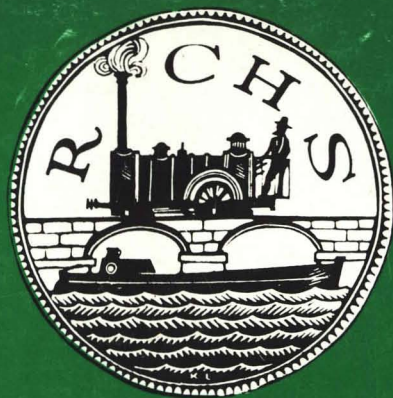




Journal
of the
Railway and Canal
Historical Society

Spence Memorial Issue



In Memoriam
Jeoffry Graham Spence 1915–1992



The scene at Caterham on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations, 6 August 1956
J. G. Spence Collection

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Editorial

It is very fitting that the Council of the Railway and Canal Historical Society resolved that as a tribute to Jeffry Spence a memorial number of the *Journal* should be published. It is numbered and paginated as an ordinary issue of the *Journal*, so it can be included in a general index or bound into a volume. But as the Society was a beneficiary from his will, it is financed from the sale of his effects left to the Society. The memorial issue is especially fitting as among his many contributions to the Society is his long and inspiring occupation of the Editor's Chair, as outlined in the contribution by his successor and my predecessor, our President John Gough. Both of us owe him a great deal.

The other contributions have been designed to reflect his life and other interests; railway museums; station architecture; the social and economic consequences of railway development in South East England; chronological studies; the Church; and Jeffry's holidays in the Highlands of Scotland. We are also very pleased to extend the range of our tribute by including an article from the Bourne Society of Caterham which reflects his enormous contribution to the life of the town. The issue includes reprints of two of his articles appearing in early issues of the *Journal* and some photographs from his collection.

Jeffry Spence was born on September 1915 in Woodford, Essex, but his family came to live in Caterham when he was not yet two years old and this was his home for the rest of his life. He records in his *A Childhood in Caterham*—'I was given the names of Jeffry Graham, the first after my Snelson godfather uncle and the second after my Scottish Spence godfather uncle. This spelling of Jeffry had been in use (in my family) for many generations'.

He goes on to say in his typical style—'Jeffry is a Christian name variation that has always caused me problems. Nobody bothers to read it properly, or even cares, some even maintain I do not know how to spell my own name. The worst are petty officials . . . who try and make us sign useless forms (an encounter between Jeffry and officialdom would have been well worth recording). I got my own back once by dedicating a book to "Ministers of the Crown, Government officials, Civil Servants (Top) and other Non-Railway Charlatans . . ." for running the railway system down.'

Without wishing to repeat in full the Appreciation in the *Journal* (Vol. XXX, p. 395, July 1992) it should be said Jeffry was educated at Tonbridge School and worked for a few years in the City before a period of war service with the RAF. It was during this period he produced his first published work, a *novella* 'Scottish Summer'. A referee slated it in no uncertain terms, his notes survive. 'Unfortunately the author allows his own genuine high spirits to fill the pages with comedy . . .' was about the mildest sentence. It was perhaps typical of Jeffry that in the midst of war he was able to publish privately and donate the proceeds to the RAF Benevolent Fund, Receipts totalling £79.11.0 survive, so at money values of those days this was no mean feat (the book sold at 2s/6d) and it stands as an early example of his organising abilities.

Afterwards he was with the British Council for a short time and then joined British Railways. After a period in the Booking Office at Purley he was transferred to the Divisional Offices, then at Redhill. He became widely known by his outstanding organisation of the 1956 Caterham Railway Centenary celebrations. This led to the appointment to the staff of the Clapham Transport Museum, where he remained until the transfer of the collection and staff to the National Railway Museum at York and the London Transport Museum at Covent Garden.

His immense contribution to the Society is reflected in the contents of this volume. His extensive and long lasting contribution to Caterham life is happily reflected in a contribution by Miss Dorothy Tutt, the President of the Bourne Society, for which he did so much.

In the last letter to me his pawky humour comes through vividly, 'A word processor helps one keep a balance. They are so infuriating, especially when some idiotic thing goes wrong and you have to ask a 10-year old from next door to come and get it right. He is very useful when I get pills from the Doctor in an anti-child bottle and I have to ask him to open them as my fingers are too stiff, and he says "Oh I always have to do Mother's!"'.

Jeffrey died on 3 February 1992 and is survived by his sister Mary and a nephew and niece to whom we extend our deepest sympathies. Jeffrey is indeed greatly and widely missed.

Jeffrey Spence and the Railway and Canal Historical Society

By JOHN GOUGH

The President writes:

Jeffrey Spence joined the RCHS very soon after it was founded in 1954 and over the years he served it well in a number of ways. He will be best remembered for his long innings as Honorary Editor of the *Journal* from 1955 onwards. It was he that built it up from a thin duplicated format to the high standard of presentation and content that I found when I took over from him in 1981.

The third issue of volume 1 (July 1955) started with the announcement 'The Council is pleased to announce the appointment of Mr J. G. Spence as Hon Editor of the *Journal*'. The next issue, number 4 of October 1955, therefore appeared under his direction and bore his address. It was duplicated on quarto paper and consisted of 16 pages. A quick trawl through reveals that it contains ephemeral notices, such as subscriptions being due, of the kind later transferred to the *Bulletin*. But it also contained features we are familiar with—book reviews, correspondence, Acts of Parliament, and Recent Literature (now the annual Bibliography). There was an article '*Third Class Travel in Early Days*' by G. O. Holt.

It was of course the articles that Jeffrey encouraged, and these came to be the *raison d'être* of the *Journal*. Not that all was plain sailing, as occasionally the Editor was forced to appeal for material. In the March 1960 issue (vol 6 no 2) there is a despairing note that 'There is no material of any description on hand for the May *Journal*'. Fortunately that appeal seems to have been successful, for in the May issue, apart from the Presidential Address, there are five articles, all from well known names, James Boyd, Michael Robbins, C. F. Klapper, M. D. Greville, and A. H. Faulkner.

Occasionally too there is an Editorial, couched in the witty and direct style associated with Jeffrey, Volume 2 number 4 (July 1956) contains a plea for accuracy, but also a note assuring readers that in the preceding Editorial 'morons' referred to 'moderns' and not to railwaymen. In fact taking a glance back it seems a little difficult to see how the confusion arose. Jeffrey might have been forthright, but his style was always impeccable and readable: he certainly practised the virtues he preached.

By volume 6 (1960) there were about 24 pages. Volume 9 (1963) saw a change of style, to offset litho produced by John Denton on his own press. Then in 1971 came the first 14 cm × 21.5 cm edition in a styled stiffish cover. Finally, for a 24 page A5 size number, Hobbs took over for the July 1975 issue and the first page layout and range of type with which we have come to associate the *Journal* appeared. In July 1976 the present front cover was finalised.

Meanwhile contents and style were steadily improving. The period 1965 to 1970 saw the maps, such an important feature of work in transport history, becoming better in cartography and printing. The first half-tone, of the Birmingham Bristol and Thames Junction tunnel under the canal near Hobsden Green, Middlesex appeared October 1970.

The time eventually came when Jeffery felt he should hand over the reins. I answered an appeal in the *Journal* for a possible successor. It soon became clear that Jeffery, having decided to go, wanted the new editor in place as soon as possible and I was therefore invited to Tuborg Halt to learn how to do the paste up of the March 1981 *Journal* (Volume XXVII) and for him to see if I passed muster. When I left for home, after an excellent meal and a good deal of alcoholic refreshment, it was agreed that as from then I would be in charge. At no stage in the period I was finding my feet did Jeffery ever criticise directly or indirectly or tender service unasked for. Yet all the time I knew the experience of his two decades in the job was mine for the asking. He could not have made the transition easier—but then that was wholly in character (as *J. V. G. did when he handed over*—Editor).

Beside his unsigned editorials, Jeffery contributed a number of signed articles to the *Journal*. These are listed elsewhere and two of them have been reprinted. Perhaps the most significant was the long series 'Alterations to Names of Passenger Stations' (on which I drew for guidance in the compilation of my *Midland Railway Chronology*) and, in collaboration with M. G. Greville, 'Closed Passenger Lines of Scottish Railways to 1939' which represents his contributions to chronological studies.

Jeffery's other published work was wide ranging. His *Caterham Railway* (1952) was a model of what a serious study of a branch line should be, giving due consideration to the economic, social, and (railway) political factors involved, but written in a most lucid and readable style. In contrast—contrast that is in scope not scholarship—was the valuable little book produced in collaboration with M. G. Greville *Closed Passenger Lines in Great Britain 1827-1947* (revised and enlarged edition 1974), which is a must on the bookshelves of all students of railway history. Collaboration, this time with Gordon Biddle, produced the seminal *British Railway Station*, which bore witness to his knowledge not only of architecture, but of the purpose of stations. Of more general interest was his *Victorian and Edwardian Railway Travel* (1977), a book of largely-unpublished photographs with a witty and scholarly commentary. The dedication has the true Spence ring 'For those who have never found it necessary to pretend they were thirty-nine for the next fifteen years, but have long been able to sit back contentedly and remember some of the things they knew when young'.

In addition to all this Jeffery contributed numerous features on local history to the local press of the Caterham area and to the Bourne Society's annual publication *Local History Records* and wrote the definitive guides to the two Caterham churches. His book *A Childhood in Caterham in the 1920s* tells us not only much about the author, but is a valuable record of the town he made his own.

The Brighton and South Eastern Railways at Redhill

Though characteristically unsigned, this clearly bears the stamp of Jeffery Spence. It appeared in the Journal in Vol 2, No 3, May 1956, pp 39-41.

Redhill, Surrey is a town that owes its growth entirely to the railway. When the London and Brighton Railway was opened to Haywards Heath on September 21, 1841, the line had been built over low-lying, marshy ground, the haunt of wild duck and snipe. A station was considered necessary for the nearby town of Reigate, and this was opened on the old east to west road which ran from the top of Redstone Hill through Hooley lane to Reigate. This station was known as "Red-Hill and Reigate Road", and was provided with four trains a day: from London at 9.30 and 11.30 a.m., 1.30 and 5.30 p.m.: from Redhill at 9.55 and 11.55 a.m., 3.25 and 8.25 p.m. The journey time was a few minutes over the hour, and the fare was 5/- first class and 3/6 second class. The old station house is still to be seen, on the down side, where the old line and the Quarry avoiding line converge at Earlswood Junction.

The South Eastern Railway entered the field a little later; their main line from Redhill to Tunbridge (*sic—altered to Tonbridge later, Ed*) was opened May 26, 1842. The Brighton Railway had constructed the line from the junction with the London and Croydon Railway, and between that junction and Redhill the line was divided equally between the Brighton and South Eastern, the latter taking the southern half, e.e. Stroat's Nest to the junction with the Tunbridge line, for £300,000. This short section caused endless trouble and inconvenience to passengers until the Brighton built their Quarry line, which avoided Redhill, and was opened in 1900.

The South Eastern built their own 'Reigate' station, a short way from the junction on the Dover side. The station master's house is still extant, and the headquarters of the Central section Divisional offices are in the old goods shed shown in the illustration in *Measoms' Guide to the South Eastern Railway* of 1863. Passengers from the Brighton line going in to Kent were, of course, inconvenienced by having to make their own way between the Brighton and South Eastern stations. It did not take the South Eastern long to realise that better accommodation could be provided for the interchange of passengers and, in February 1843 they informed the Brighton that a joint station at the junction could be run for £1,000 per annum, while the two separate stations were costing £1,800 per annum. Up to this date freight traffic had been exchanged at the old Merstham station at Battle Bridge, about one mile north, an arrangement that was probably inconvenient. The Brighton do not seem to have been satisfied about the building of a joint station, and Mr E. A. Course, to whom the author is indebted for much of this information, thinks they no doubt hoped to get a bigger share of the Reigate traffic at their own station.

Arrangements were reached in September 1843 and the South Eastern minutes of November 1, 1843 record that the joint station was to be built. It was ready by March 3, 1844, but not, apparently, in use until April. It had been virtually flung up, a crude affair of wood, tarpaulins and iron pillars which somehow did duty for 14 years, when a South Eastern report of February 18, 1858 remarked that "a new station at Redhill is being erected owing to the decayed and rotten condition of the old structure". This later station was ready the following August.

The Reading, Guildford and Reigate Railway had been opened from Redhill to Dorking on July 4, 1849, when Reigate (now Redhill) became Reigate Junction, owing to the opening of Reigate Town on the Reading line. On the completion of

this line the following October, Redhill's importance as a junction became evident as an exchange point. In particulars of property offered for sale in the district in 1856 it was remarked that "the railway advantages are highly important, being in direct communication with London on the north, Dover and the continent on the east, Brighton on the south, and Guildford, Reading and the West of England on the west. In these various directions there are upwards of 100 trains arriving and departing daily . . . Annual season or Return Tickets" (between Redhill and London) "whether issued by the London and Brighton or by the South Eastern Railway are equally available by the trains of both Companies, as may suit the convenience of the holders". Provided the two Companies were not having one of their periodic slanging matches, the advantages extolled were no doubt excellent.

At about this time the new town of Redhill was growing, and had been called Warwick Town (after the Countess of Warwick of Gatton, a stubborn old dragon who had forced the South Eastern to reopen the old Merstham station in 1844 because the new one was not ready). When the name Redhill was applied to the place does not seem to be recorded. Station nomenclature is, as is so often the case, not much to go by; even in early days the station varied from Red Hill to Reigate and back in a very casual fashion. The South Eastern (whose property it was) renamed it Red Hill Junction by January 1858, its final stage being in the summer of 1929, when 'Junction' was dropped and Red Hill became one word.

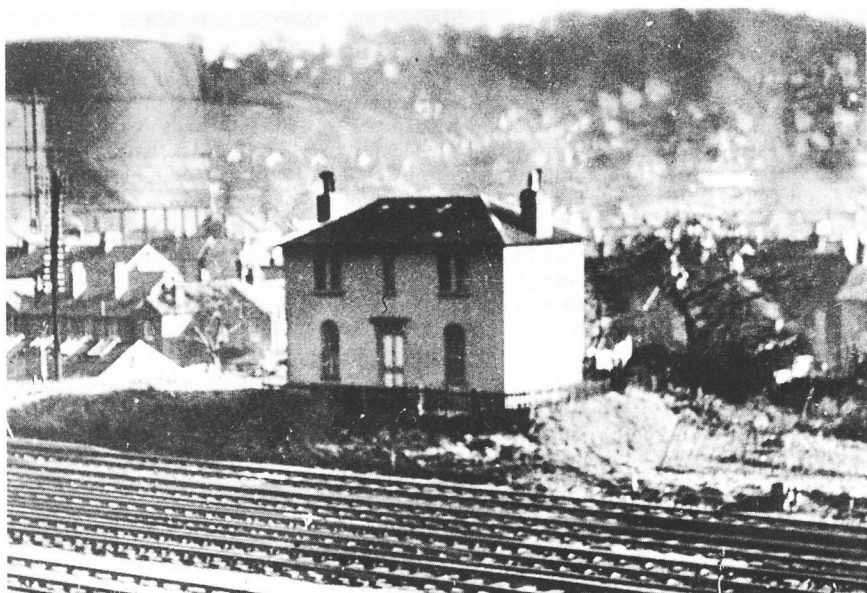
That the 'new' station of 1858 was hardly an improvement on that of 1844 is shown from the Reports on Railway Accidents for 1877; for on two occasions, in October 1876 and October 1877, the fireman of a down Brighton train met with an accident through his head coming into contact with one of the pillars which supported the station roof. In each case, as the train was entering the platform line, the fireman, 'to get a better purchase of the break handle, had stepped outside the footplate of the engine' threw his body back too far, and his head hit the pillar. As they were merely Brighton employes involved, this presumably accounted for the fact that 'no officer of the South-Eastern Company, except the Red Hill station master, was present'.

The train service during the early 1870s was about twelve trains each way a day by the Brighton and twelve each way by the South Eastern, the opening of the direct line to Tonbridge in 1868 having somewhat reduced the importance of Redhill as a South Eastern station.

Slip coach working, a fairly extensive practice on the South Eastern, was only in evidence at Redhill from June to October, 1862, when a fast morning train to Dover slipped coaches for all stations to Reading, except, for some odd reason, Chilworth and Farnborough.

The station was again reconstructed (more likely patched up) in the 1890's and the pillars removed, a Pullman Car attendant—on an up Brighton train this time—having been killed. Not until 1932 was much work done on the station, but on electrification, a new up side booking hall and subway were constructed.

The indifferent regard towards hygiene of our mid-Victorian forefathers was revealed many years ago when the Gentlemen's Lavatory, in an isolated position at the top of the up platform was being removed. The sanitary inspectors were perturbed when they could find no proper drainage outlet to the main system. The simple expedient resorted to was that of pouring confetti down and pulling the plug. While all the eyes watched for the results of the experiments among drains, the good people of Redhill had the doubtful pleasure of the sight of gaily coloured pieces of paper floating down the stream through their own town.



Original Reigate Station of London & Brighton Rly 1841 (now demolished).

J. G. Spence Collection 1949

On the Track of a Provincial Lady

BY GEOFFRY SPENCE

This first appeared in the Journal Vol xvii, No 2, April 1971, pp 30-33.

Some members will recall the well-known novelist, E. M. Delafield who, apart from many good novels, wrote the witty *Diary of a Provincial Lady* (published in 1930) and *The Provincial Lady Goes Further* (1932) followed during the next few years by *The Provincial Lady In America* and *In Wartime*. She was also a regular contributor to *Punch* and *Time and Tide* (of which she was a director) and other journals. She died at the early age of 53 in 1943.

In her diaries, Miss Delafield (or Mrs Dashwood, to give her married name) travelled about a good deal by train and, as an exercise in detection, the present writer tried to find out from the evidence which station was used. From this evidence, in the two earlier diaries, it appeared that the locality in which she was living was somewhere west of a line from Tavistock to Okehampton. She made a number of references to excursions to Plymouth, both by train and car.

A diarist is notorious for exaggeration and the hiding of true facts and real names, even if the statements made are based on truth. But in the same way that a crook called John Smith will try and hide his name when tackled by the police, he will frequently keep the same initials and call himself, for instance, James Stephens, so the diarist will jumble up names but still give clues which make them resemble local names.

One piece of truth in her diaries appears to be about her immediate family: husband 'Robert', and the two children, 'Robin' about nine and 'Vicky' six. This was also here real-life family under different names, with a son born 1920 and a daughter born 1923. The first diary would seem to refer to 1929-30 and the second 1931-2. In only one place is a year shown: January 1st, 1930—which may have been an unintentional slip.

In one of her early novels *The Heel of Achilles* (1921) Miss Delafield dropped what appeared to be a hint of *locale* when 'Lydia' was travelling from Paddington to Devonshire.

'Presently there was a stop at Exeter, and Lydia knew that she must be nearing her destination, the little station with the double name, that Nathalie had warned her would come almost immediately after the glimpse of Dartmoor'

and after a time the train slowed down and she heard the name called out 'Clyst Milton and Ashlew'.

One would assume that Lydia would have continued on the South Devon line from Exeter, but there are no double-barrelled stations between there and Plymouth with the possible, but doubtful, exception of Starcross for Exmouth, which does not fit the description of the countryside. But Miss Delafield was sometimes careless, for she wrote too much too quickly, and was confused, as women can be, by the different railways. Lydia probably came down by the South-Western and alighted at Ashbury & Northlew. There are two or three Miltons in that area—but 'Clyst' is common in *East Devon* especially around Exeter. The name of one of the families in *The Heel of Achilles* was 'Damarel'—which sounds as if it came from Sydenham Damarel, a village about four miles west of Tavistock.

A few further instances, extracted from the diaries, seemed to confirm—at any rate for the time being—the location being West Devon.

April 15 B. 'Felicity writes that she *could* come for a few days visit . . . it will be either April 18th or 19th, but, if inconvenient, she could make it the 27th, only in

that case, she would have to come by Southern Railway and *not* GWR. I write back . . . not the 27th, as Robert has to take the car to Crediton that day, and any train that suits her best, of course, but Southern easiest for us.'

Tavistock, with its two stations a mile or so apart? Brentor, Southern, or Marytavy & Blackdown, GWR?

Nov, 2nd B. In London, 'Robert writes will meet local train at 4.18 on Tuesday.'

The only likely train was the 10.30 a.m. from Paddington, with a connexion from North Road getting to Tavistock about this time.

*April 14th A 'Cook electrifies me by asking me if I have heard that Miss Barbara Blenkinsop's engagement is on again, it's all over the village. The gentleman, she says, came down by the 8.45 last night and is at the *Cross and Keys*. As it is exactly 9.15 a.m. when she tells me this I ask her how she knows?'*

By '8.45' in this oddly constructed sentence, it must mean an 8.45 arrival (which there was at Tavistock, off the midnight from Paddington!)

Dec. 23rd A 'Meet Robin at the Junction.'

This might mean Plymouth or Okehampton or even Halwil Junction.

Dec 17th A 'Take early train so as to get in extra afternoon in London' (for Christmas shopping).

This could have been the 7.18 a.m. from Tavistock GW via Plymouth arriving Paddington 1.15 p.m.; or 9.6 a.m. from Tavistock SR arriving Waterloo 2.8 p.m.

On only one occasion was Waterloo specifically mentioned, and one has a glimpse of the type of rolling-stock used.

*July 17th 1930 A (on the way to France) 'Robert sees me off by early train for London', and in the train: 'turn my attention to fellow-traveller—distrustful-looking woman with grey hair—who at once informs me that door of lavatory—opening out of compartment—has defective lock, and will *not* stay shut. I say Oh, in tone of sympathetic concern, and shut door. It remains shut. We watch it anxiously, and it flies open again . . . Fellow-traveller finally says in despairing tones that Really, it isn't what she calls very nice, and lapses into depressed silence. Door remains triumphantly open.'*

(How we can recall those lavatory doors that would never remain shut!)

On arrival at Waterloo she took a taxi to Victoria to catch the boat train for Boulogne. In July 1930 this train left at 2 p.m. so she would have missed it. The only way to get to Waterloo in time would have been by the 9.34 a.m. from Exeter which ran on Mondays, Fridays and Saturdays only, and July 17 1930 was a Thursday!

On one occasion, 'Robert' wrote that one could see their house from a hill near Plymouth (which caused her to remark on the curious working of the male mind, as she considered it would be more convenient to view the house, if one wanted to, from the tennis court.)

Although, generally speaking, one might think that the setting was West Devon, this was shattered by the information on May 17th A that 'Robert drives me to North Road station to catch train for Bude,' where arrival at the lodgings was 2.45 p.m. Unless she *had* to go to Plymouth first, this does seem to be going the wrong way. (A SR train left North Road at 11.16 a.m. arriving at Bude, via Okehampton, at 2.15 p.m.)

Having completed the whole of this exercise, it became obvious that a deliberate attempt had been made to hide the area described in the diary. It was certainly known that the Dashwoods lived near Exeter in the 1930s, and it looks as if any ref-

erence to Plymouth should read Exeter! This would make some of her journeys, especially to Bude and London, much more likely.

The National Dictionary of Biography was consulted, which showed that '... at the end of the (first) war she was working ... in Bristol, and after two years in the Malay States, she and her husband, Major A. J. Dashwood, whom she married in 1919, settled at Cullompton.' Her address was, in fact, Croyle House, Kentisbeare, a small, pretty village about three miles from Cullompton, and a little further from Tiverton Junction.

Was Tiverton Junction the 'Junction' she mentions more than once, and where she met 'Robin'? Kelly's Devon Directory, even as far back as 1926 lists the Dashwoods at Kentisbeare. It may have been that *West* Devon was well-known to her and she made this area the *locale* for her diaries. She may not have wanted people to know who some of her more awful characters were, and as Kate O'Brien says in her Foreword to the 'Omnibus' Diaries: 'Only a monster could attempt to tell all the truth about himself.' Apparently no one failed to recognize the autocratic 'Lady Boxe' who was obviously very much part of the East Devon scene, and who is one of the principal characters in the diaries.

'Walk home, and am overtaken by well-known blue Bentley, from which Lady B. waves elegantly, and commands chauffeur to stop. He does so, and Lady B. says, Get in Get in, never mind muddy boots—which makes me feel like a plough-boy.'

All of this may be useless, if light-hearted, research, but E. M. Delafield and her characters leave an impression of reality, and a tranquillity we shall probably never know again—more so even than Sherlock Holmes and his train journeys, and a good deal has been written about *him*. And unless some Devonshire member can solve the puzzle, one can only close with the quotation of the title of one of her last books: *No one Now Will Know*.

A *Diary of a Provincial Lady*

B *The Provincial Lady Goes Further*

The Railway Stations of John Livock and T. M. Penson

BY GORDON BIDDLE

*I first met Jeffry Spence in 1950, starting a friendship which grew after the formation of the Society four years later. His chief railway interest was in how stations worked and, with M. D. Greville, tracing opening and closing dates; mine was in how and by whom they were built, which led to our collaboration in *The British Railway Station* (1977), in David & Charles' *Railway History in Pictures* series. This article is a small tribute and, in two respects, an expiation. He would have approved.*

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, architecture, surveying and civil engineering were overlapping professions. Although the term 'engineers' stations' was something of a sneer, many railway engineers like I. K. Brunel and James Miller of Edinburgh designed handsome buildings. Others, like the Stephensons and Joseph Locke, preferred to use good architects, either in their direct employ or by making recommendations to railway companies. In some cases, the contractor might employ an architect.¹ But whoever designed them, many stations built up to about 1860 had a fascinating stylistic variety that faithfully reflected the spirit of their time. Here we examine the work of two contemporaries who executed high quality railway buildings in the popular 'picturesque' manner of the Romantic Movement. One, despite practising in London, is little known; the other, a prolific provincial architect, is well documented. Strangely, both have been the subject of confusion about their correct names.

John Livock

Livock has been John or 'J' and William or 'W'. The first occurrence of 'J' in relation to railways appears to be in the index to the London & Birmingham Railway's Northampton-Peterborough committee minutes of 1845.² The next is in the same company's Trent Valley Railway committee minutes of 9 September 1847.³ Otherwise, he is generally referred to as 'Mr Livock'. The use of 'W' seemingly stems from an account of Birmingham New Street station in *The Builder*, 25 March 1854 quoting the *Birmingham Journal*, and repeated since by a number of respected authors, including Nikolaus Pevsner in his monumental *Buildings of England* series, where he has also used 'J'.⁴ Several other modern authors have called him John William, including (regretfully) myself. Other variants have been 'Levick' and 'Livelock', while the *Illustrated London News*, 3 June 1854, refers to 'Livock & Son.' As his only son, John E, was only five at the time, it indicates that journalistic licence is not new.

At the Royal Academy in 1837 Livock exhibited a design for a station at Birmingham, presumably intended for the terminus of the London & Birmingham or the Grand Junction Railway. Whether he submitted it is not yet known; the respective termini as built were designed by Philip Hardwick and John Foster. In 1848 Livock's designs for Tamworth, Lichfield and Rugeley stations were exhibited, and at other times he had acceptances for domestic buildings and schools. In each case he is catalogued as J. Livock.⁵ A folio of his sketches exists—none of them railway subjects—bearing the signatures 'J. Livock.'⁶ In the *Birmingham Journal*, 3 June 1854, he is 'Mr Livock of London.'

Contemporary census returns and London directories contain only one Livock practising as an architect, named John, and, as we have seen, the LBR minutes record a J. Livock working on the Peterborough and Trent Valley lines. He had a younger

brother, William M., who died in Australia in 1855 aged 37, which rules him out as a possibility. There was also another William, like John from Hampstead, who at the age of 24 was taken on by the London & North Western Railway in the goods department in January 1848.⁷ The 1851 census returns show him as a clerk living in St Pancras. Although there were a number of Livocks from Hampstead, the name is sufficiently unusual for him to have possibly been a cousin of John, who could well have secured him the job on the railway. Perhaps, even, a LNWR official who knew them both mixed up the names when he was talking to the Birmingham newspaper in 1854. At all events, on the evidence it seems clear that our man was John Livock of London.

He was born in 1814, son of John Livock, a Hampstead coal merchant, and his wife Mary.⁸ In 1837, aged 23, he went to Leicester for two years, where he completed his Birmingham station design. There appear to be no local directories covering these years, but perhaps he was receiving training from a Leicester architect—someone like William Parsons, for instance, who designed stations—for in 1839 he was back in London practising from Lincoln's Inn Fields where, a year later, he first appears in the directory as an architect. Thereafter he had several London addresses until 1877, when he appears as an architect for the last time.⁹

Like most of his contemporaries, Livock was also a surveyor and valuer. The Buckinghamshire Railway paid 'Livock, Balstone and Hunt' in 1851 for taking out quantities for Oxford station,¹⁰ but it is not clear whether as a partnership or as individuals working together. Livock's first railway work appears to have been on the LBR Northampton-Peterborough branch, a Stephenson line opened on 2 June 1845. He appears in the records in May that year when the committee appointed him as a clerk of works at £200 a year, which he succeeded in having increased to £300, so presumably before then he was employed by Robert Stephenson. His station designs would have been completed by then, as the principal stations were ready for the opening and were credited to him in the *Illustrated London News*, 14 June 1845. In March 1846 he let railway land for an inn at Oundle and was instructed to survey a 'communication' with the Grand Junction Canal. Then in July G. P. Bidder, Stephenson's assistant, recommended that he be transferred to the Trent Valley Railway and his work on the Peterborough line placed under R. B. Dockray, resident engineer for the Southern Division of the LNWR from 1846 to 1852.¹¹

The Trent Valley line, from Rugby to Stafford, was backed by the London & Birmingham and Grand Junction companies, which in 1846 amalgamated as the London & North Western. Once there, Livock must have worked fast because the stations were ready for the official opening on 26 June 1847. Again, his name is absent from the records until 9 June 1847, when he was instructed to superintend the completion of the stations under the direction of the engineer. Shortly afterwards Livock had to submit plans for a house for the Midland Railway's stationmaster at Tamworth, where the Midland crossed the Trent Valley; in September he submitted a tender for cottages at Lichfield, Rugeley and Tamworth; and in November a design for cattle pens at Rugeley.¹² A letter of 15 June 1847 from James Loud at Rugeley station to Edward Watkin, the LNWR secretary at Euston, asked for an order for an engine to distribute 113 platform lamps to stations along the line 'which Mr Livock wishes fixed immediately.'¹³

Pevsner attributes to Livock the design for the ornamental portals of Shugborough Tunnel and the decorated bridge over the Lichfield Drive in Shugborough park, although neither the press description of the line nor the minutes specifically mention him.¹⁴ Indeed, there seems surprisingly little about them at all in documentary records. The land conveyances make no mention, and although the estate papers contain an agreement between the railway and the Earl of Lichfield's trustees about

the ornamentation of the bridge, the only reference to the tunnel concerns fencing it 'to hide the trains' and an undertaking that the southern portal would be 'neatly faced with stone.' The papers include contractors' copy drawings of the tunnel, but they bear no name.¹⁵ It seems hardly likely that Livock would not have carried out the Shugborough designs, but it would be nice to have firm evidence.



Livock's station at Oundle in September 1954.

R. E. G. Read/G. J. Biddle Collection

Northampton-Peterborough

The main buildings at the principal stations on this and the Trent Valley line were outstanding examples of the picturesque movement applied to railways. On the former, Wellingborough (later London Road), Higham Ferrers (later Irthlingborough), Thrapston (later Bridge Street) and Oundle were neo-Tudor, while the ogee gables at Northampton (later Bridge Street) and Wansford gave a Jacobean touch.

Northampton was the most ornate, including an intricately pierced stone parapet. The others, two-storeyed, had prominent gables. No two were alike, with stone mulions and variations ranging from tall, octagonal or angled chimney stacks to oriel windows, patterned slates and, at Thrapston, fretted bargeboards. Thrapston, Oundle and Wansford were in limestone; the others were brick with stone dressings. Characteristic features were flanking walls with shaped doorways, and plain, flat platform canopies on wooden brackets that by their simplicity formed a perfect foil. Livock designed small waiting shelters for the opposing platforms, with hipped roofs extending out on brackets. The contract drawings and specifications for Northampton—again, not signed—include a gate lodge, engine shed and carriage sheds, although the last two, as at Thrapston, were not built.¹⁶

At Peterborough the LBR met the Eastern Counties Railway's branch from Ely and arranged to use its station. As, however, the LBR was there first—the ECR did not arrive until the end of 1846—the latter was prevailed on to build a station in advance, to Livock's design and subject to the LBR's approval. In February 1845, Stephenson was instructed to urge the ECR to get on with it as time was becoming short.¹⁷ So Peterborough East appeared in the familiar Tudor gabled style, in brick with prominent stone quoins, and linked by a wall to a large matching house alongside.

The smaller stations were undistinguished: Castle Ashby, Ditchford, Ringstead, Thorpe, Barnwell and Overton (renamed Orton Waterville). Pevsner also notes a station at Longthorpe, but in fact means Thorpe, although it did not fit his description.¹⁸ Most of these stations were plain crossing houses doubling up as booking offices, some only single-storeyed. Barnwell and Ditchford had a curious cut-out corner to form a waiting area. Billing Road (renamed Billing) was opened in December 1845, where the committee agreed the gatehouse should be used; Elton and Castor followed in 1847. Castor had a tiny, separate booking office across the line, with only the broad eaves to shelter the ticket window, but Elton had all the Livock hallmarks, although by this time he was working on the Trent Valley. The lower floor was in stone, with half timbering above, curly bargeboards and tall, decorative chimneys.

The Trent Valley Railway

On the Trent Valley line Livock excelled. He was obviously given greater scope, which he exercised to produce a whole series of buildings to complement Stephenson's engineering works. The result was a complete, unified railway. Everything matched: stations, houses and gate lodges, again all on a Tudor or Jacobean picturesque theme, but more exuberantly detailed. Most were in brick with ample stone dressings, except Colwich, which was in ashlar stone with curved gables (it was the station for Shugborough); and Rugeley. Bulkington and Polesworth were smaller and Nuneaton, Atherstone and Lichfield were larger elaborations of Wellingtonborough, each with its own variations. Rugeley, a larger and more elaborate edition of Thrapston, had ornamental plasterwork on its upper floor which the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 8 May 1847, described as 'similar in general effect to the old manor houses that so much abound in Shropshire and Cheshire, with the addition of richly carved bargeboards and ornamental mouldings.'

It might be thought that Lichfield, ancient cathedral city and the largest town on the line, would qualify for the most ambitious work, but it did not. That accolade went to Tamworth, whose MP, Sir Robert Peel, was a strong supporter and steered the Trent Valley bill through Parliament, gaining it the nickname 'Peel's Line.' Tamworth station was also the largest, and one of the first in the country to have two levels. The Midland crossed the Trent Valley at a right angle and the two-storeyed building served both sets of platforms. It was predominantly Jacobean with a five-bay entrance colonnade, a dominant oriel window, ogee gables, an ornamental stone parapet and a decorative stone moulding. The *Advertiser* particularly praised the chimneys for 'adding considerably to the beauty of the whole design.' Once more all the major stations had flat platform awnings to set them off. Small stations were provided at Stretton (later Brinklow), Shilton and Armitage, but the newspaper gave no description.

What remains on these two lines? Unfortunately, precious little. Wansford station is now part of the Nene Valley Railway, with Livock's building in separate occu-

pation. Oundle has been restored as a handsome private house, Thorpe is also a house but much altered, and only part of Barnwell is left. On the Trent Valley line Bulkington, which closed as long ago as 1931, miraculously survives with additions, and lately has lost the large stone panel which bore its name. A charming little Jacobean gate lodge at Mancetter, south of Atherstone, is the only survivor of a once numerous series, although the level crossing has long since gone. Atherstone is the only operating station to retain Livock's building, no longer used by the railway but splendidly restored after years of dereliction by the local council; a builder; BR and the Railway Heritage Trust and now occupied as offices. Colwich is also a private house. Otherwise, successive widenings of the line, removal of level crossings, and rebuildings by the LNWR between 1871 and 1914 swept much away; more recently, electrification disposed of the rest. Strangely, Tamworth survived the LNWR's quadrupling of the track in 1901, even to the extent of rebuilding the up side subsidiary building in original style further back,¹⁹ only to disappear when the station was completely rebuilt in 1962. It was a needless loss. The original station at Lichfield, replaced in 1871, survived as a house until recently, like the fine water tower at Tamworth which disappeared when it was being considered for listing.



The frontage of Tamworth station, Trent Valley Rly by J. Livock, July 1958. Note mutilation of the colonnade

R. E. G. Read/G. J. Biddle Collection

The Buckinghamshire Railway

Livock next turns up on the Buckinghamshire Railway, another line backed by the LNWR and opened from Bletchley to Banbury on 1 May 1850 and from Verney Junction to Oxford on 20 May 1851. Once more the records refer only to the engineer, this time Dockray who, in his diary on 18 February 1850, criticised Livock for substituting a wooden platform surface at Winslow with tiles, which broke up in frost. Livock seemed partial to decorative tiles; Dockray commented favourably on the platform at Nuneaton on 1 February: '... very handsome, it is of tiles 9 inches square, black, yellow and red, arranged in a formal pattern.'²⁰

It appears, therefore, that Livock designed the principal stations on this line, in brick at Buckingham and Winslow, grey limestone at Brackley and Bicester (later London Road). They were to a classic station design: single-storeyed, with a hipped roof between gabled pavilions flanking a three-bay open-fronted waiting area. The Tudor detailing was subdued; indeed, at Buckingham it was substituted by segmental-arched door and window openings which, with a broken pediment on the gables, presented a mild Italianate appearance. Matching waiting shelters were provided opposite, and the contract drawings included goods sheds, cattle docks and, at Winslow and Brackley, a water tank house. Again, unfortunately, they bear no name.²¹ Only Claydon had a flash of the 'picturesque' Livock. With half timbering above a brick ground floor, decorated bargeboards and a patterned tiled roof, it was not unlike Elton and no doubt was a gesture towards Claydon House and Sir Harry Verney, a leading director who gave his name to Verney Junction, where there was a Tudor house in the Livock manner. A station was not opened there until 1868.

Islip had little more than a plain crossing house; Swanbourne was unpretentious but enlivened with tile-hanging. It may have been built later, although originally something grander was planned: a particularly elaborate half-timbered Tudor creation with gabled pavilions—one of them two-storeyed—on each side of a three-bay waiting area, an oriel window on the jettied upper floor, and a belfry. The design has been attributed to J. B. Stansby,²² who also worked for the LNWR, but it bears the stamp of Livock. Farthinghoe was tile-hung like Swanbourne. The others came later—Padbury in 1878, Westbury (renamed Fulwell & Westbury) in 1879, and Marsh Gibbon & Poundon in 1880—followed by several halts.

It is interesting that the minutes show that the idea of a prefabricated station at Oxford was Dockray's. Negotiations for the use of the Great Western station were abortive and the line was almost finished, so in December 1850 the board agreed that Fox, Henderson & Co, Paxton's Crystal Palace contractors, should be asked to tender 'for the whole erections in the plan of the Exhibition building, in all respects.' Within a month it was accepted.²³

Livock has been credited with rebuilding Bletchley station in 1860,²⁴ although it would seem likely to have been earlier as the Bedford branch was opened in 1846, for which the small LBR station would have been inadequate. That the opening of the Buckinghamshire Railway required its enlargement is indicated by unsigned elevations for extensions dated 1852, showing the Jacobean entrance building and matching two-storey refreshment room and hotel block that remained until rebuilding in the 1960s.²⁵ The five-bay entrance colonnade appears to have been added afterwards. Before piecemeal additions, the ensemble made a handsome composition worthy of Livock.

Livock's last recorded railway work was the Queen's Hotel and entrance block fronting Birmingham New Street station, opened in 1854. Much larger and quite different from anything of his previously, descriptions tend to subordinate it to the spectacular iron roof. Livock's design was a sober, four-storey Palladian building in white brick with Derbyshire stone dressings. The ground floor comprised a ten-

arched colonnade leading into the station; the first floor had segmental window hoods; those above were flat beneath a projecting cornice surmounted by a balustraded parapet. Matching wings were set back. Extensions in 1911 and 1917 more than doubled the hotel's size, overpowering Livock's original.

The only other works so far found to be attributed to Livock are the Clarendon Hotel (now called Benskin's House) next to Watford Junction station—Italianate of 1860—and the village schools at Bloxham, Oxfordshire, (1864 and 1870) which may be to the designs he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853.

Thomas Mainwaring Penson

Our other character was the fourth member of the Penson dynasty of architects, surveyors and engineers of Wrexham and Oswestry; prolific builders of bridges, churches, country houses and other buildings in Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales; and county surveyors—Thomas (1760–1824), his son Thomas the younger (1790–1859), and his sons Richard Kyrke (1815–1886) and Thomas Mainwaring (1817–1864). The last is best remembered for initiating the revival of half-timbering in Chester. He was sometimes called T Penson junior, and he had a son Thomas Kyrke (born 1857), which account for the confusion in names. Shrewsbury station and those on the Shrewsbury & Chester Railway have been credited to T. or T. K. Penson (as I regret I have done), but proof that the designer was Thomas Mainwaring lies in a testimonial by Henry Robertson, the engineer, when Penson was applying for the post of county surveyor for Cheshire.²⁶ Robertson wrote that he employed Penson on surveying, engineering and architectural work on the SCR, where he was currently a resident engineer responsible for designing the stations. The minute book refers only to Robertson, thus supporting his statement that Penson worked for him, and not directly for the railway.²⁷

The Shrewsbury & Chester main line was opened from Saltney Junction, Chester, as far as Ruabon on 4 November 1846, and officially onward to Shrewsbury on 12 October 1848. Edward Parry, in his *Railway Companion from Chester to Shrewsbury* (1849), who obviously admired Penson, said the stations were 'finished in a style and with a variety of effect which does the greatest credit to the architect, Mr T. M. Penson of Chester.' He gave no details of Saltney beyond commenting that the carriage works superintendent's house (which still stood in the 1970s) was 'one of the prettiest Elizabethan cottages we have ever seen.' In 1925 the GWR Divisional Superintendent stated that the booking office and waiting room were below the platforms at street level, and unoccupied;²⁸ the station had closed in 1916 but was reopened on a slightly different site in 1932.

Rossett and Gresford were alike in coursed rock-faced stone, with scalloped bargeboards and a gabled, rustic porch leading out on to the platform; '... the picturesque simplicity . . . is peculiarly adapted to the beautiful and romantic scenery,' wrote Parry. All the station buildings incorporated a two-storey 'clerk's house under the same roof', which Parry commended for 'economy and convenience', except at Llangollen Road, which still lacked a permanent building. The largest, Wrexham, was entirely of two storeys with tall Jacobean gables and a flat awning in the Livock manner, but topped by a low parapet of openwork circles punctuated by miniature urns. The station was entirely rebuilt in 1909–12.

Weston Rhyn (originally Preesgweene) in stone, and Leaton in brick, had a rustic cottage style similar to many of the gatehouses and the Saltney house. Whittington was larger and with bay windows and an ornamental porch. Parry considered it to be 'the choicest piece of architecture of all . . . and does the architect, T. M. Penson Esq. jr., son of T. Penson Esq. of Oswestry, the greatest credit.' Here Penson may

have been influenced by the half timbered 'Big House' of 1631, facing the green. Baschurch was in the same general style but even larger, surprisingly so, with a profusion of gables and finials and a low, gabled tower decorated with wooden chevrons which were removed when it was reduced to roof height in 1921. Between this building and the crossing house stood a little pumphouse in squared sandstone. Chirk was mainly two-storeyed, a smaller edition of Wrexham with straight gables, of 'Early English character' and 'in good taste with its locality.' Rednal, a little smaller although still surprisingly large, was in brick with masonry dressings, standing at the head of a drive with matching gate pillars. Cefn had a low, simple one-storey building in random stone, and a cottage. Llangollen Road, too, was simpler; single-storeyed in brick with stone dressings and minimal Tudor embellishments.

Parry enthused about them all. They 'were very much admired and displayed with considerable taste.' But at Ruabon and Gobowen Penson made a startling departure from the picturesque and put up buildings in a completely different but equally charming manner, choosing a delicate Florentine Italianate style with coupled round-headed windows and decorative friezes. Ruabon was the smaller, in white brick; Gobowen was mainly two-storeyed and sported a 'comporial' tower. Ruabon lasted until about 1865²⁰ when, as part of enlargements for trains on the Llangollen branch (opened 1862), it was replaced by the present neo-Tudor building said to be by Henry Robertson.³⁰

The handsome collegiate Tudor station at Shrewsbury was Penson's finest railway work. Built jointly for three railways and opened in 1849, it comprised a central tower with symmetrical two-storeyed wings in ashlar stone. The tower was embellished with a large oriel window, a clock and elegantly crenellated parapets emphasised by pepper-pot shafts that were repeated on either side. Much decoration was applied to chimneys, friezes and windows. In 1855 Penson supervised a large extension with a projecting wing at one end, which destroyed the symmetry but

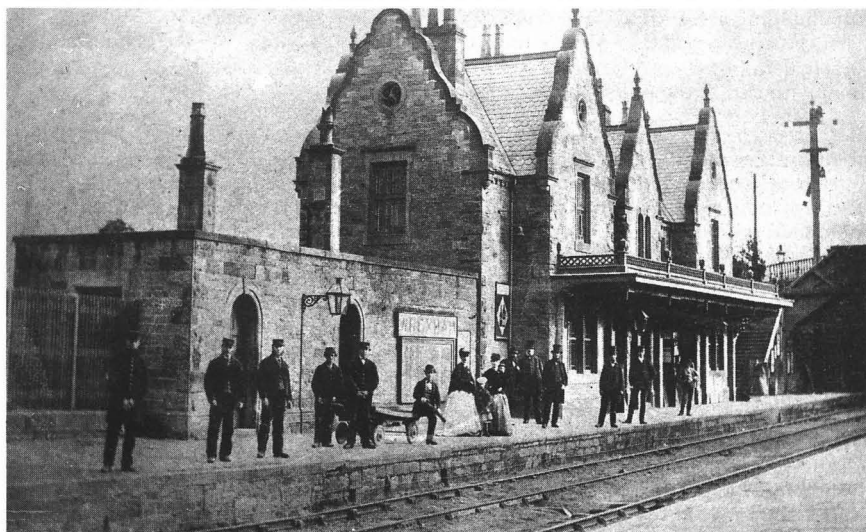


*T. M. Penson's Florentine station at Gobowen, August 1955
R. E. G. Read/G. J. Biddle Collection*

otherwise was indistinguishable from the original. A second enlargement by the joint lines' engineer, R. E. Johnston, was carried out equally sympathetically in 1898-1903; he ingeniously added a third storey underneath, requiring complex underpinning.³¹

Penson and Livock both strove to present their line buildings as a picturesque entity, as complete as possible within the limits imposed by their employers. Livock's were the more elaborate but more narrowly based; Penson's broader but more subdued, relieved by interposing two elegant Italianate stations. Both designed a large station, Penson's at Shrewsbury a climax to his earlier work, but Livock's at Birmingham in a completely different style that lacked his earlier flair, as did the Watford hotel, suggesting either financial constraints or that he was working in an idiom in which he was not completely happy.

It must be asked why Ruabon and Gobowen were so different. The most likely answer is patronage. Ruabon was close to Wynnstay, home of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, industrialist and prominent railway director. Gobowen was the nearest main line station to Brogyntyn, the seat of William Ormsby Gore, MP for North Shropshire, leading promoter and chairman of the three Shrewsbury railway companies. Chirk was obviously influenced by the proximity of Chirk Castle, but there is no obvious reason for the size of Baschurch and Rednal. Pevsner considered that Shrewsbury station made 'a nonsense of the castle', although he may have meant the railway itself when seen from the ramparts alongside.³² Certainly the line ruins one of our finest riverside townscapes, and the strident red brick retaining wall to one side of the station façade is an affront. But the building itself fits in particularly well, echoing the ancient Shrewsbury School (now the library) further up the street.



*The original station at Wrexham in the early 1870s; by T. M. Penson
J. G. Spence Collection*

Penson and Livock's Other Work

Penson designed Machynlleth station on the Newtown & Machynlleth Railway, of which Benjamin and Robert Piercy were engineers, opened on 3 January 1863 and subsequently becoming part of the Cambrian Railways.³³ After his SCR activities he started practising in Chester where he did much work; also schools and churches in North Wales, and much else. As the other original Cambrian stations between Newtown and Machynlleth were similar—Scafell, the original part of Moat Lane Junction, Caersws, Pontdolgoch, Carno, Llanbrynmair and Cemmes Road—it seems reasonable to assume that Penson designed those as well. They varied in size, but otherwise were in his familiar Tudor style with numerous gables, bargeboards and finials, and all were larger than comparable stations on the SCR, considering the sparsely inhabited districts they served. The various bargeboard patterns here, on the SCR and on Livock's stations were in such similar styles that they were probably copied from one of the numerous architects' and builders' pattern books of the time.

Penson's connection with Robertson leads to speculation about other possible railway work, like the stations on his Shrewsbury & Hereford line of 1852–53 and, in particular, the Llangollen & Corwen (1865) of which Robertson was chairman as well. The records only contain Robertson's name,³⁴ but the remarkable half-timbered station at Berwyn and the Tudor features at Glyndyfrdwy and Carrog, for instance, suggest a talent such as Penson's, although he would not have seen them completed as he died in the previous year aged 47.

On the Shrewsbury & Chester the GWR opened stations at Johnstown & Hafod in 1896 and Balderton in 1901, together with a string of halts, but recently north of Wrexham, everything disappeared when the line was resignalled and singled. Happily, south of Wrexham the opposite applies. Although only Ruabon, Chirk and Gobowen remain open, all the other station buildings and crossing houses except Cefn remain, mostly in private occupation—a remarkable survival. Regrettably the fine building at Chirk has been replaced by a shelter, albeit in stone, but in recent years Gobowen and Shrewsbury have been superbly restored. On the Cambrian, Machynlleth (open) and Cemmes Road (closed) are still in use, and the buildings are mainly in situ at the other stations, except Moat Lane.

Because so much less is known about Livock, the question of what else he did has much greater significance. Perhaps he was kept busy by the LNWR; there was plenty of railway work on offer which, although not highly paid, gave continuity. R. B. Dockray built the Coventry-Leamington line (1844) and is credited with the elegant Italianate stations at Kenilworth and Warwick (Milverton).³⁵ Could Livock's association with him date back to that time? Dockray also built the Coventry-Nuneaton and Rugby-Leamington lines (1850 and 1851), where there was more than a passing likeness to some of Livock's cottage stations, not to mention the Italianate Leamington Spa (Avenue). Likewise there are similarities between his Buckinghamshire Railway stations and St Albans (Abbey) and the second station at Watford (both 1858), while the Tuscan columns of the first Pinner station suggest a confident, experienced hand.³⁶

The handsome Jacobean station at Stafford that in 1843–44 replaced the small Grand Junction station made a fitting termination to Livock's Trent Valley scheme three years later.³⁷ If he designed it in readiness, did he also create the second station at Crewe at the same time? As Tait's well known lithograph shows, it, too, was an equally elaborate Jacobean design. The Grand Junction was, after all, the LBR's partner in the Trent Valley. These are speculative questions which I hope further research will eventually answer.

Finally I must thank the following for their kind assistance: Rex Christiansen, Harold Forster, John H. Denton, Peter Howell, David Jenkins, Gwyn Briwnant Jones, John Dixon, Robin Leloux, Professor Jack Simmons, Stephany Ungless, Dr George F. Chadwick and, in particular, Mary Forsyth for her help in tracking down Livock in the census returns and directories.

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(continued on page 95)

The Influence of the Railway on Victorian Religious Writing

BY GRAHAME BOYES

One of the pleasures of being editor of the Society's bibliography project is receiving details of obscure gems of transport literature previously unknown to me, particularly on those rare occasions when they are of an early railway book and annotated *Not in Otley*. Amongst a batch of the neatly written, detailed cards received from time to time from our member Mr E. N. C. Haywood was one that particularly intrigued me.

It referred to a book which was one of the earliest that he remembered from his childhood, *The Celestial Railroad from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City*, by William Thomson, and still in his possession. It is undated, but was given as a prize to his mother in 1911; the British Library catalogue confirms that it was published in 1910. (The British Library's copy was destroyed by enemy action in World War Two.) It shows all the signs of having been well read. However, it was perhaps the 39 drawings and full-page ink-and-brush illustrations by E. S. Taylor, of which 18 are of scenes on the Celestial Railroad, that attracted the young Haywood, rather than the text; those showing the railroad's locomotive are embellished with plumes of smoke in a childish hand. Although the locomotive has 'CR' on the buffer beam, it is clearly a Worsdell 4-4-0 acquired from the North Eastern Railway, while the train of carriages with dome-ended clerestory roofs appears to be of London & North Western Railway provenance. It is driven by the devilish Apollyon, the Angel of the Bottomless Pit.

Thus began this small piece of research.

In the mid nineteenth century railways could evoke extreme views:

'a fearful and wide-spreading evil has suddenly broke forth . . . which threatens to uproot the foundations of society, and to poison the fountains of morality and virtue. The plague has begun, thousands are daily falling victims to its fearful influence.'

Thus wrote 'A Spiritual Watchman of the Church of England', the anonymous author of *The Railroad, considered in a moral and religious point of view*, published in 1845 during the Railway Mania. He inveighs particularly against the sins of forcible entry by surveyors and of compulsory land purchase, quoting the story of Ahab forcibly taking Naboth's vineyard in 1 Kings 21, Micah 2 v.2 ('And they covet fields and take them by violence; and houses and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage.') and other Old Testament texts in Job 24 v.2 and Deuteronomy 19 v.14 and 27 v.17. His other targets are: speculation in shares; pleasure trips enticing juveniles to 'some great manufacturing Babel, such as Birmingham or Manchester . . . where they may acquire a taste for the vices of the town'; and 'the awful profanation of the Sabbath' on 30 November 1845, when the Board of Trade was opened for the deposit of private Bills. Surprisingly, he does not mention Sunday travel.

Quoting 1 John 2 v.16 ('all that is in the world, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, is not of the Father but of the world'), he concludes that

'if ever there was a perfect concentration of these, the Trinity of the world, it is to be found in the Railroad . . . We believe it is the masterpiece of Satan.'

The quite opposite view was presented by the anonymous author of *The Latter Days*, a religious tract published in 1854:



Illustration by E. S. Taylor from *The Celestial Railroad* by William Thomson (1910). The modern railroad's comfortable train from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City, driven by Apollyon, the Angel of the Bottomless Pit, overtakes two simpletons still persisting in following John Bunyan's old fashioned way.

'the railways . . . cannot be looked upon in any other point of view than as most marvellous, and of a nature as well unparalleled by any other similar work, in any other age of the known world, as calculated to exercise an influence over the whole moral and social system of mankind, to an extent beyond perhaps the power of the human mind to measure.'

He sees the railway as the literal fulfilment of prophecies in eight references in the Book of Isaiah, notably chapter 40 verses 3-5;

'Prepare ye the way . . . make straight in the desert a highway . . . Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed . . .'

The Crumlin viaduct is quoted as an example of a valley having been exalted, anticipating the later claim that the GWR was God's Wonderful Railway!

In further support of his belief, the author argues that Isaiah chapter 60 verse 17 ('for stones [I will bring] iron') foretells of the iron railway superseding the stone road, while the 'swift beasts' referred to in chapter 66 verse 20 are clearly steam locomotives. Finally he interprets verse 4 in the last chapter of the Book of Daniel ('But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased') as a prophecy of the great and glorious spread of Gospel knowledge, enabled by the worldwide extension of railways and the electric telegraph. Perhaps those who had predicted the Second Coming between 1865 and 1880 could be right:

'Viewing . . . the many wonderful events resulting from the increased knowledge of the present day . . . there appears to be evidenced that rapid approach to perfection in all things considered by many to precede the approach of the last of the latter days.'

Such was the effect that railways could have on people, even quarter of a century after the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway. But most religious writers did not take them so seriously. More typically they exploited the obvious scope for analogy between a railway line or a train journey and the journey through life. The first to do so was perhaps the famous American novelist and short story writer, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64). His short story *The Celestial Railroad* was first published in the *Democratic Review* and in the *Christian Advocate & Journal* in 1843, before appearing in *Mosses from an Old Manse*, two volumes of his short stories published in Boston in 1843. It was first published in London, in the same form, in 1846 and has been re-published several times since.

Hawthorne came from a strongly Puritan family of Salem, Massachusetts (two of his ancestors were a prosecutor and a judge in the 17th century 'Witches of Salem' trials). His story is a satire based on John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, with the old, true, arduous road to the Celestial City now paralleled by the new Celestial Railroad, representing the easy, popularised pilgrimage offered by modern religion. The writer dreams of a journey from the City of Destruction, similar to that undertaken by Christian in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, passing, or bypassing, the various landmarks described by Bunyan, guided by one of the railroad directors, Mr Smooth-it-away.

The Slough of Despond is now crossed by the railroad's waggonette over a shaky bridge, supported on foundations formed by tipping into the slough volumes of French philosophy and German rationalism, essays of modern clergymen, and such seductive literature. The railroad starts from a station with a wide entrance, built on the site of the old narrow Wicket Gate which had been an obstruction to those of liberal mind and expansive stomach. The passengers' burthens no longer have to be

carried on their backs, but are taken from them and carried in a copious luggage van. The railroad journey is altogether so much easier. Spoil from tunnelling through the Hill of Difficulty has been used to build an embankment across the Valley of Humiliation. The sight of two obstinate pilgrims on the old hard route excites great mirth among the passengers. After a stop in the City of Vanity to take in the pleasures of the Fair, the writer continues his journey to the last station, only to find that it is separated from the Celestial City by the River of Death, where his guide abandons him. He is relieved to waken from his dream.

In *The Celestial Railroad*, mentioned in the introduction, the evangelical preacher William Thomson turns Hawthorne's satire into a much more direct attack on the various forms of Modern Religion—the New and Broad Theologies, Christian Science, Rationalistic Higher Criticism, Latitudinarianism, High Ritualism, Weak-kneed Protestantism, Socialism, arrogant Roman Catholicism, and Spiritualism.

The story is essentially the same as Hawthorne's. However, in this case it is told not as a dream, but as a fatal journey undertaken by Mr Le Rong, at the end of which he learns too late the folly of the rail-way. It is interspersed with explanations and other anecdotes to reinforce its purpose as a 'warning to the man in the street to avoid modern errors . . . and to seek the old paths and walk in them'.

The railway is not always associated with the way of errors. In *The Railway Tract* (1859) the way of God is likened unto a perfect railway, without the hazards then prevalent on earthly lines:

Here are no falling bridges—no sliding embankments—no runnings sands, nor cracking centres—no dark tunnels—no false signals—no curves—it is a straight line—all the rails are perfectly sound and good, and they are laid on the very best material—the divinity of Christ . . . All the trains on this line run the same way, therefore there are no fearful accidents . . . We must not lose our tickets . . . we must keep up [our] insurance by faith and prayer . . . and ascend the inclined plane to His cross.

The fact that the trains on this line travelled at sixty miles an hour, 'as fast as time can carry us', says something about the perception of speed at this date.

The New Railway Guide (1848) describes not just one railway from the City of the World to Eternity, but several competing lines, illustrated with a folding map. The lines fall into two groups, both passing first through Natural-depravity-shire. The first group of six lines (the Ignorance, Superstition, Infidelity, Intemperance, Hypocrisy, and Fashion Lines—the last two being broad gauge) continues through Folly-shire, Self-dependence-shire, Unbelief-shire and Evil-habit-shire to a point of embarkation across the Great Gulph Stream to Perdition.

The other group of lines passes through Enquiry-shire, Self-renunciation-shire, Holy-living-shire, and Sanctification-shire to an embarkation point for Glory. Although they all aim for the same destination, they are not equally recommended. The Popery Line is 'very zig-zag and tedious' and it is hoped that it will be closed ere long and all the others then amalgamated. The oldest of the Protestant lines is the Independent Line (representing the Congregationalist and Baptist churches). Its route was laid down from the best survey, and its rules and regulations are very perfect, there being no distinction between rich and poor, and the leader of each carriage being chosen by the passengers. However, it suffers at present from passengers wrangling with each other. The Episcopalian and Presbyterian Lines are also old lines, but they have more ornamented carriages for their leaders, who are not appointed by the passengers. Like the Popery Line, the Episcopalian Line has a junction in Enquiry-shire, with a branch leading through Human-trust-shire to Perdition; this is much frequented because of the great ease of travelling on it. The Methodist Line is a new and less direct route, passing through the low country of

Arminian Moss instead of cutting through Calvinistic Rock. Several different kinds of train run on it: Primitive, Wesley, Kilham, and Association Trains. The differences are not very great, but the passengers think otherwise. It is a most noisy line, the passengers sighing and groaning very much. The Unitarian Line is still unfinished beyond Enquiry-shire, except for a branch to Perdition; those who wish to go to Glory have to find their own way.

The Railway Guide, published in the following year, is a straightforward evangelical tract to be read on a train journey, drawing parallels with the journey to the two alternative destinations in eternity. If intending to travel on the up line, it is essential to obtain a ticket in advance; they are available for the asking, having already been paid for. There is a warning about setting off too late or with too much luggage, and being refused entry to the train after the warning bell has rung. There is no need to be afraid of dark tunnels on this line, as there is a little lamp in the roof of each carriage.

Allegories on other aspects of train travel—not having, or losing a ticket, life insurance, missing a train, and carrying ‘over’ [excess] luggage—are employed in a series of twelve 16-page vest-pocket religious tracts by the evangelist Charles Stanley. He apparently travelled frequently as a commercial traveller and the tracts are supposedly based upon his conversations with fellow travellers (‘There are few opportunities so favourable for candid conversation as railway travelling’). They were published in 1859, under the series title of *Railway Incidents* or *Railway Tracts*.

In *The Great Valley Railway*, published in at least fourteen editions c.1875–1905, the Reverend D. Pledge dreams of an immense station, the size of the world. Trains depart every minute on the Great Valley Railway, across the valley of death. The up line leads to the Eternal City, and only those who have the right ticket (printed ‘Faith’) are allowed on it. Those without a ticket and those such as Moralists, Sacramentalists and Romanists with forged tickets (printed ‘Good Works’, ‘Alms-Deeds’, ‘Sacraments’, or ‘Penance’) are doomed to the broad gauge down line to Hades. The up line has telegraph lines alongside, which are in constant use, transmitting men’s deeds, words and thoughts to the Eternal City.

James Anthony Froude (1818–94), the celebrated and controversial historian and man of letters, also wrote an allegorical dream in a station. It was originally published in *Fraser’s Magazine* in 1879 and subsequently included in the fourth and final volume of Froude’s *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (1883). Titled *A siding at a railway station*, it describes how the passengers on a train unexpectedly find themselves shunted into a siding at a wayside station. Despite the protests from the first class passengers, they are all directed into a large, barely furnished apartment like the *salle d’attente* at the Gare du Nord in Paris. As at that station before departure of the boat train, the baggage is piled on a long table for examination. Everyone is judged by comparing the value of the work undertaken in his life against what he has received.

Shunted (1884) was originally a sermon preached to railwaymen at a Baptist chapel in Hitchin. The author, F. J. Bird, was probably himself a railwayman, as he was clearly familiar with railway operations, and aware of the considerable congestion on the Great Northern Railway main line between Hitchin and King’s Cross at this period: ‘A driver told me . . . that it once took him ten hours to run thirty-two miles—forty eight trains passed him’. Remedial widening works had to be undertaken on this section of route every few years from 1867 to 1920.

Starting from the text ‘You were running well; who was it hindered you?’ (Galatians 5 v.7), he discusses the parallels between a train being shunted back into a station siding during its journey, and being shunted into the siding of indifference and sin. He considers who might be responsible (e.g. the driver’s own fault for losing time by neglect of his fire, or the signalman’s action—the signalman being likened to the

devil). And he emphasises the harmful effects of being shunted (e.g. loss of time, accidents while shunting, or deterioration of goods labelled URGENT or MEAT FOR LONDON).

Much has been written about the prevailing influence of railways on the Victorian way of life, most notably by Professor Jack Simmons. His recent book on *The Victorian Railway* (1991) includes a chapter on the effect of the railway upon Victorian literature. This article attempts to fill a small gap by showing how the railway also influenced religious writing. In addition to the examples quoted, there are of course many more dealing with the specific issues of Sunday train services (both for and against), and the moral condition of railway navvies. However, these have been adequately covered elsewhere.

Brighton and the Brighton Line

BY ADRIAN GRAY

Jeffrey Spence lived for many years within a few miles of the Brighton line and was always interested in the impact it had—and was continuing to have—on the surrounding community. In fact the Brighton line had a dramatic effect on the principal community that it was built to serve—Brighton itself.

The line opened in 1841, at a time when Brighton had been experiencing a period of stagnation after rapid growth in the early Nineteenth Century. The impact of the railway in fostering growth was immediate and spectacular, as can be seen from the table of population:

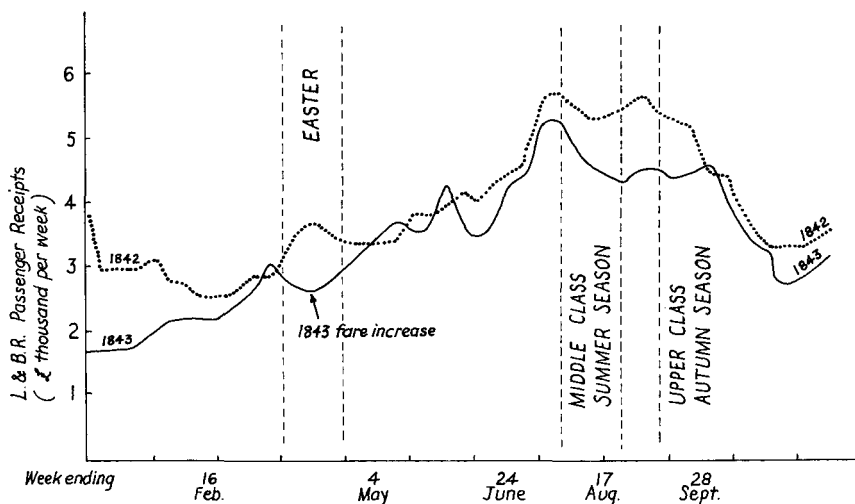
Table of Population

1821:	24,429
1831:	40,634
1841:	46,661
1851:	65,469
1861:	77,693
1871:	103,758
1881:	107,546

Under the pressures of running a growing town, Brighton was incorporated as a Borough in 1856.

In 1843 the *Brighton Gazette* reported that 'the interests of the town of Brighton and of the proprietors of the London & Brighton Railway are so intimately blended as to be inseparable.' On the surface this seemed true—the opening of the railway had done much to alleviate the surplus of vacant property in the town, but the railway company took the view that profits were only to be made from wealthy travellers and blatantly discouraged others. Its 1st class fares in 1843 were 3.5d a mile, compared to 2.25d on the South Eastern.

The opening of the railway transformed the property market in Brighton, which had been seriously overexpanded in the period 1821–31. Between 1831 and 1841 only 431 new houses had been built and yet in the latter year 13% of houses were vacant. In the following decade, 2,806 houses were added—many of them substantial villas in the £800–1,500 range in the Montpelier district with good access to the station.



London & Brighton Rly weekly passenger traffic receipts 1842 and 1843

Property developers seem to have been more successful in their relations with the LBSCR than the holiday industry. The 1870s saw another great expansion of building which was fuelled by the growing popularity of longer-distance commuting. The move was led by the Stanford Estate, who arranged for the LBSCR to open new stations at Cliftonville, Preston Park and London Road to aid their developments.

Access to a station was vital in determining the value of a property—land close to Preston Park station was selling at £2,200 an acre by 1891. In 1879 a new line avoiding Brighton was opened after an agreement between the LBSCR and the developer of the West Brighton estate—purchasers of houses over £1,500 received a 20% discount on season tickets.

The arrival of the railway also helped to transform Brighton into one of the few large industrial towns south of London due to the establishment of the railway workshops.

In 1852 it was reported by the *Brighton Herald* that the New England area was 'becoming a railway world, covered as it is in every direction with railway workshops, sheds, bridges, viaducts, and whole streets occupied by railway officials and workmen.' By 1874 the LBSCR itself employed at least 2,000 men in Brighton and, even without including rates, injected around £120,000 a year into the local economy.

Some saw the growth of industrial Brighton as a threat to its prosperity as a seaside resort. Dr G. Corfe, writing in his *Hints & a Help to Brighton Invalids*, complained that 'Railway directors have been suffered to smear Brighton's surface with the sooty offal of factories—thirty furnace flues and numerous office chimneys may be counted, vomiting, in no sparing clouds, their unconsumed fuel.' However this view is a distortion in that the railway works were well away from the main holiday areas, almost forming a separate community altogether.

Male Employment by percentage—1901

	Clerks	Transport	Engineering
Brighton	2.5	13.0	3.7
Blackpool	2.1	10.8	1.7
Leeds	2.7	9.8	12.7
Rochdale	2.2	7.1	12.9
Torquay	1.5	11.0	1.2

The industrial area was served by its own new housing which grew up in the 1840s and 1850s. After the railway works opened in 1852 small terraced houses around Trafalgar Street could command weekly rents of 8s. (40p). The terraced streets also developed their own separate 'shopping centre' in London Road which became the focus of the later tram network and was the home of the Brighton Co-op from 1906.

With rents of the newer terraced houses being very high, many of the poorer railway workers were accommodated in older streets that had rapidly become slums. This contributed to the very poor reputation that Brighton gained in the 1860s after attacks by *The Lancet* in 1860 and 1869. Dr J. Kebbell observed that, 'In no town throughout the Kingdom, I believe, do cleanliness and filth meet in such extremes as in this.' Others observed that in the slums 'miserable tenants try to drown their uneasy sensations in the neighbouring beer-shops.'

Good railway links did not, however, rescue the overgrown developments like Brunswick Square and Kemp Town which had been aimed at an aristocratic clientele that never arrived. The weekly cost of furnished accommodation in Brunswick Square fell from 40 guineas in 1877 to only 5 guineas in 1897, but the railway helped to stimulate growth in private education. In 1845 there were already 61 private schools in the town and by 1868 their number had risen to 138.



Middle class houses of the 1840s. Buckingham Road near Brighton station

The railway also helped to encourage another economic activity—prostitution. Brighton had been notorious for loose morals since the days of the Prince Regent. But the railway made it easy for the looser livers of London to shift their activities to a more salubrious climate. By 1859 the town had 325 known prostitutes but in the season ‘gay women’ came down from London by the carriage load and joined together to rent furnished accommodation. Nightly events on the beach were said to ‘beggar description’.

Most sinister of all, though, was the growing practice of wealthy London men keeping young girls at Brighton for their amusement and thus using the good services of the LBSCR for wicked purposes. A letter to the *Brighton Herald* in 1877 asked if people knew that ‘. . . children of 15 and 16 are being kept in dress, paint and gin . . . and devoted to worse than death? There are scores of houses set apart for the destruction of girls in body and soul. That this glittering stream of wealth and fashion, that pours into our town, is sweeping many a poor young creature to her ruin?’

Brighton also became a powerful magnet for London criminals, who used the railway to flock to the annual Races. Almost as soon as the railway had opened, the *Brighton Gazette* warned its readers that, ‘We are credibly informed that many of the “swell mob” have arrived in Brighton during the past few days. We warn our readers to be on their guard as to their pockets and their houses.’

Most important of all, of course, the railway was linked intimately but uneasily with the holiday industry. When the railway first arrived in 1841, the residential holiday trade was separated into three ‘seasons’: ‘The summer months are abandoned to the trading population of London, the early autumn is surrendered to the lawyers, and when November summons them to Westminster, the *beau monde* commence their migration to encounter the gales of that inclement season secure from any participation of the pleasure with a plebeian multitude.’

The railway company was at first especially concerned to gain the custom of the wealthy: in 1842 it introduced a first class day return, to entice wealthy men to live in Brighton during the autumn and winter season. One of the first customers was Sir Robert Peel. However the wealthy had other ideas as to where they wished to spend their holidays, and the railway was forced to encourage the types of traffic that not all Brighton residents wished to see. Cheap 2nd class Easter returns were introduced in 1844, weekend returns in 1846; and the first cheap excursion ran in 1844, to the disgust of many Brightonians. The transformation of the Brighton from an expensive line to a cheap one can be seen from its 2nd class single fares: 9s. 6d. in 1841 but only 5s. (25p) in 1896. In 1842 the cheapest single ticket was 6s. (30p) and that was by goods train! By 1860 a 3rd class excursion fare was 2s. 6d. (12½p) return.

The Company encouraged the affluent middle-class instead. For Brighton, this meant a decline in the furnished accommodation trade, and a rise in hotels. The *Grand* in 1864, the *Norfolk* in 1865 and the *Metropole* in 1890. Middle-class visitors swelled from an estimated 30,000 in 1830 to 100,000 by 1859, all of whom stayed for at least a week.

At least these people spent money in Brighton—the complaint against excursionists was that they spent little money in the town except on drink. Early excursions were organised through friendly societies like the Carpenters’ Benevolent Society or the Watchmakers’ Society. An August Sunday in 1853 brought 2,700 excursionists and in 1860 there was a total of about 150,000 day visitors. The 1871 Bank Holidays Act further stimulated this trade—on Whitmonday 1874, 30,000 visitors arrived for the day in 28 trains.

This influx was far from welcome with some residents. In 1861 a petition to the railway company complained of ‘vast masses of people who are a positive damage to the

respectability of the town.' As they returned to the station, 'Queen's Road swarmed with drunken and disorderly persons, who set aside all decency and whose conduct was an offence against the public morals.' In 1852 it was complained that all the food and drink for the excursionists was '... brought from London ... and Brighton reaps no benefit.' However the success of the railway made this the future pattern for Brighton, though in 1895 G. A. Sala saw some good in it: 'Their presence is directly beneficial to the minor trades of the town and they do not in any way interfere with the comfort of the more patrician visitors ...'

Thus the growth of Brighton in the period 1840-1900 was influenced in many ways by the arrival of the railway. Some of the trends that were begun, such as the growth of day trippers and private education, have continued to be important; others, such as the emergence of Brighton as an engineering centre, have faded away. But in the street pattern and houses of the town, the railway's influence still remains.



Looking east over Brighton Station about 1870. Streets of terraced housing are spreading up the slopes of the Downs

The National Railway Collection: Past Present and Future

BY J. A. COILEY

This tribute to Jeffery Spence and his interest, among other transport matters, in railway museums, is a most appropriate opportunity to review the development of the National Railway Collection, since he worked at the Museum of British Transport at Clapham in the 1960s.

It is not, however, the intention to describe again, in any detail, the earlier railway museums at York and Clapham, as this has been done admirably elsewhere.^{1,2} Instead this is an occasion to outline the progress of the Collection over the past 30 years, to consider the growth of the National Railway Museum and to examine some of the reasons for change as well as to contemplate future events.

Despite the importance of the collections displayed in the Science Museum from the latter part of the last century and in the Railway Museum in Queen Street, York, from 1928, the concept of a National Railway Collection was only established after nationalisation of the railways in 1948. In 1951, the British Transport Commission appointed a curator, from the museum world, for the Historical Railway Relics. In addition to looking after the Collection at York, his task was to select and collect material, with advice from the railways and a Consultative Panel comprising representatives from leading railway enthusiast groups, for a new Museum of British Transport in London. This Museum opened in 1961-63 in a former bus garage in Clapham, South London and together with the Collection at York and that in the GWR Museum (opened 1962), and other small displays eg *Locomotion* in Darlington Station, comprised The National Railway Collection.

As the 1955 Railway Modernisation Plan took effect, combined with the drastic reduction in railway routes during the mid 1960s, many more railway relics became available. Since there was no immediate room for these in existing museums, especially the locomotives and carriages, they were either put in store on British Rail or lent to some of the leading regional museums or preserved railways that were beginning to flourish, to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

While the collection was growing in this way, responsibility for the railways had been taken over from the Railway Executive of the BR by the newly created British Railways Board. The Board soon decided that they did not wish to be responsible for the Historical Railway Relics. A clause in the Transport Act 1968 transferred this responsibility to the Department of Education and Science, which meant, in effect, the Science Museum. Since there was no room at South Kensington for the National Railway Collection, the BRB was required to provide a suitable building for the new National Railway Museum.

As a result of these decisions there was no further development of the Museums at York and Clapham. Redundant railway equipment that had been identified for preservation by the Consultative Panel, continued to be put in store or lent.

Guidance for the planning of the new National Railway Museum was provided by the NRM Committee, comprising leading professional and private railway authorities, from industry and education, in conjunction with senior representatives from British Rail and the Science Museum.

After considerable debate it was decided to locate the new National Railway Museum in the former Motivepower Depot in York. Work started in the new museum in January 1973 and it opened on 27 September 1975, the exact 150th

anniversary of the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. The displays of large and small exhibits were essentially an amalgamation of those from the Museums of York and Clapham, together with selected locomotives and carriages withdrawn from service since Clapham opened and hitherto in store or on loan. Considerable care was given to the layout; design and presentation of all material, based largely on the experience of the Science Museum and reflecting the latest ideas in museum exhibition. The history layout and content of the museum has been well described in detail by Professor Simmons in 1980.³

In addition to the sectioned *Merchant Navy* class locomotive, perhaps the most significant locomotive added to the new museum was the North Eastern Railway 'Steeple Cabs' electric, previously on display at the Museum of Technology for the East Midlands, Leicester, following withdrawal in 1963.

Prior to this, both museums at York and Clapham had intended to be displays of steam locomotives and Royal Saloons. Although these were popular with visitors, to rely so heavily in the mid-1970s on such exhibits gave a rather unbalanced view of railway history in Britain. Considerable effort was made to correct the emphasis by adding further examples of electric and diesel traction units as soon as possible. Significant non-Royal Saloons dating from early this century, which had been in store or out of use on BR, were soon restored and put on display.

While the balance of the displays of larger objects was being improved in this way, a number of temporary exhibitions on special subjects were arranged. In this manner, not only was the museum coverage broadened but visitors were able to see material from the reserve collections, much of which had not been shown at York or Clapham. At the same time storage for the reserve collection was secured by the purchase of the former Goods Depot immediately opposite the main museum. Not only was this still fully rail-connected but the large yard remained, together with interior loading platforms. Material newly acquired from British Rail and elsewhere was stored in this building from 1976 onwards.

Arrangements were made to transfer, sorting where practical, all material from storage in the former Queen Street Museum and the ex-Pullman Car Works at Preston Park, Brighton, to this new store or its yard as soon as possible. There was not, however, room for all the locomotives or carriages previously in store on BR to be housed under cover in the Goods Depot. The museum was again fortunate in being able to agree loans for these items with a number of preserved railways and rail centres. The loans of other locomotives, carriages and objects already with private railways and museums, as a result of negotiations by BRB were extended, at least for the time being. Subsequently some of these loans have been called in or exhibits exchanged by mutual agreement so that the coverage or technical scope of these exhibitions at York could be improved.

In 1977 the Friends of the National Railway Museum were founded. As a charity, they were able to administer a collecting box in the museum. With the revenue from this source, membership and donations (including objects) have provided valuable financial support for the museum ever since (e.g. restoration of *Mallard* and building of *Iron Duke*). Volunteers from FNRM membership have also helped to restore and to operate the *Duchess of Hamilton* on the mainline, so assisting the museum policy of demonstrating selected locomotives and carriages on BR, private railways and at anniversary celebrations when resources allow.

To support such a programme the museum also acquired full-sized reproductions of *Rocket* and the broad gauge locomotive *Iron Duke*. Both locomotives have been successful in bringing to life the displays at York and, in the case of *Rocket*, overseas as well. The work of the Educational Services has been aided by the operation of accurate scale 7¼ in gauge model steam locomotives at York.

During this time limited progress continued with the sorting and listing the reserve collection of objects as well as establishing their provenance where possible. The Goods Shed was also used at this time as a restoration workshop for locomotives and carriages. As a result by the early 1980s it was filling up with restored objects giving rise to the idea that one day it would make an excellent new exhibition hall for an expanding museum.

In parallel with this work considerable time had been devoted to building up the library and archive collections and making these available to visitors for study by appointment. Together with the work and the three dimensional material, it was clear the time for a more considered approach to collecting for the whole museum was fast approaching.

Collecting Policy

When the NRM opened there were no specific objectives and no formal collecting policy to support those objectives. During the early years of the museum resources were devoted to the operation of the museum and to sorting the collections and archives taken over from BRB with minimal support information. Such collecting that was carried out was done to:

- 1 Improve the balance of the collections: e.g. diesel-electric and electric locomotives
- 2 Acquire material fast disappearing from British Rail and elsewhere:
 - e.g. carriages from the 1920s and 1930s
 - S & T equipment
 - Freight wagons

A general 'working' objective was soon devised: To illustrate the history of railways and railway engineering in Britain from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution to the present day, including the impact on the social and economic life of the community and to look at probable future developments.

Not only did this encompass the need to draw attention, in future, to the social and economic importance of railways but it made clear that the museum should represent the interests of private and industrial railways and the export activities of the railway industry. As a result early collecting reflected this wider remit and included the first Beyer-Garratt locomotive built for Tasmania (on loan from the Festiniog Rly.) and a large British built locomotive from China, donated by the Government in Peking.

As a result of the support from the staff of the Science Museum in setting up the NRM there had always been a good understanding and working relationship over responsibilities for the Rail Transport Collection of the Land Transport Collection at South Kensington. It was agreed that essentially The Science Museum would concentrate on technical aspects of the history of railways with some duplication with the NRM in basic issues, while York would cover a much broader field including, in particular, the social and economic aspects. In the late 1960s the NRM assumed overall responsibility for the Rail Transport Collection in the Science Museum but will obviously co-operate with staff in London if, and when, any significant changes are made.

In 1986, in response to the need already identified for a Collecting Policy and so a mission statement, the NRM Committee approved a more formal set of aims for the museum. Proposed by Michael Robbins,⁴ they are set out below:

- 1 To be the primary national centre for the collection and conservation of objects relating to the development of railways in Great Britain and of the British Railway Constitution and manufacturing industry and of objects illustrating the historical,

social and economic effects on the national life caused by railways and activities carried on by railways.

- 2 to provide a centre for research and scholarship relating to railways through the evidence of artefacts and printed, documentary, pictorial and recorded material and to publish the results of such work.
- 3 To display to the public significant and informative objects from the Collection and to set up temporary exhibitions of its own and loaned material.
- 4 To promote public use, enjoyment and knowledge of the Collection and to enlarge public understanding of the place of railways in national and international life.
- 5 To provide teaching facilities relating to the Collection and study facilities for students and specialists.
- 6 To co-operate, where this is of advantage in furthering the Museum's aims, with the institutions and bodies at home and abroad having similar and adjacent interests.

These aims, which were subsequently displayed in the museum, enabled the museum to consider a more structured approach to collecting. An Acquisitions Committee was set up to approve all future collecting and to start to formulate a Collecting Policy to support the declared Aims of the Museum.

While such a Policy, when completed, may be largely qualitative, it will be more useful if it contains some observations on the quantitative aspects of collecting as well. J. H. White Jnr.⁵ among others has drawn attention to the question of collecting too much, especially perhaps in large transport museums. The cost of duplication in a railway museum, where there are many large objects, can be considerable. If objects appear as duplicates to visitors, the latter may be confused and the efforts of the curatorial staff, to explain the significance of the objects, diminish. On the other hand, near duplicates may provide a stimulating comparison at least for the more informed visitor and a basis for comparative research.

A possible resolution of this difficulty, at least for some collections, is, where practical, to establish a reference collection in accommodation which is hopefully much less expensive than the main exhibition galleries. Even with this arrangement it may be difficult to decide how much to hold in what is effectively a three dimensional library. At this stage an important factor may be the extent to which other museums and preserved railways are collecting similar material.

Development of the NRM

Independently of the deliberations over collecting, it was clear by the early 1980s that more storage space was urgently required. Fortunately the museum was able to buy from the Board the diesel depot built in 1955 together with the associated small workshop, both of which adjoined the museum's main Exhibition Hall. The museum also acquired further sidings outside the goods depot store together with a single storey warehouse next to the yard. Acquisition of this property allowed most, but not all, the unrestored locomotives and freight vehicles stored in the goods depot yard to be removed. Some undercover capacity was also retained for important vehicles already earmarked with BR for the museum but not yet at York.

At this stage in 1980 it was possible to consider converting the goods depot store into a second major exhibition of locomotives and carriages. These would probably be appropriately coupled together to represent trains standing alongside platforms, creating an impression of a train shed style station. Although there was now a sufficient number of restored locomotives and carriages and other items for such a display, the platforms were still covered with stored material, much largely unsorted. Some of this material (mostly S & T equipment) was transferred, allowing safe access to two

platforms in the newly acquired single storey building, the yard and the goods depot, and the yard opened on a trial basis in September 1985, during the museum's tenth anniversary celebrations. Despite the obviously temporary nature of this display visitor reactions were very encouraging.

As a result a start was made to plan a permanent exhibition in the goods depot, on the theme of 'Travel by Train', to open as soon as possible. This intention was announced in July 1988. Further storage which would enable the complete clearance, in due course, of the goods depot was eventually obtained near to the museum. After suitable modifications this building would allow the proper listed storage⁶ of nearly all small and medium sized material. At this time an account of progress with The National Railway Collection was published.⁷

Before it was possible to complete planning, the roof of the Main Hall was condemned as unsafe as from 1st April 1990. Although problems with this roof were known, it had been hoped that it would be possible to open the new exhibition on 'Travel by Train' before repairs to the roof were started. A complete rethink on future development was now essential.

After a comprehensive appraisal it was decided to turn the problem of the roof into an opportunity. The museum would not close. Plans to open the goods depot to visitors would be accelerated so that the new exhibition would be ready by 1st March 1990. When the Main Hall closed at the end of March, the new exhibition about 'Travel by Train' would become the National Railway Museum with its own new entrance. To avoid confusion and to indicate the temporary nature of the arrangement, it would be called 'The Great Railway Show'.

The roof of the Main Hall would be completely replaced, not repaired (so saving money on future maintenance) by one of a very different and much higher design. Other changes included the removal of the smaller turntable and extending some of the roads from the remaining tables. Although there was some opposition to these ideas, the building was in no way original, having been much modified in 1958 when the diesel depot was built. Furthermore, the display of carriages around the smaller turntable was visually unsatisfactory and had not really been understood by visitors. The extra height of the new roof, with the absence of low beams and pillars, would provide greatly improved viewing, especially from the balcony. It would also allow the installation of a foot bridge and signal gantry to give a more varied technical display.

The exhibition in the goods depot would be retained with slight modifications and linked to the re-roofed Main Hall (to be known in future as the Great Hall) by a tunnel (with lifts for the disabled) under the road between the two buildings. A new entrance at the front of the goods depot and at the end of the tunnel would serve as an entrance to all the museum. This new entrance was more accessible and convenient for the many visitors arriving on foot, since it was nearer to the railway station and the City. The old entrance would be retained for visitors using the museum carpark.

Although some exhibits displaced from the Main Hall were included in the Great Railway Show, most went to Swindon for display in an exhibition called 'The NRM on Tour' held in part of the former GWR Works.

Work started on all these proposals in late 1989. The Great Hall reopened to schedule and to budget in April 1992. In addition to the changes already mentioned new exhibits include a segment from the Channel Tunnel, displays by British Rail featuring the modern railway, working S & T demonstrations and more display space for locomotives or carriages next to the diesel depot. Although it had not been possible

to include a revised balcony display in the Great Hall re-opening, a greatly enhanced such exhibition is due to open in April 1993.⁸

The 'Great Railway Show' received the Museum of the Year Award for 1990.

Interpretation

Museums today are very much part of the Leisure Market and their visitors are very different from those of the 1960s. This is particularly true of railway museums where the average visitor today is much less familiar with railways.⁹ On the other hand the visitor, and indeed whole families, are now much more mobile and have more time in which to make visits to a wider range of leisure attractions. Many of these now include activities of one kind or another such as those of the 'hands on' variety and computer games or simulators, the fun fair type at theme parks, or riding behind an old steam locomotive (albeit at only 25 mph) on a private railway. Furthermore, railway enthusiasts, railwaymen, and professional railway engineers only make up some 10-15% of the visitors to the NRM.

In view of this, future development at the NRM must take full account of visitor expectations as well as trying to anticipate some of the difficulties visitors may experience in enjoying to the full a visit to the NRM.¹⁰ All new exhibitions of any kind are planned by a team and detailed consideration is given to design, including lighting, content positioning and display of information as well as the objects.

Much thought is given in particular to writing labels so that they are seen, read and understood by visitors. Current thinking is to limit the basic number of words to about 50 and some would recommend less. This basic information should, however, say what the object is, why it is in the museum and something of its significance. Such a label may be supplemented in some way (free leaflets for example) to satisfy those whose curiosity has been aroused or who may wish for a more detailed and permanent account to study at home. (An alternative is to sell such material in the museum shop).

Working models and demonstrations of full size equipment have considerable attraction for visitors and the sectioned locomotive with working components has long been a popular exhibit as are the various model railways. Other techniques now being evaluated include electronic data displays of various kinds and data retrieval systems so that visitors may regulate their own type and rate of information gathering. When the Great Railway Show opened it included a complete gallery, called 'The Magician's Road' of 'hands on' exhibits, specially prepared and serviced. While this gallery has proved very effective, it made considerable demands on staff resources in manning levels and maintaining exhibits. As a result it is only available to school parties by appointment, during school terms. During school holidays it has been available for all visitors, although at busy times queues develop.

In all displays increasing thought goes into putting an original object into context and in explaining how it is related to what went before and what came afterwards. The aim is to encourage the visitor to consider how and why equipment was made the way it was, and where relevant, why it was not made some other way.

The opening of the 'Great Railway Show' also saw the introduction of some museum security staff trained to encourage visitors to inspect the interiors of selected carriages and to answer their questions. Dressed in reproduction old railway uniforms, such staff have helped to overcome the problems of access to carriages while at the same time indicating the wish of the museum to meet and keep visitors.

New exhibitions gradually being introduced, include those which will employ a variety of techniques to explain aspects of railway history and operation that are not easily understood by simply displaying the objects with labels, due either to lack of

suitable relics or the nature of the object itself. Examples for such an approach include early locomotives, logic design, S & T operations, civil engineering, brake systems and couplings.

Marketing

When the British Railways Board was created in the 1960s the museums at York and Clapham became the responsibility of the Board's Public Relations Department. It was therefore simple to arrange publicity at stations (including London Transport) and elsewhere as considered necessary.

Liaison between the Board and the Science Museum over the ^{> new ?}WWNRM and the closing of the York and Clapham museums kept the public fully informed. Budgets for the new museum were extremely tight and a specific Press or marketing post was not considered necessary. Information and Press Releases were provided by the curatorial staff at York, supported where necessary by the Press and information officers of the Science Museum.

Such arrangements worked well and the NRM had nearly two million visitors in the first twelve months and by 1993 visitor numbers had reached over 17 million. Nevertheless, numbers were beginning to fall by the mid 1980s. This was probably for several reasons:

- 1 Those who had most wanted to see the NRM had done so.
- 2 General interest and familiarity with railways was diminishing.
- 3 Increasing competition from other leisure activities, including other new museums, private steam railways, theme parks and overseas package holidays.

Increasing independent public mobility during the 1980s, together with increases in disposable income and spare time, supported a boom in the leisure market. Museums, particularly specialist museums, were increasingly seen as part of this expanding market. Competition for visitors grew and visitor expectations rose following visits to exciting 'hands on' theme parks and overseas holidays.

To meet this competition, as well as museum objectives and to justify their budgets, museums would have to improve and change their exhibitions more frequently. To help meet this challenge the NRM introduced admission charges in April 1987 to provide funds for the necessary developments. The annual Grant-in-Aid from the office of Arts and Libraries does not take account of inflation and is insufficient to finance significant developments.

While it was known that admission charges could initially cause further significant drops in visitor levels, it was argued that in due course the visitor revenue would enable improvements and changes to be made which would, together with strong marketing, gradually build up numbers again. These extra visitors would in turn enable further development of the museum. The vigorous marketing necessary to secure these extra visitors could not be provided by existing staff in addition to their current duties, so a small marketing department was established in 1988.

Working together with other museum departments, especially administration, the new marketing department helped to increase revenue from promotional activities such as special events, conferences, hire of museum out of hours and retail operations, such as the museum shop (museum staff) and catering (from outside). In 1990 income from such operations, including admission charges, was about 40% of the total museum budget.

As well as promoting nationwide awareness of the NRM by an extensive poster programme, the marketing department has enhanced museum liaison with tourist

activities and in this way obtained valuable information about developments and competition outside the world of museums and railways.^{11,12,13}

The Future

A museum such as the NRM is always growing as new material is acquired from the railways as they progress, discarding old equipment and introducing new. The care, display and study (including publications) of this expanding collection is a major programme for the future.¹⁴ While the museum should maintain a sound base for education and research, it must examine what it offers to the majority of its potential visitors who are less familiar with railways. Many see it as a leisure attraction. But without constant new visitors and repeat visitors a growing museum will stagnate and eventually decline. Mention has already been made of a number of ideas and proposals to attract more visitors and to ensure that their visit is more rewarding and enjoyable. It is to be hoped that in future action to implement such developments will be forthcoming and maintained.

Development projects already considered which are designed to expand the museum and improve visitor amenities but which await further debate and financial support, include an 'introductory gallery'. In addition to providing a more generous welcome to the museum than is possible in a simple entrance lobby, such a gallery might also:

- 1 Outline the salient features of British railway history, perhaps incorporating a multi function electrical display map, capable of showing the growth and decline of railways in the British Isles.
- 2 Provide a 'menu' for visitors: What to see in the museum and where to find it, including visitor amenities.
- 3 Provide access to all parts of the museum including areas not at present open to visitors.

Possible new areas might incorporate, for example, a high level walkway across the engineering workshops, where visitors could watch work in progress, before having access to a new display area for locomotives and rolling stock in the former diesel depot. An extension might then take visitors beyond to a new trackside gallery on the side of the diesel depot. In this elevated gallery they could sit and watch trains passing on the East Coast mainline as well as absorbing an exhibition on the history of railways in York.

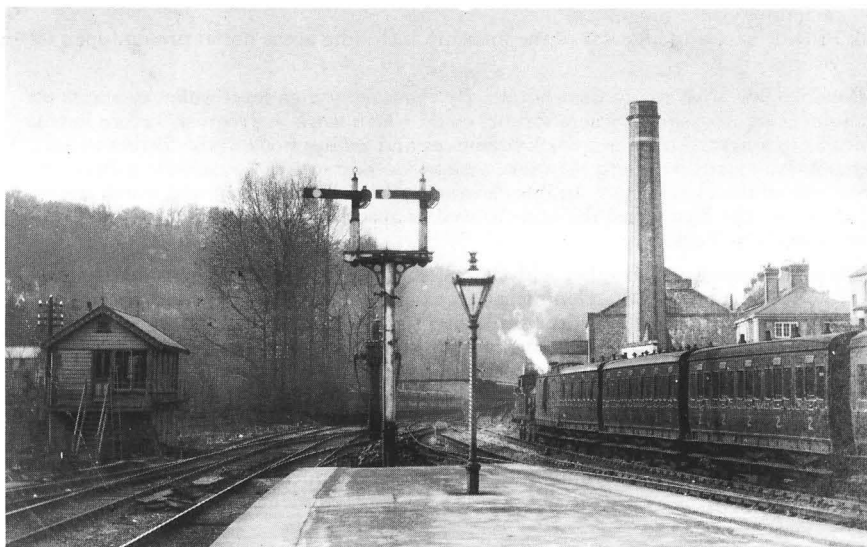
These developments, together with others, such as exhibitions on specific themes, 'How Railways Opened a Continent' for example, and the production of catalogues of the collections and other ideas yet to be proposed, will probably take some years to plan and finance. A more immediate project could be to provide more direct viewing of the mainline outside. The library, archive and pictorial collections are a valuable part of the museum, together with educational facilities including 'hands on', simulators and demonstrations.

All these ideas will help to equip the museum to reflect the fascinating challenge ahead for the railway in Britain and through the Channel Tunnel, beyond, over the next decade.

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Caterham station looking towards Purley about 1910

J. G. Spence Collection

The Highland Railway, a great survivor

BY TIM EDMONDS

Although Jeffery Spence is usually associated with railways in the south-east of England, he also developed an interest in the Highland Railway through holiday visits and family associations. It is easy to understand his attraction to the Highland because this was an unusual and distinctive railway serving a remote region of mountainous upland and sinuous coastline. Much about the Highland was out of the ordinary¹ and this article explores a fundamental but less appreciated aspect of the railway: its route network.²

The backbone of the Highland was the trunk route from Perth to Inverness, which has always functioned as a lifeline from the Highlands to the south. Parts have been doubled at various times but this is largely a single track main line crossing the Grampian mountains on formidable gradients. In spite of some fierce competition, the Highland kept intruders from the heart of its system at Inverness and held a monopoly of a vast tract of country in northern Scotland. It penetrated this region via the 'Far North' line from Inverness to Wick and Thurso and the 'Skye' line from Dingwall to Kyle of Lochalsh, railways with no parallels elsewhere in Britain. Both are in some respects trunk routes but have a character more akin to branch lines.³ The true Highland branches were typically short, both in terms of their length and their lifespan, and most have long since been closed.

The Highland's precursors were small local railway companies centred on Inverness. The Highland company was formed by their amalgamation in 1865, by which date the constituent lines had connected to form a through route to the south. It continued to absorb more lines and from 1884 it was the main sponsor of further development.⁴ The growth of the network is characterised by two distinct phases; the basic system was built in the first phase while the second comprised mainly extensions and branches.

The first phase began with the opening of the Inverness & Nairn Railway in 1855 and ended with the completion of the Sutherland & Caithness Railway in 1874, by which date the Highland and its constituents had built a network of just over 406 route miles. The main line stretched from a junction with the Caledonian at Stanley, seven and a quarter miles north of Perth, to Forres, where a triangular junction gave access west to Inverness and east to Keith. The long mountain section from Dunkeld to Forres was a stupendous feat of engineering, built in less than two years and opened in three stages in 1863. From Inverness the Far North line twisted round the coastal inlets to terminate at Wick, reaching Thurso by a short branch from Georgemas Junction and penetrating the West Highlands with the longer branch from Dingwall to Strome Ferry.

The remainder of the first phase comprised three short branches.⁵ The Findhorn Railway opened from Kinloss in 1860, was worked by the Inverness & Aberdeen Junction Railway from 1860 and then by the Highland but always remained an independent company. Traffic never developed to viable levels and the line closed in 1869 when the Highland refused to work it.⁶ Finally, the Alves—Burghead and Ballinluig—Aberfeldy branches were opened in 1862 and 1865 respectively.

The second phase of development took place in the period 1884 to 1903 and included the Aviemore—Inverness direct main line, opened between 1892 and 1898. In 1892 the Burghead branch was extended to Hopeman⁷ and in 1897 the Skye line was extended from Strome Ferry to Kyle of Lochalsh, its original intended terminus. All the other second phase lines were short branches: Keith—Portessie (1884), Dingwall—Strathpeffer (1885), Orbliston Junction—Fochabers Town (1893), Muir

of Ord—Fortrose (1894), Gollanfield Junction—Fort George (1899), The Mound—Dornoch (1902), and Wick—Lybster (1903). The last two were promoted as nominally independent light railways but were always worked by the Highland. At its zenith in 1913 the Highland comprised slightly less than 506 route miles, making it the third largest of the Scottish companies after the North British and the Caledonian.⁸

Contraction has been spasmodic. Leaving aside the Findhorn branch, which was never effectively part of the network, the closure history of the Highland begins with the Portessie branch. In 1915 this was closed completely between Aultmore and Buckie, leaving short stubs at each end for freight traffic. The withdrawal of passenger services from the Hopeman and Fochabers Town branches came in 1931. The Fort George branch lost its passenger service in 1943 and the following year the Wick & Lybster was closed to all traffic and the Portessie—Buckie stub was shut. The post-war period was the closure of the Strathpeffer branch, to passengers in 1946 and to freight in 1951, while in the latter year the Fortrose branch passenger service was withdrawn.

There were two more groups of cuts, before and after the Beeching Plan. Burghead—Hopeman, the Fort George and Fortrose branches were closed completely in 1957, 1958 and 1960 respectively and all services were withdrawn from the Dornoch branch in 1960. Had the Beeching proposals for the Highland lines been fully implemented the network would have been cut to just the main line and Inverness—Keith but in the event the network escaped little scathed. In 1965 the Aberfeldy branch was closed to all traffic and later that year passenger services were withdrawn between Aviemore and Forres. Most of the latter was closed completely but until 1967 a freight stub was left from Dallas Dhu siding to Forres and until 1968 Aviemore—Boat of Garten was retained to give freight trains access to the Great North of Scotland Speyside branch. Meanwhile in 1966 came the final closure of the Fochabers branch and the Keith—Aultmore stub of the Portessie branch.

The closures become more interesting when they are related to the two phases of network development. With the exception of the Aberfeldy branch and the original main line from Aviemore to Forres most of the first phase network is intact. On the other hand, apart from the Aviemore—Inverness cut-off and the Strome Ferry—Kyle extension, all the second phase lines have been closed completely. This failure of the later lines is striking and the reasons for it become clearer by looking at why they were built, for it is arguable that most should not have been. The lines can be divided into three groups: (1) to places missed by through lines, (2) competitive lines, and (3) the two light railways.

The short branches were typical of many throughout Britain, built with optimism but never destined for prosperity and vulnerable to road competition. Three Highland branches fall into this group; each replaced a nearby station on a through line and in each case the original station outlasted the branch.

The Strathpeffer branch would not have been built had the Strome Ferry line followed the planned route through its largest intermediate settlement. Landowners were usually railway supporters in the Highlands but at Strathpeffer their opposition forced a change of route and as a consequence the station was located one and a half miles north-east of the town up a steep hill. When the branch was opened it produced healthy traffic for several years. But it was always vulnerable to road traffic, whereas a through Strathpeffer station on the planned alignment would undoubtedly be open today. The original station was renamed Achterneed in 1885 and closed in 1964.⁹

The original Fochabers station was opened four miles from the town on the Inverness—Elgin line in 1858; that station became Orbliston Junction on the open-

ing of the Fochabers Town branch. The terminus was half a mile from the town on the far side of the Spey, making its early closure to passengers no surprise. Orbliston station lasted until 1964.¹⁰

Fort George station opened in 1855 on the Inverness & Nairn but was three and a half miles away from the fort. In 1899 it was renamed Gollanfield Junction on the opening of the branch to a terminus still two miles from Fort George itself and so hardly more conveniently located. Gollanfield station closed in 1965.¹¹

Although the Highland developed its basic network quickly and without competitive distractions, competition prompted it to build several lines during the second phase when there were numerous attempts by other railways to penetrate its territory. Inverness had been the intended western end of the Great North of Scotland's main line from Aberdeen and the company continued to try to reach the town for many years. It never succeeded in passing Elgin but some Highland lines were, at least in part, responses to the threat.

The Portessie branch was part of a group of proposals and counter-proposals by the Highland and the Great North concerned with the fish traffic from Buckie and access to Inverness. The lines eventually authorised were a compromise which gave the Great North its coast line to Elgin, but not to Inverness, and gave the Highland a branch to Buckie and Portessie which is hard to justify for any reasons other than competition with the Great North.¹² The Fortrose branch and Burghead—Hopeman extension were both authorised shortly after the defeat of another Great North scheme to extend from Elgin to Inverness. It was significant that this one included branches from Elgin to Burghead and from Muir of Ord to Fortrose.¹³ Clearly the Highland was plugging holes in its defences by building branches it did not really need.

The Highland's justification for its direct Aviemore—Inverness main line was a saving of 26 miles over the original Forres route. However, the large capital outlay and extra operating costs of the new line were hardly justified by the small amount of extra traffic it might generate. The longer Forres route maximised through traffic with good access from both ends of the Inverness—Keith line.¹⁴ The Highland obtained powers to build the direct line in 1884 but did not use them until threats from competitors forced its hand. Both the Great North of Scotland (through its support for the Strathspey, Strathdon & Deeside Junction Railway) and the North British (through its support for the Glasgow & North Western Railway) were trying to reach Inverness but by building the new line the Highland blocked their routes.¹⁵

The Light Railways Act of 1896 was envisaged as an attempt to improve rural transport but came too late to be effective. The two Highland lines in this category were typical; the Lybster and Dornoch branches followed circuitous routes and so were easy prey for road competition. The Highland managed to escape the building of further similar rural branches at the turn of the century, although several were proposed and construction of one, to Cromarty, was started.¹⁶

Since the 1960s the Highland network has changed little and presently just under 398 miles¹⁷ remain open for BR passenger traffic: Stanley—Inverness, Inverness—Keith, Inverness—Wick/Thurso, and Dingwall—Kyle of Lochalsh. The five mile freight branch from Alves to Burghead is still there, although grain traffic to Roseisle and Burghead ceased on 2 October 1992.¹⁸ From Aviemore to Boat of Garten five miles of the original main line have been preserved and were reopened in 1978 by the Strathspey Steam Railway, which has plans to extend north by reopening the next seven miles to Grantown-on-Spey.

So the 1993 mileage of the former Highland Railway is 408, 80% of the 1913 total and unmatched by any other major British pre-grouping company. That so much of

it is left is perhaps the most remarkable and distinctive feature of the Highland. Why is the Highland such a great survivor? The early establishment of the main network and a local monopoly certainly helped. In this respect it was similar to the other major Scottish railways, which each had a monopolistic 'heartland' as a base, but the Highland was more successful than the others in protecting its territory. It was backed by local interests rather than speculators and produced only a few of the pointless strategic and duplicate lines characteristic of much of the rest of Britain. In contrast the Caledonian, North British, and Glasgow & South Western competed with each other for lucrative traffic in lowland Scotland and this led to much unnecessary duplication of routes. The Highland was also fortunate that most of the light railway and other schemes at the end of the railway age were stillborn.

The Highland had other things in its favour. The region which it served has a difficult topography with sparse population and very little industry and consequently the railway was built with through traffic in mind. This contrasts with its neighbour the Great North of Scotland which was essentially a local railway serving the hinterland of Aberdeen. As Acworth succinctly observed, 'The Highland is all main line, the Great North all branches'.¹⁹ The branches have gone from both railways, all but wiping out the Great North of Scotland while leaving most of the Highland intact.

As well as aiding its development, local interests have also helped the railway to survive. The 'Highland Lobby' made full implementation of the Beeching Plan politically difficult to execute and proposals to close the Skye line in the early 1970s were met with a storm of protest. The resultant publicity was at least partly responsible for an increase in the tourist traffic which is now so important to the line.²⁰ However, it was development of the offshore oilfields and the resultant economic boom which tipped the balance in favour of retaining railways north of Inverness and which prompted investment in them and in the main line from Perth. The effects of this included the reinstatement in the 1970s of some double-track which had been removed from the main line in the 1960s and the introduction of radio-controlled signalling on the Far North and Skye line.²¹

Recent history of the lines north of Inverness shows the continued ability of the Highland to survive in the face of adversity. During the 1980s improvements to the A9 road between Inverness and Wick made it shorter and quicker than the sinuous Far North line and stimulated debate over the role of the railway. There was a proposal to use the new A9 bridge over the Dornoch Firth to take a cut-off railway between Tain and Golspie, thereby avoiding the lengthy inland detour via Lairg and giving Dornoch a through rail link.²² This scheme has failed but the Far North and Skye lines have survived despite the washout of the Ness bridge at Inverness in 1989, an event which in the preceding era might have been used to justify their closure.²³

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- 33 *Oswestry Advertiser*, 25 Nov 1863, in G. Briwnant Jones, *Railway Through Talerddig*, 1990
- 34 Llangollen & Corwen Ry Board mins, Ledger & Journal, PRO RAIL378/1, 2 & 4
- 35 *Illustrated London News*, 14 Dec 1844
- 36 It lasted until 1910 (drawings inspected in Chief Civil Engineer's office, Euston, c 1965; subsequent disposal unknown)
- 37 Sepia drawings by J. Buckler, 1844, William Salt Library, Stafford; one reproduced in R. Lewis & J. Anslow, *Stafford As It Was*, 1980, pl 53

Chronologies, Reference Tables and Lists

BY HARRY PARR

Many devotees of the railway entered upon their craft by way of list-making. Engine numbers were the favourite subjects and from casual observation of platform ends this persisted into the diesel age—may flourish still, for all the writer knows. Outgrowing this youthful stage, many practitioners grew out of the subject entirely, to their eternal loss, but of those adherents a select band graduated to listing in the more sophisticated forms of chronologies and reference tables.

The initial impetus to such work is probably personal—perhaps a vital spirit of enquiry, perhaps hard necessity because the available literature is quite inadequate as a basis for a narrative account. If the subject is wide-ranging, almost inevitably others will be drawn in, contributing, corroborating or simply enquiring. Soon, the compiler is working as much for his fellows as for himself; he has become an historian's historian, providing a valuable service.

This service can be rendered in one of two ways, either by keeping the findings private and disposing on request, or by publication. Jeffery Spence chose the latter course, making lasting contributions to precise knowledge in two fields, those of alterations to the names of passenger stations and (in collaboration with Maurice Greville) the dates of closure of passenger lines in Great Britain.

The compilation of a chronology, or of a specified list, be it of a particular class of station, make of signal box or a class of rolling-stock, calls for a high degree of dedication both as to its completeness and its accuracy.

The only way in which such work can be tested thoroughly is by publication, and this exposes it to many critical eyes, some of whose owners will have a highly detailed knowledge of a limited part of the field covered, whereas the compiler will have had to embrace all such areas; he is thus called upon to have considerable faith in his findings. There are, of course, likely to be some errors of omission or commission (indeed, one could say that there will be such errors), and the wise compiler will tacitly acknowledge this by inviting his readers to point out the same, citing the sources for any proposed corrections. This last is very important, because well-meaning correspondents will sometimes repeat ancient but ill-founded information which, if its origin is known, can be quickly discounted.

The problems of creating a thematic reference list or table are nowhere better exemplified than by those dealing with the products of locomotive builders. Frequently there is a complete lack of original records and where they do exist they are often fragmentary, so that the list can only be built up by a continuous hunt for needles in haystacks, for example sale notices in obscure machinery periodicals, in newspapers and elsewhere. The results, however, can be of great use to general historians who wish to say something about the locomotives used by construction contractors (often the first such machines rural communities had ever seen) or those which worked private branches to bring traffic onto the line being described. Then, we rely very much upon our friends in the two Societies devoted to industrial railways and their traction.

Railway stations have not always received their due attention, bearing in mind the vital part they play in handling passenger traffic. Although the late Charles Clinker produced a great body of data on station closures, their much more important opening dates have often remained off the record. The very interesting class of private and untimetabled stations has been recorded, thus highlighting more gaps in our knowledge, but the numerous class of stations which once acted as temporary termini to their lines yet remain to be listed. These are important historically

because they generally represented in concrete form a grave situation, sometimes the presence nearby of an engineering work which had not gone according to plan (a tunnel or bridge, typically), or the urgent need to demonstrate some progress and to start generating cash returns for clamorous shareholders. Sometimes the line remained at a temporary terminus for many years, or even for all of its time.

The finest chronology or other list is not, of itself, history, any more than scaffolding is a building, yet it is certainly a component of the vital stuff of history, a sturdy framework requiring the addition of technical detail, human incident, architecture, illustration and a host more matters besides. Thus a list of temporary termini should be regarded as a prelude to a more detailed record of each, if indeed each is fortunate enough to find its Boswell.

Such things are at the fascinating interface between local and railway history and being so, are apt to be overlooked by both camps—too recent for the local historian, too trivial for the railway historian concerned with great affairs or (perhaps) pre-occupied with more specialised aspects of his story. And, it may be added, too esoteric for the energetic dabbler, hurrying to complete his tenth railway ‘history’, to even know about.

The few historians who engage in this intricate and time-consuming labour have been referred to, occasionally, as brick-makers. This is an apt expression insofar as the end result (essentially a list, be it ordered chronologically or in some other way) is akin to a brick-pile from which others can take such items as they require but which of itself lacks the form, substance or cohesion which only a narrative account can provide. Unfortunately there are sometimes pejorative undertones implicit in the expression, suggesting to those with limited knowledge that such compilers are incapable of more rounded literary forms.

While it is occasionally true that an historian is more at home with the precision, the ultimate validated truth, of such a work, shorn of all subjective and imaginative embellishment, it would be by no means correct to believe that this is always the total measure of the man. Jeffery Spence was a case in point, for he was capable of writing *The Caterham Railway* which in the present writer’s opinion is as finely-worked a piece of railway history as can be found, and this in 1952, when precedents of excellence were few.

His contributions to our *Journal* indicate that the Caterham book was no mere flash in the pan in point of interest and quality. Like several other railway writers of stature, Spence was not prolific in his published work, and one could wish at times that some others would follow those eminent exemplars.

In conclusion, although present times, with their emphasis on speed and volume, often at the expense of thoroughness and quality, do not appear to favour this sort of investigation, our own members have produced what have seriously to be considered as the finest chronology (John Gough’s *The Midland Railway; a Chronology*) and the most reliable reference table (Tony Warren’s *Register of British Railway and Tramroad Companies*), the first already published and the second continuing data to which limited access is available via its compiler in his capacity as R&CHS Research Officer.

J.G.S.: Resident of Caterham and founder member of The Bourne Society

BY DOROTHY TUTT

Jeffrey was not yet two years old when the family—he was the youngest of three—came to Caterham in 1917. He tells us in his memories *A Childhood in Caterham in the 1920s* that his mother, then recently widowed, could never explain exactly why she settled in Caterham. All one can say now, as we look back over more than seventy years, is how very fortunate we have been that she did.

Jeffrey's lifelong interest in all aspects of railways was kindled when he attended The Dene Preparatory School, situated near his home at Caterham on the Hill. He went on to Tonbridge School in Kent, and then to work in London. His own comment regarding his time in the Services during the war was the less said about that the better. After the war he worked for The British Council until 1952 when he joined the railways. Whether he already had more than a passing interest in local history prior to the war is not known. However, having spent five or six years in research for his book *The Caterham Railway* (pub. 1952) he had acquired a considerable amount of historical information regarding Caterham and surrounding district.

In 1952 the Caterham and Warlingham Urban District Council called a meeting of representatives from local organisations to consider, amongst other things, what might be given to the school children of the district as a souvenir of the forthcoming Coronation. W. H. (Bill) Newman, a publisher by profession, was present at the meeting with his wife, Denise, who was representing the W.V.S. The few suggestions put forward did not meet with much enthusiasm, then Bill voiced his idea of a booklet containing some history of the district, past and present. His suggestion was taken up, and he undertook to see it through to publication. The first half of the booklet consists of an article entitled *Caterham through the Centuries*. It was compiled by Jeffrey from his articles previously published in the local newspaper. Around this time, in the early 1950s, he also wrote historical guides for the churches, St. Mary and St. Lawrence, at Caterham on the Hill.

It was his enthusiasm amongst people, whose interest in local history had already been aroused by the creation of the Coronation Souvenir Booklet, which brought about the inception of the Bourne Society. Jeffrey was Chairman of the Organising Committee for the railway celebrations, and the preparations for this event were already well advanced before the Bourne Society was officially launched.

The first entry in the Minute Book of the Society is dated in November 1955. There were twelve present at that meeting, representing not only Caterham and Warlingham but also the neighbouring district of Coulsdon and Purley. In February 1956, at the inaugural meeting of the society, Jeffrey was elected Vice-Chairman. The name given to our society arises from the fact that the principal valleys of both districts have a bourne. This is an intermittent stream, which in the past occasionally caused considerable flooding locally. Nowadays this natural movement of water is mostly channelled out of sight underground. Converging at Purley, it continues to Croydon where it joins other streams to form the Wandle, and so to the Thames. Coulsdon and Purley Urban District was incorporated into the London Borough of Croydon in 1965, but we still look upon it as a large part of the territory we cover.

The late W. H. Newman became Chairman of the Bourne Society, and subsequently President. Jeffrey became the first Vice-President in 1961, and eventually President in 1988. It may well have been this latter appointment which provided the

extra incentive to make him apply himself to the recording of his early memories. The Bourne Society published these in 1991. Probably we who live locally gain most from his narrative, but it is entertaining reading in itself. Something of Jeffry's character jumps from the page, as it is written very much as he would speak. Talks he gave were always well attended, as it was known he was very knowledgeable, and an accomplished raconteur.

By the time the first Bourne Society Bulletin was published, in June 1956, there were 46 members. In 1992 only twelve of these remain, and I am proud to be numbered amongst them. The Society's present membership averages around 1,300.

The Railway Centenary celebrations, in August 1956, were most successful, despite the miserable weather. Early in 1957 Jeffry achieved his ambition which was to work at the Transport Museum at Clapham. He eventually became Assistant Curator, remaining there until the collection was broken up in the mid 1970s, the railway section being removed to York.

Jeffry did a great deal for the Bourne Society during its formative years, but as time passed other activities took precedence. He was always very helpful if one had a local history query, and could occasionally be persuaded to give a talk. In 1981, when the Bourne Society celebrated twenty five years, he joined with Dr Ron Cox to give a most entertaining presentation at the Annual General Meeting. It concerned the development of the railways in our area, and the feuds between the rival companies. This is preserved on tape. His book about the Caterham line was revised and reprinted in 1986, and this later edition includes a description of the Centenary celebrations and a number of photographs of the event.

One of Jeffry's childhood haunts had been Caterham Court, a house demolished in the late 1920s, and his house in Manor Avenue was about as near as he could get to that site. Previously he had lived in Stanstead Road, and for many years was a well known 'regular' at The Harrow where he referred to his favourite corner as 'the first class'. He was also a staunch supporter of the Old Caterhamian's Rugby Club, in whose clubhouse he would be found behind the bar dispensing the drinks.

His many other interests included music and literature, but locally many people came to know of him through his performances in plays put on by the local amateur dramatic company. He recalled early appearances on the stage in his book, but as an adult the opportunity to act came soon after the war. The Caterham Players, the local company, was founded by Mrs Dorothy Miller in 1945. Jeffry joined them in 1946, and during the next thirty years he played numerous parts, usually light comedy or in farce. I have his collection of programmes and press cuttings before me as I write, and reading through it is obvious how well he performed, and how much he must have enjoyed himself participating in these productions. His talent came from his mother's side of the family. Before her marriage his mother was a leading member of an amateur operatic company. Her brother, Jeffry Snelson, started his theatrical career in the 1890s with the D'Oyly Carte Company. A press cutting, dated 1959, states that he had been a most successful theatrical producer in South Devon for the past thirty years. No doubt Jeffry received every encouragement from his uncle.

It is doubtful whether any detail, other than photographs and press cuttings, survive from those stage performances. His books on aspects of the railways, and his contributions to our annual publication, Local History Records, do remain for our continual reference and enjoyment. During the last year or two of his life my contact with him was mainly by telephone, and latterly his mention of having 'turns' indicated that all was not well. He was certainly aware that the sands were running out, and we must be thankful that his last illness proved mercifully brief.

A Memorial Service was held at St. Mary's Church, Caterham on the Hill, on Friday, March 6th 1992. It was attended by the Chairman of Tandridge District Council, Cllr. Raymond Page, Mrs Page, and a very large gathering which included Jeffery's sister and niece. A number of Bourne Society members were present, including Vice-Presidents Charles Silverthorne and Ronald Dabbs. As Chairman I represented those members who knew Jeffery but were unable to be there in person. The service was conducted by the Rector, the Reverend Colin Boswell, who also gave the address. Jeffery had attended St. Mary's church regularly throughout his life. He left detailed instructions with the Rector with regard to this service. He had requested it be a happy occasion, and so it was. We were told Jeffery had said he would be there watching us. If so he must have been well satisfied with the way his wishes were carried out—a touch of humour right to the last. His final resting place is in the churchyard of St. Lawrence, the ancient church of the parish.

Jeffery was indeed an individual, gifted with a fine sense of the humour to be found in life, and a spirit which rebelled against authority. He had very many friends and will be greatly missed.

Miss Tutt is President of the Bourne Society.

Correspondence

Edwin Course writes:—

A Memorable Day

I am one of the many members who have, over the years appreciated the writings of Jeffery Spence, I am also one of the many who have enjoyed his company, in my case mainly in the mid-1950s. He was a most agreeable companion, readily associated with 'Tuborg Halt'. However I am sure that Jeffery would not mind members being reminded of an occasion when he was less relaxed. He was not the only person who had the courage to hire a train in the 1950s. Some will remember George Lockie's specials—but Jeffery did more than hire a train. Having written a history of the Caterham Railway, he went on to organise a most elaborate celebration of its centenary.

This fell on an August Bank Holiday, 6 August 1956. A magnificent 'souvenir Programme' was produced in association with two newly formed societies, the Bourne Society and the Railway & Canal Historical Society. The train left Purley at 10.45 a.m., consisting of the Brighton Works *Terrier* in Stroudley livery and an SE&CR 'Birdcage' three-coach set. Jeffery persuaded the Driver and Inspector to appear in period costume.

At Caterham the train was welcomed by the Chairman of the Local Council, accompanied by a regimental band. An exhibition of historical relics and records, lent by John Scholes from Clapham Museum, was opened by W. C. Collins, who was then the District Superintendent of the London Central Division. But for those known to Jeffery 'there is also a lunch at 10 shillings, including wines. Let me know at once if you want to come—Bill Tharby is'. To quote *The Times* Special Correspondent 'The Chairman at a festival luncheon held at the Council Offices was Mr Jeffery Spence, himself a railwayman, who has written the history of the Caterham Railway'. It was a memorable occasion.

But Jeffery did more than publicising railway history. His role as a student is brought to mind by a photograph which I took in an abandoned chalk pit at Merstham in the May of 1956. The centre piece consisted of the sad remains of one

of the original contractor's wagons used for the construction of the Brighton Line about 1841. The group surveying it consists of Mr Newbury, Librarian of Purley, Bill Tharby, Station Master's Clerk at East Croydon, and Jeffery. They all contributed to railway history, but Jeffery had the opportunity to contribute more than usual—how fortunate for the R&CHS that he did.



*Jeffery Spence (centre) at Merstham Quarry, 19 May 1956—see letter from Dr Course
E. Course*

M. H. Cobb writes—

A helping hand

I would like to add to the official Appreciation in the July Journal a few personal comments on Jeffery Spence. He has been such a great friend and advisor to me in my work over the past four years that I feel he deserves more recognition.

We first corresponded when he took the trouble to reply to a query of mine in the Bulletin in 1983. In 1987 I was put onto him by a friend from his Clapham Museum days because I needed some local railway information on the Chipstead Valley. Out of this came his request to me for more information about E. M. Delafield, whose life he had been researching for many years and who lived locally to me. So we met; he discovered what I was doing and immediately offered to help. This help consisted of what turned out to be a three year task, looking up some 1,500 opening dates of stations in his collection of Bradshaws.

We met here a couple of times; we talked endlessly on the phone; there is a voluminous correspondence. Much was simple but that which was complicated took a long time with much going back over research once done and found wanting. Never did he complain about what I asked him; rather it was 'just back from Norfolk and am looking forward to getting down to your latest list'. Sometimes there were remarks like 'spent whole morning looking up one item and it was so cold upstairs I had to come down and have a stiff whisky, so spent the afternoon asleep'. Three times he told me of small heart-attacks after which the doctor told him he was not to do any research for a further week, which appeared to irk him.

He was unstinting in his giving; he knew so much in his head about the railways of Great Britain that he was always ready with advice. He took enormous trouble over any detail—I have pages of tables from Bradshaw over Barmouth, the Bentons, and Beechburn for which Clinker had dreamt up the name of Howden from somewhere and caused a lot of trouble.

A friend who worked with him at Clapham writes 'He was fun to work with, an amusing guest and a very good host. He was a very warm and enthusiastic fun-loving person, a loner but he had friends of all ages. His stories were always fun, told absolutely dead-pan with a strong sense of the dramatic and an acerbic wit which could be taken by those who did not know him to be sarcastic. They never were. That he liked to call himself an author was partly in fun—to the extent that that was his occupation on his passport.'

Greville and he spent many hours in the British Museum going through Bradshaws and looking up dates of station openings and closings. Jeffry told me they supplied these lists to Clinker who used them in his Closed Stations Register and it always irked him that they were never acknowledged. (Where else did Clinker get all his time-table references?) That was like him; he would always give.

The same happened over E. M. Delafield. He spent many years researching facts about her and then gave the lot to Lady Violet Powell who wrote the Biography. A fitting tribute to Jeffry cannot be bettered than Lady Powell's words in her 'Dedictory Epistle' to him in that Biography.

'My dear Jeffry,

When we first met to discuss my plan to write a study of E. M. Delafield, you had already kindly offered me your assistance. At that time I had little idea of the wide range of your researches, and of your diligence in pursuing them. As I came to appreciate the completeness of your E. M. Delafield archive, my admiration was intensified by respect for your impeccable filing system. Consequently when you allowed me to draw on your material, my work was made far easier and more enjoyable by your generosity.

I must, of course, emphasize that any conclusions or suppositions are my own, but I hope you will accept the dedication of this book as a token of gratitude,

From your friend, Violet Powell. Chantry, September 1987.'

He will be missed, not only by the railway fraternity, but by all to whom he gave a bit of his life and who gained from it.

The Published Works of Jeffery Spence

Scottish Summer—privately printed, 1945

The Caterham Railways: the story of a feud and its aftermath—Oakwood Press, 1952, 2nd Ed 1986

Souvenir programme of the commemoration of the first centenary of the Caterham Railway, 1856-1956—Caterham 1956

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Victorian and Edwardian Railways in Photographs—Batsford, 1975

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(with M. D. Greville) *Closed Passenger Lines of Great Britain, 1827 to 1947*,—R&CHS, 1974

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(with Gordon Biddle) *The British Railway Station*—David & Charles, 1977

(with Anthony J. Lambert) *Surviving Steam Railways*—Batsford, 1979

Contributions to this Journal:

The Brighton and South Eastern Railways at Redhill, Vol II, p. 39, 1956

A Railway Threat to Southwark Cathedral, Vol III, p. 93, 1957

A Grisley Removal, Vol V, p. 6, 1959

(with M. D. Greville) Closed passenger Lines of Scottish Railways up to 1939, Vol V, pp. 29, 52, 99, 1959

Alterations to Names of Passenger Stations—*seriatim* Vol XI (No 2) p. 5, 1965 to Vol XVI p. 91, 1970

On the Track of a Provincial Lady, Vol XVII, p. 30, 1971

Maurice Drummond Greville 1886-1977, Vol XXIII, p. 74, 1977

A minor but Necessary Correction (letter), Vol XXIV, p. 78, 1978

M. D. G. and the Railway Pub, Vol XXV, p. 116, 1979

'Railways at Midhurst'—*Railway Magazine*, Vol 101, pp. 155-160, 1955

'The First Railway to East Grinstead'—*Railway Magazine*, Vol 101, pp. 461-467, 1955

(with others) *Caterham and Warlingham*—The Bourne Society, 1977

A Caterham Childhood in the 1920s—The Bourne Society, Caterham, 1991

Contributions to the Bourne Society Local History Records (annual)

Guides to the Churches of St. Lawrence and St. Mary, Caterham.

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