



Journal  
of the  
Railway and Canal  
Historical Society

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*Fortieth Anniversary Issue*

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# THE RAILWAY & CANAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1954 Incorporated 1967

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Nottingham NG7 1EY

HON. TREASURER: Peter R. Davis, 103 North Street, Hornchurch, Essex RM11  
1ST

MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY: R. J. Taylor, 16 Priory Court, Berkhamsted,  
Hertfordshire HP4 2DP

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HON. EDITOR: Prof. H. P. White

BOOK REVIEWS EDITOR: N. T. Pitt, 4 Siskin Road, Pedmore, Stourbridge, West  
Midlands DY9 7HU (*To whom all items for review should be sent.*)

DISTRIBUTION OFFICER: J. R. Searson, 23 Bank Croft, Longton, Preston PR4 5AL  
(*To whom notification of non-delivery or defective copies of the Journal or Bulletin should be sent.*)

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## JOURNAL OF THE RAILWAY & CANAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# Editorial

Our society was founded on 4 September 1954 (p. 295), a date planned to be duly celebrated when the time comes. But it seemed appropriate also to mark the fortieth anniversary with a special issue of the *Journal*. For your editor this has a special significance as he provided A Message from The President for the twenty fifth anniversary issue and is now providing the editorial for the fortieth, a rare privilege that is much appreciated by him, that he has been honoured to serve our society in these ways.

Twenty five to forty is only fifteen years, but a lot has happened to the society and to the *Journal* in those years. To mark this we are featuring examples of the work of the various special interest groups, the founding of which has been a major development in the life of the society—a welcome development, as no one transport mode comes into existence in isolation and reacts upon the others. But what we could have more of is intermodal studies. One of the few multi-modal contributions to the *Journal*, if not the only one, was Ray Cook's excellent *Coventry: a Survey of a Transport Centre* (vol. 30, March 1990). Since a port can be defined as 'the interface between land and sea transport modes for the interchange of cargo and passengers', there is certainly scope there.

But in the last fifteen years the *Journal* has provided an outlet for scholarly articles that are real contributions to knowledge, so that the file of the *Journal* provides an excellent source of information and for research, and, since many are well written, a source also of good reading. It is to be hoped that this will continue to grow in the coming years.

This is not meant as a general review of the society's activities, but one of the major advances in the scholarly and literary work of the society has been that of the Publications Committee. Reference to the back cover of each issue of the *Journal* will indicate the growing list of titles of uniform high quality. Mention should also be made of our sister periodical, the *Bulletin*, which under the inspired editorship of Tony Jarvis provides such an excellent vehicle of contemporary information.

## NOTE

Almost all the material for this special issue, including the above editorial, had been prepared by Pat White before his sudden death. It therefore represents his personal final contribution to the society he supported and served with such enthusiasm for 38 years. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

# Professor H. P. (Pat) White

Professor White, who died on 24 February 1994 at the age of 74, had been a member of the society since October 1955 (while he was still in West Africa) and had served as Treasurer of the North West Group (1964–82), President (1978–80), Secretary of Publications Committee (1983–90), *Journal* Editor (1990–4), and Member of Council, Managing Committee and Publications Committee.

Henry Patrick White was born in Scotland (Fort William) of a Kentish mother and an Irish father, who died when Pat was very young. Mother returned to her home county, so Pat's boyhood was spent in Sidcup. He started his adult life by working on the Southern Railway, first as a booking clerk, then in the traffic manager's office. He was of a prime age for service in the Second World War; and, in the Royal Artillery, was captured at the fall of Singapore, to be in Japanese hands for four years. He seldom spoke of this experience and, when he did, it was briefly to say that he was not amongst those who received the worst treatment.

After the war he went to Queen Mary College, University of London to study geography and emerged with the top first of his year. He was on course for an academic career of increasing distinction, at first at Edinburgh University, then in West Africa, an area in which he developed an abiding interest.

In 1962 he returned to take up a lecturing post in Liberal Studies at what was then Salford College of Advanced Technology. Later in the 'sixties it became Salford University and Pat White was to introduce Geography to its curriculum and later became the first professor in the subject.

1964 saw him introduced to service in our society. Bertram Baxter was the established North West Group chairman, I its very raw secretary, and we needed a treasurer. Mr Baxter said that he knew someone he thought would do the job; it was Pat White. He remained in the post for eighteen years through an increasingly demanding and influential academic career and a number of positions in the society, including President. He handled the accounts with aplomb and a refreshing lack of formality which concealed a firm command of the books.

Pat was an inspiration both as a lecturer and as an author; the styles were similar, so that I do not so much read his books as hear his voice speaking. He emphasised the commercial and social aspects of railways. (I often repeat his phrase that most places looked for a railway; the only railway that looked for a place was what became the Romney, Hythe & Dymchurch.) Not many authors would consider, as Pat did (I submit rightly), that the number of First Division football teams in an area was important to its economy. His mastery of transport economics and his presentation of it was a marvel to experience. As a teacher in various schools, I invited Pat to speak to students on a number of occasions; he was superb.

We in the North West Group saw less of him when he retired to Huntingdon (his explanation for that was that all his family were connected by the Great Northern Main Line). He much enjoyed this period, doing (as perhaps all retirees hope) those things which he liked from his working life and leaving behind those which he did not. He edited *Railways South East* as well as our own *Journal*, wrote articles, and gave lectures (including an annual one to the students at Salford).

For what shall we best remember him? His lightly worn deep scholarship, exemplified in his many books (read chapter one of his *Greater London* in the D&C Regional History series to experience this). His clear, humorous exposition of transport economics in his lectures ('good to be paid for hearing the sound of your own voice' he said of his professional work). His skilful guidance of a discussion which he was leading (even one so marginal as the North West Group's finances). His warm friendship when one met him

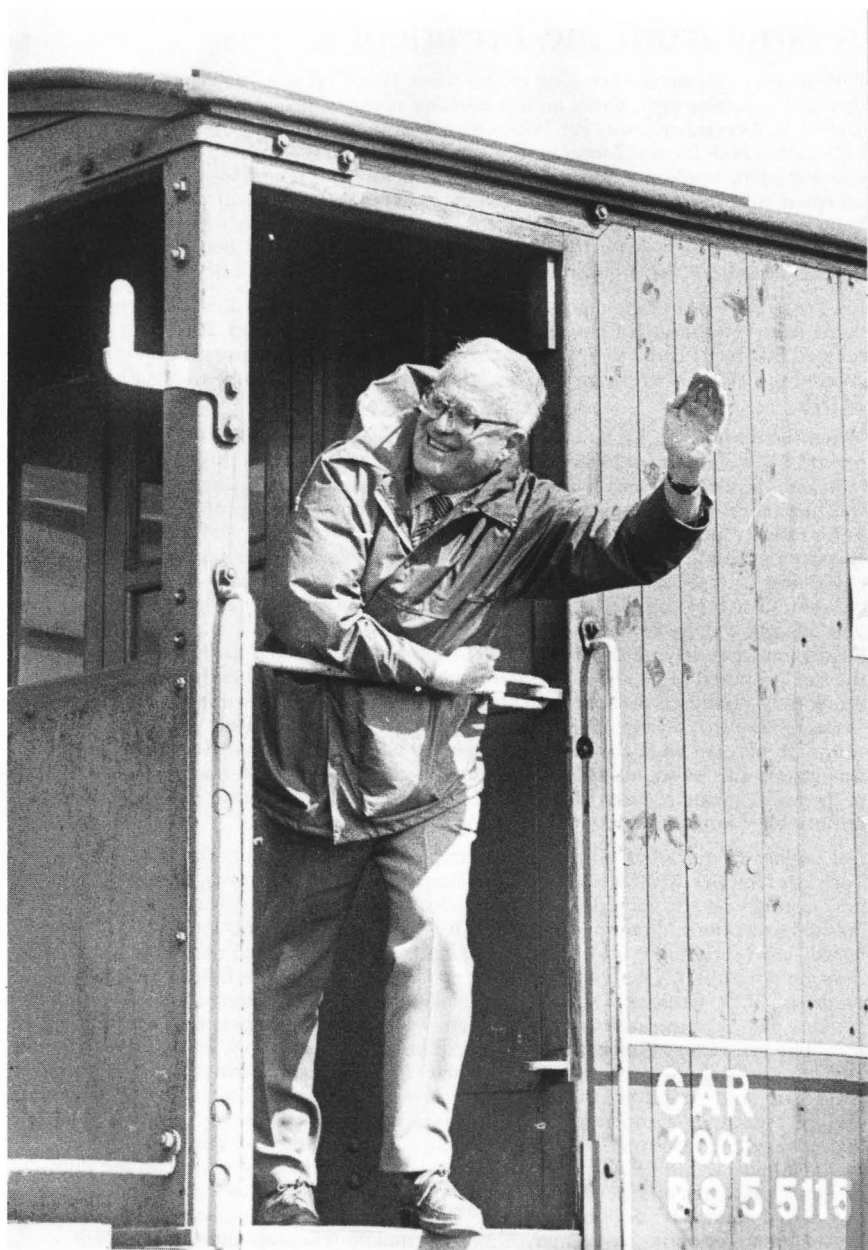
by design or by chance. My favourite characteristic amongst his many admirable ones was that he knew when to stop for a time. Ten minutes of conversation could contain no reference to transport. On one occasion there was some desire in a group, on a tour, to have no lunch break. 'Let's have a pint' Pat whispered to me; we did and ate lunch the while.

Pat married Jean in the late 'forties. She, a teacher herself, provided that support which must have enormously helped his successful happy life. They were devoted to each other and to their children; hence the importance of the GN Main Line. After the war Pat had a growing Christian conviction and in the early 'sixties registered as a lay reader. I regret that I never heard him preach, for I promised myself that I would. I am told that humour was not absent from his pulpit.

Pat once remarked, as part of a lecture even more humorous than usual, that Jean said that his besetting sin was levity. Perhaps it was. Surely the God in whom he so devoutly believed will forgive him that. IAN MOSS

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*Professor Pat White, taken at Whitemoor Marshalling Yard,  
R&CHS AGM Weekend, 10 May 1986. [Photo: Allan Mott]*

## A Note from the President

Fifteen years ago, on the occasion of our Silver Jubilee, it was Pat White who, as President in the Jubilee year, wrote an introductory note for the celebratory issue of the *Journal*. In December it was Pat White, as editor of the *Journal*, who invited me to provide such a note for the *Journal* marking the start of the Ruby Jubilee year—since the new President would not have taken up office before the *Journal* went to press. I accepted, and I thought in terms of taking a brief look at transport history ‘then’ and ‘now’ to try to shew that the Railway & Canal Historical Society was as necessary and relevant in 1994 as it was in 1954. Then I heard that Pat White had died. His obituary appears elsewhere, but I nevertheless feel it is Pat I must write of here.

Pat White held two of the offices in our society—President, and Editor of the *Journal*—that I have held, though I have followed the reverse order to him. It was Pat who stepped in when I came to give up the role of editor and who ensured that the *Journal* entered the 1990s in fine shape, as a respected publication fit to be the flagship of the RCHS.

When Pat wrote his introduction to the 1979 Silver Jubilee *Journal*, he looked back to pay tribute to those who founded our society in 1954, setting as their aims the promotion of historical research and the raising of the standards of published history. He was himself one of those people. A geographer by training and profession, Pat brought to his railway interests the skills and interests of the geographer, and this gave him a perspective in dealing with railways (which have inevitably to do with landscapes and environments and industries and communities—all areas of interest of the geographer) different from and complementary to that of the historian, professional or amateur. He also brought a sharp critical judgement of standards and an ability to express himself lucidly and concisely on the page. In all of this Pat represented the best railway history, the sort proposed in 1956 by our member Michael Robbins, when he read a paper to the Society published the following year in the *Journal*, and subsequently reprinted in the *Journal of Transport History*, under the title of ‘What Kind of Railway History do we want?’ In his own work Pat set an example for all of us to follow. He shewed that railway history can be soundly based on research into sources, wide-ranging in its treatment of the topic, taking account of all the relevant background material, totally academically respectable—and readable!

It is important to re-state all this. In an article in January based on an address he gave in York last October Neil Cossons, the Director of the Science Museum, stated: ‘There is now virtually no scholarly research or publication, with one or two notable and distinguished exceptions.’ Later in the article Dr Cossons gives it as his view that railway history is ‘in serious if not terminal decline’. Commenting on the use of the York collections he notes that: ‘There is a lot of fact collecting but precious little analysis or synthesis.’ If Dr Cossons is right, then the need for a society devoted to high standards in genuine historical research and publication in the field of transport is as great as it ever was. The need for enthusiasts to discipline their enthusiasm, work around their interests and not just in the very narrow field that may be their real affection, distil their work, write it up, and publish it for the world to use and to criticise is as great as it ever was, and the message spelt out by Michael Robbins nearly forty years ago remains compelling. Over those forty years Pat White produced distinguished, comprehensive, and readable railway history and through his work in our society, especially on the Publications Committee and as editor of the *Journal*, encouraged others to do the same. We owe him a great debt, and as we enter upon the decade leading up to our Golden Jubilee the greatest honour we can pay him is to emulate him and help to prove Neil Cossons wrong.

JOHN GOUGH

# The Founding of the Society

BY JOHN SEARSON

The Society was founded in 1954. The winter had been of intense cold which covered most of Europe. The Americans exploded their hydrogen bomb on Bikini Atoll, and Roger Bannister had run a mile in under four minutes. The heroes of Dien Bien Phu had been welcomed back in Paris after their disastrous campaign in Indo-China. All food rationing ended in Britain and the Sheffield-Manchester electrified railway via Woodhead was opened. The Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, celebrated his eightieth birthday.

The hard winter was succeeded by a brilliant summer, which went on, and on. 31 August recorded the highest temperatures everywhere for over a year, and holiday makers were at Blackpool in their tens of thousands. Our founding day four days later in Preston, the administrative and business centre of Lancashire, was bright with blue sky and white clouds scudding in from the west. Morecambe Illuminations were in full swing, but Blackpool's were to be severely damaged in the following week by gales, torrential rain and lashing seas, before Gilbert Harding performed the switch-on at the weekend.

The summer was almost over, but not before our founders had performed such useful work in bringing the society into existence. The idea originated in a letter from K. P. Seaward published in the July 1954 issue of the *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.

Several people who had known one another for some time got in touch with him and each other, and this led to a founding meeting being called at the Grandmere Hotel, Fishergate Hill, Preston on Saturday 4 September 1954, starting at 7.15pm. Meanwhile Charles Clinker had spent a weekend with Charles Hadfield and his wife at their house in South Cerney at which he mentioned the proposal, to which Mr Hadfield said, 'Why not make it a Railway and Canal History Society?—canals as a subject are not big enough for a society of their own, but they go naturally with railways.' Mr Clinker took to the idea at once and said that he would take the suggestion back to the others.

Ken Seaward remembers that he met Messrs Clinker and Greville in the station refreshment room for a drink and a chat before moving on to the hotel. 'It was a high ceilinged piece of LNW Victorian opulence, and we sat as a serious group of people at a centre table surrounded by noisy drinking and jollity from other patrons.' Small wonder. The place was alive with holidaymakers and evening excursionists en route for Blackpool, where, from Preston, the excursion fare was only 2s 4d (11p).

The Grandmere Private Hotel, 150 yds from the station, now a student residence for the University of Central Lancashire, is a converted Victorian residence, probably occupied, when new, about 1880, by a sea captain or someone associated with the nearby Ribble shipping. Fishergate Hill, now a street of boarding houses, flats and apartments, small private hotels, shops, business premises and a few private residences, is much the same now as it was in 1954.

Inside the hotel, one is immediately impressed by the solid wood panelled staircase and highly polished banister rails. The original dining room to the right is now a sitting room, but to the left, the house next door, one time Mrs Molyneux's apartments, is

conjoined to double the accommodation. Our meeting, however, took place in a back room on the first floor, to the occasional music of a *Super-D* blasting out of the tunnel under Fishergate Hill with wagons from Preston Dock, up the 1 in 33 gradient, for despite the Saturday holiday passengers on the station above, the Docks branch was still busy at weekends with goods traffic.

The six who attended the meeting were B. Baxter, G. J. Biddle, C. R. Clinker, R. A. Cook, M. D. Greville, and K. P. Seaward. Charles Hadfield and G. O. Holt sent their apologies and signified their wish to be associated with whatever might be decided. Mr Greville, as 'elder statesman', took the chair. These eight people unanimously agreed to form the Railway & Canal Historical Society, with themselves as founder members, and to act as a provisional Council. Mr Clinker reported that 33 people had been approached and had expressed support; he thought that up to 80 might be interested in joining.

Mr Greville declined the presidency, although he characteristically offered to act as 'guide, philosopher and friend'. Mr Clinker thereupon agreed to be president. Mr Biddle became secretary and Mr Holt, in his absence, was appointed treasurer. The annual subscription was set at one guinea (105p). The draft constitution and rules, prepared by Mr Greville, took up most of the meeting and were finally proposed for adoption by Mr Seaward and seconded by Mr Cook. The appointment of the Journal editor was held over until the first Council meeting, which was held on 13 November at Mr Clinker's home at 9 Regent Place, Rugby, because Mr Hadfield had said that he was unable to serve in that post, and Mr Seaward declined.

And so the society was born just as it was getting dark, and as a coal train slid down the bank, with hand brakes chattering, for shipment to Newry. *Les Six* returned to the station to catch late trains in all directions, being well pleased with their work, which after forty years has achieved more than they could possibly have dreamed, on that auspicious day.

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## The Society, 1979–94

BY GRAHAME BOYES

As an historical society we must not overlook the documentation of our own history. The Society's Fortieth Anniversary is an appropriate opportunity to pick up the story where Ray Cook left it fifteen years ago ('The Society: the First Twenty-Five Years', vol. 25, 1979, pp. 43–50).

## *Journal*

The *Journal* continues to be the common focus for all members, including those who, by inclination or circumstances, do not often participate in the society's other activities. The membership survey carried out in 1987 again confirmed that it is the one service that all members rank as at least 'moderately valuable'.

Jeffrey Spence retired as editor in 1981 after 26 years in the post. He was succeeded by John Gough for the next nine years and then, from 1990, by Pat White. Although the new ideas that each of them brought can be traced through the contents (e.g. more contributions on twentieth century history) the format of the *Journal* is still essentially the same as that established with the July 1975 issue, reflecting our continuing happy relationship with Hobbs the Printers, who more recently have also printed several of our books. The pattern of three issues per year continues, although there were additional special issues in 1979 and 1993, funded by bequests from Maurice Greville (member no. 1) and Jeffrey Spence. However, the number of pages has increased significantly from, typically, 104 to 184 per year to accommodate the increased output from members, specially-commissioned papers from distinguished authors, and new features. Since 1981 each volume has comprised three years' issues, with a self-contained index in the final issue; previously the volumes were annual, with separate cumulative indexes.

After being published in separate supplements for several years, book reviews were brought back into the *Journal* from 1982. Although not specifically covered in the 1987 survey, several members volunteered their appreciation of this service, perhaps reflecting the editorial policy that reviews are confined to a succinct factual description of the book's contents and an opinion of its accuracy and value, and are not used as a vehicle for the reviewer's reminiscences or a demonstration of his superior knowledge.

Another feature that lapsed for a number of years and was then re-instituted is the annual calendar of railway Acts of Parliament one hundred years ago, prepared since 1984 by Dr A. L. Barnett. We should also pay tribute to another regular contributor, Richard Dean, who has prepared most of the specially-drawn maps published in the *Journal* since 1972.

The selective listings of 'Recent Literature', which had been a feature since volume 1, were discontinued in 1982 and replaced from 1985 by a near-comprehensive annual 'Bibliography of the History of Inland Waterways, Railways and Road Transport in the British Isles'. Such a bibliography, which comprises about 1,000 entries per year, is only possible with the aid of a computer, allowing contributions from a regular group of members to be aggregated, sorted, and prepared for direct input to the typesetting machine.

## *Bulletin*

In 1983 Tony Jervis took over as *Bulletin* editor from Rhodes Thomas who had done the job for nine years, latterly undertaking not only the typing, but also the duplicating and distribution. This was an unreasonably arduous combination of duties, in spite of the *Bulletin* being reduced from 12 to 11, 9 and then, from 1980, 6 issues per year. The job was therefore divided, with a separate distribution officer and use of a commercial printer.

Tony immediately changed the *Bulletin*, not only into its present A5 format but, more radically, in its style. His very personal sense of humour that he introduced to the *Bulletin* is a perfect counterpoint to the rather formal style of the *Journal*. He sees his role as to publish 'all those bits of important information members need to know which, if published in the *Journal* and read by non-members, might jeopardise the standing of that august record by suggesting that the scholastic names that headed its pages were quite

ordinary, albeit super-intelligent, mortals when they blew the archival dust off their fingers'. Over the past ten years the number of pages has doubled from, typically, 6 to 12 pages per issue, with a wider range of news and useful information to supplement the notices of membership changes, Society events, etc.

### *Events*

The AGM weekend has continued to be the main Society event of the year, normally on the second weekend in May. Over the years the traditional format of a Saturday morning AGM followed by coach tours in the afternoon and on Sunday has been expanded and enhanced. A Friday 'fringe' tour became a regular event after it was tried at Gloucester in 1988. At Shrewsbury in 1992 the 'fringe' events extended over both Thursday and Friday and this now seems to be the established pattern. Generally the local groups take it in turn to organise and host the weekend, but in recent years we have also ventured to places remote from the main areas of local group activity. In 1987 the weekend was based on Edinburgh, organised jointly with the Association of British Transport Museums.

At the weekend of the 25th AGM in 1979 a formal dinner was held at the Midland Hotel, Derby, then the oldest railway-owned hotel, with Professor Jack Simmons, Sir Frank Price (Chairman, BWB), and Bernard Kaukas (Director, Environment, BRB) as guests. In recent years it has become the practice to encourage members to stay together in one hotel, where an informal dinner is held on the Saturday evening, with lectures on other evenings, thereby making it a more sociable event. The increased attendance indicates that these changes to the formula have been welcomed by members.

In 1980 Arthur Barnett organised a memorable second weekend event, based on Glasgow, but the travelling distance and cost discouraged many, and it was poorly supported. In contrast there was encouraging support ten years later for the society's first overseas weekend visit to Paris, organised by our local member M Guilcher—perhaps a sign of increased prosperity. There have since been successful visits to Dublin in 1992 and the Isle of Man in 1993.

The other regular event in the society's calendar has been the annual public lecture by an eminent speaker, re-instituted in 1980 and alternating between a London and a provincial venue. From 1983 it became the Clinker Memorial Lecture, in honour of our first President. Often it has been supported by other lectures or a visit to make it a whole-day event. However, weekend events have proved more popular. A Writers' Forum weekend, held at the recently restored Midland Hotel, Morecambe in November 1991, was an outstanding success. This perhaps points to the pattern for the future.

### *Local Groups*

Although they have always been known as 'Local Groups', they are more accurately described as Regional Groups. The first such group to be established was at Birmingham in 1955. It was reconstituted as the **West Midlands Group** on 14 October 1960 and made its first excursion (to Coalbrookdale) in July of the following year, beginning a series of explorations into the Welsh Marches which is still being carried on. The group owes much to Michael Reading, chairman for most of its existence. The pattern of activities has continued unbroken for the benefit of a faithful dozen or so; in more recent years an attempt has been made in both meetings and outings to encourage examination of the often-vanishing transport heritage of the Birmingham and Black Country area. The group enjoys good relationships and occasional joint activities with local canal groups.

The **East Midlands Group** had its origin in the railway study group led by Charles Clinker in Derby during the 1950s and held its first indoor meeting in July 1956. The

first outdoor visit (to the Charnwood Forest Canal) was in June 1961. John Sheldon, who became chairman in the following year, held office for 23 years. Since 1965 eight evening lectures have been given every year, and since 1975 the annual number of outdoor visits has normally been seven. To achieve this level of service to members, the Group Committee has so far met 240 times. Attendance at group meetings has ranged between 10 and 65, averaging about 25. In October 1986 the group gave a celebration lunch in honour of Jeffery Spence, who spoke on the same subject (Closed Stations) at his inaugural lecture thirty years before. The group has hosted the society's AGM five times and the East Midlands Industrial Archaeological Conference eight times.

The **London Group** was not formed until 1957, although meetings had been held in London during the two preceding years. Like that of other groups, its annual programme comprises a series of winter lectures and summer visits, but uniquely the latter are almost entirely by public transport and on foot. There has been a healthy growth in support for these activities in recent years. Again as in other groups, some of its officers and committee have given very long service, e.g. Ronald Thomas as secretary, 1967–84, and John Norris as chairman, 1967–88. In recent years occasional meetings have been held at 'out-of-town' locations, such as Woking and Croydon, in order to attract new members.

When the **North Western Group** was formed in 1958, many members worked on Saturday mornings and few had cars. There was a seemingly endless procession of railway closures and increasing decay on canals. Times change: visits can now be made to new railways and thriving canals. Initially the group was based in Stockport, but since 1965 most meetings have been in Manchester. There is never a shortage of fresh topics to discuss or sites to visit, including other forms of transport such as trams and packhorse trails. In January 1992 members of the group made a presentation to Ian Moss on his retirement from the chairmanship of the group after 25 years in post.

The **North Eastern Group** was formed in 1959, but its start was shaky due to the sudden and unexpected resignation of two secretaries. Early meetings were held in Wakefield, Huddersfield and Sheffield. However, after Maurice Barbey was persuaded to become secretary—he was later chairman for many years alongside Stanley Tyson as secretary—York became the main centre. Since then the group has become one of the more active ones. It has a set programme of five winter meetings, a May railway walk, a June railway coach tour (the North East has been covered from South Yorkshire to beyond the Scottish border), an August canal walk, and a cruise in September. It collaborates closely with the North Eastern Railway Association and the May and June events are arranged jointly. The group's first canal outing—a land cruise of the River Hull and its feeders on 20 September 1969—is being repeated this year almost exactly 25 years later.

The **South West & South Wales Group** was originally formed in 1962 but, in church terminology, has 'ceased to meet' for long periods. It was resurrected in 1992 but, with a membership spread over vast distances, the present policy is to arrange only visits, which also attract support from members of adjoining groups, rather than indoor meetings. With continuing support it is hoped that this revival of the group will be more permanent.

### *Specialist Groups*

Ray Cook's article mentioned the formation of a Road Transport Group in 1978, following the decision to broaden the scope of the society's activities to cover transport modes associated—either in competition or in co-operation—with railways and canals. 1979 saw the formation of a Docks & Coastal Shipping Group and a Tramroad Group. The first two operated through a system of circulating portfolios of papers and

information. The arrangement did not work well; the circulation was very protracted and the portfolios tended to go missing. Both these groups faded away after a few years.

The **Tramroad Group**, however, adopted a system of occasional papers, distributed 2–3 times a year to every member of the group. This proved to be a successful formula and the subsequent history of the group was recorded by its co-ordinator, Paul Reynolds, in the March 1991 issue of the *Journal*. There is little more to add, except that the group now has 67 members and has issued 84 Occasional Papers.

The **Road Transport Group** took on a new life at the beginning of 1992 and its future looks assured. Three times a year it distributes a Newsletter to its members—now numbering 43—together with a number of occasional papers on a wide range of topics associated with the history of roads and all forms of road transport. The occasional papers, all so far written by members of the group (though this need not be the case), have totalled 35 in eight distributions, with many more to come.

At this point mention should be made of the **Roads & Road Transport History Conference**, a standing conference of societies and museums associated with road transport. The R&CHS took a leading role in its formation and is one of the ten founder members. It was formed in 1992 to ‘promote, encourage and co-ordinate the study of the history of roads, road passenger transport and the carriage of goods’, following a successful National Road Transport History seminar at Coventry, organised by the R&CHS for the provisional committee in October 1991. Its twice-yearly Newsletter is distributed to members of the R&CHS Road Transport Group.

The **Docks & Shipping Group** (the word ‘Coastal’ has been dropped) was also re-formed in 1992. Some thirty members have now registered with the group, and it is making modest progress with twelve occasional papers having been issued up to January 1994.

The **Air Transport Group** is experimenting with a different approach from the other specialist groups. It ‘took off’ on 27 April 1991 with a visit and lecture at the Newark Air Museum, and organised three more visits before issuing its first newsletter at the beginning of this year. This was accompanied by its first occasional papers, or ‘historiettes’ as they have been dubbed.

Compilation of reliable chronological data has been an interest of many members from the earliest days. A **Railway Chronology Group** was formed in 1992 to facilitate co-operation and circulation of information between those who have a special interest in producing databases of Acts, line and station opening and closing dates, etc. This is another area where the wider availability of computers can bring considerable benefits.

#### *Other Activities*

The society’s publishing activity has increased considerably during the period under review. Although the Publications Committee is still striving to increase the average of only one new publication per year, since 1980 the majority of our titles have been full length books. With professional assistance, the standard of design and production has also been considerably improved, the last three books having full-colour covers.

Harry Paar retired in 1990 after 26 years as Research Officer, a record for long service to the society in the same post. The Research Index has more than doubled in size over the past fifteen years and continues to grow. It is an invaluable—although underutilised—reference source for primary research material for canal and railway historians. To guard against the possibility of its loss, a legacy from Mr D. L. Bowler was used to produce a microfiche copy of the index as it stood in 1991. A number of public libraries have purchased copies.

The society's administrative structure is little changed from that of fifteen years ago, except that what was then described as the Publications Sub-Committee (of the Managing Committee) became a committee (of Council) in its own right. Both committees generally meet three times a year, with one of the Managing Committee meetings now combined with the main annual meeting of Council.

Much of the Managing Committee's time is taken up with the internal business of the society—aiming particularly to provide good value for members' subscriptions through improving services and close control of expenses. If the subscription rate had risen with the Retail Price Index since 1954, it would now be one-third higher. The saving has been achieved through the economies of scale from an increased membership; promotion of the society, to maintain or increase membership, is therefore discussed regularly.

There are also external matters to be considered by Council and the Managing Committee. A recurring subject of discussion is that of ensuring the preservation of historical transport records and their accessibility to researchers. (The society is represented on the BR Board's Historical Records Advisory Committee.) The 1993 AGM supported a policy decision that the society should be prepared to undertake the role of an informed witness in appropriate cases where historic structures are under threat. Whilst on the subject of external relationships, mention should be made of the society's formal links with the Railway Correspondence & Travel Society, established in 1981 when Dr Arthur Barnett was president of both societies, and with l'Association pour l'Histoire des Chemins de Fer en France (AHICF), who gave a generous, welcoming reception on the occasion of the society's visit to Paris.

Use of computers to produce the annual bibliography and by the Railway Chronology Group has already been mentioned. Computers are now so indispensable—for producing the Bulletin, maintaining the register of members' interests, and printing the labels for the bi-monthly postings, as well as for word-processing of minutes and correspondence—that we tend to forget that the home computer with an adequate memory became a realistic proposition for most people less than ten years ago.

### *Conclusion*

Ray Cook's 1979 article concluded with an assessment which might be summarised as: 'has achieved much in the first twenty-five years, but should aim higher in the future'. It can justifiably be claimed that we have indeed moved onwards and upwards since then. In 1979 the membership was about 500; in 1988 it passed 650 and has remained above this level. But this is just one indicator. As this account has shown, the society has grown in many directions. This strength comes from the fact that it is not run by a faithful few. In one way or another, there are at least seventy members regularly involved as society and group officers and committee members, or in a supporting role, such contributors to the annual bibliography. To this should be added those who write papers and book reviews for the *Journal* and the specialist groups. We are most fortunate that, whenever we need to call for a volunteer to take over from someone retiring or to fill a new job, we can be confident that a member will come forward. With this level of support, we must surely be able to look forward to greater achievements to come.

## PRINCIPAL SOCIETY OFFICERS 1979-94

### *Presidents*

|         |                   |         |                    |
|---------|-------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 1978-80 | Prof. H. P. White | 1986-88 | Prof. T. C. Barker |
| 1980-82 | Dr A. L. Barnett  | 1988-90 | A. A. Jackson      |
| 1982-84 | H. W. Paar        | 1990-92 | R. S. Christiansen |
| 1984-86 | R. H. G. Thomas   | 1992-94 | J. V. Gough        |

### *Vice-Presidents*

|         |                    |         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 1976-   | E. C. R. Hadfield  | 1986-92 | R. A. Cook         |
| 1977-83 | C. E. Lee          | 1986-   | Dr A. L. Barnett   |
| 1978-   | Prof. T. C. Barker | 1986-94 | D. H. Tew          |
| 1978-84 | G. O. Holt         | 1990-   | M. P. N. Reading   |
| 1981-90 | P. G. Rattenbury   | 1991-   | J. V. Gough        |
| 1981-92 | J. G. Spence       | 1992-   | R. S. Christiansen |
| 1982-89 | H. V. Borley       | 1993-   | G. J. Biddle       |

### *Chairman of Managing Committee*

|       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| 1977- | G. A. Boyes |
|-------|-------------|

### *Chairmen of Publications Committee*

|         |            |         |                 |
|---------|------------|---------|-----------------|
| 1978-82 | H. W. Paar | 1982-94 | M. J. Messenger |
|---------|------------|---------|-----------------|

### *Hon. Secretaries*

|         |                   |       |                  |
|---------|-------------------|-------|------------------|
| 1979-83 | Dr M. P. Bertinat | 1989- | G. H. R. Gwatkin |
| 1983-89 | R. E. Kilsby      |       |                  |

### *Hon. Treasurer*

|       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| 1978- | P. R. Davis |
|-------|-------------|

## PRINCIPAL SOCIETY EVENTS

| <i>Year</i> | <i>AGM Weekend</i> | <i>Clinker Memorial Lecturer†</i> | <i>Other</i>              |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1979        | Derby              |                                   |                           |
| 1980        | Manchester         | Charles Hadfield                  | Glasgow weekend visit     |
| 1981        | Cardiff            | Prof. Owen Ashmore                |                           |
| 1982        | Leeds              | Prof. Theo Barker                 |                           |
| 1983        | London             | Prof. Pat White *                 |                           |
| 1984        | Birmingham         | Bernard Kaukas                    |                           |
| 1985        | Liverpool          | Charles Hadfield                  |                           |
| 1986        | Huntingdon         | Michael Bonavia *                 |                           |
| 1987        | Edinburgh          | Dr Terry Gourvish                 |                           |
| 1988        | Gloucester         | Alan Faulkner                     |                           |
| 1989        | Nottingham         | Dr Cyril Boucher                  |                           |
| 1990        | Sheffield          | Dr Geoffrey Channon *             | Paris weekend visit       |
| 1991        | Oxford             | Stephen Bragg *                   | Morecambe weekend seminar |
| 1992        | Shrewsbury         | Gordon Biddle *                   | Dublin weekend visit      |
| 1993        | Southampton        | Chris Green *                     | Isle of Man weekend visit |
| 1994        | York               |                                   |                           |

† The annual public lecture was re-instituted in 1980, but not titled the Clinker Memorial Lecture until 1983

\* A version of the lecture was subsequently published in the *Journal*

## PUBLICATIONS

- 1980 Gordon Rattenbury, *Tramroads of the Brecknock & Abergavenny Canal*
- 1981 B. S. Cooper, *Cumulative Index to R&CHS Journal*, no. 3  
M. D. Greville, *Chronology of the Railways of Lancashire and Cheshire* (revised edn)
- 1982 H. V. Borley, *Chronology of London Railways*
- 1984 R. A. Cook and C. R. Clinker, *Early Railways between Abergavenny and Hereford*  
John Gough, *The Northampton & Harborough line*  
M. G. Miller and S. Fletcher, *The Melton Mowbray Navigation*
- 1985 Alan Faulkner, *The Warwick Canals*  
John Norris, *The Bristol & South Wales Union Railway*
- 1987 John Norris, *The Stratford & Moreton Tramway*
- 1989 P. S. Stevenson (ed), *The Midland Counties Railway*  
John Gough, *The Midland Railway: a Chronology*
- 1991 Hugh J. Compton and Antony Carr-Gomm, *The Military on English Waterways 1798-1844*  
R. A. Cook and K. Hoole, *North Eastern Railway Historical Maps* (2nd edn)
- 1992 A. L. Barnett, *The Light Railway King of the North*
- 1993 Alan A. Jackson (ed), *The Memories and Writings of a London Railwayman: a tribute to Harold Vernon Borley (1895-1989)*

## TRAMROAD GROUP OCCASIONAL PAPERS

The following list supplements that in Journal no. 147 (March 1991) pp. 205-6.

- 62 T. G. Cumming, *Illustrations of the origin and progress of rail and tram roads*—Paul Reynolds (4 pp), 1990.
- 63 The tramroads of Poynton Collieries, Cheshire—Grahame Boyes (1 p), 1990.
- 64 Rutways in the Mediterranean: a preliminary inventory—John van Laun (4 pp), 1990.
- 65 Tramroad studies: an extension of interests—John van Laun (1 p), 1990.
- 65a Mono-rails and other unusual railways—R. W. Kidner (1 p), 1991.
- 65b Not too early wooden railways in Australia and Canada—Harry Paar (2 pp), 1991.
- 66 Chirk Castle and the tramroads—R. W. Kidner (3 pp), 1990.
- 67 The Purton Hill Steam Carriage Road: a new book—Harry Paar (2 pp), 1990.
- 68 Curves and brakes—Harry Paar (3 pp), 1991.
- 69 The Pest-Kőbánya Railway, 1827—Grahame Boyes (1 pp), 1991.
- 70 Further information on underground plateways at Godstone, Surrey—Paul W. Sowan (3 pp), 1991.
- 71 How were horse-drawn wagons braked on a tramroad?—M. F. Keef and H. W. Paar (2 pp), 1991.
- 71a Horse drawn waggon brakes: how? Evidence from the Peak Forest Tramway—Brian Lamb (2 pp), 1991.
- 72 Dram roads—Kenneth Brown (2 pp), 1991.
- 73 Canal tramroads at Tardebigge—Paul Reynolds, Ian Hayes and Harry Paar (5 pp), 1992.
- 74 Miscellanea (2 pp), 1992.
- 75 The Peak Forest Tramroad on a cigarette card—Brian Lamb (1 p), 1992.
- 76 A fresh look at the canal and tramways in the region of Tremadog—P. M. Hughes (4 pp), 1992.
- 77 William Chapman's plateway locomotives—R. W. Kidner (1 p), 1992.
- 78 Miscellanea (1 p), 1992.
- 79 The Baxter Collection—Matthew Searle (2 pp), 1992.
- 80 Some recent publications—Harry Paar (1 p), 1993.

- 81 Miscellaneous matters (4 pp), 1993.
- 82 A quarry wagon wheel—P. M. Hughes (1 p.), 1993.
- 83 South Wales tramroads in letters—Roger Kidner (2 pp), 1993.
- 84 Tramroad conservation in south Wales (3 pp), 1993.

## ROAD TRANSPORT GROUP OCCASIONAL PAPERS

### *First Series*

The first series of Occasional Papers comprised two issues in A5 format, dated March and July 1983, each containing a number of papers and other features, including the following:

- 1 Compulsory purchase by turnpike trustees—Frank A. Sharman  
The stone causeway on Blackstone Edge—Allan Brackenbury
- 2 Doncaster to Hull by rail, road and river in the 1850s—P. L. Scowcroft

### *Second Series*

- 1 Sedan chairs in Doncaster: an early municipal transport venture—P. L. Scowcroft (2 pp), 1991.
- 2 Accidental sources for early bus services in and around Doncaster—P. L. Scowcroft (3 pp), 1991.
- 3 Pack horse & stage waggon: early carriage of goods by road in the Doncaster area—P. L. Scowcroft (2 pp), 1991.
- 4 The effect of electric tramways on other road transport: thoughts on the position in Doncaster—P. L. Scowcroft (4 pp), 1992.
- 5 References to road transport in English literature: a selection—Philip L. Scowcroft (4 pp), 1992.
- 6 The emergence of the motor road 1905–1930—Alan A. Jackson (4 pp), 1992.
- 7 Tribulations of early steam-car builders—R. W. Kidner (2 pp), 1992.
- 8 A very mixed rural bus fleet of the thirties—R. W. Kidner (2 pp), 1992.
- 9 Roads and road transport in music—Philip L. Scowcroft (4 pp), 1992.
- 10 Doncaster road excursions 1901–1914—Philip L. Scowcroft (4 pp), 1992.
- 11 Bus & coach track costs: the missing element?—Alan A. Jackson (4 pp), 1992.
- 12 Recollections of London's tramways in the 1930s—Oliver Smart (1 p), 1992.
- 13 The Cheswold car—Philip L. Scowcroft (2 pp), 1992.
- 14 The War Office and mechanical vehicles—R. W. Kidner (2 pp), 1992.
- 15 Road transport in Doncaster during the Great War (2 pp), 1992.
- 16 A not-so-old road on Mull—Allan Brackenbury (2 pp), 1992.
- 17 Post-war developments in Doncaster road transport 1919–23 (4 pp), 1993.
- 18 Catering and coaching: Doncaster excursions in 1928—Philip L. Scowcroft (2 pp), 1993.
- 19 Road coaches 1919–22: another easy ride?—Alan A. Jackson (4 pp), 1993.
- 20 Not-so-old roads on the Scottish mainland: a few examples—E. N. C. Haywood (3 pp), 1993.
- 21 British road numbering—J. C. Mann (4 pp), 1993.
- 22 Heavy road vehicle manufacturers 1903–6—R. W. Kidner (4 pp), 1993.
- 23 Trolley bus or motor bus? Tram replacement in Doncaster 1925–1935—Philip L. Scowcroft (3 pp), 1993.
- 24 Doncaster's public road transport and the Second World War—Philip L. Scowcroft (3 pp), 1993.
- 25 The A616 to Sheffield—Allan Brackenbury (1 p), 1993.
- 26 When motor coaches had 'pet' names—R. W. Kidner (2 pp), 1993.

- 27 Road transport in Doncaster and District 1925–35: a miscellany—Philip L. Scowcroft (3 pp), 1993.
- 28 A country carrier: Fletcher's of Owston Ferry, Lincolnshire—Philip L. Scowcroft (2 pp), 1992.
- 29 More 'pet names'—John Hibbs (2 pp), 1993.
- 30 Further thoughts on not-so-old Scottish roads—E. N. C. Haywood (3 pp), 1993.
- 31 Cycle and motor pioneer: W. E. Clark and the development of Doncaster's motor trade—Philip L. Scowcroft, 1994.
- 32 Road transport and the GPO—Philip L. Scowcroft, 1994.
- 33 Even more pet names—T. B. Maund, 1994.
- 34 Local councils and bus services in the 1920s—T. B. Maund, 1994.
- 35 Hybrid road/rail vehicles—R. W. Kidner, 1994.

#### DOCKS & SHIPPING GROUP OCCASIONAL PAPERS

- 1 Sheffield to Hull by rail, road and river in the 1850s—P. L. Scowcroft (1 p).
- 2 Coastal shipping: a research agenda—John Armstrong (5 pp).
- 3 Puffers: a short history—E. W. Paget-Tomlinson (4 pp).
- 4 Two inland ports in South Yorkshire: Bawtry and Thorne —P. L. Scowcroft (1 p).
- 5 Road and rail feeders to the port of Thorne—P. L. Scowcroft (2 pp).
- 6 Ships and harbours in British music—P. L. Scowcroft (2 pp).
- 7 Ships and boats in English literature: a personal selection—P. L. Scowcroft (2 pp).
- 8 Merchant ship registration—A. D. Nicholson (2 pp).
- 9 Selling a major seaport: promoting Liverpool in the 1930s—Rex Christiansen (2 pp).
- 10 Bristol's City Docks—Edward Paget-Tomlinson (4 pp).
- 11 River ferries in the Doncaster area: a few notes—Philip L. Scowcroft (2 pp).
- 12 Thorne and its shipbuilders: an outline survey—Philip L. Scowcroft (4 pp).

#### AIR TRANSPORT GROUP 'AVIATION HISTORIETTES'

- xxx/000 Classification of subject groups—J. B. Sheldon (2 pp), 1994.  
Mis/001 Aviation in British music—Philip L. Scowcroft (4 pp), 1993.

# Managing with History

BY CHRIS GREEN

*(The Clinker Memorial Lecture delivered on 13 November 1993 by Chris Green, Managing Director, InterCity)*

*Charles Clinker*

The Clinker Memorial lecture is given each year in honour of Charles Clinker, one of the founders and the first President of the Railway & Canal Historical Society, who died ten years ago. After nearly a quarter of a century in the service of the Great Western Railway, near the start of which he was seconded to work with E. T. MacDermot on the company's history, Clinker turned to full-time railway research. He not only set high standards himself but also over many years encouraged others to take up the serious and careful study of the history of our railways, above all through extra-mural work for the Universities of Birmingham and Nottingham.

The Great Western that Clinker served was a stylish and successful railway, with a pride in its achievements and great self-confidence. It was memories of this company and its chocolate-and-cream coaches heading for the holiday resorts of the south-west that probably lay behind the Prime Minister's reputed wish at an earlier stage of the current privatisation process to see a resurrection of the great territorial railway companies.

*InterCity*

I am here today as Managing Director of another stylish and successful railway—InterCity. As I think you all know, my business receives no subsidy—I have to cover my costs and make a reasonable return on the assets employed, and I have to generate enough money to pay for my infrastructure improvements. I think most commentators will agree that the standards of care of InterCity's buildings and equipment and the standards of service on its trains are higher than they have ever been. Our swallow is a symbol of success.

One of the elements of that success is working with the great railway heritage of buildings and other structures to create an environment that not only serves the needs of the business well but is also attractive to our customers. We have shown—and I hope my successors will continue to show—that managing *with* history rather than managing *against* or *despite* history brings advantages for all. InterCity is responsible for large numbers of listed buildings (as well as large numbers of non-listed buildings nevertheless close to the hearts of local communities). Indeed, InterCity is probably unique in the world as a profit-making industry with a responsibility for listed buildings on this scale. Although Regional Railways has an awesome inheritance and probably a much greater problem of excessive facilities than us, at least there is some support through the PSO grant, as there is also on Network SouthEast. Railfreight, like us, must meet its own costs, but it is not the owner of listed buildings and structures on anything like the scale of the three passenger businesses.

*Canals and Railways*

Although I know your society is interested in canals and other modes of transport—not just in railways—I shall be talking almost entirely about the railways this afternoon. In some ways canals and railways have been similar industries. Both own a massive infrastructure made up of very-long-life assets. Both are major property owners, with extensive land-holdings and structures and buildings dating from the beginnings of the

industrial age right up to the present time. Both industries were built up over a rapid period of development through the application of large amounts of private capital, the canals essentially in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the railways in the half century from about 1830. Both are old, long-established industries.

But their histories diverge. The canals never became mass passenger carriers. Because they dealt mainly with goods traffic and provided an infrastructure for carriers to use rather than acted as carriers themselves, their buildings tended to be architecturally more purely functional than those of the railways and often removed from town centres. Above all, they had no real call for prestige buildings such as the great urban passenger stations, the cathedrals of the railway. In the canals' goods market the railways competed: new technology against old. Rail was a merciless competitor and employed every tactic in the book. Gradually the role of our canals, unlike that of the canals in most European countries, became less and less significant. Since the Second World War there has been no real commercial waterway industry. But our railways remain very much a successful transport industry, competing in the modern world and with a great future.

### *The Railway Inheritance*

Yet we always live with our history. You all know how many railways have been closed in the last fifty years. For the historic structures on these lines there is a continuing maintenance obligation on the British Railways Board, which must look after them out of its scarce funds. The Leaderfoot Viaduct, to name just one, is very beautiful, but it is now miles from any railway. Where possible we now sell such structures for a nominal sum, once we have put them into good repair, often to the local authority or to local Trusts. As a somewhat frivolous illustration of a very serious topic, I might ask you how many other organisations could produce a glossy sale catalogue of 'Disused Viaducts'. More seriously, I want to draw the distinction between the estate-management work of looking after and trying to find uses for the heritage of the disused railways and the real-time commercial management involved in dealing with the heritage aspect of the modern, operational railway.

We meet here today on traditional railway ground, in the British Rail Staff Association's hall. The railway community has always been close-knit: railway people, with their own customs, even their own language. There are of course similar old-established industries, such as fishing or mining, where an industry and a culture go together. Everywhere where there are railwaymen there are staff associations like this. It is a good starting-point to remember the imprint our industry has made on our great cities. The railway as the nation's principal goods and mineral carrier had a voracious appetite for land. Here in Kentish Town the Midland Railway had its junctions with the Tottenham & Hampstead line, its passenger engine-sheds, its London cattle-sidings, one set of coal facilities and staff housing. And this was in addition to the facilities to the south at St Pancras and to the north in the West Hampstead/Cricklewood/Brent area. All that remains of the Midland estate in Kentish Town is the main line running through, with its two branches. This was just one of the major companies—Willesden, Old Oak Common, Stratford all have a similar story to tell.

There are several ways in which the railway is different from other businesses, the most significant being the ownership of a vast infrastructure built up over many years. I don't want to pursue the comparison in detail, but I can only think of the Church of England as another organisation having to work in today's world with the sort of heritage legacy that we have; glorious, but not always appropriate to today's needs. Our infrastructure is dispersed as well as vast: the Midland Railway alone ran from London to Carlisle, from

Derby to Bristol. It is this infrastructure that poses most of the problems confronting railway managers in living with their history.

In the first place, a significant proportion is seen as part of the *national* heritage, part of the achievement of the Industrial Revolution that made Britain the world's first modern industrial power. Secondly, unlike most other industries, the railway uses an infrastructure not hidden away behind factory walls but very much in the public eye—the customer uses it and sees it, the passer-by sees it, and the local inhabitants live with it. And thirdly, although much of the inheritance remains essential for today's commercial operations—think of the Royal Border Bridge, for example—significant elements are no longer required by the business and others do not meet the needs of today's business in the form in which they have come to us. Just look at the excessive facilities in stations like Blackburn or Perth for the traffic using them today. The first duty of the railway manager has to be to run an economically viable, commercially successful business, to provide a service the customer wants to buy. But in that he is also the custodian of an inheritance his freedom to manage is constrained. This constraint certainly brings with it problems. It also gives rise to great opportunities.

### *Listed Buildings*

Where listed structures or buildings are involved, the manager's freedom to act as he sees best for the business can be severely limited. We have a huge number of Grade 1 and Grade 2 listed structures (Categories A and B in Scotland)—and even this does not fully reflect our ownership of significant stations and structures. I am sure an audience like this does not need a seminar on listing, but I must remind you the system is not without its difficulties. Those who get things listed have no responsibility for helping to meet the extra maintenance costs this can cause and the financial implications can be considerable. Help is available from English Heritage of course, and from the Railway Heritage Trust. This is an independent organisation supported by BR which awards grants to restore listed and conservation area buildings owned by the railway. In fact, it has proved a highly effective catalyst in encouraging such outside bodies as Local Councils, Enterprise Agencies and Development Corporations who look on local stations and other railway structures as 'theirs' to help with funding to restore them. Between 1985 and 1993 the trust has spent £9.6 million in preservation, plus an additional £8.2 million raised from outside bodies, the whole expended over some 344 projects all over Britain, from the great stations of Bristol and Paddington to Gleneagles station and a footbridge at Redruth. A valuable job is being done and I should like to pay tribute for it to the Trust's Chairman Sir William McAlpine and to its Director Leslie Soane. British Rail's Community Unit complements the work of the Trust by taking an involvement in the broader, social context of railway structures. Working in partnership with local communities, some £2.3 million was invested in 1992/3 in over 190 projects which improved stations, upgraded the environment of rail routes and contributed better facilities for passengers.

Again external funding (to the tune of £4.6 million) was attracted from the public, private and voluntary sectors. I'm sure you will all have seen examples of projects in many parts of the country carried out with the Community Unit working in partnership with outside bodies. At Regional Railways' Boston station the local council contributed to the costs of restoring the station frontage. Accrington Viaduct has been cleaned up and floodlit, again with local authority help. The restoration of the grand portal of Knight's Hill Tunnel was supported by the London Borough of Lambeth. The partnership avenue is very important to us—not least because partnership with local communities is excellent management practice and good for business—as we shall certainly see many more projects of this type in the coming years.

### *Operational Conflicts*

Sometimes we cannot separate the 'operational heritage' neatly from the 'disused heritage'. Perhaps the sharpest example of this is just down the road from us today. St Pancras station consists of two parts. The platforms and their superb roof form the most dramatic of all InterCity's cathedrals—a station still very much in use. Yet the hotel buildings have had no railway function for many years past. Even when we used them as offices, they were offices not because they were really suitable to be the headquarters of Hotels and Catering but because someone had to find something to do with the building! The whole—Barlow's station and Scott's hotel—makes up what is now generally considered to be one of London's most splendid buildings (having earlier been scorned for decades) and arguably the best example of Victorian Gothic in the country. Yet from today's point of view the hotel is hardly a functional building, no matter how visually marvellous, and in a strictly practical world it would probably have to come down. As it is, you will have noticed that, behind perhaps the biggest scaffolding in the capital, British Rail is restoring the fabric of the building as an essential first step in its salvation. This, at a time when railway funding is under considerable pressure, is a commendably brave move indeed.

The other side of the coin is that old buildings can often be adapted to provide facilities for customers and staff of a standard we could never reproduce today because of the cost. They offer space and airiness, comfort and individuality. We could never justify buying today the large city-centre sites we have inherited. These sites and the major city stations on them offer a flexibility that modern structures (like Birmingham New Street) most certainly do not have. The railway infrastructure in both town and country gives people today an impression of solidity and continuity (no matter what its original impact may have been). This is very important at a time when the general public's attitude towards the environment is one where people value older structures, feeling more secure with them through the anchor to the past that they provide. Railway managers can, through the sensitive conservation of their heritage and the adaptation of it to today's needs, help to create a strongly positive public image and distinctive 'character' for their industry and thereby establish public goodwill. They can contribute to an urban landscape the public much prefers to the wholesale concrete re-development of the sixties, a landscape that stresses security and continuity.

### *Commercial Development*

There are a number of outstanding examples of sites where we have been able to develop a listed structure and obtain great advantages for the business. London Victoria was originally two stations, both listed, and the whole was a cramped and gloomy place with totally inadequate communication between its sections. Our architects have been able to retain the existing building-envelope but within it produce a large and open concourse meeting the requirements of a station handling huge commuter flows and also providing the London gateway for Gatwick Airport. Far away to the north, at Newcastle Central the development of commercial facilities, electrification, re-design of the track, and general up-grading made for considerable changes in this Grade 1 listed building. The most exciting is the stand-alone travel centre in completely modern architecture, contrasting with and setting off the dignity of the original.

The change in public attitudes during the last thirty years is a very important aspect in all this. During the fifties and sixties the developers were allowed—even encouraged—to sweep away everything in their path to create their vision of the future. The urban landscape was changed out of all recognition. It was the age of the urban ring road, of the tower block. What happened in the cities was paralleled on the railways. During electrification the old stations on the Crewe & Manchester line were swept away and

replaced with modern, pre-fabricated structures. A number of major stations were completely rebuilt, like Birmingham New Street and London Euston. Manchester Piccadilly received new main buildings. None of these stations has really stood the test of time, and the smaller ones in particular now look very dated, rather shabby, and unappealing. Euston functions well, but has needed a lot of money spending on it to humanise it over the years—and still has more of the anonymous character of any airport than the feel of a great station. Compare it with the Gare de Lyon or Frankfurt Hauptbahnhof, for example. Birmingham New Street has no lovers, and has required huge expenditure even to meet modern safety needs. At Manchester the new buildings are certainly architecturally inferior in every way to the dignified Victorian structure they replaced.

### *Barbaric Acts*

We should never forget that in its early days the railway was a great destroyer. This was not only when lines were being built—witness what happened at Carlisle or Berwick, Berkhamsted or Northampton where buildings were concerned. And remember Ruskin's comments about Buxton fools and Bakewell fools in connection with what he saw as the rape of Monsal Dale. These ruthless attitudes continued in the later railway age, and they do not seem to have aroused any great public hostility. Thus Leicester Campbell Street, perhaps one of the finest early Victorian buildings in the town, disappeared utterly to allow for the building of the ultra-modern London Road station (by 1890s standards). Remember how the Great Western Railway swept away its old stations in the inter-war years to provide new and better facilities, at Cardiff and Leamington, at Taunton and Newton Abbott. More recently, the railway could still show another sort of disregard for the environment: its buildings constructed for purely operational purposes on railway land did not require planning permission. Thus it was possible for the London Midland Region to erect the enormous new signalbox at Wilmslow, which was quite out of keeping with the buildings around and arousing the hostility of the local populace from the start.

The case of Euston makes—in retrospect—one point very clearly. Most of the buildings on the Euston site had outlived their usefulness and were ripe to be swept away just like those earlier stations I have mentioned. But the Great Hall and the Arch were in an altogether different category. Recognition of this fact would have been good management that could have brought great public relations benefit to the railway and created a fine station. Such a chance would not now be missed. Contrast the fate of the Doric Arch a quarter of a century ago with the recent treatment of 50 Liverpool Street, where a building was actually moved to preserve it.

### *Old versus New*

There is an inevitable clash between the desire to preserve and the management requirement to provide good customer and operational facilities at a reasonable cost (and with reasonable ongoing maintenance charges). Stations like Taunton were re-built because they were totally inadequate for their job, and no-one complained very much. In much more recent times the same has been true of places like East Croydon or Leighton Buzzard—even if the replacement has not always been wholly welcome. A particularly interesting case is Oxford. Here a temporary station from the nineteenth century survived almost untouched into the latter half of the twentieth century. Railway and city knew it was unsatisfactory, but could not agree on how it should be replaced. The result was a 1970s station simple to the point of meanness, and Oxford had to wait some years more for rail/city agreement to support a station a little more worthy of a city amongst our greatest tourist magnets.

### *Early Conservation*

Legislation actually requiring railways to protect their environment had always existed, but it was quite rare. Leicester provides two interesting examples. The Midland Counties Railway Act 1836 required the company to extend the bridge under New Walk on either side and plant verges. Some fifty years later the 1893 Manchester Sheffield & Lincolnshire Railway Act provided for the protection of a Roman pavement crossed as the line cut through the old town of Leicester. When the line past Haddon Hall, in Derbyshire, was built, a tunnel was required so as not to damage the view. There were also cases where the railway of its own volition chose to contribute to the environment: after rebuilding works at Syston trees were planted in the station yard. And there were a good few cases of loving care being shown for the achievements of the past. Think of the ironwork at Kettering (where we too have been very careful in our treatment of the canopies), the widening of Maidenhead Bridge and the Wharncliffe viaduct, or the widening of the Stockport viaduct.

There was also conservation by accident, as it were. The railway has always tended to be a very conservative organisation in the past. Because in general companies did not rebuild and replace their structures unless they absolutely had to, much from the early days has survived. The same is actually true of the canals (consider Gloucester or Manchester, where as the business declined the great buildings were just quietly abandoned). To sweep something away and start again was the exception. Extensions would be tacked on. Or a new structure might be put up alongside. The old one would survive, some use being found for it, tucked away amongst other things. A building that had had its day would often not be pulled down but would be left to decay in peace. Think of the survival of the Ionic arch at Birmingham Curzon Street—the country-end answer to Euston's Doric. Getting on to a hundred and fifty years after it ceased to be a grand entrance to the Birmingham passenger station this great portico is still there, in the middle of the railways' good yards in a part of Birmingham now decidedly the worse for wear. In Manchester two railways built Victoria station for their joint use, but later fell out with each other. The result was Victoria and Exchange side by side. By Grouping these were two very large stations, which were then loosely joined by the newly-established LMS. With the decline of traffic in the 1950s the facilities were far too large. Yet at first nothing was done, and then later traffic was concentrated on Victoria (never properly restored after war damage until the current reconstruction work started) leaving Exchange at first just to moulder quietly.

### *Stations*

So perhaps by accident as much as by design a great heritage of buildings has come down to us. One of the grandest of all the station-buildings is Huddersfield—out of all scale to the sort of railway facilities now provided in that town. On a very much smaller scale and showing evidence of years of neglect is Francis Thompson's small pavilion at Wingfield, passed at high speed and without notice by today's Midland passengers. During the 1880s Market Harborough station was rebuilt, together with the railway approaches from the north. For the station-house the London & North Western's Engineer, Francis Stevenson, provided a delightful Queen-Anne-style building. Here an excellent restoration-job was done which stripped away most of the obsolete station buildings, provided new ones lined up for a future improvement of the railway, and retained and restored the station-house, leaving it looking better than ever and providing the town with a station entirely appropriate to today's requirements.

### *Tunnels and Bridges*

But station buildings are only one part of the story. There are the tunnels (often with splendid portals like Box Hill), the great cuttings like Edge Hill, Tring or Sonning, the mighty embankments—and, above all, the bridges. Ribbleshead Viaduct achieved fame partly because its state threatened the very existence of the Settle & Carlisle line, but partly also because it is a spectacular structure in its own right which both fits into the wild and open landscape of upper Ribblesdale around it and helps to define the scale of that landscape. In passing, it is worth noting one particularly interesting feature of the traditional railway: it can and does fit into and become part of the landscape, both urban and rural, in a way that the motorway rarely seems to. But back to the spectacular: think of the other great bridges. These can be arched structures, like the Royal Border Bridge, or various designs of iron or steel structures, like the old Britannia Bridge over the Menai Straits, the Tay Bridge, or Royal Albert Bridge at Saltash. Greatest of all is the Forth Bridge. This is pure engineering which is also great architecture. The form expresses the function perfectly. There is no adornment. All these bridges are an essential part of the railway infrastructure and must be maintained as such.

### *Major Terminals*

The functionality of the Forth Bridge is paralleled by that of King's Cross station, where the design reflects the way the station was laid out to be used—one hall and platform for departures and one platform for arrivals, with the necessary offices lined up alongside the two platforms. This design does not accord with present usage, and there are major problems in planning for the future at this terminal in order to provide proper passenger facilities. In many ways it might be easier to start from scratch. Yet because this is one of the great monuments of the early railway age such ruthlessness would be inconceivable. And its importance is enhanced beyond all measure by the existence of St Pancras next door—the value of the whole is vastly more than just that of the two parts. The proposals for the new King's Cross international terminal would have offered a solution. We wait to see what will happen now.

Perhaps the best example of what can be done today is at Liverpool Street, where I have already referred to the moving of a building. An earlier scheme involving wholesale demolition having been rejected plans were drawn up involving preservation of as much of the old as possible and the expenditure of a good deal of money on recreating in the new work major features of the old—the roof was restored and extended at considerable cost. The work we carried out at Liverpool Street involves successful pastiche: the historic theme has been picked up and duplicated for the envelope of the building, but the new commercial units and concourse have been developed very much in twentieth-century style, so that two very different styles contrast with each other in an exciting tension that has won many admirers.

On a much smaller scale, and also in London, Fenchurch Street has been retained and restored. At Bristol Temple Meads money has been spent on a sensitive restoration of the main buildings. A very successful conversion of old buildings to new uses can also be seen with the Nelson Street Offices in Derby or the Telesales Office in Newcastle. All these conversions pose their own problems, which have to be overcome in order to achieve a result satisfactory to all parties. In some cases it is not possible to do all that might be wished. For example, at Newcastle there is a hideous 1950s concrete relay room under the magnificent (and listed) station roof. It would never be put there now. It can be removed, but funding is a problem so there it remains, an eyesore in a station otherwise superbly restored.

Out on the open line, when dealing with infrastructure essential for the operational railway, there can be a real conflict of interest between the needs of the industry and the

pressures from the environmentalists. Stockport viaduct is not only one of the great railway symbols but is also one of the great symbols of Victorian England—thus the new technology strides across and dominates the old town below. When the Crewe & Manchester line was electrified in the fifties and Stockport viaduct had to be wired, massive and unsightly overhead gantries were used. No-one thought twice about it. However, when Durham viaduct, which is also an essential part of the townscape, came to be wired up in the late eighties, or when the Royal Border Bridge had to be wired as part of the same scheme, there was enormous pressure not merely to achieve an acceptable design but even not to electrify across the bridges at all! Indeed, it was necessary to develop (at a significant extra cost) especially thin masts to carry the overhead on this bridge. Or contrast the crude treatment of the overhead wiring in the King's Cross trainshed with the much more sensitive design developed only a few years later for the St Pancras trainshed.

### *The Future*

So in our management today we accept our responsibilities towards our architectural heritage, not grudgingly, but always in a search to make the best out of what we inherit for both operators and users and to pass on something better than we received. We look after the great things of the past. And through the redevelopment of property when the opportunity arises we add value to the railway estate and we attempt to add value to the environmental estate at the same time. No-one would dispute the success of the huge Broadgate/Liverpool Street project. Equally, the new Waterloo International Terminal has received the highest praise—as on a much smaller scale has the new Tottenham Hale station. Likewise the critics have praised the restoration and modernisation of the great Victorian/Edwardian station at Glasgow Central. The changes at Charing Cross have been welcomed. And there are many more. Those who take on the railway estate in the future are taking on a heavy responsibility. BR's record for conserving its heritage buildings and structures, particularly over the past decade, makes it a hard act to follow.

(The author acknowledges the assistance of J. V. Gough, Ian Hurst, Leslie Soane and David Perry.)

## Passenger Carriages on Tramroads

BY R. W. KIDNER

The provision on plateways and early edge-railways of vehicles designed to carry passengers was rare enough to have led to their being largely ignored by railway historians. They may not have been as rare as appear, although contemporary sources also dealt with them rather scantily. For example, referring to the 1824 Monkland & Kirkintilloch Railway, one reference reports receipts from passengers' services as being £70, while another of the same date states 'no passenger wagons are allowed'.

There are a number of prints and paintings showing a passenger car in formal opening trains or 'processions', but almost invariably it is shown as a standard type of mail coach, with the body within the width of the tramroad wheels. Since most of these had a gauge of 4 ft., this would only allow two-a-side seating in the main body. It does seem that artists of the time could only translate the word 'coach' in terms of what they saw on the streets.

There are several depictions of passenger carriages on the earliest tramroad to use them, the Oystermouth plateway between Swansea and the Mumbles.<sup>1</sup> One by J. Ashford dated 1819, of Simon Llewellyn's coach on this line, shows an ordinary road coach; however another dated 1825 depicts something more like an omnibus, with the main body widened above the wheels. In a letter of 1808 Isabella Spence, describing a journey to Oystermouth, says the car 'carries twelve persons and is constructed chiefly of iron', though it needed only one horse and was easy and light. Richard Ayton in 1814 wrote that it was 'a very long vehicle on four iron wheels, carrying sixteen persons, and rolls along at the rate of five miles per hour with the noise of twenty sledge-hammers in full play'.

Another carriage of which a crude sketch remains was that used by the Duke of Wellington when he visited the Londonderry plateway in Northumberland, travelling from Pittington to Penshaw, including going up the incline. This is shown as a landau-type carriage and appears to be fitted with springs. After the occasion, the body was removed and the frame used for a workmen's carriage between Dulmire and Rainton Colliery.

The carriage used on the opening train of the Stockton & Darlington railway has caused some confusion. A splendid lithograph of 1826<sup>2</sup> shows it as a large standard mail coach; however the 'replica' supplied by the LNER for the 1925 Centenary was little more than a hut on wheels. The builder's invoice for the coach, named *Experiment*, describes 'one coach body put up with doors at each end, glass frames for windows and a table and seats inside, cushioned and carpeted', quite in keeping with the replica. The answer is that after the opening, the S&D ordered another *Experiment* for its horse-drawn passenger service, letting the original one become a hut at the Brusselton incline. A detailed model of the new one, at one time in the possession of a Mr Bain, was reproduced in *Railway & Travel Monthly* in 1911, and it was stated to have been hired from a coach proprietor in Darlington, who fitted a 'boot' at each end with driving seat above, so that it could be run without turning. This must be the one the artist saw, and put in the opening train along with the colliery tubs.

A time-table announcing a regular daily service of 'the Company's Coach called "Experiment"', taking two hours each way, stated that it began working on 10 October 1825 (according to a memorandum of 1950 by the Hackworth Centenary Commemoration Committee), though Leslie James's *Chronology* of 1983 gives the date as 1826. If the 1825 date is correct, being so close to the official opening, it seems likely that the service was begun using the 'shed on wheels'.

One description which seems to ring true relates to the private carriage used by Walter Coffin on the plateway from Treforest to his coal mine at Dinas, from 1812. Charles Wilkins FRGS,<sup>3</sup> writing half a century later, described it as a 'kind of box with a seat'—no fancy engravings of this. Dr Richard Griffiths, who owned the plateway as far as Hafod, also had a private carriage, and a third may have been used by the Cardiff coalshipper George Insole.

The tramroad down the Sirhowy Valley in Monmouthshire was authorised under its 1802 Act to carry passengers, and a number of privately-owned vehicles served various local villages. One, run by John Kingston, was dubbed 'The Caravan' in 1822. The 'Waterloo' coach of G. Stokes and J. Williams ran twice a week from Newport to Tredegar Ironworks; a mail coach apparently ran every morning from Newport but may not have carried passengers. William Lewis Meredith, District Goods Manager at Cardiff, wrote in 1905<sup>4</sup> of his grandfather's memories that 'for years private owners of horse trams carried passengers in the Valley', and that locomotives of goods trains had their smoke-boxes painted white as a warning to carriages going the other way. In the next valley, the Rhymney, the tramroad there was latterly equipped (as the Sirhowy also

was) with dual-purpose plates which would accept either plateway or edge rail wheels, and it has been stated that vehicles of all kinds, including horse-carts and gigs, made use of the track.

Nothing has come to light as to passenger vehicles on the famous Penydarren tramroad down the Taff Valley; two possible reasons are that a fairly good road ran alongside, and that the three ironfounders who paid for it were not the sort of people to put up with anything that might impede the passage of their products down to Cardiff.

In West Cornwall the Poldice tramroad had a small open omnibus with inward-facing seating, drawn by one horse. On the nearby Redruth & Chasewater Railway three covered wagons with passengers ran on the opening day, 30 January 1826, reaching Restronguet Creek (7½ m) by gravity in 65 minutes; they returned 'with a light horse' at about the same rate. In the same area, the Pentewan Railway is said to have had a limited passenger service by 1830: 'a light carriage . . . drawn by a single horse, which frequently runs over the distance of about four miles in less than half an hour'. This railway had a gauge of only 2 ft 6 ins.

A rather dubious drawing of a horse-dandy on the Mansfield & Pinxton Railway<sup>5</sup> has been reproduced several times. It belonged to William Efferstone of Pinxton Wharf and connected with the Midland Railway at Pinxton; it is believed to have lasted to 1849. A carriage also ran on the Aberford Railway, one way by gravity.

In the eighteen-thirties, a number of railways which were using crude steam engines for goods or mineral traffic, preferred to work passenger traffic with horse. The Bodmin & Wadebridge, which opened in 1834, included 'an omnibus' in its opening train, which seems from an engraving to have had passengers also riding on its roof. It could be hired for £3 a day (including the horse) for parties, but there was a reduction if the number of persons was less than eighteen. There was also 'an open car' used for picnics; it is just possible that the smaller of the two coaches which later came to the LSWR and were preserved was that car, being light enough for horse-hauling.

The Canterbury & Whitstable was a similar case. A large painting of the opening train shows a mail coach complete in detail even to larger rear wheels—fantasy of course. In regular service covered coaches were not provided until 1835, and then only for first class. They were horse-drawn except on the cable-worked inclines. The Bampton Railway in East Cumberland carried passengers between Milton and Bampton in horse 'dandies' from 1836; there were three, with iron posts at corners supporting a canopy;<sup>7</sup> they were named *Experiment*, *Mountaineer* and *Black Diamond*. The dandy *Kirkhouse* which was still in use as late as 1907 was no doubt of a later build.

The most surprising place to find passenger traffic is on the Plymouth & Dartmoor Railway, considering the bleakness of its surroundings. This line was laid in 1823 with cast-iron fish-belly rails. At the opening 'procession' (it never had locomotives) there were many passengers. They were mostly in granite wagons, but there must have been some closed carriages; Humfrey Woolcombe wrote about the occasion in his diary, and told how, due to confusion, the journey from Roborough Down, where the marquee was set up, to Plymouth, took seven hours—'too long to be shut up in a vehicle with nothing to eat or drink'.<sup>8</sup> Another chronicler, William Bray, sometime Rector of Tavistock, described a visit to the line and 'observed a vehicle not unlike a vis-a-vis with an awning passing with some degree of rapidity'. He gathered from some workmen that 'in these vehicles many pleasure parties made excursions from Plymouth'.

Although the Oystermouth coaches are depicted with horses in shafts, in general loose harnesses were used, as they were by the later town tramways. Shafts would need detaching at termini unless a table was provided, and would be a nuisance when part of a journey was by gravity. However, loose harness required alertness on the part of the brakesman, usually the driver, so as not to overrun the horses.

The kind of vehicle used did not die out quickly. The first Port Carlisle 'Dandy', though built as late as 1861, owed nothing to railway practice, with its narrow 'inside' body flanked by 'outside' seats. One of the last was the 'Fly' on the Cromford & High Peak Railway, which ran until 1877, though its average speed of about four miles per hour, taking incline working into account, rather belied its name.

Dandies were economical carriers: Port Carlisle No. 2 carried 48 passengers for 4 tons of tare weight. Later horsed vehicles, such as that on the Fintona branch of the Great Northern (Ireland) were somewhat different, taking their design from the town trams.

It is doubtful whether there were formal regulations covering the early coaches; many tram roads owned no stock and made only broad rules for 'traders' who wished to use their 'road'. Wilkins states that on Walter Coffin's six-mile journey up the Rhondda valley 'there was a good deal of shunting', implying that he gave way to coal traffic.

The customary practice on lines with grades was that vehicles going up gave way to those coming down. The emphasis in Stockton & Darlington posters on 'the Company's coach' suggests that there may have been a lack of confidence in the way that privately-operated coaches were worked. In general, lack of confidence would be hardly surprising; at Hayle (Hayle Railway, opened to Hayle Foundry in 1837) there was public complaint that horses were being hitched to the 'omnibuses' whilst in motion, after being 'cast off' from ore trains.

## NOTES

- 1 C. E. Lee, *The First Passenger Railway*, Railway Publishing Co. 1942, reprinted Oakwood Press 1954
- 2 R. Davies, *A Railway Centenary in Retrospect*, LNER 1926
- 3 Charles Wilkins, *The South Wales Coal Trade*, Daniel Owen, Cardiff 1888
- 4 W. W. Tasker, *Railways in the Sirhowy Valley*, Oakwood Press 1992
- 5 J. A. Birks & P. Coxon, 'The Mansfield & Pinxton Railway', *Railway Magazine* Vol. 95, July 1949, p. 582
- 6 C. F. Dendy Marshall, *A History of the Southern Railway*, Southern Railway 1936, chap. 3
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# Road Coaches 1919–1922: Another Easy Ride?<sup>1</sup>

BY ALAN A. JACKSON

Large numbers of men with newly-acquired knowledge and skills in the driving and maintenance of motor vehicles were demobilised in 1919–21, a period when military chassis were cheaply available from the vast disposal dumps set up after the war<sup>2</sup> and manufacturers were able to convert quickly to production of civilian motor vehicles, which were offered on easy payment terms.

This situation, stimulated further by the experience gained during improvisation of road services of all kinds during the 1919 railway strike<sup>3</sup> led to a surge in the development of road motor passenger operations, many of them small or one-man businesses.<sup>4</sup> By 1919 the motor coach, then known as the *char-a-banc* (pronounced 'charrabang', and abbreviated to 'charra' by the *hoi-polloi*) was a generally reliable solid-tyred vehicle with 24–34 seats on five aside cross benches, each reached by its own doors on both sides of the vehicle, or on the near side only. 'Armchair' seating first appeared in 1922 and luggage lockers at below running board level were introduced for touring coaches in the same year.

In reasonable weather, these vehicles were completely open above waist level and most, but not all, had a folding cape hood stored at the rear which could be brought forward and attached to the large full-width windscreen if rain threatened; side curtains were then usually lowered to afford further protection from the elements. However if the rain was heavy these arrangements left much to be desired and periods of bad summer weather depressed patronage. Petrol engines ranged from 25–40 hp and maximum speeds in top gear were very low, rarely exceeding 20 mph. New vehicles were available from a variety of firms including Guy, Thornycroft, Tilling-Stevens, Caledon, du Cros, Halley, Straker-Squire, Dennis and Leyland—all to the same general design. At least one manufacturer, Scout Motors, specialised in vehicles with glass windows and fixed roofs, producing in 1919 a model described as the 'Pullman', an early, if not the first example of the appropriation of this railway term by the passenger road transport industry.

The *char-a-banc* of 1919–21 was basically a refinement of the design developed in the 1900s and early 1910s and in that period almost totally confined to tourist trips around holiday centres and private party-outings. In this role it was the direct successor of the horse drawn 'four-in-hand' coaches used for similar purposes. However a new feature of the immediate post-war years was once-daily summer return runs of a hundred or more miles between large towns and cities and holiday resorts, providing a cheaper but much slower, less comfortable and less frequent alternative to rail travel. An early example of this was the services operated by the Birmingham & Midland Motor Omnibus Co. between Birmingham, Rhyl, Colwyn Bay and Llandudno and between Birmingham and Weston-super-Mare in 1920. In the summer of 1921 one London company, with 60 coaches, was running daily services to a number of seaside resorts, conveying passengers' luggage in advance in vans, free of charge. This development coincided with a coal miners' strike which had reduced rail services.<sup>5</sup>

At the seaside and tourist resorts much distress was caused by 'invaders' who appeared to ply for hire in pleasure resorts in competition with local vehicle owners. Some local authorities such as Southend-on-Sea reacted with patriotic fervour, refusing licences to all but local ratepayers. This protectionism was justified on the grounds that there were sufficient vehicles available in the town to meet the needs of day trippers and holiday-

makers (Southend licensed 60 vehicles in 1920). At Blackpool, in the same year, 109 motor charabancs were licensed to ply for trade compared with 84 in 1919.

Squabbling over coach stands soon became a problem and in 1920 Blackpool Council decided that those who had operated in the resort the previous year should take their old places whilst newcomers should ballot for any remaining positions.<sup>6</sup> Motor coaches operating in and out of Manchester in 1920 were accommodated at St Peter's Square, the first of what were to be six authorised standing places. The *Transport & Travel Monthly*'s description of this as Britain's 'first public motor coach station' was perhaps slightly over the top. There was of course no suggestion of the operators making any payment for this appropriation of public road space for commercial purposes. At Blackpool where up to 2,500 passengers were being brought in on summer Saturdays by one Manchester coach operator alone in 1922, the council took the point early and insisted in a by-law that all coaches loaded up at a garage; this led to the opening in 1922 of what seems to have been the first true road coach station at the Coliseum Restaurant, including a booking office for return journeys. This enterprise appears to have been financed from the extra revenue culled by the restaurant rather than any fees payable by the coach operators.<sup>7</sup>

Charabancs were also exempt from the strict safety rules imposed on railway operation, the authorities at this time virtually ignoring the conditions under which the vehicles were worked, despite already horrifying road death and injury tolls.<sup>8</sup> The old horse coaches were normally crewed by a driver and a conductor, the latter attending to the passengers and pointing out to them items of interest *en route*. In contrast the charabancs were generally single-manned, frequently by the proprietor himself. It was not just a question of driving and attending to the safety of the moving vehicle in traffic or hazardous road conditions. Beset by passengers on the same seat either side of him and in serried rows behind, many of them often inebriated and unruly, he had to fend off questions and attempts at conversation, not to mention raucous shouts to stop for alcoholic replenishment or calls of nature; and he was frequently diverted by dangerous anti-social behaviour as passengers threw out bottles and other missiles, sat up on the folded hood at the rear or even hung over the vehicle sides. Should the vehicle break down, the poor man had to do his best to get it moving again under the restless scrutiny of his passengers. Bournemouth licensing committee, alone amongst the many local authorities, urged the Ministry of Transport in 1921 that two competent drivers should be required to be carried on all coaches loaded with more than 18 passengers.

Once again we might pause to reflect on the seemingly easy ride afforded to road transport operators in comparison to rail.<sup>9</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 This article was first published as *Occasional Paper (Second Series) No. 19* of the R&CHS Road Transport Group 1993.
- 2 It was estimated by Sir Henry Maybury in a paper read to the Institute of Transport in April 1920 that the Allied Forces on the Western Front had employed between 180,000 and 200,000 mechanical road vehicles. A useful thesis might be written on the effects of World War I on the pace of motor road transport development in Britain.
- 3 From midnight 26/27 September to midnight 5/6 October
- 4 The many small tyro operators were offered useful advice in such publications as H. Miller, *How to Make Motor Transport Pay* (1920) and if their geography were weak, they could resort to George Philip & Son's *Main Road Char-a-banc Map of England & Wales* (1921).
- 5 *Transport & Travel Monthly* vol.XXIII, p. 62

6 *ibid.*, vol.XX, p. 426

7 *ibid.*, vol.XXIII, pp. 36, 100

8 As early as 1919, 2,628 were killed on the roads of Great Britain and almost 50,000 were injured.

9 See also the author's 'Bus & Coach Track Costs: the missing element?', *Occasional Paper (Second Series) No. 11*, R&CHS Road Transport Group, 1993

## Bristol's City Docks

BY EDWARD PAGET-TOMLINSON

Although today bereft of commercial shipping, the City Docks enjoy much activity, the historic steamship *Great Britain* is there, with the Maritime Heritage Centre beside her, further up is the Bristol Industrial Museum and there used to be a Life-Boat Museum also. Boat trips are run around the harbour, there are ships converted into restaurants, whilst the dock sheds and wharves have taken on new lives as art and exhibition centres and housing developments.

None of this was the intention of the dock promoters at the end of the eighteenth century. At that time ships berthed at Bristol quays were subject to the tide which in the Bristol Channel has a rise and fall of some fifty feet, second only to the tides of the Bay of Fundy between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Apart from berthing on the mud at low water the ships had difficulty navigating the Bristol Avon, whose twisting channel was only passable at high water, which is still the case. There was the added hazard of floodwater coming downstream, not only from the Avon but from the tributary Frome which originally joined the main river by Bristol Bridge. This was the lowest bridging point on the Avon and was the nucleus of the city and port. There was some sort of wharfage here well before the Norman Conquest and the Conqueror started to build a castle to guard both the bridge and the ships. Some river improvements were undertaken in the mid-thirteenth century, a new Bristol Bridge and the diversion of the Frome to a junction lower down, in addition to channel straightening and new quays. But as vessels became bigger and trade expanded from Ireland and the near Continent to, in the sixteenth century, the Americas and the West Indies, the problems of both cargo and ship handling multiplied. As far back as 1467 the administration of the port had been in the hands of the trade guild of the Society of Merchant Venturers and they remained the dominant influence to the end of the eighteenth century. Bristol ran slavers and privateers and imported sugar, rum and tobacco from the West Indies and North America, timber from the Baltic, stone from local quarries, but attempts at further harbour improvements were tentative.

As early as 1717 a small wet dock had been built downstream at Sea Mills by John Padmore and a more useful dock followed in 1765, built privately at Hotwells but taken over as the Merchants' Dock by the Merchant Venturers in 1770. It was not filled in until 1966, latterly a lay-up berth for Campbell's paddle steamers.

Bristol was losing ground to Liverpool, so engineers were called in to advise on what to do, first Smeaton and then his pupil William Jessop. The latter submitted plans in 1788 for what became the Floating Harbour; they were adopted in 1802 and in 1809 the works were completed under Jessop's son Josias. They were bold and ingenious accomplishments involving the diversion of the Avon's tide up a channel called the New

Cut, leaving the original course of the river as a tide-free dock sealed by gates, 84 acres in extent fed by the Frome and the Avon itself. With a stable water level, quays and sheds could be built and cranes put up. There were two entrance locks into the Avon at Hotwells which allowed ships into the six acre Cumberland Basin. From it they could lock into the floating Harbour itself, called Floating because ships could remain afloat in it, a significant improvement on the tidal mud berths. Because of the two sets of locks it was possible to use the Cumberland Basin as a giant entrance lock, of value when numbers of ships were entering or leaving. There were other locks into the Harbour via Bathurst Basin further up at Totterdown.

The achievement of the Jessops was not without problems: lack of tidal scour led to siltation and there was no means of flushing out the municipal sewage. Isambard Kingdom Brunel settled both difficulties—culverts for the sewage and a scraper dredger, an aquatic bulldozer, for the silt. Her engine is preserved in a replica hull at the Maritime Heritage Centre. Brunel also rebuilt the southern entrance lock at Hotwells, completed in 1849, and there were further lock improvements later in the century. All was now well for Bristol's trade, save for the need to pay for all the works. The charges demanded made Bristol an expensive port, discouraging to commerce. The only solution was the winding up of the Dock Company and its replacement by the greater financial strength of the City Council. Industrial expansion as the nineteenth century advanced brought prosperity, imports of raw materials, exports of an increasing range of manufactures. But the tidal river remained an obstacle, ever more difficult to navigate as ships became bigger. There was one clear solution, a new port at the mouth of the Avon with direct access to the Bristol Channel. The first dock at Avonmouth was opened in 1877, with Portishead Dock following in 1879 and the Royal Edward at Avonmouth in 1908, an enlargement of the original Avonmouth Dock. A more recent expansion has been the Royal Portbury Dock, opened in 1977, but all this is another story for the City Docks deserve a closer look.

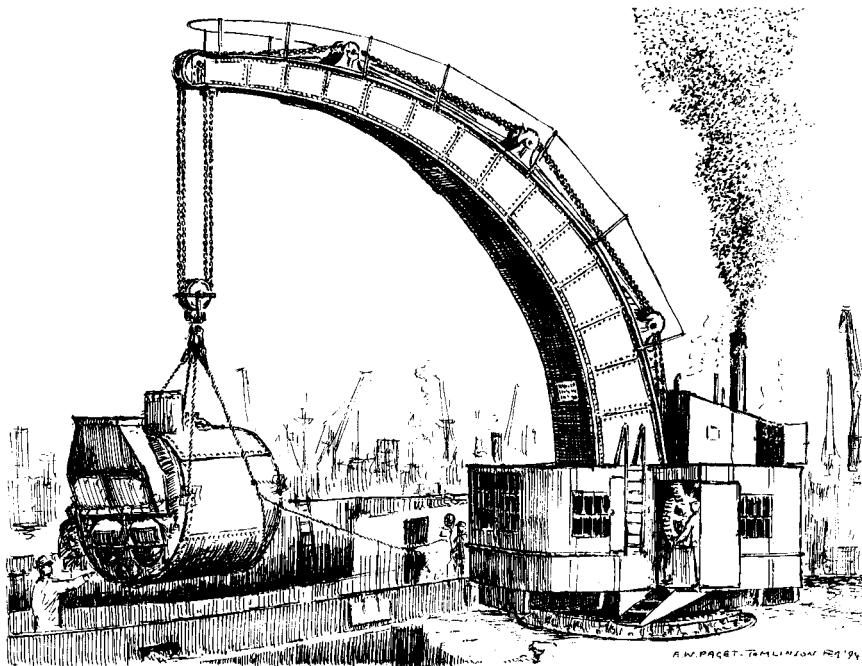
The Cumberland Basin used to handle cattle on the hoof, brought in from Cork and Waterford, and the bonded tobacco warehouses built nearby between 1905 and 1919 still stand. By the junction locks into the Harbour was the Nova Scotia pub with the Port of Bristol Authority's Underfall Repair Yard nearby, and not far away the Ashton swing bridge over the New Cut, opened in 1906 for road and rail but since 1965 closed. The south side of the Harbour here was laid out with a series of timber wharves named after the ports from which the ships came: *Gefle* in the Gulf of Bothnia, *Onega* in the White Sea, and more generally *Canada*. Shipbuilding became established at Hotwells in 1773 before the dock works were started but in 1820 the Hillhouse yard moved to what became the Albion shipyard of Charles Hill, which stayed in business until 1977. Hotwells remained a shipbuilding centre until 1904 and carried on ship repairing until the 1930s.

Mardyke on the Hotwells side was the centre for the mission or Bethel ships and for the RNR drill ships which changed over the years, the last drill ship being the *Flying Fox* scrapped in 1973. There had been a very early dock in this area, Limekiln Dock dating from about 1676 but infilled in 1903. Opposite however is the dry dock in which the *Great Britain* was built, with the ship herself now back in it under impressive restoration. More open wharves followed on this south side, served by the Great Western's Harbour Railway and by rail mounted steam cranes. One static crane remains, the 35 ton Fairbairn design built by Stothert & Pitt in 1878. It has been restored by the Bristol Industrial Museum volunteers and is operational. It did not have a very busy working life, apart from lifting boilers and engines into Hill built ships.

The 1820 gasworks on the opposite side was for long surrounded by fields, but the Canon's Marsh area saw much quay development, with traffic encouraged by the com-

pletion of the GWR's Canon's Marsh goods station in 1906. At 'Y' and 'Z' sheds the ships of the Bristol City Line loaded for New York. Quay sheds at Bristol were lettered but there was no logical pattern, 'X' was a long way from 'Y' and 'Z'. To go through the work at each shed would need a long article, but there was a concentration of them up St. Augustine's Reach, the branch of the Harbour formed by the entry of the mediævally diverted Frome. The Reach pushed into the centre of the City and Bristolians had no doubt about their maritime importance when they could see steamers from Glasgow, Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, Dublin and Gothenburg from the upper decks of trams and buses.

On Prince's Wharf 'M' and 'L' sheds are now the home of the Bristol Industrial Museum which has a strong maritime section, especially regarding port history. It was here in earlier days that William Patterson had the shipyard where in 1837 the pioneer Transatlantic steamer *Great Western* was launched. The big Corporation granary was on this site, to which the Golden Cross Line ships brought Russian wheat, and beyond Prince's Street were the wharves along the Grove. Traffic to these and to the quays higher up reflected the range of regular sailings between Bristol and United Kingdom,



*Still in steam today, the 35 ton crane completed by Stothert & Pitt of Bath in 1878 to the designs of Sir William Fairbairn. It undertakes quite considerable lifts even today.  
[Drawing by author]*

Irish and Continental ports. For instance there was a berth for Bazeley's Penzance steamers, another for the Bideford ketches bringing gravel from the Torridge and stone from the Porthoustock quarries in Cornwall. The Welsh Back below Bristol Bridge was especially varied with the market boats from the Bristol Channel ports, Newport, Chepstow, Lydney and from Cardigan Bay too, laden with provisions. Then there was the berth for the Powell Line to Liverpool, for Langland's to Aberdeen and in earlier times the Welsh Back saw ships from Norway with ice, from Spain, and from the Channel Islands. This part of the Harbour too was the centre of the local and vigorous sand and gravel trade, both at Redcliffe Wharf below Redcliffe Bridge and in Bathurst Basin. The sand and gravel dredgers were the last commercial users of the City Docks, with a quay at Hotwells in use until 1993.

Although Redcliffe Bridge is a lifting span, Bristol Bridge has always been fixed, but this did not stop the low air draught Osborn & Wallis colliers from going up to the Tramways' Generating Station and to Bristol Corporation's Feeder Road Power Station. There was, in addition, traffic up the Feeder Canal to the alkali works at Netham and the Midland (later London, Midland & Scottish) Railway had their steam barge traffic to Avon Street Wharf by their St. Philip's goods station, the nearest rail access they had to the port.

This activity survived until the Second World War but the post war scene was one of decline hastened by the ever growing competition from road transport and the advent of containers, both of which have revolutionized the transport scene allied to the ro-ro ferry. Bristol is on the wrong side of the country to participate in the modern coastal and short sea trades and since these were the main business of the City Docks their commercial end is not surprising. The remaining trades left in the 1970s for Avonmouth and Portishead, but the latter sees no traffic now either. Might, however, the Channel Tunnel help Bristol?

[This article will appear in an expanded form in a forthcoming issue of the periodical *Ships Monthly* and I would like to thank the Editor for sanctioning this contribution. Much help was given by Andy King of the Bristol Industrial Museum in the preparation of both.]

## Horse-Racing and Early Aviation History: Doncaster's Experience

BY PHILIP L. SCOWCROFT

Doncaster's Town Moor Racecourse has seen horse races from the early 17th Century—the oldest classic race, the St Leger, dates from 1776—but in 1909 it was associated with a more up-to-date means of travel when, six years after the first powered heavier-than-air flight and in the very year in which Louis Bleriot managed the first aerial crossing of the English Channel, Doncaster sprang to prominence in the aviation world by staging the first Air Display to be held in Great Britain. In this it beat Blackpool, much to the Lancashire resort's irritation, by two days. The Aero Club, which had identified itself with the Blackpool meeting, sought to 'black' Doncaster's meeting and declare it unofficial. The Doncaster Council did not forget the Club's perfidy; some years later the latter, by now the Royal Aero Club, approached the Corporation for a subscription to its Fly-

ing Services Fund, but it was curtly minuted that the Club's appeal 'be not entertained'.<sup>1</sup> The Corporation took the lead in Doncaster's 1909 arrangements, which, inclusive of a cup (£50) and a banquet (£94 1s 2d), cost it net £2,506 18s 0d. The organising committee was chaired by Alderman Charles Theobald and included six Doncaster town councillors, some celebrated names in early flying (Louis Voisin, for example) and the prolific spy thriller writer William le Queux, whose books were to include some with an aviation ambience.

The meeting was scheduled to begin on Friday 15 October and to continue (Sunday excepted) until Saturday 23 October. Admission to the Racecourse was set at a shilling a day; a place in the Grandstand and Enclosure cost £1 a day (£4 for the full eight days) and there were intermediate prices for the other stands and enclosures. Children under 14 could get in for half price except on Saturday 16 October when all charges were halved. Aviators engaged were Colonel Samuel Cody, Buffalo Bill's brother and recently naturalised as a British subject flying a huge Cody biplane, the Frenchmen Roger Sommer (Farman biplane), le Blon (Voisin biplane), Molon, Prevotau and Paul Delagrangé (all Bleriot monoplanes), and Saunier (Chauvière), the Englishmen Captain Windham and Edward Mines, the American Captain Lovelace and a Monsieur Schreck whose 'mount' was a Wright biplane.

The aviation course was prepared by lopping furze bushes, levelling and filling in ditches and moving railings. Fourteen hangars, measuring 40'3" x 45'3", were built near the saddling enclosure, facing the Great North Road, by the local builders H. Arnold & Son, who were also entrusted with making the observation stand and fencing. The (horse-drawn) ambulance used at race meetings was available and a hundred extra police constables were drafted in from the West Riding force. The railway companies, especially the Great Northern Railway, made a big thing of the meeting.<sup>2</sup>

Early flying machines were fragile and, for successful flight, calm, clear weather was needed. The opening day was literally a washout, but an estimated 100,000 spectators (this may have been an over-estimate) came on Saturday 16 October to see 23 flights, twelve of them timed ones clocking up 39½ miles in total. Sommer, Delagrangé, Molon and le Blon all did well, but Cody, after one brief flight, nosed over on take-off in a hole imperfectly filled with loose material. Wind was a problem on the following Monday but le Blon flew 22 miles to win the Bradford Cup. More wind on the Tuesday did not prevent Sommer, le Blon, Delagrangé and even Cody getting in flights, but there was little or no flying during the next four days, wind yet again being the bugbear. The meeting was extended for two days, during which Delagrangé established a new world air speed record of 49.9 miles per hour and Sommer and others managed useful flights. Sommer indeed flew 136 miles during the whole meeting (out of only 226 by all fliers). Cody, paid the huge sum of £2,000, rather disappointed expectations and Mines, Windham and Lovelace never got airborne at all. Frenchmen took all the honours and several cups. At least Doncaster managed more flying than Blackpool.

Another meeting took place at Doncaster Racecourse the following year, directly after the St Leger, between 19 and 24 September 1910. Almost all the aviators engaged were French, apart from a Belgian lady, Mlle Dutrieu (flying a Farman): Messieurs Mamet (Bleriot), Ladougne (Goupel), Bruneau de Laborie (Farman), Paul de Lesseps (Bleriot) and Le Beau (Farman). On 18 September, a Sunday, only Ladougne had arrived and not until Tuesday was he joined by de Lesseps. Both airmen flew over the town that day, de Lesseps covering some ten miles in twelve minutes. On the Wednesday de Lesseps was again airborne over Doncaster at 2,400 feet and Mamet and Ladougne also flew notably. Flying was curtailed on the last three days because of wind. Ladougne however still managed to fly on all the scheduled days. Arguably the more ambitious flights made 1910 the more noteworthy meeting. The Corporation did not run this one—it was promoted by a company, Aviation Courses Ltd, who lost over £2,000 and

went into liquidation—but the former made a profit of £531 9s 3d from hiring out the Race Common for £750 and thus recouped some of its loss of the previous year.

This was by no means the end of Doncaster Racecourse's involvement with flying. A 'flying station' was established in January 1916 close by at which No. 15 Reserve Squadron Royal Flying Corps, and, later, other units trained recruits. There were many crashes, several of them fatal,<sup>3</sup> and damage was done to the Grandstand by the unskilled pilots. Mechanics were billeted in the Grandstand, while nearby Belle Vue House, now the Grand St Leger Hotel, housed Station Headquarters and the Officers' Mess. Early in 1919 it was hoped that this aerodrome would become a permanent civil station for scheduled services but this was not to be and the buildings were put to other uses, one hangar remaining on site as part of a later Doncaster Corporation bus depot. Nevertheless the Racecourse received plenty of visitors by air. A Sheffield–Doncaster air mail flight landed in July 1919 and in September that year, during the St Leger meeting, four Avro machines ran a shuttle service from Sheffield's Coal Aston aerodrome. By 1930 richer racegoers were flying in some numbers to the St Leger in their own aircraft. This was to be the case even after a new Doncaster Airport had been opened by the Corporation on 26 May 1934 on the Low Pasture, on the far side of the Great North Road. Race-bound planes during Leger Week numbered 20 in 1935, 38 in 1936 and 50 in 1937; this traffic continued after the Second War on a rather smaller scale. Horses came, too, latterly in Bristol Freighters. During the 1920s the Race Common had staged flying displays and had in 1927 been considered, along with the Low Pasture, as a site for Doncaster's Municipal Airport by no less a figure than Sir Alan Cobham, that great populariser of aviation between the wars. Unfortunately with the closure of Doncaster Airport on 25 December 1992 racegoers cannot now come all the way to Doncaster by air.<sup>4</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Council-in-Committee minutes, 1 February 1915.
- 2 See my article 'Railway Arrangements for Britain's First Air Display', in the *Journal*, Vol. 31 (November 1993), pp. 185–7 for a summary of the railways' involvement in the meeting.
- 3 There were seventeen fatalities as a result of crashes at Doncaster in 1916–18.
- 4 As a kind of distant reminder of Doncaster Racecourse's flying history, there were helicopter flights associated with Noel Edmonds' travelling show at the Racecourse on 31 July and 1 August 1993.

# The Railway Acts of Parliament of 1894

BY A. L. BARNETT

For the introduction and list of abbreviations, please see the *Journal* Vol. XXX p. 240.

Ever since the late Charles Clinker commenced this series in October 1955 the Acts have appeared in numerical order. This is a very good arrangement provided the chapter number is known but it is not so easy otherwise. A search for, say, the London, Walthamstow & Epping Forest Railway might involve reading the titles for the whole year. Accordingly, the Acts now appear in alphabetical order. Acts up to 18 June are 57 Vic. and, after that date, 57 & 58 Vic. They are all, of course, 1894.

As before, thanks are due to Mr R. Frost and his staff at West Yorkshire Archives, Wakefield.

**BARRY** c. 167. Cons. Barry to Barry Island. Cons. breakwater.  $\frac{7}{8}$  m. May raise further £150,000. 17 August.

**BARRY DOCK & RAILWAYS 1888 (Amendment)** c. 79. Taff Vale R. to provide reasonable facilities to west of Hafod and at Treforest. 20 July.

**BIRMINGHAM, NORTH WARWICKSHIRE & STRATFORD-UPON-AVON** c. 211. Inc. Capital £650,000.

Cons. Moor Street, Birmingham to Stratford-upon-Avon.  $24\frac{1}{4}$  m.

Conn. at Bearley.  $\frac{3}{8}$  m.

Conn. Stratford to Stratford & Midland Jn R.  $\frac{1}{2}$  m.

R.P. over GWR to Bearley; over SMJR at Stratford and to Towcester.

For ten years may not cons. stn at Stratford but will use SMJR stn. SMJR to have R.P. over lines of the Co. W and T As with MS&LR. 25th August.

(Author's note: the term SMJR is used for convenience.)

**BRIGHTON, ROTTINGDEAN & NEWHAVEN DIRECT (Abd.)** c. 144. Co. (inc. 1886) to abd. cons. and be wound up. 31 July.

**BUDLEIGH SALTERTON** c. 100. Inc. Capital £60,000; B.P. £20,000.

Cons. Tipton Jn to Budleigh Salterton.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  m.

R.P. to Tipton St John's stn. May be Light Railway. T As with L&SWR. 20 July.

**BUTE DOCKS** \* c. 154. Cons. Queen Alexandra Dock and railway to serve it. 1 m. Taff Vale, Rhymney, GW and L&NWRs to have R.P. over new line. Dock to connect with Roath Dock. May raise further £1,000,000.

**CALEDONIAN** c. 146. Widening at Glasgow Central (Low Level) stn.  $\frac{1}{4}$  m.

Devn. of Leith Lines, auth. 1890.  $\frac{3}{8}$  m.

Forfar & Brechin R. acquired for £168,400 10s and F&BR Co wound up. May raise further £330,000. 31 July.

**CARDIFF CORPORATION** \* c. 161. R. at Cantreff Reservoir for waterworks use only. May be unfenced where it crosses Cantreff Common. 17 August.

**CENTRAL LONDON** c. 57. (Inc. 1891) Extn time to 28 June 1899. 3 July.

**CHARING CROSS, EUSTON & HAMPSTEAD** c. 86. (Inc. 1893). May acquire additional land. 20 July.

**CLYDE NAVIGATION** \* c. 168. Extn of time for rs auth. 1891, to 11 June 1899.

WAs with CR, NBR and G&SWR, who may subscribe. 17 August.

**COCKERMOUTH, KESWICK & PENRITH** c. 5. (Inc. 1861.) Widening Threlkeld to Penruddock. May raise further £51,000. 1 June.

**CORNWALL MINERALS** c. 80. (Inc. 1890.) May raise further £10,000. 20 July.

**DUNDEE SUBURBAN** c. 159. (Inc. 1884.) Extn time to 28 June 1896. 17 August.

**EALING & SOUTH HARROW** c. 215. Inc. Capital £120,000; B.P. £40,000. Cons. from jns with Met. District R. at Ealing to South Harrow.  $5\frac{1}{8}$  m.

W and TAs with Met. District R. 25 August.

EAST & WEST YORKSHIRE UNION Rs c. 82. (Inc. 1883.) May abd. part of r. at Lofthouse, auth. 1883. Ordinary capital reduced to £100,000. May raise further £15,000. 20 July.

EASTON & CHURCH HOPE (Extn of Time). c. 149. (Inc. 1867.) Extn time to 23 August 1896. 31 July.

EXETER, TEIGN VALLEY & CHAGFORD. c. 190. (Inc. 1883.) Extn time to 20 August 1897. May raise further £24,000. 17 August.

FISHGUARD & ROSSLARE Rs & HARBOURS. c. 137. (Inc. as Fishguard Bay R. & Pier Co.) Rosslare Harbour and Waterford & Wexford R. to be vested in Co. and W&WR Co wound up. Name changed to Fishguard & Rosslare Rs & Harbour Co. 31 July.

FURNESS c. 207. Cons. outfall sewer at Cavendish Dock. May acquire additional land. May raise further £100,000. 25 August.

GLASGOW DISTRICT SUBWAY (F.P.)\* c. 174. (Inc. 1890.) May raise further £550,000. May acquire additional land at Govan. Gauge to be not less than 3 ft. 6 in. Extn time to 4 August 1897. 17 August.

GREAT NORTH OF SCOTLAND c. 34. Devn of Ellon and Boddam branch (auth. 1893). 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> m. 18 June.

GREAT NORTHERN c. 75. Cons. five short connections at Finsbury Park. 2 m. Hunslet R. (inc. 1893) vested in GNR.

Halifax High Level & North & South Jn. R vested in GN and L&YRs and to be worked by a Joint Committee.

Stamford & Essendine R. (inc. 1853) to be leased to GNR for £3,000 p.a. for first ten years and £3,500 thereafter.

May raise further £500,000. 3 July.

GREAT WESTERN (No. 1) c. 143. Extn of 'Hall's Tramroad' to Twyn Gwyn. 1 m. Devn between Patney & Chirton Jn and Westbury E. Jn in place of rs auth. 1883.

Cons. embankment in place of viaduct over Olton Reservoir of Warwick & Birmingham Canal.

New viaducts and embankments in place of existing viaducts at St. Austell, Gover, Tregarne, Tregagle, Carveras and Penponds, all in Cornwall.

GW and L&NWRs may widen at Shrewsbury.

Extn time for River Usk R. (auth. 1885) to 31 July 1899.

Tiverton & North Devon and Oldbury R. Cos vested in GWR.

May raise further £750,000. 31 July.

GREAT WESTERN (No. 2) c. 177. Yealmton R. (auth. as Plymouth & Dartmoor (South Hams Extn) 1888) transferred from Plymouth & Dartmoor R. Co. for £1,600. GWR to complete r. 17 August.

GWR AND MR COS (SEVERN & WYE AND SEVERN BRIDGE R.) c. 189.

(Severn Bridge and Severn & Wye Cos were amalg. 1879.) S&W&SBR Co. to be wound up and vested in GWR and MR Cos from 1 July 1894. Berkeley br. of MR to be vested in the two cos on payment by GWR of £62,475. Joint committee to be formed. Facilities to be afforded to L&NWR. 17 August.

HULL & NORTH WESTERN JN (Abd) c. 13. (Inc. 1887.) R. to be abd. and Co. wound up. 1 June.

HULL, BARNSLEY & WEST RIDING JN AND DOCK c. 30. Powers to cons. docks extended to 18 August 1898. 18 June.

LAMBOURN VALLEY c. 88. (Inc. 1883.) Extn time to 17 June 1897. 20 July.

LANCASHIRE & YORKSHIRE c. 148. Cons. Wakefield E. Jn to Calder Bridge Jn. <sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> m.

Widenings at Bolton and Wigan. Devn at Rose Grove, Burnley.

May raise further £450,000. 31 July.

LANCASHIRE, DERBYSHIRE & EAST COAST c. 136. (Inc. 1891.) Extn time to 5 August 1899. July 31.

LONDON & NORTH WESTERN c. 92. Devn of r. at Pleasley Cross, St. Helens, auth. 1891.  $\frac{5}{8}$  m.

Alteration of 'New Line' at Heaton Lodge, to pass under instead of over the L&YR.  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. 20 July.

LONDON, BRIGHTON & SOUTH COAST c. 104. Cons. South Croydon to Earlswood.  $10\frac{1}{4}$  m.

May raise further £360,000. 20 July.

LONDON, BRIGHTON & SOUTH COAST (Steam Vessels) c. 6. Powers to run steamers from Newhaven to Caen and Honfleur (auth. 1864) extended. 1 June.

LONDON, CHATHAM & DOVER c. 66. LC&D and SE Rs may make traffic agreements. 3 July.

LONDON, WALTHAMSTOW & EPPING FOREST c. 216. Inc. Capital of £2,100,000; B.P. £700,000. Cons. from South Place and from Wilson Street, Finsbury to Sewardstone, near Waltham Abbey.  $14\frac{3}{8}$  m.

Conn. from Clapton to Cambridge line of GER near Copper Mill Jn.  $\frac{1}{2}$  m.

Conn. from Clapton to Tottenham & Hampstead Jn R. near South Tottenham stn.  $1\frac{1}{8}$  m.

Conn. from Chingford br., GER, at Hoe Street, Walthamstow.  $\frac{1}{4}$  m.

To be partly in twin tunnels; tunnels not to be more than sixteen feet in diameter. Power to be electricity, subject to Board of Trade approval. Bridge over East London Water Co's property and over the GER Walthamstow branch to give access to Walthamstow Marshes. Restrictions on the removal of spoil; Commissioner of the City of London Police may seize any cart which deposits spoil in the street. No advertisements in the City of London or in Epping Forest.

GER to have R.P. over lines of the Co. LW&EFR to provide electricity, platform facilities at Finsbury Circus, and motive power to GER. 25 August.

LONGTON, ADDERLEY GREEN & BUCKNALL c. 93. Co. (inc. 1866) to be vested in North Staffordshire R. for £22,500, and dissolved. 20 July.

MANCHESTER, SHEFFIELD & LINCOLNSHIRE c. 81. Cons. from Houghton Main Colliery branch to Grimethorpe Colliery.

Cons. Bentinck Colliery West br. 1 m.

Devn between Wilford (Nottingham) and East Leake (on extn to London, auth. 1893). 5 m.

Devn between Shawell and Willoughby. 7 m.

Devn, conn from above, to jn with LNWR a Rugby.  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. 20 July.

MS&L AND LIVERPOOL, ST HELENS & SOUTH LANCASHIRE JN c. 12.

MS&LR may subscribe additional £110,000 and appoint two more directors to St Helens Co. 1 June.

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL \* c. 169. Extn time for r. at Warrington, auth. 1885, to 17 August 1897. Co. may licence pilots for navigation of canal and docks. 17 August.

MERSEY c. 139. Co. (inc. 1885) may abd. cons. certain rs auth. 1885 and 1887. Directors may spend up to £1,000 to find cheaper way of working by electric or other power and of ventilating and pumping the tunnel. 31 July.

MERSEY (Rates and Charges) c. 72. Length of Mersey Tunnel to be reckoned as 5 miles instead of actual 4 miles 8 chains. 3 July.

MIDLAND c. 96. Cons. Wincobank North Curve.  $\frac{3}{8}$  m.

Devn at Wombwell.  $1\frac{1}{8}$  m.

Widenings at Camden Town. R.P. to GER.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m.

Widening of M&GN Jt line at Spalding.  $\frac{7}{8}$  m.

Extn time for cons. Mundesley br. to 28 June 1897.

May raise further £600,000. 20 July.

NORTH BRITISH c. 152. Cons. Bathgate Upper to Bathgate Lower.  $\frac{1}{4}$  m.

Charleston Harbour br. extn.  $\frac{1}{2}$  m.

Extn time for cons. Waverley stn, Edinburgh (auth. 1891) to 5 August 1899. Agreement

with CR, GNSR, NBR and Aberdeen Jt Station Committee is confirmed. 31 July.  
**NORTH CORNWALL** c. 186. (Inc. 1882.) Extn time to 18 August 1899.  
 Devn of Bodmin & Wadebridge branch of L&SWR near Wadebridge. 2¼ m.  
 17 August.  
**NORTH EASTERN** c. 153. Cons. from Dunston Extn R. to Redheugh Branch R.  
 1¾ m.  
 Cons. from Tanfield Branch to Dunston Extn R. ½ m.  
 Cons. Blaydon Loop W. Jn to Blaydon Loop Jn. ¾ m.  
 Cons. Hart Jn to Seaham. 9⅛ m.  
 Devn Hunslet Br. (Leeds), auth. 1893. ⅞ m.  
 Widening main line Beningbrough to Alne. 5½ m.  
 NER and the Marquess of Londonderry may convert railway at Seaham into passenger  
 r. NER to have R.P. over Londonderry R. to Ryhope Grange Jn, Sunderland, and Mar-  
 quess of Londonderry to have R.P. from Ryhope Grange into Sunderland for passenger  
 and coaching traffic.  
 Wear Valley Extn R. Co. (inc. 1892) dissolved and vested in NER.  
 May abd. the Sherburn House and Shincliffe R. and the Whitwell Br.  
 May raise further £840,000. 31 July.  
**OXFORD & AYLESBURY TRAMROAD** \* c. 179. (Inc. 1883 as Oxford Aylesbury  
 and Metropolitan Jn R)  
 Devn from near Oxford to jn with Wotton Tramway, Brill. Single line. May be worked  
 electrically, subject to Board of Trade regulations. Higher fares not to be charged on  
 Sundays or public holidays. May raise further £15,000. 5⅝ m. 17 August.  
**PETERHEAD HARBOURS** \* c. 170. The Trustees may purchase the Harbour Br. of  
 the GNSR. 17 August.  
**PLYMOUTH & DARTMOOR** c. 188. Extn time to 28 June 1897. 17 August.  
**PORT TALBOT R. & DOCKS** c. 141. Inc. (inc. as Aberavon Harbour Co. Co dis-  
 solved and re-incorporated) Capital £600,000. Cons. from Aberavon, Port Talbot to  
 Pont-y-Rhyll and jn with GWR R.P. over GWR Garw Br. 15¼ m.  
 Cons. from Aberavon stn, Rhonda & Swansea Bay R. and from Port Talbot Central stn  
 to Dyffryn Jn. 1½ m.  
 Cons. from old breakwater at Margam to jn with GWR near Port Talbot. Not to be a  
 passenger line, but GWR to have R.P. ½ m.  
 May make WA with R&SBR. 31 July.  
**SOUTH EASTERN** c. 133. May abd. cons. of part of Cranbrook R. auth. 1887.  
 May abd. cons. of part of Folkestone, Sandgate & Hythe Tramways, auth. 1884. 31 July.  
**SOUTH YORKSHIRE JN** c. 77. (Inc. 1890.) Extn time to 14 August 1898. 3 July.  
**TAFF VALE** c. 172. Cons. Clydach Court Loop. ½ m.  
 May divert Rhondda Fawr Br.  
 Cowbridge & Aberthaw R. amalg from 1 January 1895 and Co. dissolved. 17 Aug.  
**TOTTENHAM & FOREST GATE** c. 76. (Inc. 1890.) May raise further £150,000 to  
 which MR and LT&SR may subscribe. May provide refreshment rooms at stations.  
 3 July.  
**WEST HIGHLAND** c. 156. Cons. Banavie to Mallaig. 39⅝ m.  
 May cons. pier at Mallaig. May raise further £260,000. Treasury may pay interest or  
 dividends WA with NBR to be extended. 31 July.  
**WEST LANCASHIRE** c. 173. (Inc. 1871.) New Board to be elected. May borrow  
 further £50,000 as debenture stock. 17 August.  
**WORCESTER & BROOME** (Abd.) c. 11. (Inc. 1885.) R. to be abd. and Co. wound  
 up. 1 June.

# Review article:

## Foster on Regulation

BY M. R. BONAVIA

Sixty years ago, Herbert Morrison published *Socialisation and Transport* which, while describing and justifying the creation of London Transport, also outlined a philosophy of public ownership of what may loosely be termed public utilities. He argued that ownership, not regulation was the essential key to achieving the right 'mix' of service quality and price for the benefit of consumers; but public ownership should not involve or permit detailed interference on political grounds. The appropriate Minister should appoint a Board of ability—not a representative Board—and then give it freedom to pursue a statutory duty to combine adequate quantity and quality of service with financial viability.

When he wrote, Morrison had seen his proposals for London's public transport given effect, though not by the Labour Government in which he had been Minister of Transport but by a 'National' Government in which a Liberal Minister had adopted his Bill, with the major modification of dropping direct appointment of the London Passenger Transport Board Members by the Minister and substituting a rather clumsy arrangement of Appointing Trustees. He then had to wait until the Attlee Government of 1945–51 before he could give his ideas full reign when, as Lord President of the Council, he chaired the Cabinet Committee on the Socialisation of Industries. By 1951 the programme of nationalising the Bank of England, the coal industry, gas and electricity and (more or less) steel had been completed, along with the most difficult, controversial and complex task of all, public transport.

Whereas gas, electricity and other utilities can be considered natural monopolies from their technical characteristics, transport is a rich mixture of monopoly, oligopoly, and competitive enterprise. Here Morrison's thesis was simple. Much transport inevitably runs to waste; supply can never be as closely matched to demand as in the case of products capable of storage. Waste is increased by competition which duplicates services; overall, the aggregate costs to the consumer can only be minimised by 'co-ordination', which in turn can only be achieved under conditions of benevolent monopoly, i.e. public ownership coupled with efficient business management eschewing both excessive profit on the one hand and subsidy from the taxpayer on the other.

But in the programme of nationalising all public transport, Morrison committed a major error in assuming that a recipe that appeared to have worked well (for a loyal Cockney such as himself) in London, for passenger traffic, could be applied nation-wide for both passenger and freight traffic. In consequence, the British Transport Commission and its successor Boards were constantly being tinkered with during the long years of more or less consensus when the other public Boards relating to 'natural monopolies' were allowed to co-exist.

A new era dawned with the Thatcher Government of 1979 and the progressive reversal of everything done in the 'socialising' years, 1945–51. After thirteen years of privatisations the economy has reverted to an overwhelming dominance of private ownership, apart from the railways, always the difficult case for a string of reasons. But major questions arise about the preservation of the public, i.e. the consumers', interests. Simply turning ownership upside down is not enough, as even Right-wing politicians must accept.

The six decades that have passed since Morrison's book have now been marked by publication of a work of, to say the least, equal importance and one argued in greater depth

and detachment. *Privatization, Public Ownership and the Regulation of Natural Monopoly* by C. D. Foster, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1993, 458 pp, £40) is not merely an epitaph on the Morrisonian philosophy but an historical study of the attempt to regulate private enterprise, above all in railways, and an analysis of the problems associated with securing efficiency in public Boards, leading to the issue of regulating newly-privatized industries. Sir Christopher Foster is uniquely qualified to pronounce upon these essential questions. His standing as an economist at Oxford and London School of Economics became apparent in the transport world when, jointly with Michael Beesley, he pioneered the application of cost-benefit analysis to major transport projects, of which the first tangible result was the authorisation of the Victoria Line. Then, as Director-General of Economic Planning in the Ministry of Transport during Barbara Castle's time as Minister, he is generally regarded as the main architect of the Transport Act, 1968, arguably the most constructive measure in an otherwise pretty dismal succession of transport legislation.

But Foster is no cloistered academic. His work as a consultant, both individually and as a partner in our most prestigious consultancy firm, has been immensely varied and included as clients British Rail and the Channel Tunnel. He has also sat around the Board table in the Post Office and British Telecom and is the U.K. member of the E.C. Group Transport 2000 Plus. Anything he writes calls for close attention; and his new book is more than an obituary notice of the Morrisonian public Boards. It is a deeply thoughtful study of the relations between the State and public utility industries, grouped in three parts: Historical Development, Policy Issues, and Conclusions. Members of this Society will naturally be drawn chiefly to the first part, though since the Railways Bill has now become law and become a part of history, the fact that Sir Christopher Foster has been acting as Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for Transport adds piquancy to his final conclusions. Whether Mr John MacGregor has listened as carefully as did Mrs Barbara Castle in her time seems doubtful!

Foster approaches his subject by a study of the railways' relations with Government up to the outbreak of World War II. He gives great credit to James Morrison MP and to W. E. Gladstone, for penetrating thought on the control of natural monopolies such as railways, and deplores the failure of Parliament to establish a regulatory framework against the opposition of vested interests. Foster has no hesitation in concluding:

... the first period of regulation through railway legislation was a failure. It did not meet the complaints that customers of monopolies had against them on price and quality. It did not promote competition—indeed arguably it encouraged collusion and entrenched the practice of collusion for a century to come . . . it did not secure a reasonable return on capital in the long run, so that further investment was discouraged.

This sweeping condemnation can perhaps be expanded to distinguish between public or general Acts of Parliament, and private Acts giving powers to incorporate new companies, to construct works, to amalgamate or to legitimise agreements between companies. Certainly the former lacked any consistent view of the State's role in relation to public transport under rapid development. Nor was there any clear pattern emerging from the innumerable measures in the second class. The majority sought to promote investment. Some were designed to introduce competition in an area hitherto monopolised. Others sought sanction for, in effect, a regional monopoly. The result was a patchwork, not a system about which it is easy or always safe to generalise.

As to regulation, if Britain had passed an Act comparable to the French Law of 1842 sponsored by Thiers, establishing regional monopolies within which long-term operating franchises were granted to private companies, railway development in Britain would have been probably slower but would have followed a more logical pattern—in fact, some of the Beeching surgery of the 1960s might have been unnecessary. But in an age

of *laissez-faire*, Parliament held back from such 'étatisme'; even regulation over safety was minimal apart from the establishment of the Railway Inspectorate with absurdly limited powers until 1889; while regulation of charges was effected through charging powers in private Acts which could vary widely until almost the end of the 1880s.

Foster passes from regulation by Parliament to regulation by Commission. He studies the working of the Railway & Canal Commission of 1873, and the long controversy over freight rates which led to the strengthening of the Commission's powers in 1888, the railways' response, leading to outcry on the part of traders and the succeeding Act of 1894.

Foster remarks that there were two schools of railway economists—a 'cost of service group' and a 'value of service group' of whom the most prominent member was Sir William Acworth.

'Cost of service' as a serious principle for fixing freight rates was always a non-starter. The only economist in favour of it whom Foster mentions is Sidgwick. (Both Marshall and Pigou discuss the special problem of railway rates as examples of differential charging in a monopoly dominated by joint costs and inevitable cross-subsidisation in consequence.)

Ascertainment of total cost is impracticable. Only quite arbitrary, and hence controversial loading of overhead expenses on to any particular transaction can be attempted. (The British Transport Commission after nationalisation tried and failed fully to cost individual traffics and, through a Charges Scheme, direct them to use the most economic mode, whether nationalised road or rail.) There were good reasons therefore why statutory tariffs were not cost-based, nor were the 'exceptional rates', negotiated below the tariff maxima, under which some three-quarters of the traffic passed before the Second World War.

Acworth, like A. T. Hadley, and many other railway economists since the much underrated Dionysius Lardner, argued that out-of-pocket expenses were a 'floor' below which no rate should be quoted. (This reviewer discussed some of the implications in an article on Acworth in the November 1992 issue of the *Journal*.) The purely practical problem is the weakness of costing techniques, leading to arbitrariness in any assessment of marginal costs. What value can be attached to averages such as cost per freight train-mile? A train might comprise five or fifty-plus wagons. In consequence crude rules of thumb were used by managements.

The simple fact is that freight charging of 'exceptional rates' was an art and not a science. A Goods Manager, faced with a request for a quotation from a substantial customer, would consider first the demand side—was there a genuine limit upon 'ability to pay'; was competition in the offing from another railway or from road transport? Then he would look at the cost side, but only to consider any special factors making this traffic either *less* costly or *more* costly than the average to carry. Lastly, he would consider repercussions; would the granting of this rate lead to demands from other traders claiming to be in a similar position? Here he might, in the Goods Managers Conference of the Railway Clearing House, discuss policy implications with his colleagues in other railways.

In fact, the Railway Clearing House, only briefly considered by Foster, had some claim to be part of a self-regulatory system for the railways, operating of course through voluntary agreements. It was more than a simple trade association aimed at price-rigging; it was partly a self-regulatory body for the railways, working through a network of committees. It compiled the General Railway Classification which underlay the tariff structure. Its original purpose had been the apportionments which made possible the quotation of through rates 'from anywhere to anywhere', an obvious boon to rail users. It promoted safety through the standardisation of Rule Books and signalling practices. It

was the birthplace of the 'agreed charge', a rate per ton irrespective of destination or distance. The railways accordingly could claim credit for a degree of self-regulation.

Foster deals briefly with the regulatory system established by the Railways Act 1921, and the concept, implemented through the Railway Rates Tribunal which replaced the Railway & Canal Commission, of a sliding scale linking charges to a 'standard revenue', with 80% of any excess revenue to be returned through a reduction in charges. It is well known that the supposedly standard charges merely replaced the former maxima, and exceptional rates continued to be applied to the bulk of the traffic. In effect, tariffs continued to be less significant than contracts. Failure to achieve standard revenue between the Wars, and the ineffectiveness of the regulatory system stemming from the 1921 Act, are sad facts of railway history.

Under nationalization, Foster reviews the total programme of the Attlee years, without special attention to the railways; he proceeds to a comprehensive account of how the public Boards have failed to achieve the objectives originally set them and the consequently inevitable move towards privatization, which brings with it new issues and problems to be solved. Here his own experience at Board level in several public utilities, both before and after privatization is weighty. To summarize: his main conclusion is that privatization was inevitable owing to the failures of both the regulators and the public Boards; but a system of regulation is needed where private monopoly replaces public monopoly and competition cannot be relied upon to protect the public interest. Equally, de-regulation has its value, but under some circumstances it can lead to the opposite result of that intended.

It has only been possible here to discuss the historical railway element in a major book that is also a 'tract for the times' and has major implications for policy to be made as well as analysing the consequence of policies already made—or failing to be made.

Even modern railway history (i.e. since the end of World War II) is having to be written increasingly from records rather than by eye-witnesses or participants. (Gourvish's splendid tome had the advantage of interviews with a fast disappearing race of managers and civil servants.) Autobiographies should be a fruitful source, but the recent spate has been directed chiefly at nostalgia for the age of steam. Too little has been written by managers describing events in which they participated. One exception is A. J. Pearson, in *Man of the Rail*, and of course there is the incomparable Gerard Fiennes. Stewart Joy in *The Train that Ran Away* has written rather sourly of his time as Chief Economist to the British Railways Board; and for a tolerant view, one must be very thankful for Sir John Elliot's *On and Off the Rails*. But Sir Christopher Foster has been able to combine deep insight into the workings of nationalised industry with the detachment of an outside consultant and economist, despite being personally involved in the decision-making process on numerous occasions.

# Book Reviews

THE MEMORIES AND WRITINGS OF A LONDON RAILWAYMAN: A TRIBUTE TO HAROLD VERNON BORLEY (1895–1989), edited by Alan A. Jackson, 159 pp, 56 illus, 4 maps. Railway & Canal Historical Society, 1993, ISBN 0 901461 16 4, £16.95.

H. V. Borley, one of the earliest members of the R&CHS, was a frequent, not to say indefatigable, contributor of articles and notes to its *Journal*. He had a passion for exact factual information on certain aspects of railway history, mainly relating to London railways north of the Thames. ‘Certain aspects of railway history’: it was the ‘infrastructure’ (a word he would never have used) of the railway, the chronology of its construction, stations (especially their naming and renaming), and train services, mainly passenger, and operating and ticketing practices, that he sought, with great persistence, to pin down with documented precision. Locomotives and rolling stock he left to others. He was rarely concerned with personalities—the only personal name in this volume is that of George Newton Ford, the North London’s traffic superintendent. Nor did he concern himself with the consequences of railways, or with their policies and politics, or with their financial performance. It was what railways *were* rather than what they *did* that aroused his interest. A reviewer who had written of railway chronologies: ‘Of course this is not railway history’ was sharply rebuked by C. R. Clinker in his preface to Borley’s *Chronology of London Railways*, published in 1982; he wrote: ‘Fortunately, this attitude has changed and the worth of several recent chronological works has been praised. Indeed, they have become an accepted part of the railway history scene.’ What this means, in the end, is that all railway historians are more interested in some aspects of their chosen field of study than in others.

Borley was concerned, to an exceptional degree, to ensure that statements, especially chronological statements, about events in the story of railway development should be got right. I have scores of letters from him about the successive reprints of my little book *The North London Railway*, which were always subjected to his scrutiny for matters of fact. For the later impressions I might well have adapted the Fowler brothers’ rueful acknowledgment in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* and written: *castigavit et emendavit H. V. Borley*. He regularly called attention to misstatements, some of them tiny, in books and articles. It was done more in sorrow than in anger; but I felt bound to suggest to him once that it was only proper to communicate his proposed emendations to an author before publishing his list.

He was equally pained by railway managements who failed to make changes on clearly ascertainable dates. He complained to me when I was at London Transport that the date when name-boards at some station had been changed could not be precisely established; it may have been Chorley Wood to Chorleywood, 1965, but I am not certain. He was plainly discontented with my reply that the operation had been carried out not on one day but over a period of time.

He was a stickler for railways carrying out their promises to the letter. At an earlier period—I think in 1947, when I was the junior in Lord Ashfield’s office at 55 Broadway—he must have picked up an advertised statement that through return tickets could be booked from District stations to LMS stations at and near Southend. Borley seems to have gone to many stations then on the District, out to the westernmost ones, and tried to book through on one of these tickets. At some of them he was told that there was so little demand that ticket stocks were not kept, and he was asked to book to Barking and rebook there (where he would have to change anyway), at no higher total fare. This infuriated him, and he became such a nuisance that the Underground man-

agement, finding that he was a LMS employee, got the chairman to write to the chairman of the LMS and ask if he could be choked off.

Such was the kind of man that Borley was. He was not easy to know—‘somewhat gruff and brusque’ described his usual manner, which was reserved, with no false bonhomie. He was, I found, always perfectly civil, even when in strong disagreement, but he was never forthcoming. In all our long exchange of letters we never got beyond the use of surnames—characteristic of his generation and, to begin with at any rate, of mine.

Our society decided that it would be a proper thing to commemorate the contribution made by Borley, particularly to its *Journal*, by publishing a volume containing a longish interview with him transcribed from a tape made in 1983, when he was 87, together with the major part—‘a substantially complete collection’—of his contributions to periodicals. There is, indeed, some duplication of material, as the editor says: the signalling arrangements at Acton Gatehouse/Hammersmith Junction and South Acton, N&SWJR, are described five times. But in the result, the whole of Borley’s *oeuvre*, apart from some trifles of no importance, is to be found here, with bibliographical particulars of his three books: a much more convenient place for those who wish to refer to them than the awkward files of the periodicals. The text, which is well laid out, indexed, and printed, is supported and illuminated by a first-class set of illustrations, and by some diagram maps which remind us how high a quality was maintained by the studio of the old *Railway Magazine*.

What might H.V.B. have found to say of it if he had been able to bring the intense if narrow beam of his critical sense to bear on this volume? We can be sure that the ‘high priest of accuracy’, as the editor calls him, would have read it with his usual keen attention. Not much, that this reviewer can find at one reading.

On p 39, in a passage from remarks written by Borley ‘in support of the interview already mentioned, it is stated: ‘The Hampstead Junction Railway was extended to Old Oak Junction . . . opened in 1860 and was extended to Acton Wells Junction in 1885.’ This is elliptical, to say the least; what happened in 1885 was that the original alignment from Kensal Rise Junction to Old Oak Junction was taken out of use and replaced by a stretch through the new high-level Willesden Junction platforms to Old Oak Junction; two additional tracks, laid to the east of the existing N&SWJ ones, extended as far as Acton Wells Junction, a distance of about 20 chains. This is made clear on the map, no. 21, on p 64.

On p 58 it is stated that from 22 June 1849 express trains for the Greenwich boats were run between Fenchurch Street and Blackwall, ‘the rail journey taking five minutes’. Is this believable? Only 3½ miles, it is true; but what miles! On p 81, ‘GER’ and ‘GNR’ have been transposed in the last line of the caption. On p 98 the caption refers to ‘Mill Hill for The Hale’ station. The text and Borley’s *Chronology of London Railways* give ‘Mill Hill (The Hale)’; but the variant did exist. On p 104, about trains from the High Barnet branch, ‘G.N. trains ran to Moorgate Street and did not naturally terminate at Aldersgate Street.’ This is correctly transcribed from the typewritten *Journal*; but ‘naturally’ should probably have read ‘normally’. On p 117, the names ‘Kilburn–Brondesbury’ and ‘Kingsbury–Neasden’ are given for Metropolitan stations. Neither Bennett and Borley, *London Transport Railways* (1963) nor Borley’s *Chronology of London Railways* (1982) gives the hyphenated versions; but, again, they did exist.

These are niggling remarks; but Borley loved niggles. These apart, what we have here is a well-produced tribute of regard for a man of a very particular disposition and uncommon ability within his chosen field. MICHAEL ROBBINS

**THE ORIGINS OF RAILWAY ENTERPRISE: THE STOCKTON AND DARLINGTON RAILWAY, 1821–1863**, Maurice W. Kirby, xv+223 pp, 235 × 155 mm, 28 illus., 8 maps and plans, 34 tables, boards. Cambridge University Press, 1993, ISBN 0 521 38445 1, £29.95.

This book is an economic and business history which explores the extent to which the company acted as a rôle-model for the railways which followed, rather than accepting the view of earlier economic historians, that it was no more than a precursor, pointing the way to the future and acting as a locomotive test-bed. In fact the S&D was operating for five years before the Liverpool & Manchester Railway was opened, during which time it demonstrated the practicality of the steam locomotive, the need for improved track-work, and its own commercial success, although in the last instance, since it was a mineral line in a district ripe for cheap transport, it could offer few lessons to lines intended for light freight and passenger traffic. The S&D set one bad precedent which was followed by nearly all the others—its construction costs exceeded the Parliamentary estimates. In managing its operations the company was ‘ante-deluvian’, and was followed by few others, if any; it sub-contracted nearly everything, track repairs, working the fixed and locomotive engines, the staithes, even winding the clocks. Later companies internalised nearly all functions, the L&NWR even making artificial limbs for its less fortunate workmen at Crewe.

The S&D played a major, although not a decisive, part in the proving of the steam locomotive, yet it was worked by a combination of stationary engines, horses and locomotives for many years. The author refrains from dealing at length with technical matters as requiring the insight derived from long and specialised study; quite right, and the more so since we do have much information on the locomotive history, although as most of it was written in the earlier part of the present century, a full re-appraisal would be welcome.

The financial support derived from the Pease family and the Quaker money market is described, as is the competition between the Tyne and Wear coal-owners and those of the Tees; also the one-sided contest with the Clarence Railway, which had a shorter route but had to go onto S&D metals for most of its traffic.

There are some surprises. In 1821 Birkinshaw and Longridge, extolling the virtues of their malleable iron rails, claimed that, to reduce hammer-blow on poorly-aligned joints, they had welded rail-ends together, making one continuous rail for the whole length of the road—a practice which, this writer believes, was not repeated for a century or more. Robert Stephenson & Co. nearly lost the contract for supplying locomotives in November 1825, due to poor workmanship; the company asked Fenton & Murray to take it on, but they declined. The early waggons had ‘fixed axles’ (presumably the wheels were fixed to the axles) and one reason for George Stephenson’s modifications to Overton’s original route was the need to straighten the line to accommodate these fixed axles, which tended ‘to run off the curve in a tangent’. Many of the illustrations are familiar and devoted to the *dramatis personae*. The maps are adequate; as is usual the old ones have not taken kindly to copying. The numerous tables, all sourced, are not all devoted to tonnages and finance; there is one on coach traffic, a list of sub-contracts and one of industrial sites served. The index is useful but lacks entries for track, rails, capital structure, loan capital and other matters dealt with in the text—a common indexing fault. The referencing is excellent, the bibliography also. The book is well made on good paper and nicely bound.

The author has kept to his brief, made good use of the right sources and by using a straightforward style, avoiding most of the specialist language of his craft, has succeeded in delivering the study he planned, and also an informative and readable addition to the general history of our pioneer railway. **HARRY PAAR**

**RAILWAY ON THE WATER. TOM PUDDINGS AND THE YORKSHIRE COAL INDUSTRY**, Harold Crabtree, ed by Mike Clarke, 112 + 8 pp, 90 illus and maps, The Sobriety project, Sobriety Waterways Adventure Centre, Dutch Riverside, Goole DN14 5TB, 1993. ISBN 0 9522592 0 6, £12.75.

Though often illustrated the compartment boats towed in trains mainly on the Aire & Calder Canal and known as Tom Puddings have not previously had their full story told of how they developed and were closely integrated with the Yorkshire coal trade. The author, who sadly died before his manuscript was completed, had a lifetime's association with the Port of Goole and the Aire & Calder Navigation and therefore had an intimate knowledge of this unique transport system, comprising over 1,000 boats and 18 tugs, and the economic background of coal handling from the pits adjacent to the local waterways.

Although the peak of tonnage carried by compartment boats (in 1913) had long passed before the author joined the company in 1935 there were still substantial tonnages carried after the Second World War. The final train entered Goole in 1986. Patented by William Hamond Bartholomew in 1862 and introduced in 1864 the boats carried in the next 122 years about 55 million tons of coal.

Not only are there full technical descriptions of the boats and tugs as well as the hoists at Goole, whereby the coal was transferred to sea-going vessels, but there is also a comprehensive listing of the pits which used the system and a summary of their annual production transported by the boats. The development of the competing railway network and coal shipment statistics for the other ports of Hull, Grimsby and Immingham are also included.

This is a well written book based upon personal knowledge and illustrated with a wide range of photographs and drawings. It is a major contribution to canal history and is strongly recommended. JOHN BOYES

**THE BEST OF AMERICAN CANALS, NUMBER VI**, 88 pp, numerous maps and photographs, card covers, The American Canal & Transportation Center, 809, Rathton Road, York, Pa. 17403. United States of America. ISBN 0-933788-85-1. 1993. No price quoted.

The American Canal Society was formed in 1972. Since then it has produced a regular journal, *American Canals*. Over the years key articles from that journal have regularly been combined into a bound volume with a good index. The sixth such volume has just been published which covers the period 1991 to 1993 inclusive. Like its predecessors, all of which are still in print, it provides a collection of carefully researched articles on canal themes, together with the photographs and maps which support them in a handy A4 format.

The latest edition covers both the industrial archaeology of canals as well as details of what can be found today by the waterways enthusiast. As is to be expected, by far the greatest number of items deal with North American waterways, but other key canals like Japan's Biwa Canal, the Corinth Canal and the Main-Danube Canal are all featured in this compact book.

All too often it is difficult to find an easy way to access overseas society journals. This concept of a bound selection of key articles has much to commend it to other organisations elsewhere whose journals combine both research and domestic news.

The whole series of the *Best of American Canals*, together with other American books, are available on mail order from the American Canal & Transportation Center, York PA, and are a valuable addition to the enthusiast's bookshelf. ROGER W. SQUIRES

**THE LITTLE EATON GANGWAY AND DERBY CANAL**, David Ripley 64 pp, 30 photos, 15 maps and diagrams, card covers. Oakwood Press, 1993, ISBN 0 85361 431 8, £3.95.

This is a much enlarged edition of a book published in 1973. It deals with the Derby Canal from the Trent & Mersey at Swarkestone and the Erewash at Sandiacre through Derby to Little Eaton where it was fed by the gangway which served many collieries and other industrial outlets to the north. In contrast to Tyneside where large, single wagons pulled by one or more horses was the norm on wagonways, Shropshire claims that by its practice of using several horses to draw a line of smaller coupled wagons it thereby invented the train—but it failed to give it a name. Here, however, a similar practice using ‘gangs’ of horses and wagons was called a ‘gangway’.

The canal gets only meagre attention; not even the country’s first iron aqueduct at The Holmes, Derby, is mentioned, and the sections describing the route seem to deal more with the scanty remains visible today. But the coverage of the gangway is very thorough and includes what must surely be the finest collection of photographs of any wagonway. Particularly fascinating are the shots of pioneering containerisation transfer from wagon to canal boats. Interesting, too, is the reference to wagons with their thin, unroadworthy wheels being illegally pushed off the gangway and up to serve farms, an offence punishable by a fine. The production is of a high standard. A good buy. JOHN DENTON

**THE CORK, BLACKROCK AND PASSAGE RAILWAY AND RIVER STEAMERS 1850–1932**, C. Creedon, 208 pp, 72 photo illus, maps, plans, woodcuts, reproductions of timetables and tickets, card covers. Published by and obtainable from the author at 6, Auburn Villas, Magazine Road, Cork, Ireland, £7.50.

The book is sub-titled ‘An Illustrated History by C. Creedon, Sixtieth Anniversary of Closure 1932–1992’. It bears the date December 1992, but has come to hand only recently. The CB&PR was one of three Irish railways which started life on the 5’ 3” gauge and were subsequently altered to 3’ gauge, in the case of the CB&PR in 1900. The line followed closely the River Lee, eastwards and then in a general southerly and south easterly direction to its ultimate terminus at Crosshaven, some 16 miles from the Cork terminus which itself was very close to the Cork, Bandon & South Coast station at Albert Quay.

The earlier chapters cover planning and construction, the railway in its broad gauge days, conversion to narrow gauge in connection with the Crosshaven extension which was built to 3’ gauge from the outset, the working of the line in its full length as a narrow gauge line, the takeover by the GSR in 1925 and subsequent closure. Further chapters cover locomotives and rolling stock, the steamers operated on the River Lee by the railway company from its various piers, a description of the line, tickets, signalling, and details of a 1929 report by a committee appointed by the GSR owing to the problems created by increasing road competition. This report served as a prelude to complete closure of the system three years later. There is a summary of train services, and a final section on a suggested ‘supertram’ system from Passage to Cork to provide facilities for the growing number of residents along the route. Nearly all the trackbed has now been adapted as a public footpath and cycle track. The book concludes with a series of reproductions of notices concerning excursion and other ticket facilities.

Highly recommended to all who are interested in the narrow gauge railways of Ireland. NEIL PITTS

THE CORK, BLACKROCK & PASSAGE RAILWAY, Stanley C. Jenkins (incorporating material by A. T. Newham). 104 pp, 51 photographs, several maps and plans, card covers. Oakwood Press, 1993. ISBN 0 85361 405 9. £5.95

The Cork, Blackrock and Passage Railway was unusual among Irish narrow-gauge railways in that it did not run through remote country but was an outer suburban line, serving several small towns and villages on the west side of Cork Harbour. It was opened in 1850 on the Irish standard 5ft 3in gauge from Cork to Passage West, 6 miles, where it connected with steamer services to Cobh (Queenstown) and other places and had a steamboat company of its own operating from 1855. Subsequently the company decided to extend its line from Passage West to Crosshaven, 9½ miles, and to do so on the narrow gauge of 3ft 0in in order to save in construction costs. This of course necessitated gauge conversion of the existing line between Cork and Passage West, which thereby gained the unique feature of a double-track narrow-gauge line—between Cork and Blackrock, 2 miles. The extension to Crosshaven was opened in stages between 1902 and 1904, but the company did not change its title. Until the 1914–1918 war it was a profitable concern with a heavy traffic, but it never recovered from post-war difficulties and the Troubles of 1920–23, after which there was bus competition. The CB&PR was absorbed by the Great Southern in 1925 but remained unremunerative and was closed in 1932.

The CB&PR was the subject of an Oakwood Press book by A. T. Newham published in 1970; the present book is described as a second, enlarged edition. The text runs to about 55 pages and deals fully with the history of the railway and its rolling stock and steamers, most of which is based on Mr Newham's original work.

There is a map on the back cover, repeated inside the book, which is described as a location map of the railway. This is just what it is not, as for some reason or other the coastline is not shown and land and water look alike; thus there is nothing on the map to account for the indirect routes of the CB&PR and its steamer services. Also omitted is Blackrock, one of the places in the CB&PR's title. These things are clear on a replica of a contemporary map further on in the book, though unfortunately it is rather crowded and some of the place-names are in very small print and barely legible. In addition to these maps there are track plans of all the stations and reproductions from 6in Ordnance Survey maps of the area around many of the stations. The photographs are very well reproduced, and those of the railway itself show how attractive a ride on the CB&PR from Cork to Crosshaven must have been. HILARY TRICKETT

WINDSOR TO SLOUGH: A ROYAL BRANCH LINE (Oakwood Library of Railway History, no. 88), C. R. Potts, 288 pp, 200 × 150 mm, 145 illus., 26 maps, boards. Oakwood Press, Oxford, 1993. ISBN 0 85361 442 3, £18.50

This excellently produced monograph, printed on quality paper with large crisp photographs provides, at more than 100 pages per mile, a great contrast with the *multum in parvo* of Mr Kidner's day. The subtitle cannot be overemphasised, for here surely is the definitive work on Royal funeral arrangements, together with a complete list of all Royal trains using the branch.

Because of the objections of Eton College the gestation of this short branch was prolonged and not devoid of complications, as was the provision of a proper station at Slough. The story, unfolded at length, includes much not completely relevant information about the state of the College at the time.

This a history for historians rather than engineers for, apart from numerous maps, including a splendid folding official plan of the line in the nineteenth century, and details of signalling arrangements, the infrastructure of the railway is neglected. Brunel's Thames bridge, an important work in the history of engineering, receives no index entry, though there are several brief entries in the text, also a diagram that is not discussed. Tantalisingly we are informed on page 38 that a three-page report deals mainly with the bridge! Much of the line is laid on a low viaduct across the Thames flood plain (why no picture taken during floods?) which was originally constructed of timber but soon rebuilt in brick. Was the wooden structure a standard design, and how was traffic maintained during the reconstruction period?

Much information is given on the contract prices for rebuilding Windsor station to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and there are many excellent photographs of the new structure—but not even a rough ground plan.

Accidents major and minor are described in some detail, including several that involved main line trains at Slough. The photograph of *Kennet* illustrates how completely it had been rebuilt since the 1900 collision.

Your reviewer was disappointed to find no details of goods services, nor a description of rail access to the low level goods yard at Windsor. It would have been useful to know how goods and passenger traffic was shared with the rival, and apparently successful, LSWR branch.

Despite its shortcomings, the book is probably worth buying, even if you are not a fervent royalist, partly for its maps and illustrations, but mainly for the extracts from the critical reminiscences of two former station masters at Windsor. DENNIS HADLEY.

**THE RISE AND RISE OF ROAD TRANSPORT 1700–1990**, Theo Barker and Dorian Gerhold, 118 pp, 6 tables, card covers. Macmillan, ISBN 0-333-37941-1, £5.99.

This is a slim volume, one of a series of studies in Economic and Social History aimed at sixth formers, higher education students and teachers, but its concise summary of a relatively neglected subject is so challenging and cogently argued that it is an essay no-one interested in transport history can afford to ignore. Road transport, by comparison with canals and especially railways has been overlooked. So much of its source material has to be dug out or gathered from far and wide; its evolutionary character makes it more difficult to evaluate cause and effect. In the pre-1830 era passenger transport and turnpike trust activities have both been written up, though hardly comprehensively; here the authors concentrate, though not exclusively, on goods transport, analysing the roads' contribution to short haul traffic of all kinds and medium and long hauls of certain goods. Even in the railway era when the railways' speed and cheapness took medium and long haul passenger and goods traffic, road transport, measured by the number of horses employed therein, increased vastly in absolute terms, assisted by Victorian growths in population and wealth. During the twentieth century the roads have captured or recaptured most of the business which formerly went by rail or, earlier canal until the number of vehicles is now, as the text's closing words suggest, in some cases 'reaching its ultimate limit'. Road transport, more important now than ever, was, the authors convincingly argue, *always* the most important transport mode ('important' means dominant and widespread in overall terms). Figures abound in the text; in one or two, on pp 75, 76 and 97, a 'million' appears to have been omitted. Research remains to be done, as is admitted, but the book is an indispensable starting point for any transport history student. Two thirds of the items listed in the nine page bibliography are from the last twenty years; there is an index. PHILIP L. SCOWCROFT

THE LOUGHBOROUGH ROAD CAR COMPANY LIMITED, John Bennett, 56 pp, 14 photographs, nine other illustrations, two maps, card covers, Kithead Ltd, ISBN 1 872863 06 X, £6.00.

The Loughborough Road Car Company provided that Leicestershire town with its first buses—apart from a few trial runs—from early 1913. Services to Shepshed and Mountsorrel via Quorn were run with Sunday and Bank Holiday services to more rural local villages. Other routes developed later. Despite somewhat casual, almost ‘amateur’, management, the operation was profitable for two or three years but the Great War created problems which ultimately proved fatal: the requisition of the company’s best vehicle, a Daimler double-decker after five months’ service (replacements proved hard to find) and petrol shortages leading to reliance on coal gas. The level of public service had declined sadly by 1918; the operation was sold to Trent in February 1919 and the company wound up. The author, drawing on a variety of (listed) sources, gives a readable account of the company’s brief existence, whose value lies in expanding our knowledge of the provincial bus scene at what can be described as its ‘heroic’ period. Illustrations are pleasantly reproduced and the main map well drawn; appendices on vehicles, directors and accounts are useful, though the latter differs from the main text on whether a dividend was paid in 1915. PHILIP L. SCOWCROFT

BRITAIN’S RAIL SUPER CENTRES: LONDON—THE GREAT WESTERN LINES, Laurence Walters, 160 pp, 220 × 300 mm, 299 illustrations plus 20 maps and plans, boards, Ian Allan 1993, ISBN 0 7110 2164 3, £19.99..

It’s all here: if you need the essential facts on the former GWR east of Twyford and High Wycombe into London, this book supplies them, beginning with a brief survey of the pre-history (not omitting canals) then proceeding steadily, if sometimes stodgily, from the first proposals for a railway between London and Bristol to the current work at Paddington and its approaches. Unlike some publications that purport to cover the history of the Great Western, it does not wallow in steam locomotive nostalgia and repetitive descriptions of train running. There are sections on freight working, the Great Western Hotel, Paddington Station and Goods Depot, signalling, carriage sidings and even the Hayes Creosoting Depot, as well as the predictable material on passenger services and loco depots. All main lines and branches, including the Hammersmith & City and West London, are surveyed and even the GW empire’s far eastern outpost at Poplar and its strangely-named South Lambeth depot receive due mention.

The large glossy pages are well loaded with illustrations which serve to give the reader a sometimes welcome lift of the spirit as he pauses to digest the steady diet of facts. Access to the collection of the Great Western Trust has produced some unusual views to enliven the more familiar Lens of Sutton copies of Edwardian picture postcards and the train pictures of R. C. Riley, Brian Morrison and others. It is particularly pleasing to see the coverage of rail/water transfers at Brentford Docks.

There is none of that irritating vagueness about dates that tends to spoil some works of this type and the standard of accuracy seems high. Odd though, to be told on page 75 that the roofs at Paddington were ‘refurbished’ in 1962, again in 1970 and again in 1988. If true, this might indicate gross misuse of hard-won infrastructure funds, but of course refurbishment, repainting and structural renewal are not necessarily synonymous.

Whilst the historical coverage does not add much to published material or provide fresh analysis, it is convenient to have all the data in one place. This advantage might have been further enhanced if the publishers had allowed an index. Instead, the book ends with three appendices: opening and closing dates of stations; a list of locomotive allo-

cations to London sheds and depots; and a list of signal boxes with closure dates. The first is of course available and more thoroughly covered in Borley's *Chronology*, but the information provided by the other two is not easily accessible elsewhere.  
ALAN A. JACKSON

## SHORTER REVIEWS

GLOSSARY OF ECONOMIC AND RELATED TERMS, John Hibbs, 48 pp, card covers. Roadmaster Publishing, 1, Polhill Drive, Chatham, Kent ME5 9FN 1993, £4.95.

The selection of Economic and Related Terms covered by the book consists mainly of those concerned with transport management, the work being described as 'for the use of students on Transport Courses'. Each term quoted is given a brief definition, followed by a short explanation or illustration, taken in the main from actual practice, usually that involved with transport. A most useful and informative volume, both written and published by members of our society, John Hibbs and Malcom Wright.

THE HISTORY OF BLACK COUNTRY AVIATION, Alec Brew, 190 pp, profusely illustrated, drawings, maps, soft covers. Alan Sutton, Stroud, Glos 1993, £7.99.

The book commences with a balloon ascent in 1862 from Wolverhampton Gas Works, followed by mention of man-carrying kites and the successive aircraft developments. The creation of aerodromes, such as Wolverhampton, officially opened in 1928, is described and the establishment of the Boulton Paul Aircraft manufactory at Pendeford, together with its involvement with military aircraft during WW2. Aerial bombing of the area in both world wars is referred to, as are post war activities both in the operational and manufacturing fields in the area.

ARCHIVE—The Quarterly Journal for British Industrial and Transport History, Issue 1, March 1994, 64 pp, profusely illustrated, card covers. Published by and obtainable from Lightmoor Press, 120, Farmers Close, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX8 6NR, £24 for four issues inc. p&p. Single issues £5 each plus postage.

The first issue of a new venture. The articles cover a wide range of subjects: East Greenwich gasworks, Wheal Friendship mine, Mary Tavy, Dartmoor, Building the Jarrow Tramway, SDR locomotives, Clayworks at Littleborough, Lancs, Change on the GNR, Cheltenham High Street Halt, the Glamorganshire Canal and Coals to Portreath. The articles consist of early photographs with supporting text, and maps and diagrams where appropriate. A very informative publication, the next issue of which is due in June.

## Correspondence

### *Stations without Road Access*

This subject produced a lively and welcome correspondence. As can be expected there was some overlap between the letters. It is therefore best to produce a summary based on a classification suggested by Allan Brackenbury. Stations marked thus (\*) are still in use.

*Junction stations (all have 'Junction' in the name)*

|             |                                                                                              |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abbey       | NBR, Silloth branch/Caledonian Rly, Solway Junction line<br>(access available by track only) |
| Boscarne    | BR, Bodmin/Bodmin North lines                                                                |
| Bala        | GWR, Dollgellau/Blaenau Ffestiniog branches                                                  |
| Broom       | Midland Rly/Stratford-on-Avon & Midland Jcn Rly                                              |
| Cairnie     | GNSR, main line/Banff branch                                                                 |
| *Dovey      | Cambrian Rly, Aberystwyth/Coast lines                                                        |
| Holehouse   | G&SWR, Dalmellington/Muirkirk branches                                                       |
| Killin      | Callander & Oban Rly/Killin Rly                                                              |
| Kirriemuir  | Caledonian Rly, main line to Aberdeen/Kirriemuir branch                                      |
| Methven     | Caledonian Rly, Perth-Crieff line/Methven branch                                             |
| Riccarton   | NBR, Waverley line/Hexham branch                                                             |
| Roudham     | GER, Ely-Norwich line/Swaffham branch                                                        |
| *Smallbrook | BR, Ryde-Shanklin line/IoW Steam Rly                                                         |

*Two Level interchanges*

|               |                                                              |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dukeries Jcn  | GNR, main line/Lancashire, Derbyshire & East Coast Rly       |
| *Haddiscoe    | GER, Norwich-Lowestoft/Beccles-Yarmouth lines                |
| Hope Exchange | L&NWR, Mold branch/Wrexham, Mold & Connah's Quay Rly         |
| Middlewood    | L&NWR, Buxton branch/GC & NS Joint, Macclesfield-Marple line |

*Main line stations*

|               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| *Altnabreac   | Highland Rly, Helmsdale-Georgemas (access available by track only)                                                                                                                                                |
| *Berney Arms  | GER, Reedham-Yarmouth                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Burnhill      | NER, Tow Law-Consett                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Churn         | Didcot, Newbury & Southampton Rly, Newbury-Didcot                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Consall       | NSR, Leek-Uttoxeter                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| *Corrour      | L&NER, West Highland line. Now accessible by a 4-wheel drive forestry track                                                                                                                                       |
| Deadwater     | NBR, Riccarton Junction-Reedsmouth                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Dungeness     | SER, Lydd branch                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Hazel Grove   | Midland Rly, Manchester Central-Chinley                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Kelston       | 'for Saltford'; Midland Rly, Bath branch                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Lambley       | NER, Alston branch                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Lewiefield    | L&NER, Hexham-Riccarton Jcn                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Linley        | GWR, Buildwas-Bridgnorth                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Loch Skerrow  | BR, Castle Douglas-Newton Stewart. In fact a remote passing place on single track, but trains made occasional stops presumably for fishermen. In 1955 appeared in public timetables with note 'No Public Access'. |
| Pilmoor       | NER, jcn on main line for Knaresborough and Malton                                                                                                                                                                |
| Port Victoria | SER, branch from Hoo Jcn                                                                                                                                                                                          |

*Halts; small stations on minor railways*

Bishop's Castle Rly: Stretford Bridge. BR: Sinfyn Central. GER: Cutlers Green.  
 GWR: Black Rock, Ingra Tor, Morebath Junction, New Hadley. L&SWR: Grogley.  
 Leek & Manifold Valley Light Rly: Beeston Tor, Sparrowlee, Thor's Cave.  
 Rhymney Rly: Cefn On. Rye & Camber Tramway: Camber Sands, Golf Links.

This list is confined to those stopping places which have appeared in public timetables. Thus Coleford Junction (Severn & Wye) is excluded as it did not appear in Bradshaw or the RCH Handbook (1904 edition at least). Private stations serving a particular factory or other establishment (e.g. Uralite Halt (SER), Golf Club Halt (LB&SCR), Lympstone Commando (BR)) have not been considered, nor have those solely on a preserved line (e.g. Freshfield Halt (Bluebell Rly)).

This listing does not distinguish between those cases where there was no public access, except by train for interchange purposes, and those where the public access was by foot-path rather than road. Did all the Junction stations fall into the former category? Michael Cobb observes that he has been unable to find an OS map showing Kirriemuir Junction station. Any further suggestions? Perhaps, as Stephen Bragg suggests, we should start again on the definition of a station.

Thanks are due to Allan Brackenbury, S. L. Bragg, Michael Cobb, John Edgington, Tim Edmonds and Michael Keef, as well as to correspondents whose letters have already been printed. H. P. WHITE

#### *Park Royal, London: L&NWR branch*

In his article on Park Royal in *Journal* no. 152, John Armstrong makes a statement which, whilst it may be correct, invites a little clarification. He writes (p. 461) that the L&NWR was 'prevailed upon to install a branch line from Willesden Junction and several sidings, including a bridge over the Grand Junction Canal, to construct what became known rather grandly as the Royal Showground Station'. The reference quoted is Michael Robbins' 1975 paper on 'The Railways of Willesden', but this paper makes no mention of any L&NWR crossing of the canal at this point.

All the cartographic evidence (including Mr Armstrong's own sketch map) suggests that the L&NWR Showground station, forming the terminus of the branch, was sited just north of the canal. A note in the *Railway Magazine*, August 1938 (p. 137) states that the L&NWR purchased land south of the canal but adds that this company's line did not extend over it. Maps do, however, show that there was a road bridge over the canal, which would have given direct access into the Show Grounds from the L&NWR station, and the railway company may well have provided this. ALAN A. JACKSON

#### *What about Abbots Ripton?*

In response to Brian White's observation in the March issue that the Abbots Ripton collision is missing from my recent publication on railway accidents, I could point out that it was not subjected to a Board of Trade Railway Department inquiry but, following wider powers granted in an 1871 Act, was investigated in a more formal Court of Inquiry.

However, I say this with tongue in cheek as I had certainly intended to include this accident, which occurred on the GNR on 21.1.1876, and I see it's there in my original chronological listing. Apparently it refused to be mailed across to the alphabetical listing and 'stayed rooted to its post'.

One other important accident which has also been 'blown away' from the list was also the subject of a Court of Inquiry. This is the Tay Bridge collapse on the NBR, 28.12.1879. JOHN DIXON

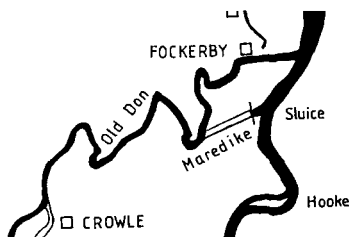
# Corrections

*November 1993 Journal*

p. 213, Bibliography entry 283: for *Dalglish* read *Daglish*.

*March 1994 Journal*

p. 249: The north-east corner of the map should be amended as shown.



p. 257, note 4: The last two sentences, beginning 'The structure ...', should be replaced by the following:

Clearly only a small part of the Don's fluvial stream normally flowed that way, but the sluices apparently proved to be too small in flood conditions. Saxton's 1577 map shows the old course of the Don partially re-established, and falling directly into the Trent east of Fockerby.

All copy for the November 1994 *Journal* should be sent to the temporary editorial address, 7 Onslow Road, Richmond, Surrey TW10 6QH, by 6 August 1994 and must conform to the Society's style-sheet. The Editor will supply potential contributors with a copy on receipt of a 8½" × 6" stamped and addressed envelope.

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