to have left little record”.¹

In fact the canal boat *was* a match for the stage-coach — in terms of cost. And there is evidence to suggest that passenger services were not only viable but well used by one important group of long-distance travellers — the working class, and none was more serious. Unfortunately they did not leave records.

The fact is that, apart from putting on specials for the military and Poor Law authorities, Dr. Turnbull's own Pickfords ran regular long-distance passenger services (as did other canal carrying companies). This has gone largely unremarked because people were carried in the holds of goods-carrying fly-boats running to fixed schedule. Dr. Turnbull himself hints at this facility when he cites the case of George Ware who in the mid 1830s wrote from Preston to his family in Kent to encourage them to follow him: “and if you come, you may

by Pickford's boat from London to Manchester, save which it is thirty-one miles to Preston". Perhaps the Ware family never did use this mode of transport, but Christina Collins did – in the opposite direction. She was a poor but respectable Liverpool woman whose husband had gone to London in search of work. He found a job as an ostler and she was to follow him there. On 15 June 1839 she boarded Pickford's Manchester – London fly-boat at Preston Brook, but never arrived at her destination. She was murdered *en route* thus bringing her choice of travel to our attention.²

Another unusual occurrence, in 1823, reveals Thomas Shaw, a labourer, his sister and her five children, London-bound in the hold of one of Mr. Essex's fly-boats. Natives of Killashee, Ireland, they too had boarded at Preston Brook, but they did arrive safely in the capital.³ In the same year a bankrupt Kettering shoemaker and his family voyaged by canal boat from Leicester to Runcorn, thence to Liverpool to emigrate.⁴ In January 1831, Thomas Mastermann, a Knottingley potter, was a passenger on the fly-boat *Dispatch* and a witness to the trouble with the master of the sloop *Freedom* as it voyaged up from Goole along the Aire & Calder Navigation.⁵ Robert Bayley, an ex-private in the 91st Regiment of Foot, discharged in London on 14 January 1832, was 'proceeding to secure a passage in a canal boat to Rochdale in Lancashire' when he was robbed of £1.17s. 6d and a tobacco box.⁶

If these few examples of canal travel have come to light because of unusual incidents, how many other passengers must have reached journey's end unknown to posterity? Apparently, also, parish officials sometimes used these canal services to return paupers to their 'parish of rightful settlement.'⁷

Still, a few swallows do not make a summer. How common was this kind of canal travel? It is only fair to state that, for various reasons, removing officers did not generally favour removal by canal and preferred the stage-coach, but they did supply some interesting comparative statistics to the Select Committee on Railways, 1844. Edward Felton, removing officer for Liverpool for twenty-six years, explained that the canal fare to London was 16s (the sum in fact paid by Mrs. Collins) for an adult, 8s for children and 6s per head for provisions. The coach fare was from 21s to 30s per adult plus extras for coachmen, guard and provisions.⁸ Francis Cooper, removing officer for Manchester during the previous fifteen years, produced the following statistics:⁹

1. Manchester to London by . . . boat . . .	£	s	d
Two adults' passage 14s each	1	8	0
Three children passage 7s each	1	1	0
Provisions and other necessities for the passage, five days, 5s each	1	5	0
	3	14	0

Time required for journey, five days and nights

2. By coach, Manchester to London, 186 miles	£	s	d
Two adults passage, 30s each	3	0	0
Three children passage, 15s each	2	5	0
Coachmen and guard		7	0
Food, etc.		10	0
	6	2	0

Time required for journey, 26 hours, or day and night.

These prices no doubt represent the cost to the parish of removing a family of five (except that they do not include the expenses of an accompanying poor law

official).¹⁰ Presumably the sum for provisions reflects a carefully balanced calculation least likely to arouse cries of overspending from the rate payers and criticisms of inhumanity from humanitarians. But surely a labourer's wife, accustomed to feeding a large family on less than her man's weekly wage of perhaps 10s – 14s would be able to sustain them, by taking at least some of their own supplies, for less than £1.5s for five days when they travelled independently?

Whatever the ins and outs of Poor Law finance it is clear that it was much cheaper by canal, and working class people *did* travel by this means under their own steam on a general basis since Rowland Price, clerk of the Seisdon Union, Staffordshire, could comment: "The poor who had to travel at their own expence *frequently* went by canal boat [my italics]." William Pennell, assistant master of Lichfield Union workhouse and previously at Rugeley, confirmed: "There were also the canal boats running near the towns. By the fly-boats, which have relays of horses and travel by night, the journey to London, for instance, would be done in about 40 hours The charge by these boats would be about 7s or 8s to London for each passenger."

There were two forms of canal travel – the official and the surreptitious, the latter being cheaper. By this method "The boat had no regular charge, and passengers were usually taken without the consent of the proprietors. The payment frequently consisted of what they called treating, giving beer and spirits at the various stations".¹¹ Elizabeth Clayton, an Irish woman on her way from Dublin to London in search of her husband, a carpenter, walked to Stone in Staffordshire in 1823. There she paid 4s for the journey to London by boat. She was transferred to Essex's fly-boat at Cowley Lock for the rest of the journey, but soon after she suffered (or alleged that she suffered) a "fate worse than death" at the hands of the crew. That her carriage was illicit is demonstrated by the fact that this crew were liable to a fine of one guinea for not entering her name on the way-bill.¹²

On the Lancaster Canal, boatmen and carriers were strictly forbidden from carrying any passengers at all. This was a restriction of the canal company, fearing competition for its own packet boat, and it imposed a £10 fine per man for any infractions. Nonetheless, Miles Pennington remembered that on John Hargreave's fly-boats "the boatmen generally managed to stow two or three on board".¹³

Of course, one can exaggerate the importance of such passenger services in facilitating the migration of the working class (which was perhaps more mobile over long distances in pre-railway times than is often thought). In fact, most workers walked. "The Irish and other labourers, in seeking work, invariably walk their journeys, if ever so long . . . : in the season you may see hundreds of these industrious men on their journeys, walking barefooted, with their shoes under their arms, to lessen as much as possible the cost of their journey," explained Charles Mott, a North-west commissioner.¹⁴ Some men obtained lodging and maintenance in workhouses *en route*; others made more convivial arrangements. "It is usual with mechanics having trade-tickets and labourers in search of work to walk from place to place," wrote W. H. Parker, assistant commissioner at Epsom. "The former subsist upon the contributions of the workmen at the places mentioned in their tickets, and the latter obtain the means of support by begging and from relief as casual paupers".¹⁵ Women and children walked too, as Thomas Smith, clerk of the Penrith Union, explained. "During the year ending 12 September 1841, as appears from the Vagrant Office books, 978 men, 160 women and 150 children have passed through the town [on foot]; and this number would in all probability be trebled by others of a similar class,

who do not apply for relief at the Vagrant Office.”¹⁶ (Picture some of them trudging over the bleak Shap fells on a wet and windy day!)

For those of the poor “who do not or cannot walk” there were also the stage-waggons to carry them over long distances (as well as the carriers’ carts over short) and this was perhaps the most common way of re-uniting families. “When work people obtain employment at a distance from their usual place of abode, it is customary with them to send for their wives and children, who generally travel by the stage-waggons,” explained Mr. Parker. In the Thirsk region of Yorkshire “the charge by waggon was about 1d per mile; but if a woman had two, three or four children, they were generally charged as one”.¹⁷ (Perhaps the same easy-going methods applied on canal boats too). And there was “cabbaging” in the wagon trade as well as Mr. Parker discovered. “The proprietor of a Reading wagon estimates the number of passengers booked and paid for at the wagon — office at one-third the number of actually carried; and says the wagoner takes up the greatest number of passengers on the road, and receives some trifling remuneration in drink in return”.¹⁸

According to Francis Cooper the cost and time of travel from Manchester to London by wagon and boat were about the same. In at least one instance the boat was faster and cheaper. By wagon from Lichfield it took about a week to London at 10s per passenger; by fly-boat it took forty hours at 7s — 8s¹⁹ and, as Francis Cooper pointed out, “travelling by boat is much easier and more comfortable than by wagon”.²⁰

Although more evidence is needed before we can be too definite, it does look as if the canals played a not unimportant role in enabling the working class, especially working class families, to move around the country. Passenger travel by canal, even excluding the packet boats, was certainly more common than Gerard Turnbull would have us believe.

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2. For further details of the Christina Collins case see Harry Hanson: *Canal People* (1978; Newton Abbot), pp. 47–51.
3. *The Times*, 6, 7 August and 11 September 1823; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 September 1823, (Brought to my attention by Mary Prior.)
4. Letter from unknown emigrant in New York to a Mr. Gotch, Northamptonshire Record Office, GK 951 (1823).
5. *Doncaster Gazette*, 22 July 1831 (in Charles Hadfield’s newspaper files).
6. *The Times*, 17 February 1832.
7. See *SC on Railways*, PP, 1844 (318), xi, pp. 44–63. This document was brought to my attention by Mary Prior.
8. *Ibid.*, p.46.
9. *Ibid.*, 44–5.
10. I was puzzled by the fact that several removing officers reckoned that it was more expensive to remove paupers by canal than by coach. On the basis of these figures this is clearly not true, hence my conclusion above.
11. *Ibid.*, 50.
12. See *Canal People*, pp.43–6, 83.
13. Pennington, Myles, *Railways and Other Ways*, (Toronto; 1896), p.31.
14. *SC on Railways*, 1844, p.45.
- 15 to 20 *Ibid* 61, 56, 58, 61, 50, 46 respectively.

Correspondence

John Airey's Early Railway Maps

Sir, — My typewriter is now more than half my age and has a will of its own. To drive it requires concentration needed elsewhere but it would be disloyal to blame my typewriter for a stupid transcription mistake in my tabulation of Airey's undated maps on p.14 of the *March Journal*. The date ascribed to the (SECOND) edition of the Manchester map is (c.March 1871), not a date earlier than the FIRST edition!

Long winter evenings provided the opportunity for a major re-assessment of the London maps, involving minute comparison of each edition with those on either side. As a result, some shortening of the probable publication date range is possible and I am now convinced that one, if not two, intermediate editions remain to be 'discovered'.

Members may care to have the revised probable publication dates, which were too late to replace those published in the *March Journal*: London FIRST 'B' edition; now (February/March 1870). (SECOND 'A'); now (Late 1872 or January 1873). (SECOND 'B'); now (June/November 1873). The first 'Feature' on this line, in the last column, should read: "From Bedford" and "Sidings" in margin. (THIRD); now (July/November 1875). A probable 'missing' edition could be between FIRST 'B' and (SECOND 'A') and a possible one between (SECOND 'B') and (THIRD). As before, provisional dates and edition numbers are in parenthesis.

DAVID GARNETT

The Highbury branch of London Transport

Sir, — The Highbury branch of the Northern line, London Transport, was originally the Great Northern & City Railway opened in 1904. The line was transferred to British Railways with effect from 6 October 1975. To enable through running to and from Great Northern Section stations to take effect, a considerable amount of reconstruction was necessary. The line was therefore closed and a road coach service substituted. The section Finsbury Park to Drayton Park was permanently closed from 4 October 1964 and the platforms later incorporated in the combined Piccadilly line and Victoria line station.

After a serious accident at Moorgate on the morning of 28 February 1975 the whole line was closed for the rest of that day. A restricted service operated between Drayton Park and Old Street from 1 March 1975, the trains running empty to Moorgate to reverse. After some signalling alterations at Moorgate the full passenger service was restarted on and from 10 March 1975.

As the escalators at Moorgate were in urgent need of reconstruction that station was closed to passengers as from 7 September 1975. The section Drayton Park to Old Street was closed 5 October 1975 and London Transport vehicles immediately and finally left Drayton Park depot. The line was reopened by British Railways with a local service between Drayton Park and Old Street on 16 August 1976, and a through service between Moorgate and Hertford North and Welwyn Garden City on 8 November 1976.

H. V. BORLEY

Recent Literature

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- The Navigation of the River Lee 1190–1790, by J. Burnby & M. Parker (*In* 'Edmonton Hundred Hist. Soc. Journal' 37 Chase Court Gardens, Enfield, Middlesex. 75p plus 12p postage)
- Rogiet: a study in social geography [relates to the railway industry in S. E. Gwent] by R. Gant (*In* 'Gwent Local History' No 45 1978 pp27–32)
- John Mills & Co. (Llandidloes) Ltd., Railway Foundry, by J. Groucott. (*In* 'Industrial Past' Winter 1978. 2pp From 17 Uplands, Skipton, N. Yorks 37p)
- GWR Priestfield Station by M. Hale (*In* 'Blackcountryman' 11 Summer 1978 pp19–22)
- Crumlin Viaduct by J. Lewis (*In* 'Gwent Local History' No 45, 1978 pp7–9)
- The Titford Canal, by K. Lloyd (*In* 'Blackcountryman' 11 Summer 1978 pp6/7)
- Walsall locks, by K. Lloyd (*In* 'Blackcountryman' 11 Summer 1978 pp60–62)
- The Redbrook Tramroad incline in the Wye Valley by H. W. Paar (*In* 'Gloucester Society I.A. Journal' 1977–8 pp30–33. Hon Sec 6 & 7 Montpellier Street, Cheltenham. GL50 1SX)
- William Sandys & the Warwickshire Avon by F. A. Sharman (*In* 'West Midland Studies' Vol 10 Winter 1977 pp2–7)
- The West Somerset Railway by A. Stanistreet. (*In* 'Exmoor Review' 1979 pp54–58 Parish Rooms, Dulverton, Somerset TA22 9DP £1)
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- The Lea Bridge Turnpike and the Wragg Stage Coaches by W. G. Tonkin, (*In* 'Journal of the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society' Vestry House Museum, Vestry Rd., London E17 9NH 1974 35p plus postage)
- Cleveland Ironstone – some new 19th Century evidence [relates to Waddell's Railway] by R. F. Youell. (*In* 'Industrial Past' Spring 1979)



Items of Historical Interest

Mr. W. Harwood, for several years Secretary of the Bristol & Exeter Railway, died on 22nd August (*Railway Times* 30 August 1862). He had retired on grounds of ill-health earlier in the year and was succeeded by Mr. Arthur Moore.

NORTH EASTERN.—This company commenced running its trains from Berwick to Edinburgh on Thursday, 1st instant, — at what cost to itself, and at what profit to the North British, or *vice versa*, a very few weeks will determine. (*Railway Times* 3 July 1869).

SOUTH EASTERN.—The fares have been 'revised' on the line between Charing-cross and Cannon-street, the 'revision' resulting in an addition to the former fares of about 50 per cent. It is understood that though the revised fares have been carried on over some of the busiest city days, the traffic receipts have fallen off already. (*Railway Times* 27 March 1869)

GREAT WESTERN.—The new London goods station, under the new dead meat market at Smithfield, was opened for the despatch and receipt of goods on Monday last. (*Railway Times* 8 May 1869).

NORTH BRITISH.—Two new stations — named respectively Abbeyhill and Junction Road — were opened on 1st inst. The Abbeyhill station has been erected where the railway to Leith and Granton is crossed by the London-road, and will prove a great convenience to the neighbourhoods of Norton-place, Comeley-green and Jock's Lodge. The station at Junction-road will enable parties in that locality to join the trains without the trouble of walking to the North Leith station. (*Railway Times* 8 May 1869).

DEVON VALLEY.—The branch between Tillicoultry and Dollar was opened on Monday for public traffic, and in the meantime five trains each day run between that place and Alloa. (*Railway Times* 8 May 1869).

GWR Superintendents' meeting at Paddington, 6—7 January 1879 'for the purpose of considering what reductions it is possible to make in the Passenger Train Mileage, in view of the existing depression in Trade. *Light Trains*: 6.30 p.m. Paddington-Chester, average number of Passengers below Shrewsbury very small indeed, and connexion from Gobowen to Oswestry averages one Passenger a night. 7.35 a.m. Exeter-Tiverton 14½ Passengers and 9.23 a.m. Tiverton-Exeter 23½ Passengers per day. Culm Valley: 5 trains each way, and all extremely light, averaging 12 passengers per train.'

SOUTH EASTERN.—On Tuesday, preparatory to enlarging their station accommodation for the North Kent and Greenwich traffic at London-bridge, this company commenced demolition of the Railway Arcade that has existed for so many years on the left-hand approach to their station, abutting upon Duke Street; all the occupiers of the shops having been settled with by compensation, and the premises purchased for the new station, the construction of which will be commenced immediately. (*Railway Times* 26 April 1862).

Notice dated June 1875 from T. Mackay, Goods Manager, Great North of Scotland Railway: 'Millegan Siding and Knock Station, Banffshire Section, GN of S Railway. Please note that these stations will be closed for Traffic on and after Thursday 1st July next.' [Knock was reopened later that year].

From half-yearly report of the Directors, L. B. & S. C. Railway 30 June 1862: "The contractor for the Croydon and Balham [line] has not shown the energy which had been anticipated. At last, however, the works reached the state which enabled the usual notice to be given to the Board of Trade, and the opening may be expected without further delay. . . . The enlargement of the Brighton terminus is completed. . . . The bill for the enlargement of the London-bridge station cannot be too highly valued, particularly as the new street leading from thence to the end of Stamford-street, in the Blackfriars-road, is approaching completion; . . . Several accidents have occurred on other [rail] roads, and been attributed to the use of oak trenails in fastening the chairs to the sleepers. I have to report that iron spikes combined with wood ferrules or trenails are used for this purpose on the whole length of railway under my charge". (*Railway Times* 26 July 1862).

GREAT EASTERN.—The Directors have given notice to the Board of Trade for an inspection of the Dunmow, which must be opened prior to the declaration of any dividend at the forthcoming half-yearly meeting. (*Railway Times* 6 February 1869).



Charges for advertisements are as follows: for small advertisements, members 3p per word, non-members and commercial advertisers 6p per word. Minimum charge for any advertisement 50p. For cover advertisement, £15 *full* page, £10 *half* page. Remittance should be sent, with the copy, to Mr. Pat McCarthy, 6 Carisbrooke Close, Wistaston, Crewe CW2 8JD. Deadline for copy: 13 August.

Material for the July *Journal* must be with the Editor by 13 August. All material must be typed, *double-spacing*. A left-hand margin of at least one inch or 26mm. must be allowed. Articles should be complete with any necessary illustrations, tables etc. Maps should be simply drawn as all maps (other than O.S.) are re-drawn in one style.

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