

Railway influence in Kingston upon Thames: paternalism, 'welfarism', and nineteenth century society, 1838 - 1912.

Whereas the starting point for most popular forms of knowledge about the past is the requirements of the present, the starting point of historicism is the aspiration to re-enter or re-create the past.

John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed. (Longman, Harlow: 2000), p.15.

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Kingston University London for a PhD.

October 2007

Audrey Caroline Giles

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Railway influence in Kingston upon Thames: paternalism, 'welfarism', and nineteenth century society, 1838 - 1912.

Abstract:

The aim of this dissertation has been to move away from a generalised overview of the growth of the Victorian railway system and to consider railway procedure through company influence on named railway personnel. The work is based on the concept of 'total reconstitution', but the linkage is between individuals found in the Kingston upon Thames Access Database, which has been compiled by the Centre for Local History Studies at Kingston University from census enumerators' returns, and the London & South Western Railway (L&SWR) primary sources found in The National Archives at Kew. The linkage is therefore better described as 'occupational reconstitution'. The resulting database of 657 railway employees, together with the family members of those who were 'household heads', provides a unique sample of nineteenth century railway personnel from which it has been possible to verify and refute previous assumptions and estimations regarding recruitment, household structure, fertility and persistence within the local railway employees. Within this 'knowable community' there were some who had been involved in railway accidents and given evidence at Board of Trade enquiries.

It was found that the system of corporate management that emerged within the L&SWR after 1840, was potentially very powerful and contained a variety of expertise. This, together with an emphasis on economy, was a controlling influence on the lives of those who worked for the Company. Although the doctrine of 'common employment' was laid down as a rule of law in 1837, it was the railway managers who closed the door to 'vicarious liability' prior to The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897. This was because the majority of those killed or injured during the nineteenth century were considered to have done so *from their own misconduct or want of caution*, not from the carelessness of other employees. Although most of the 'death' cases were covered by the 1897 Act, most railway workplace injuries remained outside the protection of this legislation. The Act only applied to employment 'on or in or about' a railway and most of the injuries to railway employees occurred through activities relating to heavy goods in yards and luggage in stations.

Reading the L&SWR nineteenth century minute books it becomes obvious that there were two strategies running concurrently within the Company. The first, found within the L&SWR Traffic Minutes, was a form of 'paternalism' reminiscent of the eighteenth century. This started from the early period of the line and was maintained throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. Within this framework uniformed employees were expected to work protracted hours and the management were slow to implement measures to prevent workplace accidents. However the L&SWR Special Committee Minutes show the formation of many of the features of a modern business organisation. From the mid 1850s it is possible to find a board of directors with contacts, and managers with specialist knowledge, having access to actuaries, insurance companies and other railway companies' experience. This second strategy resulted in the emergence of carefully formulated structures and procedures, some of which were prototypes of twentieth century welfarism.



George Spencer

1851 - 1927

Passenger Guard - London & South Western Railway

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| ASLEF | Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen |
| ASRS | Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants |
| CEBs | Census Enumerators' Books |
| KRD | Kingston Railway Data |
| KRDC | Kingston Railway Clerks' Data |
| KRDF | Kingston Railway Family Data |
| KRDP | Kingston Railway Personnel Data |
| L&SWR | London and South Western Railway |
| LHR | Local History Room North Kingston Centre |
| RAIB | Rail Accident Investigation Branch |
| TNA | The National Archives |

Introduction

This dissertation has parallel themes. An initial aim is to move away from a generalised overview of the growth of the Victorian railway system and to consider individual railway employees in a local area. It is also intended to analyse the procedures that characterised railway employment, the 'iron discipline' and 'paternal welfarism' together with the impact and reaction these measures had on particular lives.¹ The evaluation of this analysis is concentrated on the lives of the railway workers, working for the London and South Western Railway (L&SWR), who lived for varying lengths of time within the Kingston upon Thames census area, although included are some who lived outside the area, but whose circumstances are noteworthy.

The impact of the railways on the working classes, particularly those who found occupation within the confines of one of the large companies, and the social aspects of these experiences, has not been researched in depth. Moreover some of the major studies which do provide valuable contributions to research in these areas concentrate on an overview of society, or of railway workers in general, rather than observations of individuals who lived in a particular area and who worked for a specific company.² It has also been argued by a number of eminent historians, who have sought to address the problem, that railway history during recent years 'is not what it used to be.'³ More information relating to this remark made at a conference in Hull University will be detailed in Chapter One. The aim of this dissertation is, therefore, to undertake a contribution towards this end, to focus on the individual railway worker, residing in a specific locality, rather than the archetypal worker, or railway workers 'en masse'. It is

also intended to consider the procedures organised by the L&SWR and thereby to question the degree of paternalism shown by the directors and managers towards their staff, and railway influence on individual lives.

The dissertation will also argue that although the L&SWR managers initially treated their ‘servants’ almost as harshly as their eighteenth century factory or workshop counterparts, they did have a primitive ‘policy of care’. Moreover within the L&SWR archival material, there is much to suggest that from the mid 1850s the managers developed innovative ‘organisational structures’, which predated, and possibly influenced, later twentieth century corporate policy.

The L&SWR primary sources were located during a quest to investigate anecdotal family history. The initial stages of this investigation were centred on the Board of Trade Reports found in The National Archives at Kew, and during the process of later exploration, the L&SWR Traffic and Special Committee Minutes were also found, and subsequently studied. A considerable reservoir of documentation relating to the L&SWR procedures was thereby located showing the reasons for, and the gradual growth of, what will be termed ‘welfarism’. It should be stated at this point that since finding this archival material the writer’s conception regarding railway employment during the nineteenth century has been considerably altered, with the appreciation that family anecdotal material was only part of the story. Moreover the Traffic Minutes and the Board of Trade Reports named individuals. It was decided to attempt to link this information to the named railway workers within the Kingston census data, and thereby to view the implications of the policy on the individual.

There were two major advantages to using the Kingston upon Thames census area for the

study. The first was that during the last ten or more years, the 1851 to 1891 census enumerators' books for the area had been entered onto an Access database by volunteers from the Local History Project based at the University, and had already facilitated fascinating insights into the lives of other residents in the area.⁴ This database also allowed relatively easy access to occupational groups, and the methods by which this was achieved is detailed in Chapter Two. The second advantage was that the area is ten miles south of central London, and could be typical of many other areas on the edge of the metropolis. Surbiton, originally a sparsely occupied area of south west Kingston expanded rapidly after the London and Southampton, later called the London and South Western Railway line was opened in 1838.⁵ Kingston, on the other hand, had been a market town since 1242, but was only connected to a branch line in 1863.⁶ Like many other locations, neither of these areas had railway workshops, they were merely locations through which the line had been constructed.

The data after abstraction from the main database shows that the railway workers living within the Kingston area consisted mainly of clerks and uniformed staff, although there were within their number several managers. These included Archibald Scott, Traffic Manager and General Manager until 1884, who joined the Board of Directors on retirement; Charles Scotter, General Manager from 1885 to 1897, Director from 1897 to 1904, and Chairman from 1904 to 1910.⁷ He was knighted in 1895. There were others who, after they had moved from the area, also achieved distinction. Frederic Macaulay, a clerk living in Claremont Road in 1861 became President of the L&SWR Widows and Orphans Fund during the mid 1860s, and Company Secretary in 1880. He also joined the Board of Directors when he retired.⁸ On the other hand, Sam Fay, a L&SWR clerk living in 13 Albert Road in 1881, became General Manager of the Midland and South-Western Junction Line at the beginning of 1892, Superintendent of the L&SWR from

1899, and from 1902 General Manager of the Great Central Railway. Fay was knighted in 1912 and later became Director-General of Movements and Railways at the War Office during the 1914-1918 war.⁹

The workforce living within the parameters of the borough were therefore an interesting mix of railway managers/directors, clerical staff and uniformed grades. The area did have a preponderance of clerks, as so many worked 'up the line' at the various offices in and around Waterloo Station. However, no area would be an exact mirror of national figures, and therefore although the grade averages of the Kingston workers differed marginally from the national figures, there was no reason why the Kingston data should not be used as a 'sample' of the wider railway community.¹⁰

Thus a database consisting of all the railway workers in the area between and including the census periods 1851 to 1891, has been compiled and used to confirm or refute assumptions which have been made concerning railway workers within the wider railway community, and to consider household structure and related issues. The primary aim has been to attempt an interconnection between the information held in The National Archives and other records held in the local area, and thereafter to weave these into the database material. This, to some extent, has been achieved, the only difficulty being the movement of individuals. Most workers were not born in the area and did not remain for more than one census period. This meant that in most cases family reconstitution methods could not be used, and linkage was only possible from the railway documentation found in The National Archives. However by using the Clerical Staff Character Books it has been possible to trace the work records of 62 of the clerks shown on the Kingston Database.¹¹ Of these work records 44 were full, and 18 were partial records. This has not resulted in reconstitution methods from other areas but does give

valuable information relating to age of entry, and the increase in wages between date of entry and leaving L&SWR employment, in relation to clerical grades.

It must be stated however that relying mainly on managerial deliberations produces an imbalanced record. Most of the comment within the L&SWR Traffic Minutes concerning staff was from the viewpoint of the directors and managers who met regularly, from 1839 onwards, first at Nine Elms and then at Waterloo Station. It was also detail that was notable and therefore outside what was commonplace. Moreover the deliberations that took place within the 'Special Committees' resulted in procedures, which affected all the workforce.

Chapters Three and Four will redress these imbalances. These chapters focus on the individual within the Kingston area, and are based on census data and, where possible, local source material and to a lesser extent on committee minutes. However, apart from viewing what was ordinary in these chapters, the aim has been to find statistical and written evidence for questions that have been raised concerning recruitment and employment policies, the lives of clerks who lived for a period of time in the area, and the individual within the family unit. Chapter Five considers the early years of the Company. Chapters Six and Seven concentrate on the problems related to accidents and change brought about through legislation and external factors, whilst Chapter Eight suggests reasons for the motivation behind the procedures which evolved during the later half of the nineteenth century into what has become known as 'railway welfarism'. Finally in Chapter Nine the complexity of joint stock company enterprise within the nineteenth century, is deliberated together with a consideration of what was, and was not 'railway paternalism'?

In conclusion, the writer wishes to acknowledge that an awareness of the *difference* between *then* and *now* has been observed, and of keeping the worker, whether manager, clerk or ‘servant’, firmly placed within his or her historical *context*. As Tosh wrote in *The Pursuit of History*, to do otherwise is to assume ‘that people in the past behaved and thought as we do’, which is a fundamental misconception.¹² However it should be stated that although the aim has been to respect context ‘at every point’, the writer is aware that much of what is written within this dissertation, is based on the assumption, formed through family anecdotal testimony that certain objectives and concerns were of major importance to individuals during the nineteenth century. These included the objective to live in comfort, without pain, and the concerns relating to familial responsibilities, to accidents, and to infirmity. As health, family and poverty issues continue to be as relevant today as they were during the nineteenth century, it is hoped that this commonality of basic objectives will go some way to bridge the gap to understanding the fears of many who worked for the L&SW railway. The aim, however throughout this work, will be to emphasise that nineteenth century society was very different both culturally and socially from that which is current, for instance during the early years, when the railway first ran from Surbiton (Kingston) Station public hangings continued to be social events. Even towards the end of the period, education beyond the age of fourteen years of age, for the working classes, was rarely contemplated. The aim therefore will be to keep the railway worker, whether manager, clerk or ‘servant’, firmly placed within the context of his or her time. It is hoped, however, that by revealing individual endeavour and adversity, and by showing the impact of Company procedure on both workers and their families, a greater understanding of nineteenth century society will be achieved.¹³

- ¹ Richard Price, *Labour in British Society* (Croom Helm, Beckenham: 1986), p. 120.
Price writes: 'Railway-work rested upon the combination of an iron discipline and paternal welfarism. In return for a military style of obedience, a wide array of occupational benefits and status distinctions were provided.'
- ² P.W.Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour, 1830-1870* (Frank Cass, London: 1970).
- ³ Howard Newby, 'Antiquarianism or analysis? The future of railway history', in R.W.Ambler (ed.), *The History and Practice of Britain's Railways* (Ashgate, Hampshire: 1999), pp.1-6.
- ⁴ C. French, *Persistence in a Local Community: Kingston upon Thames, 1851-1891* (Occasional Papers in Local History, Kingston University: 2003).
- ⁵ H.E.Malden (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of England - Surrey*, vol.3 (Constable & Co., Ltd., London: 1911), p.494.
- ⁶ Shaan Butters, *The Book of Kingston* (Baron Birch For Quotes, Fimmere, Oxon: 1995), pp. 47, 101-105.
- ⁷ C.F. Dendy Marshall, *History of the Southern Railway*, vol.1 (Ian Allen Ltd.: 1963), p.495; O.S. Nock, *The London & South Western Railway* (Ian Allan, London: 1871), pp.138-9.
- ⁸ *The South Western Gazette*, Feb.1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA), p.9; *The South Western Gazette*, Nov.1898, ZPER 11/17 (TNA), p.9.
- ⁹ R.A.Powell 'Introduction', Sam Fay, *A Royal Road: Being The History Of London & South Western Railway From 1825 to the present time* (First published 1882), (Reprinted EP Publishing, Yorkshire: 1973), pp.v-viii.
- ¹⁰ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, pp. 2-3.
- ¹¹ RAIL 411/491 to RAIL 411/495; RAIL 411/498 to RAIL 411/504 (TNA).
- ¹² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd. ed. (Longman, Harlow: 2000), pp. 6-8.
- ¹³ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 131-3.

Chapter One

Historiography

The objective within this dissertation, to investigate the life patterns of the L&SWR workers who lived within the Kingston upon Thames census area, has already been mentioned. It has also been noted that the aim is to critically examine the substance of the 'iron discipline' and 'paternal welfarism' as practised by the L&SWR managers, and thereby to evaluate the impact of railway influence on individual lives.¹ To further this end it is the intention to use the local to observe and explore the growth and impact of railway procedure on named individuals. Use, therefore, will be made of what has been termed the 'total reconstitution technique', although due to the mobility of the work force, the procedure is better described as 'occupational reconstitution technique'. Within this framework, questions relating to the personnel procedures of the L&SWR will be considered and detailed later in this chapter. It is hoped that the answers to these questions will establish the motivation behind railway policies, whilst examples in the text and a glossary relating to some of the individuals mentioned, placed at the end of the dissertation, will give some indication of the impact of railway influence on individual lives. Finally Kingston as a backcloth to this study will be considered.

Rationale

Terry Gourvish in a paper published in 1992 in *The Journal of Transport History*, asked 'What kind of railway history did we get?' After discussing the various articles published in the journal from 1953, the year the journal had been started, he listed much

that still needed to be accomplished, and concluded that 'railways were the most important innovation of the nineteenth century, and it would be surprising if new generations of scholars failed to come up with fresh insights.'²

A conference, made possible by a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council took this one stage further. Held in the University of Hull in April 1995 it was called 'to assess the current state of railway history in the United Kingdom and to indicate the ways in which the research base of railway historiography could be strengthened and improved in the future.' The rationale behind the conference, and the papers given have been collected and published in *The History and Practice of Britain's Railways* edited by R.W.Ambler. The conference developed out of criticism of railway preservationists by the Director of the Science Museum, Neil Cossons, in an after dinner speech, made in 1993, at a National Railway Museum symposium in York. In a follow up article written in 1994 he stated that the railway enthusiasts movement was:

narrow and sectarian in outlook and concentrates only on those aspects of so-called preservation that appeal to its participants, to the almost complete exclusion of others. There is no visible foundation in scholarship or published research.

Howard Newby, in his paper 'Antiquarianism or analysis? The future of railway history', acknowledging all the interest that had been shown over many years in the railways, asked 'Why, then, did this not filter through into the more serious and analytical study of railway history?' In seeking to answer this question he wondered if those who were intending 'to undertake a PhD in university history departments, were being put off by an image problem - the anorak trainspotters..?' However he considered:

it is by no means impossible to envisage this broad spectrum of interests and aptitudes becoming the basis for a much more sustained, and enriched, 'new railway history.'³

In 1999 Michael Freeman also writing in *The Journal of Transport History* produced a

paper, 'The railway as cultural metaphor 'What kind of railway history?' revisited' although not directly responding to Gourvish's paper in 1992 he argued in favour of a wider interpretive frame of historical research. He considered that his paper did not:

deny the value or merit of writing on railway history which focuses on recovering institutional narratives or which addresses, for example, the railway as business or labour enterprise. It is instead to suggest that these sorts of contribution require locating more clearly within their cultural milieu, and that practitioners need to think more carefully about the intellectual frame within which their studies are cast...It is to invite sensitivity to method and to an underlying philosophical position that has been very much absent...It must be one of the tasks of future writing on railway history to recover not only material features of the railway age but the way it was apprehended by a society with very different sympathies and outlooks from our own.⁴

This appears to be a valuable comment, and one which it is hoped will be fulfilled within this dissertation by the development of a greater awareness of the social aspects of the period.

There were, however, problems relating to how this could be accomplished. As Tosh pointed out, 'historians cannot detach themselves completely from their own time'.⁵ One way of achieving a degree of understanding would be to use autobiography or reminiscence. There was, however, very little autobiography written by the ordinary railway workers during the nineteenth century. In 2002 a paper 'Constructing the past: Railway history from below or a study in nostalgia?' also published in *The Journal of Transport History*, and written by Tim Strangleman highlighted the importance of this resource. However he concluded that Alfred William's *Life in a Railway Factory* published in 1915 was the oldest example of biography by a railway worker that he had come across.⁶ There had been exceptions, Frank McKenna in his paper 'Victorian railway workers' quoted from *The Strand Magazine*, which in 1892 published an interview with Samuel Watson, a man who had become a driver on the special Scottish Express. He also detailed information taken from the diary of Driver Barron, which can

be located in the British Rail archives and spans the years from 1855 to 1877.⁷ Apart from these few examples this primary source appears to be almost nonexistent.

There are, however, other means whereby nineteenth century railway society can be glimpsed. Within *The Diaries of Sir Daniel Gooch*, the reader is introduced to this great railway engineer who not only designed railway locomotives but was also one of those responsible for laying the first underwater transatlantic cable, and whose brother worked for the L&SWR during the early years of the line.⁸ Gooch was friend to many who had not reached the pinnacle of his achievement. Similarly during the reading of Sir Sam Fay's book *A Royal Road* published in 1882 it is possible to come into contact with some of the L&SWR managerial staff, and their directors, and to be beguiled by the gossip relating to the early years, information which Fay undoubtedly had acquired through anecdotal evidence passed down from older members of staff.⁹

Reconstitution Technique

Moreover apart from autobiography and anecdotal evidence, there is also the technique of 'family reconstitution', a method by which it is also possible to achieve an awareness of the *difference* between *then* and *now*.¹⁰ The basis of this technique, the reconstitution of family groups from parish registers, was pioneered in France by Louis Henry and in England by E.A.Wrigley and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.¹¹ Pamela Sharpe formerly a research student with the Cambridge Group produced a paper which was published in *Local Population Studies* in 1990 entitled 'The total reconstitution method: A tool for class-specific study?' In this she aimed to enhance the family reconstitution undertaken by Tony Wrigley by adding other sources of documentary information and then dividing the population by class, and by this method she was able to analyse differences in demographic profile according to social

status.¹² In his book *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England 1800-1930*, published six years later in 1996, Barry Reay also considered that his work went much further than 'family reconstitution' into the newer technique of 'total reconstitution', as it included other sources, for instance, the court, school, tithe, newspaper, poor relief, probate and census records.¹³ It seems reasonable therefore to suggest that using this technique pioneered by both Pamela Sharpe and Barry Reay it might be possible, to use Michael Freeman's words, 'to recover not only material features of the railway age but the way it was apprehended by a society with very different sympathies and outlooks from our own'.¹⁴ Professor Reay considered that his work 'is an extended exercise in microhistory where the local becomes the site for consideration of much wider issues' ... 'for exploring significant social change and for teasing out important historiographical issues.'¹⁵ The aim, therefore, within this dissertation has been to use techniques similar to those initiated by Reay and Sharpe.

However as Professor Reay pointed out, one of the weaknesses of family reconstitution is that it misses the mobile section of the population.¹⁶ The problem of mobility was obvious even before starting to write 'Railway Influence in Kingston upon Thames'. In nearly all cases, family reconstitution methods could not be used because of the mobility of the workforce. Most of the railway workers living in Kingston had been born outside the location and it was only in the later years that individuals remained for any length of time. However the problem was alleviated as the data to be used was not from records found in the local area, but work records, company minutes, and reports. This data included the testimony in the Board of Trade reports of some of the local workers who had been involved in train disasters. With this primary source it was possible to 'meet' several Kingston residents giving 'unwitting testimony' before the Board of Trade Railway Department. This too was very personal material, particularly when it is

appreciated that in one particular instance the person interviewed was aware that his actions had caused the death of others, and that he was fearful for his future and that of his family.¹⁷ The method therefore is best described as ‘occupational reconstitution’. However family records could also be added when individuals remained in the area for several census periods, and in some cases the individual has been found on a later census but in a different location.

Use will be made of P.R.A.Hinde’s paper, ‘Household structure, marriage and the institution of service in nineteenth-century rural England’ (1996).¹⁸ Although the work records of many of the Kingston railway staff have not been found, nor were they mentioned within the L&SWR minutes, the 657 railway personnel (751 entries on the 1861 to 1891 census) together with those living within the households of railway ‘Heads’, will be used as statistical evidence to explore household and work related issues. Hinde provided analysis to support an hypothesis put forward by Hajnal, that in pre-industrial north-west Europe the institution of service acted as ‘an essential part of the mechanism by which marriage could be delayed.’ Hinde found that in Atcham, in Shropshire, where both domestic and agricultural service continued, the age of marriage remained high. In Mitford an area in central Norfolk, where agricultural service became almost extinct, the age of marriage declined. However in Mitford there was also a decline in offspring, which prompted Hinde to ask the question, ‘what happened to those servants and older offspring who disappeared from the area between 1851 and 1881?’ It will be suggested that a possible cause of offspring decline in Mitford was that many young people, who left the countryside, did so in order to seek urban employment.¹⁹ Thus comparison between the figures from the railway data with Hinde’s data gives some indication of the changes in household structure, age of marriage and fertility between those remaining in rural areas, and those moving to urban locations such as

Kingston where many individuals from rural areas eventually found a home for some period of time before they moved to another location.

To a large extent, the reconstitution of railway employees within the local area will be reliant on records in the minute books and reports held within The National Archives. It will be noted in Chapter Two, covering Methodology, that some of the primary sources are missing, for instance one book of Traffic Minutes was probably lost during a fire at Waterloo Station.²⁰ Moreover the first Court of Directors' Minute Book is illegible due to water damage. To fill some of the gaps reference will also be made to current historical research such as P.W.Kingsford's *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour 1830 - 1870* (1970), which analysed the nature and numerical growth of railway employees who laboured in the service of the industry from 1830 to 1870. Dr. Kingsford presented an archetypical figure, but his work was extremely useful in giving an overall picture of the social aspects of the railway industry in general and various observations mentioned in the work will be tested against the Kingston Railway Data. In particular his chapter on industrial relations mentioned railway strikes between 1830 and 1870 and details relating to memorials, which included one from the L&SWR porters in 1845, during the period when the Traffic Minutes are missing.²¹ Similarly Philip Bagwell's book *The Railwaymen: The History of the National Union of Railwaymen* (1963), provided information relating to incidents not covered by the Traffic Minutes. He also noted the situation in 1845 when thirty-nine men from Nine Elms were dismissed.²² Bagwell has provided an extensive amount of detail concerning all aspects of the railways, even facts concerning prominent individuals such as Sam Fay.²³ Hamilton Ellis in his book *British Railway History 1877-1947* (1959) also mentioned Fay.²⁴ More information relating to Sam Fay's life and work will be found in later chapters, and in the Glossary at the end of the dissertation.

Even whilst dealing with issues related to accidents and the L&SWR procedures the reconstitution technique will be continued and used, where possible within later chapters, to illustrate incidents in the text. Some of the individuals who have been found on the census in their early years had acquired managerial status at a later period, information which has been easily retrieved from Company source material. Moreover unlike local newspapers where it is possible to spend fruitless hours looking for information on local residents, within *The South Western Gazette*, the Company newspaper started in 1881, page length obituaries have been found. These give in-depth information relating to the early life, education, social activity, as well as the work-place achievements of those who had risen in the ranks of the service. It is hoped that by utilising this detail it will be possible, not only to recover some of the material features of railway procedure, but also to consider these features within the context of ‘a society with very different sympathies and outlooks from our own.’²⁵ The Glossary, which is located at the end of the dissertation, will show some of the Kingston employees mentioned in the text, together with any further detail that separated them from their fellows and made them distinctive and unique as individuals.

Reay wrote ‘The sources speak. and we listen and respond; but it is the historian who asks the questions and determines the agendas.’²⁶ The agenda within this dissertation will be a critical examination of railway personnel administration, whilst the questions that will be asked will include: What part did the judiciary and government legislation play in the paternalism and welfarism effected by the management? What part was played by L&SWR organisational techniques? How paternalistic were the L&SWR managers?

Tort Law, and the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act

The doctrine of 'common employment', (a master is not in general liable to one servant for damage resulting from the negligence of another), appears to have been laid down as a controlling rule of law in 1837 following the *Priestley v Fowler* case. Michael Ashley Stein in his draft, 'Priestley v Fowler (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence' (2006), claims that the case is better understood within the framework of an independent tort of negligence and that the doctrine actually emerged through a case in 1850. However even if the Priestley case 'did not directly address the issue of fellow servant liability', there appears to be little doubt that Lord Abinger, in 1837, considered that if he allowed a servant to recover directly against his master the floodgates to 'vicarious liability' would be opened.²⁷ Bagwell, wrote that there was no strong incentive to protect the lives of the railway worker because of this doctrine, as it allowed the railway employer to escape liability for employee accidents during most of the nineteenth century.²⁸ Fleming, writing in *The Law of Torts* (1992), referred to 'common employment' as 'the most common nefarious judicial ploy for reducing the charges on industry...'²⁹ He also wrote that:

During the 19th century, the 'moral advance' of tort law vastly accelerated. With the blessings of the moral philosophy of individualism (Kant) and the economic postulate of laissez faire, the courts attached increasing importance to freedom of action and ultimately yielded to the general dogma of 'no liability without fault'.³⁰

It will be argued that the doctrine actually affected only a small percentage of the L&SWR workers, as the majority of railway workers who were killed or injured during the nineteenth century were considered to have done so, *from their own misconduct or want of caution*, not from the carelessness of other employees.³¹ Evidence for this assertion is found in the Board of Trade reports in 1872 and 1873. The railway managers produced a return for the Board of Trade showing the accidents that had occurred during these years, with 'culpability' and 'non culpability' clearly marked. Fifty-six out of the

sixty accidents incurred by L&SWR workers had been labelled *through their own misconduct or lack of caution*. The criteria by which the railway managers or their advisers judged accident victims to be ‘culpable’ or ‘non-culpable’, is clearly seen in these Board of Trade ‘Railway Returns’, as shown in Appendix 2, pages 355 to 361. Once the deposition that the victim was culpable had been made in relation to the accident, the victim or his relatives would have been precluded from claiming against the Company even had there been no doctrine of ‘common employment’. Lardner, *Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art of Transport* (1856) has shown that such methods of deciding the culpability of railway servants and indeed members of the public were used from the early years of the line.³²

In his paper ‘Experience counts: British workers, accident prevention and compensation and the origins of the Welfare State’ (2003), Robert Asher states that whilst the 1880 Employers Liability Act did not mention contracting out, it implicitly allowed employers to avoid tort suits by forcing workers to join employer-employee-funded accident benefit plans. He also argued that ‘after 1880 workers and leaders in three of the largest best-organised trades in the United Kingdom moved steadily towards a pragmatic and theoretical acceptance of Welfare State policies.’³³ In 1886 the L&SWR ‘Accident Fund’ was established to provide allowances during disablement and gratuities in the case of death among Company employees.³⁴ Thus the L&SWR was not one of those who forced employees to contract out, whilst the Company appeared to have appreciated the inevitability of future benefit schemes for industrial accidents and were making early arrangements to this end.

On the other hand Robert Asher’s remark that estimates of the coverage of the 1897 Workmen’s Compensation Act ranged from 30 to 50 per cent of all industrial wage

earners will be considered questionable in relation to railway employee accident victims.³⁵

Although there has been no actual rationale found within the L&SWR data, nor information to this effect within the Board of Trade literature, various examples within the Traffic Minutes of those who had possibly been excluded, appear to confirm that only those who were injured by trains or attachments to trains were covered by the Act. If this was the case, although the Act covered most of the railway personnel who were killed, it did exclude 80 per cent of those injured in the workplace.

Joint Stock Enterprise - Organisational Innovation

It will be argued that the L&SWR and possibly many other railway companies were great organisational innovators and that this evolved out of the benefits of limited liability and the size of the company. Bagwell writing in *The Transport Revolution from 1770* (1974), considered that to attract investors, the railway companies had to offer this benefit. The companies also needed the authority of Parliament to acquire land by compulsory purchase if this was found to be necessary.³⁶ However, apart from limited liability, and compulsory purchase, the railway companies could not have functioned without some of the other benefits which incorporation was able to bring. Shannon writing in his paper 'The coming of general limited liability' (1966), details the major advantages. Once incorporated a company had 'a distinct legal persona and its assets were, under common law the only security for its debts.' However by being a corporation the company also had 'perpetual succession', and did not have to be 'dissolved by changes in its membership. It could act in law as a single body, in particular suing and being sued in its corporate name.'³⁷ Thus once incorporation by private Act of Parliament had been obtained the L&SWR had the potential to become a large and complex business enterprise.

William Lazonick in his paper entitled 'Strategy, structure, and management development in the United States and Britain' (1986), considered that successful management in an industrial bureaucracy was made up of '*generalists* who coordinate and *specialists* who carry out detailed technical (including legal and commercial) tasks.' He emphasised the importance of turning *specialists* into *generalists* as they climb the corporate hierarchy and of recruitment within a company.³⁸ It will be shown later that even from the early years of the line, the L&SWR recruitment programme included both *specialists* and *generalists*. Moreover the managerial role did not remain within an oligarchy of family-related individuals as it would have done in most partnerships at that time, and in 1882 by making sufficient funds available to enable senior staff to be retired at 65 years of age, the L&SWR allowed the prospect of advancement for younger members of staff who otherwise would have resigned to acquire status elsewhere.³⁹

Alfred D. Chandler *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (1981) wrote that modern business enterprise has two specific characteristics,

...it contains many distinct operating units, and it is managed by hierarchies of salaried executives.

Each unit within the modern multiunit enterprise has its own administrative office. Each is administered by a full-time salaried manager. Each has its own set of books and accounts which can be audited separately from those of the large enterprise. Each could theoretically operate as an independent business enterprise.⁴⁰

The L&SWR from the 1840s had 'distinct operating units'. Apart from operating the network, the Company had started to build its own engines at Nine Elms, the first one being finished in December 1843. By 1848 the Company owned and operated steamships. By 1881 these numbered seventeen, with tonnage between two hundred and seventy-one and seven hundred and forty-four and were employed in continental and Channel Island services.⁴¹

Price's comment therefore, in his book *Labour in British Society* (1986), 'that mid nineteenth century England was the workshop of the world. But it remained a workshop and not a factory,' appears surprising if it is considered as referring to nineteenth century business organisation.⁴² However Price was not referring to company structure but to labour power. Raphael Samuel 'Workshop of the world: steam power and hand technology in mid-Victorian Britain' (1977), argued that:

Nineteenth century capitalism created many more skills than it destroyed, though they were different in kind from those of the all-round craftsmen, and subject to a whole new level of exploitation. The change from sail to steam in shipping led to the rise of a whole number of new industrial crafts, as well as providing a wider arena for the exercise of old ones. The same may be said of the shift from wood to iron in vehicle building, and of horse to steam in transport.⁴³

This was undoubtedly true in relation to the uniformed personnel on the L&SWR and indeed on other railways. Numerous memos in the Traffic Minutes during the early years of the line mention manual operations of uniformed workers which had been inefficiently performed and for which they were punished.⁴⁴ However Chandler, writing mainly about the American railways stated that:

Of the new forms of transportation the railroads were the most numerous, their activities the most complex, and their influence the most pervasive. They were the pioneers in the management of modern business enterprise.⁴⁵

Michael Freeman found a similar situation in England. In *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (1999), he considered that after 1830 the influence of the railway could be found in nearly all areas of Victorian life, from the growing importance of punctuality and time-keeping, to railway imagery in children's games, books, jigsaws, and as the subject of lithographs and paintings. He shows that this cultural dimension was as much part of the railway legacy to society as, for instance, the economic evolution of new forms of company organisation.⁴⁶

Thus although Price may be correct in arguing that 'although steam power and machinery

had left few areas of the economy completely untouched, there were fewer still where it ruled unchallenged,' there is much to suggest that even by the mid 1850s the L&SWR, and possibly the majority of the major railway companies, 'were the pioneers in the management of modern business enterprise.'⁴⁷ There may have been workshops within railway company 'operating units' but these workshops were part of the complexity of large railway business enterprise, which by 1884, within the United Kingdom, had a workforce of more than 350,000.⁴⁸ Diane Drummond writing in her book *Crewe Railway Town, Company and People, 1840-1914* (1995), shows that the Board of the Crewe Railway Works, in 1863, had made the decision to establish a Bessemer steel-making process at the Works at an initial cost of £4,770, and from 1870 onwards more than 4,000 men were employed in the Works at Crewe.⁴⁹

Paternalism

Various books and papers have been used to show the existence of paternalism within pre-Victorian society, and its application in some early eighteenth century factories. In a quote from Jane Austen's *Emma* published in 1816 there is a glimpse of the attitudes and the level of help, given within the shadow of the 'big house', revealing a careless almost 'absent minded' approach, to the 'care in the community' exercised by some of the landed gentry:

Emma was very compassionate and the distresses of the poor were as sure of relief from her personal attention and kindness, her counsel and her patience, as from her purse. She understood their ways, could allow for their ignorance and their temptations...

These are the sights...to do one good. How trifling they make every thing else appear! - I feel now as if I could think of nothing else but these poor creatures all the rest of the day; and yet, who can say how soon it may all vanish from my mind?⁵⁰

It was considered important to trace the growth of paternalism in early nineteenth century society to understand the early paternalism found in the Traffic Minutes of the

young Company.

In order to do this T.S.Ashton's *An Economic History of England: The 18th Century* (1972) was used to give a background to industrial labour within the eighteenth century. Ashton notes the wide diversity of the working classes, and also the harsh attitudes of some 18th century 'observers' towards the poor, and describes the punitive regulations imposed on labour during this period. At the Horsehay ironworks the workers had to contribute 6d. a head each month to the doctor during the 1790s. On the other hand the gradual implementation of paternalism can be seen in Richard Arkwright's gifts of 'distinguished dresses' to some of his workers and the arrangement of balls at the Greyhound Inn at Cromford in 1778.⁵¹

Neil McKendrick's paper 'Josiah Wedgwood and factory discipline' (1961), gives a detailed view of the factory at Etruria and late eighteenth century paternalism. Wedgwood was among those who were the pioneers of factory organisation, worker discipline, the division of labour and the systemisation of production. He is portrayed by McKendrick as autocratic and using girls as cheap labour, but his methods were undoubtedly paternalistic. He trained all his workers, male and female, to such high standards that in 1773 he received an order for his china from Catherine the Great in Russia. McKendrick, quoting a contemporary observer, states that within twenty-five years of his factory being in production the population of the area had increased by about 300 per cent, and the workers were 'abundantly employed, prosperous, and comfortable'.⁵² The work is based on the Wedgwood manuscripts currently in the Wedgwood Museum.

V.A.C. Gatrell in his introduction to Robert Owen's, *Report to the County of Lanark: A*

New View of Society (1970), traces the history of this unusual social philosopher. From 1800 until he retired in 1829 Owen was Partner Manager in the mill at New Lanark and it was here that he educated the factory children, cut hours of labour and improved working conditions. His 1,800 workforce was originally 'given to drunkenness, improvidence and prolific conception out of wedlock.' Between 1799 and 1813 through Owen's paternalism, which included 'enforced human discipline', the work output from the mill increased and its value almost doubled to £114,000. However Owen became obsessed by the idea of labour becoming an integrated model of the 'good society' at large, that the rich had an obligation to the poor, and the idea of the 'Village of Cooperation'. His ideas were well known prior to the arrival of the railways as he published his reports in the London papers, sent out thirty-thousand copies to influential people, including parish clergy, every member of parliament, peer, chief magistrate and important banker. Although towards the end of his life his mental ability diminished, his influence on nineteenth century society was considerable.⁵³

Certainly paternalism by the 1830s was a feature of employment within certain industries, and railway management would have been expected to show some signs of paternalism within the structure of the company. George Revill in his unpublished thesis 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture: A Study of the Derby Headquarters of the Midland Railway Company and Its Workforce 1840-1900' (1989), writes that 'To a certain extent philanthropic acts by railway companies were always part of a consciously crafted public image'.⁵⁴ Moreover Stein writing in 'Priestley v Fowler (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence' (2006) shows that the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 brought in new methods of low-cost management for the relief of the destitute. This required local boards of guardians' approval prior to administering aid to casual accident victims. It is argued that this provides background to the early railway

paternalism in relation to workplace accidents.⁵⁵ Some financial outlay would have been expected from the railway companies in these circumstances, failure to do this might have resulted in censure from the numerous boards within areas in which accident victims were living.

A more complex view of paternalism was established by Howard Newby in *The Deferential Worker* (1976), and later with others in *Property, Paternalism and Power: Class and Control in Rural England* (1978), when he explores the relationship between employer and employee, in rural East Anglia. The evidence had been acquired from the primary sources of questionnaires completed by agricultural labourers, and farmers.⁵⁶ From this research Newby argued that 'paternalism' was a system that grew out of the necessity to stabilise and morally justify that which was fundamentally inequalitarian. The system, he wrote, actively maintained an exploitative differentiation between employer and his employee, which he referred to as 'the deferential dialectic'.⁵⁷

Although Newby saw this system existing in agricultural districts where those who owned the land were perceived to have traditional authority, in 1980 Patrick Joyce, writing in *Work Society and Politics* argued that deference within the large agricultural estates, identified by Newby, was also to be found within the northern factories of Lancashire and Yorkshire after the 1850s:

When the factory society of the North in the second half of the nineteenth century is penetrated to any depth it is apparent that the period witnessed a degree of social calm perhaps unique in English industrial society. Rather than the class solidarities and antagonisms so often associated with the development of modern industrial society, the obverse of these feelings constantly suggests itself. More often than not, the tie of employer and worker was one of emotional identification, in which the worker acquiesced in his own subordination.⁵⁸

Joyce argued that employers were involved in town administration, in voluntary organisations and many spent large sums on educating the child employee. The factory

was not only the centre of production but also the centre of social life, which included the works brass band, football and cricket teams. There was also the celebration of the births, deaths and coming of age within the owner's family:⁵⁹

The pressures that made for dependence produced a commitment to work which was far more than mere rational calculation. Work got under the skin of everyday life. There is evidence for weavers and spinners alike, of a willing acceptance, in the cause of work, of both the rigours of authority and of increased workloads. Ill and injured weavers would work flat-out to avoid the stigma of incompetence. These attitudes amounted to something like the tyranny of work over life.⁶⁰

However Price writing in *The labour process and labour history* (1983), considered that it was:

the central peculiarity of the British working class to resist and obstruct capital domination of the labour process. No other working class has so tenaciously or successfully elevated the phenomenon of workplace resistance to a central feature of its relations with a wider society.⁶¹

Joyce in reply in a paper 'Labour, capital and compromise: a response to Richard Price', (1984) considered that Price had put forward:

as axiomatic that which should properly be regarded the object of analysis...This perspective, it seems to me, continues to inform Price's account of the labour process, and leads him to undervalue the force of compromise and co-operation in the relationships obtaining between labour and capital.⁶²

Later in his book, *Labour in British Society*, written in 1986 Price argued that paternalism should be seen in terms of 'negotiations and accommodations' between management and labour.⁶³ He was also to assert that railway work:

rested upon the combination of an iron discipline and paternal welfarism. In return for a military style of obedience, a wide array of occupational benefits and status distinctions were provided. The latter were particularly important.⁶⁴

This statement is questioned within the dissertation.

Diane Drummond's detailed analysis showing the difference between Joyce's cotton towns and the Railway Works at Crewe reveals the complexity of working class reaction

to the varying forms of paternalism during the late nineteenth century. She wrote that in Crewe 'the ending of deference for certain occupations and workshops was triggered by (the workers) gaining the vote,' and that while Company paternalism was indeed pervasive in the town, it did not create what Joyce has called 'an entire social reality'.⁶⁵ She argued that 'local nonconformity, trade unionism and Liberalism sponsored many different activities in Crewe, all of which produced a powerful culture which countered that of the Company.' In 1885 the workforce divided into two rival factions, one asserting, the other denying intimidation within the workplace. Dr. Drummond argued that the events 'reveal something far more than the sudden breakdown of deference and influence politics...rather the people of Crewe exhibited a whole spectrum of deferential and non-deferential reactions to the Company, from total deference...to partial deference and then a total lack of deference.' She considered that 'such a model of these different degrees, or shades of deference-non-deference accords far better with modern sociological observations of deference than does Joyce's original vision of the total deference of all.'⁶⁶

Within the L&SWR there was no evidence of management trying to influence the politics of the workforce other than a determination to denounce unionism. Moreover within the Company newspaper, *The South Western Gazette*, it is possible to glimpse a fatalistic acceptance of the inevitability of the realities of railway employment, not dissimilar to that which Joyce found in the cotton towns. It will be argued, however, that the acquiescence and lack of militancy within the L&SWR uniformed grades may have less to do with deference, and more to do with the fear of losing certain benefits some of which were more apparent than real, but which, by 1890, included the London & South Western Railway Pension Arrangements for the Wages Paid Staff of the Company, (the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme). This was only payable to the uniformed staff following twenty-five years of exemplary conduct.

The paternalism described by George Revill in his thesis 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', has also been found to be present within the L&SWR Traffic Minutes. Revill considered paternalism within the Midland Railway as that:

exemplified by the English countryside in the eighteenth century as described by Douglas Hay. Here the neo-feudal ties of villain to master in the closed village were slowly broken down, so the task of preserving order, maintaining the physical environment and providing for the poor increasingly fell on the local magistrature. These people, though formed from the landed aristocratic classes and the embryo middle ranks, doctors and clergy, for example, show beginnings of a clear break with the traditional form of direct master servant power relationship in the countryside.⁶⁷

Revill also commented on the apparent inconsistencies within railway paternalism. However if this early paternalism which runs through the entirety of the Traffic Minutes from the late 1830s until 1912 and beyond is seen as a separate entity from what has been described as 'railway welfarism' then the apparent inconsistencies become more intelligible. The 'welfarism', which started during the mid 1850s, was no more than the development of control mechanisms to further the interests of a growing business. This will be considered in more depth in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Location

The Kingston upon Thames Local History Database, held at Kingston University, has been mentioned already. The work by the University's Local History Research Team has provided a valuable resource for local history studies, with some of their findings having been published in the form of Occasional Papers by the University with availability on the Internet.⁶⁸ There is within the local area of Kingston a lively interest in the history of the borough. The local newspaper *The Surrey Comet* publishes articles by June Sampson, a local historian who has also written books about the history of the location, for instance *All Change*, (1985), *Kingston and Surbiton Old and New: A Pictorial History*, (1992), *Kingston Past*, (1997).⁶⁹

During the nineteenth century several books were published which have provided background information relating to the Surbiton and Kingston location. The most useful has been R.W.C.Richardson's book *Surbiton: Thirty-Two Years Of Local Self Government 1855-1887* (1888).⁷⁰ This is an exceptionally detailed account of life in Surbiton from 1855 until Richardson retired from the Surbiton Improvement Committee in 1887. His work on the Committee brought him into contact with those who had been in the area before and during the period when the railway line was built. Although there are some inaccuracies within the narrative, this is understandable given that some detail, known at the present time, was not public knowledge when the book was written. However Richardson's information relating to the area was significant and his book also includes a range of statistical detail. Although there is little description written concerning the actual laying of the line, *Whishaw's Railways of Great Britain & Ireland*, written in 1842, allows an appreciation of the complexity and enormity of the task as it gives the depth of the cut and the amount of the earth removed from Surbiton hill.⁷¹ On the other hand Terry Coleman's book, *The Railway Navvies* (1968), describes the lives of the navvies who were engaged in the project of track laying.⁷² *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey* (1911) (ed.), H.E.Malden vol. 3. also supplies background information of the location as does F.S.Merryweather's *Half a Century of Kingston History* (1887).⁷³

W.D. Biden's book *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient and Royal Town of Kingston-upon-Thames*, is in essence a nineteenth century tourist guide with information relating to the various areas in the borough and the monuments in the church. It was written in 1852 and therefore in theory should be the most accurate in terms of information relating to the period when the track was laid. There remains, however, some controversy regarding Biden's statement that opposition from the town of Kingston influenced the decision regarding the path of the track. It is considered that

Kingston dignitaries would not have had sufficient prestige to demand change.⁷⁴

Richardson mentions Lord Cottenham's influence and Shaan Butters' interpretation of events detailed in *The Book of Kingston*, written in 1995, is more realistic and does not conflict with the evidence found in The National Archives at Kew. *The Book of Kingston* written by Shaan Butters is an academic work based on an enormous and diverse selection of primary sources and has been quoted and used several times in this dissertation.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The aim of this work is to pursue historical integrity through a method best called 'occupational reconstitution' the records used being mainly the Company records of the L&SW railway and the 'reconstitution' centred on Kingston residents who worked for the L&SWR. The aim is to follow Barry Reay's example to extend the local to become a 'site for the consideration of wider issues.'⁷⁶ The wider issues within this dissertation will be an examination of accident policies, welfarism and workplace paternalism in an era when the injuries and deaths of uniformed workers were a frequent occurrence. It is hoped that by using what Reay has referred to as 'the interrelationship between the specific and the general' the aspiration found in Michael Freeman's paper 'to recover not only material features of the railway age but the way it was apprehended by a society with very different sympathies and outlooks from our own', will be, in some small measure, realised.⁷⁷

- ¹ Richard Price, *Labour in British Society*, p. 120.
- ² T. Gourvish, 'What kind of railway history did we get?', *The Journal of Transport History*, vol.14 (2), 1993, pp.111-25.
- ³ Newby, 'Antiquarianism or analysis?', pp. 1-6.
- ⁴ M. Freeman, 'The railway as cultural metaphor: 'What kind of railway history?' revisited', *The Journal of Transport History*, vol. 20 (2), 1999, pp.160-7.
- ⁵ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p.16.
- ⁶ T. Strangleman, 'Constructing the past: Railway history from below or a study in nostalgia?', *The Journal of Transport History*, vol. 23 (2), 2002, pp.147-58; A. Williams, *Life in a Railway Factory* (Sutton Publishing: 1984).
- ⁷ F. McKenna, 'Victorian railway workers', *History Workshop Journal*, 1976, p.33.cites *The Strand Magazine* 111, Feb.1892 p.196: British Rail Archives, H.R.P. 2/6, Diary of T. Barron.
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- ⁹ Fay, *A Royal Road*.
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Chapter Two

Methodology and Location

It has already been noted that although the records of the railway workers used within this dissertation, have been retrieved from the Kingston upon Thames census data, the record linkage is with detail which will be mainly work related and found within the L&SWR records held in The National Archives at Kew. The technique within this dissertation therefore goes beyond family reconstitution into what Revill has referred to as a 'weave' in the form of a narrative, and both Pamela Sharpe and Barry Reay have called 'total reconstitution'.¹ However because the linkage is with the L&SWR records, the writer considers that this method is better described as 'occupational reconstitution'.

Both quantitative and qualitative research techniques will be used, with details of managers and employees utilised to illustrate situations and to show the effect of Company policy on individuals, for instance a Traffic Committee minute in 1871 states that 'Ferrier Goods Clerk at Surbiton Station is deficient in his cash to the extent of about £50...to be reconsidered when Ferrier recovers.'² The word 'recovers' is made more understandable when it is appreciated that with a cash deficiency of £50, about half a year's wages for a clerk in 1871, dismissal would have been inevitable, and that Charles Ferrier had a wife and 3 young children aged seven, five and three to support. Thus this incident would have been devastating, and it did effect Ferrier's future permanently.³

Although both Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames are described in the second half of

this chapter, the description is mainly limited to the physical features of the locality. Unlike the average agricultural labourer or factory worker who remained tied to his location, only 19 railway employees have been found living in the area on three or more census years, 3 per cent of a workforce of 657. Undoubtedly individuals interacted with their neighbours, but records of this interaction and aspects of community were inevitably limited through the mobility of most of the workforce. Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames therefore remained a backcloth against which railway employment was set, although whenever possible any record linking the worker to events within the area will be ‘threaded’ into the work.

Primary Sources

The primary sources used will be the Kingston upon Thames Database, 1851 to 1891, which has been provided by the Kingston Local History Project, the local newspaper *The Surrey Comet*, and the archive material, which is held at The National Archives in Kew. This includes the L&SWR Traffic Minutes 1838 to 1912, the Clerical Staff Character Books 1838-1921, the Salaried Staff Registers 1865-1924, Special Committees Records, Board of Trade Reports, Black Books of Cautions, Parliamentary Papers of various dates, and newspapers *The Railway Fly Sheet*, *The Railway Sheet*, *The Official Gazette* and *The South Western Gazette*.⁴ Linkage between census, minutes, reports and records will be achieved manually, mainly through name recognition. At the end of the dissertation a glossary will detail some of the employees found within the database and used as illustrations in the text, with extra information not mentioned in the dissertation.

Kingston upon Thames Database

Although the Census Enumerators’ Books (CEBs) do provide an invaluable historical resource, particularly when combined with other primary sources, they are in some cases difficult to read and there are many inaccuracies within the data. However as a tool for

local historical research, the Kingston upon Thames Local History Database, held at Kingston University, has a distinct advantage over the enumerator's manuscript returns. The census, (over 138,000 records), has been copied onto an Access database from the returns, and checked more than once against primary source material, thus making data abstraction by computer possible. However the census data has certain disadvantages. To preserve the historical integrity of the material the original inaccuracies have also been retained within the data. Therefore as the selection for the database to be used in this study was based mainly on an occupational description using the words 'rail', 'railway', and 'L&SWR', and as the variations of this terminology as compiled by the enumerators were numerous, manual abstraction from the Access material was used to compile the Kingston Railway Data, referred to as the KRD.

The records of railway workers were taken directly from the main census material, which had previously been transferred onto Excel. The transfer from the larger onto the smaller database was effected by clicking onto row headings and using the 'copy' and 'paste' method. Thus the information remains in the same column order as the original database material and has been retained on Excel in five separate lists, which can be transferred into an Access database as required. Reference back to the main Kingston Database is by using the 'Seq.' number in column one. However to aid easy access to individuals within the Kingston Database which can be accessed on the internet, the 'Person No.' for each local individual mentioned has been added to the Notes at the end of each chapter.⁵

It must be emphasised that in all probability far more individuals came and went during the 1851 to 1891 period than are recorded on the census. For instance Porter Bollen who was killed on Surbiton Station while on duty in the Summer of 1866, had not arrived in the area in 1861 as neither he nor his wife are shown on the census. His widow must

have either moved on, or remarried, because her name is not included in the 1871 census material.⁶ Therefore Porter Bollen was not included in the KRD.

Frank Andrew in his paper 'Employment on the railways in East Kent, 1841-1891' (2000) mentions that the enumerators did not always include the word 'railway' against the carpenter, smith or painter who worked for the company or the waitresses employed at the railway hotel.⁷ The omission of 'railway' on the census was also found to be a problem within the Kingston data. However where there was such an omission and the job was one that was only performed by railway personnel, such as 'pointsman', 'signalman' and 'shunter', these records have been added to the statistical material.⁸ One station master without 'railway' next to his name was also included as he was living in one of the station houses. In cases where the word 'railway' has been omitted on an individual's census return for one year, but included in the census before and after that year with the job description remaining the same, it will be assumed that the employee has worked for the railway during the whole period. As the emphasis was on finding full-time employees, the lack of the word 'railway' for other workers who were marginal within the industry has not been considered sufficiently important to warrant further investigation. However although every care has been taken there may be individuals who were full-time employees who have not been included, there may also be individuals included who may have worked for another railway company. There were two pensioners. Mr Hilditch was shown as retired on the 1861 census, and Mr Green a retired railway official can be found on the 1891 census.⁹ As both were in receipt of remuneration from the Company pension they have been retained in the data. There were also 3 'employees' in the workhouse, 2 in 1881 and 1 in 1891. These individuals may not have been employed by the railway at the time of the census, but as there is no indication that they were not so employed, they have been included.

The compilation of 'Family Groups' involved adding all the family members to that of the 'Head' of the family as found in the 'Relationship' column of the census. These family groups included lodgers, boarders, and any other person living within the confines of the household, and were added to the data by the use of manual abstraction from the database material. Coding was then added as an aid to the retrieval of groups. In those cases where the surname was illegible but the employment clear, the workers were included in all the statistical data, except for obvious reasons, that of the family groups remaining in the area beyond the one census period. The 1851 to 1891 KRD with the family members included, totals 2,648 individuals, it is comprised of railway personnel living within the Kingston census area and includes all those individuals living within the families of railway workers who were 'Heads of Household'. However this forty-year period 1851 to 1891 will only be used to evaluate 'persistence' which will be considered in Chapter Three. In total 789 railway workers have been found on the census, 551 are on only one census, 87 stayed for two census periods, 14 for three, 3 for four, and 2 for five. Thus there were 657 railway individuals living within the local area during this period with 106 staying for more than ten years. This calculation was achieved by entering the personnel from the five different years onto one spreadsheet, sorting by surname and finding comparisons between forename, age, place of birth and in some cases wives and offspring.

However as the 1851 census shows only 38 workers most of whom were probably not long term railway personnel, only the data for 1861 to 1891, 2,559 individuals, will be used in the statistics other than for railway persistence. From this data two differing but overlapping datasets have been compiled. The first is made up of the 751 railway workers found in the area between 1861 and 1891, some of whom are duplicated being on

1861-1891 Census**Railway Employee Relationships to the Head of the Households in which they lived. KRDP****751 railway workers****Break Down Of Relationships to Head of Household**

| Railway Workers | Total | | Railway | Non Rly |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| 1861 Census | | | Connection | |
| Position In Household | | % | With Head | |
| Heads of Household | 34 | 66.67 | 34 | |
| Boarders/Lodgers | 12 | 23.53 | 3 | 9 |
| Sons | 3 | 5.88 | 2 | 1 |
| Family Members | 1 | 1.96 | 0 | 1 |
| Visitors | 1 | 1.96 | 0 | 1 |
| Others | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0 |
| | 51 | 100.00 | 39 | 12 |
| 1871 Census | | | | |
| Heads of Household | 87 | 64.93 | 87 | |
| Boarders/Lodgers | 36 | 26.87 | 15 | 21 |
| Sons | 7 | 5.22 | 3 | 4 |
| Family Members | 3 | 2.24 | 1 | 2 |
| Visitors | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0 |
| Others | 1 | 0.75 | 1 | 0 |
| | 134 | 100.00 | 107 | 27 |
| 1881 Census | | | | |
| Heads of Household | 134 | 60.09 | 134 | |
| Boarders/Lodgers | 41 | 18.39 | 12 | 29 |
| Sons | 40 | 17.94 | 8 | 32 |
| Family Members | 6 | 2.69 | 1 | 5 |
| Visitors | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0 |
| Others | 2 | 0.90 | 0 | 2 |
| | 223 | 100.00 | 155 | 68 |
| 1891 Census | | | | |
| Heads of Household | 219 | 63.85 | 219 | |
| Boarders/Lodgers | 43 | 12.54 | 20 | 23 |
| Sons | 68 | 19.83 | 22 | 46 |
| Family Members | 8 | 2.33 | 3 | 5 |
| Visitors | 4 | 1.17 | 2 | 2 |
| Others | 1 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 |
| | 343 | 100.00 | 266 | 77 |

Information taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University. **Figure 2.1.**

1861-1891 Census - The Composition of Railway Families Kingston Census Area

| 1861 | | MEAN | Railway | Non Rly | No Work |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Heads | 34 | 1.00 | 34 | | |
| Wives | 28 | 0.82 | | 4 | 24 |
| Sons | 7 | 0.21 | 2 | 5 | |
| Daughters 14+ or Working | 2 | 0.06 | | 2 | |
| Children | 52 | 1.53 | | 1 | 51 |
| Relatives | 12 | 0.35 | | 6 | 6 |
| Servants/Housekeepers | 11 | 0.32 | | 11 | |
| Visitors | 3 | 0.09 | | 1 | 2 |
| Lodgers/Boarders | 8 | 0.24 | 3 | 5 | |
| Number of Persons | 157 | 4.62 | 39 | 35 | 83 |

| 1871 | | MEAN | Railway | Non Rly | No Work |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| Heads | 87 | 1.00 | 87 | | |
| Wives | 82 | 0.94 | | 6 | 76 |
| Sons | 14 | 0.16 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| Daughters 14+ or Working | 20 | 0.23 | | 2 | 18 |
| Children | 144 | 1.66 | | 1 | 143 |
| Relatives | 19 | 0.22 | 1 | 7 | 11 |
| Servants/Housekeepers | 25 | 0.29 | 1 | 24 | |
| Visitors | 13 | 0.15 | | 4 | 9 |
| Lodgers/Boarders | 40 | 0.46 | 15 | 18 | 7 |
| Number of Persons | 444 | 5.10 | 107 | 67 | 270 |

| 1881 | | MEAN | Railway | Non Rly | No Work |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Heads | 134 | 1.00 | 134 | | |
| Wives | 122 | 0.91 | | 6 | 116 |
| Sons | 29 | 0.22 | 8 | 16 | 5 |
| Daughters 14+ or Working | 19 | 0.14 | | 11 | 8 |
| Children | 274 | 2.04 | | | 274 |
| Relatives | 35 | 0.26 | 1 | 14 | 20 |
| Servants/Housekeepers | 14 | 0.10 | | 14 | |
| Visitors | 11 | 0.08 | | 7 | 4 |
| Lodgers/Boarders | 50 | 0.37 | 12 | 32 | 6 |
| Number of Persons | 688 | 5.13 | 155 | 100 | 433 |

| 1891 | | MEAN | Railway | Non Rly | No Work |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Heads | 219 | 1.00 | 219 | | |
| Wives | 194 | 0.89 | | 10 | 184 |
| Sons | 51 | 0.23 | 22 | 29 | |
| Daughters 14+ or Working | 45 | 0.21 | | 22 | 23 |
| Children | 419 | 1.91 | | | 419 |
| Relatives | 43 | 0.20 | 3 | 7 | 33 |
| Servants/Housekeepers | 26 | 0.12 | | 26 | |
| Visitors | 16 | 0.07 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| Lodgers/Boarders | 73 | 0.33 | 20 | 42 | 11 |
| Number of Persons | 1086 | 4.96 | 266 | 138 | 682 |

The 'MEAN' figure is the average number of persons in each family

Total 2375 individuals

Information taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University

Figure 2.2.

more than one census. The second set is composed of those who are to be found within the family unit of those railway workers who were 'Heads' of their families. These totalled 2,375 persons and will be used for the statistical break down of railway household calculations. Again there are duplications as each census has been calculated separately.

It has already been noted that when referring to the main railway database in general terms the label 'KRD' will be used, however to distinguish between the two datasets, the various charts and statistics will be labelled 'KRDP' when the data relates to railway personnel, and 'KRDF' when the railway families from 1861 to 1891 are under scrutiny. A breakdown of this data can be seen in Figures 2.1. and 2.2. Figure 2.1. (KRDP) shows the railway workers relationship to the 'Head' of the family in which they were living when the census was taken. Those living with 'Heads' unconnected with the railway are in column 5 labelled 'Non Rly'. Figure 2.2. shows the composition of the 'Railway Families' (KRDF), those 'Railway Heads' with members of the family who are also working in jobs connected with the railway have been placed in column 4, those working in jobs unconnected with the railway are in column 5, whilst those not working are in column 6. These two charts will be considered further in later chapters.

Traffic Minutes

The second major source, the L&SWR Traffic Minutes, are retained in The National Archives. The London and Southampton Minutes RAIL 412/3, the Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees 1839-1845 have been read, as have the Journals RAIL 412/9, 1830-1838 and RAIL 412/10, 1835-1838. RAIL 412/11 the London and Southampton Cash Book 1830-1840 has also been studied. The London and South Western Traffic Minutes have been read systematically from the period 2

February 1839 to December 1912. Apart from staff accidents, sickness and related issues, the Traffic Minutes also contain memoranda concerning matters such as season ticket returns, freight and shipping etc. and numerous other items. This was mainly ignored. There are two books missing, the minutes from July 1845 to October 1846, and the minute book covering the period September 1850 to July 1857.¹⁰ It has been alleged that a directors' minute book was lost in 1940 when Waterloo Station was bombed and a fire broke out and it is possible that other ledgers were also lost at this time.¹¹ This would also account for the water damage on some of the minutes making them difficult to read. Although each ledger has a corresponding index, it has been found necessary to systematically skim all of the Traffic Minutes focusing on information related to members of staff, accidents, Board of Trade reports and the Kingston and Surbiton locations. It is considered that by relying only on the index, important detail could have been missed. This information will be used to illustrate the argument within the body of the dissertation

Unlike some of the railway companies, the details relating to the early recruitment procedures of the L&SWR appear not to have been retained. Moreover the minutes give only a few indications concerning staff appointments during the early period of the line, where or how recruitment took place, the rationale behind decisions, and the numbers employed. Certainly there are staff records but only records of drivers, firemen, cleaners and clerks have been found.

Clerical Staff Character Books, 1838-1924, Salaried Staff Registers 1865-1924.

These contain the work records of the weekly and salaried clerical staff.¹² Although each book has an alphabetical index; the staff details are generally in more than one book. When a book was filled, rather than return to the old book to add another entry onto the

employees record, the policy appears to have been to copy the old record into a new book, and thereafter add to the new record. Thus until the work record was closed, with the words, 'Placed on the Superannuation Fund', 'Dismissed', or 'Died', it could not be assumed that the record was complete and further research into the next book had to be made. Although there are eleven 'Character/Register Books' held in the archives at Kew, only forty-four complete work records and eighteen partial records out of the 158 clerks located on the KRD have been found. It must therefore be concluded that some of these books are also missing. It is also possible that many who joined the service towards the end of the nineteenth century are to be found in later records, which are not available. The records, which have been found, have been photographed by a digital camera, and later compiled into a small database, which will be referred to as KRDC. However as there are less than one third of the complete records, this data is not representative of the clerks within the Kingston database and cannot be used as a sample. Nevertheless these are records of staff within the local area and as such can give useful information such as age on recruitment. For other purposes, for instance increases in salary during employment, only the forty-four records will be used. Given the sparsity of these records in relation to the whole, the KRDC graphs will not be presented as typical percentage statistics of the clerks within the Kingston area but are a useful tool to discuss aspects of railway procedure and the impact of railway service on individuals.

Board of Trade Accident Reports

A fourth major source will be the Board of Trade reports and statistics.¹³ The Board of Trade, during the nineteenth century, divided the railway accident statistics into numerous categories some of which relate to accident type and others to the various breakages to components used in the industry. The statistics concerned with the numbers killed or injured, both members of the public and the servants of the railway

companies, were divided into three categories. The Board of Trade category Table 4 relates to those who were killed or injured in 'Accidents to Trains', that was actual train accidents. Table 5 list those who were killed or injured by 'The Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles', covering accidents to individuals when they were working with trains, carriages or on the lines. Table 7 was concerned with accidents to 'Servants of the Companies and of Contractors Killed or Injured otherwise than in Accidents to Trains or by the Movement of Railway Vehicles', individuals killed or injured other than by accidents covered by the first two categories. Prior to 1896, the latter statistics were shown only as a total for the United Kingdom as a whole. However after this date these statistics, formerly Table 7, were shown for each railway company and classified as Table 9.

Figure 6.1, page 177, has been compiled from the information contained in the *Command Papers, Royal Commission Railways 1877* to illustrate the argument in Chapter Six.¹⁴ The reports cover the four year period 1872-5, showing that during this period nearly 3,000 railway servants were killed at work compared with 157 passengers. However the comprehensive format shown in Appendix 2, pages 356 to 362, was only present within the Board of Trade statistics for 1872 and 1873, (this format also includes suicides and individuals crossing the lines but these are not included in Appendix 2 as they are not part of this analysis). The figures were copied from Board of Trade reports for the years 1872 and 1873.¹⁵ In 1874 there appears to be no lists of accidents, only statistics without listings relating to accidents on individual railways, whilst in 1875 the format had again changed showing only accidents to 'Servants' exclusive of those 'Killed or Injured by Accidents to Trains' and not including passengers.¹⁶ Thus only 1872 and 1873 can be used as a sample for the purposes of this study.

In Chapters Six and Seven the statistics found in RAIL 1053/78-RAIL 1053/101 (1888 to 1912) will be used fully or in part to compile various graphs to clarify the argument. There is some doubt concerning the accuracy of the figures for the earlier period, but these are the only statistics available. It has already been noted that the Board of Trade railway accident statistics have been divided into three categories. Within Chapter Six it is intended that the argument will relate to the Board of Trade category Table 9, ('Those Killed or Injured otherwise than in Accidents to Trains or by the Movement of Railway Vehicles') whilst within Chapter Seven it will relate to Table 4, ('Those Killed or Injured in Accidents to Trains'), and to Table 5, ('Those Killed or Injured by the Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles').¹⁷

Other Source Material

The Minutes of the Special Committees (1849 to 1912) have been read concentrating on the meetings dealing with the Medical Attendance Arrangement, the Friendly Society, the Clerks Superannuation and Pension Funds, and the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for the Wages Paid Staff.¹⁸ The detail relating to the Non-Contributory Scheme is to be found in RAIL 411/447 (40), 'Instructions, Conditions of Service, Rates of Pay etc.'¹⁹ The Court of Directors minutes and reports were skimmed. The book covering the period from 1841 to 1846 (RAIL 411/1) had been damaged by water and was almost illegible. There is also a gap between 1850 and 1858 and one between 1861 and 1871 and the period after 1899 has not been covered. The remaining six ledgers deal mainly with details relating to the running of the service.²⁰ The information within the Black Books of Cautions was of limited value as the books cover the period from 1889 and most of the accidents considered were prior to this date. *The Railway Fly Sheet*, *The Railway Sheet* and *The Official Gazette* give a glimpse of attitudes relating to railway employment during the 1870s whilst *The South Western Gazette* has been particularly useful in

providing information concerning managers, directors and staff, their attitudes towards the pension schemes, and the Widows and Orphans Fund. In particular *The Gazette* shows individual reactions to the deaths of colleagues.²¹ All of these records are held in The National Archives at Kew. The accident to William Bollen was found in *The Surrey Comet*, a local paper, copies of which are held in the Kingston Local History Centre.²²

The Location of Kingston, Surbiton and the Railway

Kingston upon Thames is situated on the south bank of the River Thames, approximately twelve miles below London. Shaan Butters describes the location, even before the railway era, as a hive of economic activity having three annual fairs, two weekly markets and a thriving trade from products being shipped to and from London. Kingston was also a centre for ‘fishing, coaching, malting and brewing’.²³

Over a mile from the town centre, the area to the south west of Kingston, called Surbiton, had just one claim to fame. During a skirmish in 1648 between Royalist and Parliamentary troops, the younger brother of the Duke of Buckingham, the *beautiful* Lord Francis Villiers, was mortally wounded fighting for king and country.²⁴ After this brief interlude of notoriety, Surbiton appears to have returned to obscurity, and by 1800 was little more than a sparsely occupied area of south west Kingston, made up of farmland, several small estates, together with clusters of very small homesteads.²⁵

In 1808 Surbiton Common was enclosed, and the 1841 Tithe Map shows many small plots of land adjacent to the Ewell Road with larger areas behind, owned by numerous individuals. In 1826, Mr William Walter, a solicitor, who later became Kingston’s Borough Treasurer, was the first professional to build his home on Surbiton Hill.²⁶ It was said that he did so on the advice of his medical attendant, Kingston being a far more

unhealthy area than Surbiton.²⁷

The railway, when it arrived, cut through farmland approximately fifty yards below where Mr Walter had built his house. W.D. Biden, writing in 1852 considered that it was opposition from the town of Kingston, which was responsible for the divergence of the line from an intended route nearer the town.²⁸ A later account written in 1888, by R.W.C. Richardson states: 'there is no doubt that the people of Kingston, sharing in the general prejudice, were frightened at the prospect of their trade being destroyed and their property ruined by the substitution of the railway for the stage-coach'. However Richardson considered that it was Lord Cottenham, who lived in Wimbledon, formerly Charles Pepys, a relative of the diarist Samuel, not wanting the line through his property, who was the person responsible for the eventual route through Surbiton Hill. Pepys had been appointed Solicitor-General, Master of the Rolls in 1834, and Lord Chancellor in 1836. It is therefore obvious that his influence would carry more weight with the railway promoters than the Kingston traders and stage coach companies. Moreover Richardson had background knowledge as his work on the Surbiton Improvement Committee brought him into contact with those who had been in the area before and during the laying of the line; in particular he had served on the Committee with Mr. William Walter.²⁹ If the map in Shaan Butter's book *The Book of Kingston* is correct, the original line would have been, in some places, only a third of a mile from the current track, but at its nearest point twice that distance from the market place in Kingston.³⁰ Thus the change of route was only minimal, the line never having been intended to run through Kingston town centre.

The cutting through Surbiton Hill, being mainly farmland, did not cause major problems within the local area.³¹ Although some of the Kingston traders did not want the railway near the town it soon became obvious that those with land on the projected route would

be well rewarded. Although the railway managers tried to persuade local landowners to take shares rather than accept payment in money, (the expenses of the Hon. Peter Boyle de Blaquiere and Capt. Stephens, who were employed to interview landowners to persuade them to take shares, are recorded in the Railway Cash Book), most of the landowners took the money.³² 'H.Terry Esquire for land at Surbiton, Near Kingston upon Thames' was paid £2174.15.0d in May 1835.³³ Kingston Corporation was paid £750.12s.0d in October 1835.³⁴ In 1839 the Secretary of the London and Southampton Railway, William Reed, told the *Parliamentary Select Committee* that the land bought by the railway to enable the line to be laid, had been estimated to be worth about £90,000; it had cost £260,000. He added that he did not think it beneficial to go to a jury as 'the expense of a jury is very great.'³⁵ Thus the early Company paid out huge sums of money, nearly three times the current value of the land at that time, and there were those within the Kingston area including Kingston Corporation who found considerable financial benefit from owning acreage along the path of the track.

However the decision by the original engineer Francis Giles to use cheap local labour during the laying of the line, a circumstance, which undoubtedly boosted the local economy for some time prior to 1838, was eventually found to be unworkable. Local contractors were insufficiently experienced to complete the work. Despite this, the early ledgers show payments being made for bricks, iron rails, chairs, implements, tools and the purchase of horses. The brickmakers of Kingston were particularly mentioned.³⁶ Thus although some individuals were not initially in favour of the railway coming through the area, there appears to have been no deep seated antagonism from the residents and some found the event very profitable.

After Joseph Locke had taken over the completion of the line, and had brought in

Thomas Brassey as contractor with his army of navvies, the track between Nine Elms and Woking Common was completed allowing the first passenger train to run on the 21 May 1838. In July 1839, when an Act of Parliament authorised the Bishopstoke to Gosport (west of Portsmouth Harbour) branch line, the name was officially changed from the 'London and Southampton Railway' to the 'London and South Western Railway', as the people of Portsmouth objected to being served by a branch of a railway with Southampton in the title.³⁷

Following the death of a landowner Christopher Terry, Thomas Pooley, a maltster living in Kingston, bought seventy-two acres of Terry's former home Maple Farm when it was put up for public auction. Almost immediately Pooley laid out the land to roads, and started building an estate which he named 'Kingston - New Town'. He also gave land to build a new station, at the bottom of Surbiton Hill. The station was called the 'Kingston Station' even although it was some distance from the old Kingston town centre. Pooley borrowed heavily and Messrs. Coutts together with Messrs Drummond, the two major bankers involved, accused Pooley of fraud and in January 1843 purchased the estate to avoid his bankruptcy. Coutts involvement in the estate after 1843 included house improvements and adding sewerage. Thereafter, probably because Coutts owned some of the houses, the new estate near the railway station attracted a number of middle class professionals and individuals of independent means. Marjoribanks, one of the Coutts partners, contributed to the cost of St. Mark's Church at the top of Surbiton Hill. Coutts' built the parsonage in 1846 and later advanced £1,200 to finance the National School. When the church was found to be too small Miss Burdett Coutts gave £2,000 towards the cost of the new church. Many of those living in the immediate vicinity of the station commuted to London using the train service regularly.³⁸

Richardson writes that in 1853 the Corporation of Kingston wanted to include Surbiton in the borough, but the Surbiton residents did not want this arrangement and formed an association to watch the interests of the new town. During the following year, the surveyors of the Kingston Highways put up a few lamps in some of the roads near the station. They levied a rate of one shilling in the pound on the inhabitants with a demand note. Coutts agreed to guarantee the expenses of promoting a bill through Parliament known as 'The Surbiton Improvement Act'.³⁹ After the Act was passed in May 1855 the 15 Improvement Commissioners, some of whom had jobs in the city, but lived in Surbiton, slowly transformed the area. Surbiton acquired sewage disposal, running water, street repairs, lighting, and refuse collection. A strict control was kept on new buildings. Coutts, and at least one other landowner retained their holdings until the latter half of the century, thus preventing the area from becoming overcrowded.⁴⁰ However the Improvement Commissioners were replaced in 1894 when Surbiton became an Urban District. Richardson estimated that in 1855 the population of Surbiton was 4,198 rising to 10,900 in 1887.⁴¹

It was not until 1863 when the line from Hampton Wick crossed the Thames that the railway came to Kingston. Moreover Kingston people had to wait until 1869 before Waterloo could be reached via Wimbledon. However soon after the Kingston Station was opened the area north of the Kingston line, and near to the Station, began to be developed.⁴² In 1861 Elm Road had two dwellings and 5 inhabitants. In 1868 Lord Liverpool's farm had been sold mainly to the British Land Company, and thereafter brick houses were built in this location. A calculation made from the 1891 census, relating to fifteen of the roads near to the station, and which included Elm Road, shows a population in excess of 4,600 living in nine hundred and thirty-eight households, with thirty-eight empty premises.⁴³ Although some of the housing was adequate, housing for

the poor was defective. Unlike Surbiton, Kingston was invaded by speculative builders.

These, writes Shaan Butters:

hastily put up many streets of artisans' cottages which were inadequate in sanitation and water supply, and poorly constructed, with leaking roofs, and floors and walls that let in the damp...Overcrowding exacerbated bad housing...rents doubled to 6s or 7s a week, which for those who earned low weekly wages of maybe 12s found hard to afford. Tenants therefore took in lodgers, or people rented rooms or tenements rather than houses, and families lived in cramped, unhealthy conditions in one or two rooms.⁴⁴

Although it is possible to conclude that the Surbiton residents were more organised than their Kingston counterparts, many of the problems in Kingston were exacerbated by the excessive number of new residents flocking into the area. Between 1851 and 1891 the population of the Kingston census area, which included Surbiton, increased from 12,454 to 43,908.⁴⁵ By 1900 Kingston's spread had reached the outskirts of Surbiton, although there remained areas of farmland untouched by speculative builders. By this time, however, although much of the housing in the locality was far from desirable, Kingston had progressed to a position where the provision of the amenities was relatively tolerable.⁴⁶

- ¹ Revill 'Paternalism, Community & Corporate Culture', p.3; Reay, *Microhistories*, p.xxi.; Sharpe, 'The total reconstitution method', pp.41-51.
- ² Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 March 1871, (200), RAIL 411/241 (TNA); 1871 Charles Ferrier, Person No. 42800.
- ³ See Glossary.
- ⁴ Primary sources are detailed in the Bibliography at the end of the dissertation.
- ⁵ The 'On-Line Internet Database' can be reached through the Kingston University Local History web site <http://localhistory.kingston.ac.uk>
- ⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 7 June 1866, (6), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ⁷ Frank W G Andrews 'Employment on the railways in east Kent 1841-1914', *The Journal of Transport History* vol.21 (1), March 2000, p.56.
- ⁸ The totals were 1 in 1861, 2 in 1871, 11 in 1881 and 28 in 1891. The majority of these men were Platelayers.
- ⁹ 1841, 1851, 1861 William B. Hilditch, Person No. 5069; 1881,1891 John Green, Person No. 52946.
- ¹⁰ The London and Southampton Journals, Cash Book and the Traffic Minutes are detailed individually in the Bibliography.
- ¹¹ Breen, 'The Twickenham Museum-places-Strawberry Hill Station, Why was it built?'
- ¹² Clerical Staff Character Books, RAIL 411/491 - 411/504, (TNA); The ledgers are detailed individually in the Bibliography.
- ¹³ RAIL 1053/56-1053/58 Accidents: inspecting officers' reports 1854-1872.
RAIL 1053/59-1053/101 Accidents: inspecting officers' reports Parliamentary Returns 1870-1912
The ledgers are detailed separately in the Bibliography.
- ¹⁴ Report Part III, (18-9), November 1873, *Royal Commission Railways 1874-7* (XLVIII TNA), p.9.
- ¹⁵ RAIL 1053/61 and RAIL 1053/62, (TNA).
- ¹⁶ RAIL 1053/63 and RAIL 1053/64, (TNA).

- ¹⁷ RAIL 1053/77-RAIL 1053/101 (1888 to 1912), (TNA): The ledgers are detailed individually in the Bibliography.
- ¹⁸ Special Committees 1849-1914, RAIL 411/216-411/ 221, (TNA).
- ¹⁹ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 1 Jan.1890, (40), RAIL 411/447, (TNA).
- ²⁰ Court of Directors Minutes and Reports, the ledgers are detailed individually in the Bibliography.
- ²¹ *The Railway Fly Sheet, The Railway Sheet and The Official Gazette*, ZPER 8/1-ZPER 8/2; *The South Western Gazette* ZPER11/1-ZPER11/29, (TNA).
- ²² *The Surrey Comet*, 2 June 1866, (LHR).
- ²³ Butters, *The Book of Kingston*, p. 90.
- ²⁴ Richardson, *Surbiton Thirty-Two Years*, p.3. quotes Brayley's 'History of Surrey'.
- ²⁵ Malden (ed.) *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, vol. 3. p.494.
- ²⁶ Richardson, *Surbiton Thirty-Two Years*, p. 8.
- ²⁷ De Gex, J. P., Smale, J., *Chancery Reports 1846-1852.*, (4) 315, (Sweet, Maxwell, Stevens and Norton, 1854), p.850.
Mr Walter in a conversation with John Selfe had said 'before he came to reside there (on Surbiton Hill) the bills of his medical attendant for attendance and medicine for himself and his family were very considerable, but that for a period of three years after he came to reside in the said house he had paid but 17s., which was for vaccination.'
- ²⁸ Biden, *The History and Antiques*, pp.102-4; The route can be seen in a map in Shaan Butters, *The Book of Kingston*, on page 110.
- ²⁹ Richardson, *Surbiton Thirty-Two Years*, pp.8-10, 134-5.
Mr Richardson was a Surbiton Improvement Commissioner from 1864 and Chairman from 1880 resigning in 1886. Mr Walter was one of the original members of the committee joining in 1855. He resigned in 1872. He was born in Kingston in 1798 and would have had an in-depth knowledge of the coming of the railway to Surbiton in 1838. Richardson also writes that Mr Walter had paid £50 an acre for his land, and that his house was built in 1826. Such knowledge gives an indication that matters relating to the early period were discussed freely between committee members.
- ³⁰ Butters, *The Book of Kingston*, p.103, 110.

- ³¹ *Whishaw's Railways of Great Britain & Ireland*, p.292.
- ³² London & Southampton Railway Cash Book, 24 Oct.1833, RAIL 412/11 (TNA).
- ³³ London & Southampton Railway Journal 8 May 1835, RAIL 412/10 (TNA).
Christopher Terry was a major landowner in the area. H Terry Esquire is unknown. However Christopher Terry had a sister Helen Terry the actress, there may have been some connection.
- ³⁴ London & Southampton Railway Journal, 2 Oct.1835, RAIL 412/10 (TNA).
- ³⁵ Mr William Reed, 26 April 1839, (1262) (1266), Minutes of Evidence Taken before the *Select Committee on Railways 1839*, (TNA), pp.64-5.
- ³⁶ London & Southampton Railway Journal, RAIL 412/9 (TNA).
- ³⁷ Nock, *The London and South Western Railways*, p.5.
- ³⁸ A. Giles, *The Failure of A Speculative Builder: The Downfall of Thomas Pooley of Surbiton, 1838-1844* (Occasional Papers in Local History, Kingston University: 2003).
- ³⁹ Richardson, *Surbiton Thirty-Two Years*, p.19, 20.
- ⁴⁰ Giles, *The Failure of a Speculative Builder*; A. Giles, 'Surbiton: The development of a middle class suburb' (2002), pp.25-31.
- ⁴¹ Richardson *Surbiton Thirty-Two Years*, p.143, Richardson's population figures do alter from page 142 to page 143. In p.142 they appear to be averages over a 5 year period.
- ⁴² Butters *The Book of Kingston*, p.106-7; A. Giles, 'Fertility and related issues in the Canbury area of Kingston in 1891' (2001).
- ⁴³ Giles, 'Fertility and Related Issues'.
- ⁴⁴ Butters, *The Book of Kingston*, p.125-6.
- ⁴⁵ 1851-1891 census, Kingston Local History Project.
- ⁴⁶ Butters, *The Book of Kingston*, p.128.

Chapter Three

Recruitment and Work Procedure

The intention within this chapter is to provide statistical evidence from the KRD relating to railway personnel living within the locality of Kingston, and to verify or refute, from the KRD and the L&SWR minutes, some of the assumptions which have been made concerning railway recruitment and company procedure. The KRDC, together with the partial record of 18 Kingston clerks found in the Clerical Staff Character Books held in The National Archives at Kew, will be used to show the age of entry into L&SWR service, the difference between salary on entry and that of leaving the service. It is also intended to argue that Kingsford's claim that local recruitment was often the rule is evident, with a few exceptions, but there is no indication that it was a deliberate railway policy to recruit from the poorer sections of the community.¹ Finally there is no evidence that, prior to employment, railway personnel had been unemployed.

Railway Personnel, Mobility and Statistics

Although there had been considerable activity during the period when the lines were laid, the numbers of personnel involved in the running of the new station in Surbiton, called Kingston Station up to 1863, were initially very small. Indeed Surbiton residents would hardly have noticed the 2 newcomers who arrived in the area with their wives, particularly as they both lived in railway property. There may have been other individuals working for the railway at this time living in the area, but they are not shown as 'railway' personnel on the Surbiton 1841 census. The 2 railway men were Matthew Tate aged twenty-nine years with the profession of 'Inspector Railway', who lived with

his wife Hannah aged twenty years in the Old Station, and William Hilditch aged thirty, 'Clerk', who lived with his wife Martha, aged twenty five years, and his 2 sons William aged eighteen months and four month old John.² From the railway minutes it is reasonable to assume that although Mr Hilditch lived in the new Kingston (Surbiton) Station he worked at 'Ditton Marsh' Station, (currently Esher Station).³ Although railway personnel arrived at first almost unobtrusively, over the next fifty years the numbers grew, particularly after 1863 when the line came to Kingston. By 1891 there were 343 railway employees living within the Kingston census area.

Although the numbers of railway workers increased, the personnel were forever changing. Between 1851 and 1891, a breakdown of the census material shows that approximately 657 railway workers came into or were recruited within, the Kingston census area. By 1891 approximately 314 of these individuals had stayed for a time, and then had either moved on, retired or died. It is impossible to be exact as some of the census data is illegible and therefore linkage between years is not always possible. Although death may have been responsible for some workers disappearance from the local area, the movement of staff by the Company was probably responsible for considerably more. Richard Wiltshire, the 'Kingston Station Master' in 1871, had become, by 1881, a 'Railway Superintendent' at Canute Road Railway Station in Hampshire.⁴ Charles Watkins an eighteen-year-old railway porter living as a boarder in Richmond Road in 1871, became a 'Packer (F Lab)' after returning to live with his widowed mother in Aldersgate Street, London ten years later.⁵ William Henry Hilditch the eighteen-month old son of the Esher Railway Agent who was living in Surbiton Station in 1841 had become a clerk at the station by 1861 and can be found on the 1881 census, living in Battersea, as a 'Railway Superintendent'.⁶

The continuous drift in and out of the locality, the large numbers of clerks living in the area, shows that by the 1871 census Kingston, and indeed Surbiton, had become a dormitory town for many of the railway personnel. Some railway workers obviously lived in the area but used the railway to reach their place of work, and as most individuals did not own the accommodation in which they lived, housing found to be better, cheaper or nearer the workplace would have prompted movement along the path of the line. Pooley and Turnbull's paper 'Henry Jacques, shirtmaker in Victorian London,' shows the remarkable mobility of one individual in Victorian London.⁷ As local circumstance appears to have remained unchanged throughout most of this time, this movement is also a constant that should not invalidate the averages found within the data.

The numbers of the various grades of railway employees, and the percentages of those working in Kingston between 1851 and 1891 are shown in Figure 3.1, followed by the percentages of the grades employed by the railways prepared by P.W Kingsford. Kingsford shows the total workforce employed in the United Kingdom between 1847 and 1884, broken down by grade.⁸ In Figure 3.1 the Kingston workers have been placed into six groups, managerial, clerical, supervisory, skilled, unskilled and miscellaneous. Categories of workers where only one or two were involved have been placed in miscellaneous. Unlike the Brighton railway workers discussed by June Sheppard, in her paper 'The provenance of Brighton's railway workers, 1841-61' (2004), Kingston appears to have very few artisans living in the census area.⁹ Although at first sight this appears surprising, when it is realised that during the early years some of the men, particularly those working at the Nine Elms Depot, several stops up the line, had to work very long hours, the importance of living in close proximity to the workshops becomes obvious.¹⁰

Break down of persons employed by grade in Kingston area KRDP**Kingsford's percentages § taken from Table 11 page 2 Victorian Railwaymen**

| | | | | | | % | % | Kingsford % § | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1851 | 1891 | 1850 | 1884 |
| Manager/Director | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | 0.9 | | |
| Secretary | | | 1 | | 1 | | 0.3 | | |
| Treasurer | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineer | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 1.4 | 0.2 |
| Superintendent | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Storekeeper | | | | | 2 | | 0.6 | | |
| Accountant/Auditor | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | 0.6 | | |
| Cashier/Paymaster | | | | | 1 | | 0.3 | | |
| Contractor/Surveyor | 2 | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5.3 | 0.3 | | |
| Clerk | 4 | 11 | 24 | 42 | 93 | 10.5 | 27.1 | 7.4 | 9.2 |
| Telegraphist | | | | 1 | | | | | 1.0 |
| Station Master | | 1 | 5 | 2 | 4 | | 1.2 | 2.8 | 1.7 |
| Agent | | 1 | | 3 | 3 | | 0.9 | | |
| Inspector | | 1 | 3 | 4 | 9 | | 2.6 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| Foreman | | | 1 | | | | | 1.6 | 0.8 |
| Engine Driver | 1 | | 9 | 9 | 17 | 2.6 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 3.5 |
| Fireman | | | 4 | 8 | 5 | | 1.5 | 3.6 | 3.5 |
| Guard | | | 8 | 20 | 21 | | 6.1 | 3.3 | 3.6 |
| Platelayer | | 4 | 5 | 15 | 34 | | 9.9 | 8.6 | 8.1 |
| Pointsman/Shunter | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | 2.6 | | | |
| Signalman/Boy | 1 | | 10 | 19 | 26 | 2.6 | 7.6 | | |
| Smith | | | | 1 | 1 | | 0.3 | | |
| Stoker | | | 5 | 1 | 6 | | 1.7 | | |
| Policeman | 1 | 1 | | | | 2.6 | | 3.8 | 0.5 |
| Porter | 2 | 13 | 39 | 55 | 58 | 5.3 | 16.9 | 14.4 | 12.2 |
| Ticket Collector | | | 2 | 3 | 5 | | 1.5 | | 0.6 |
| Labourer | 26 | 10 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 68.4 | 2.9 | 23.1 | 19.2 |
| Waiting Room | | | | 1 | 1 | | 0.3 | | |
| Artificers | | | | | | | | 19.4 | 15.2 |
| Misc | | 3 | 6 | 16 | 39 | | 11.4 | 0.4 | 11.0 |
| Retired | | 1 | | | 1 | | 0.3 | | |
| Extra Kingsford Groups | | | | | | | | 5.9 | 8.5 |
| | 38 | 51 | 134 | 223 | 343 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Information taken from P.W.Kingsford *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour 1830-1870* (Frank Cass, London: 1970); Table II, Page 2. and from Kingston Railway Data, Local History Database, Kingston University.

Figure 3.1.

Looking at 1891 in particular it must be stated that the Kingston percentages are different from the averages produced by Kingsford. There were, for instance, more managers living in the Kingston census area than the national average. There were also three times the number of clerks, more porters but considerably less labourers. Undoubtedly the area, and in particular Surbiton, was within easy reach of London, and a desirable area in which to live, but only for those whose hours and salary allowed the flexibility of choice.

There were nine managerial grades within the area in 1891. In the case of Thomas Taylor, the son of the Station Master at Surbiton Station the area was not of his choosing. An assistant paymaster aged twenty-seven years, he had the advantage of walking out of his front door onto the station.¹¹ On the other hand Archibald Scott, by 1891 a director of the Company, lived as he had done for the last twenty or more years in South Bank.¹² He had a two-minute walk into the back entrance of the Surbiton Station. Both Robert Read another director, and Charles Scotter, who had become General Manager in 1891, lived in Surbiton Hill Park also very close to Surbiton Station.¹³ Other managers lived near the Kingston Station. These included an accountant, Thomas Colley, (the family will be considered later), and the 'Chief, Railway Stores Department', Edward Hookham, both of these men in 1891 lived in the Richmond Road probably not far from Kingston Station.¹⁴

Although the percentage of the 58 porters shown on the 1891 census was only slightly higher than the national average, this number was far more than would be needed by the stations within the census area and therefore some of these men would have commuted up or down the line. The percentage of the 93 clerks, living within Kingston and Surbiton in 1891, was three times that of the national average. Many of the railway offices were in London but these men lived in Kingston obviously finding this preferable to living nearer their place of work. (The railway clerk will be considered in more detail later in

this chapter.)

As the Kingston census will be used to test certain hypothesis concerning railway workers in general, it appears appropriate to consider the difference in percentage between the local and the national mix of workers. However in no area would the data mirror exactly the national figure, the fact that Kingston's percentages differed, particularly in relation to the number of clerks living in the Kingston census area, should not affect the use of the KRD as a sample of railway workers.

Recruitment

Frank McKenna considers that most of the railway workers were called from 'over the fence' that is from the countryside adjacent to the developing tracks.¹⁵ Similarly P.W.Kingsford writes that 'local recruitment was often the rule.'¹⁶ However the census only shows the birthplace of the individual, and although it is possible to see the movement of individuals before they came to live in the Kingston area by the birthplace of their children, it is not possible to be certain whether this movement had occurred prior to railway service or after. Thus the only information which can be stated with assurance is that in 1851 under half the railway personnel in Kingston had been born in counties through which the line ran, and that by 1891 this had increased to nearly four fifths of the workforce in Kingston, as will be shown in Figures 3.2, and 3.3.

Although the 1851 figures do show more than half the work force having been born some distance from the line, the figures do not give a true picture of railway long-term staff. Out of the 38 railway workers included in the data, 2 were contractors and 26 were part of a transient group of labourers who were lodging in the poorest part of Kingston, 4 for instance, were living in the Prince of Wales Beer Shop. It is probable that although

Showing the six main counties through which the L&SWR lines ran and the number of railway workers living in Kingston during 1861 to 1891 who had been born in these counties.

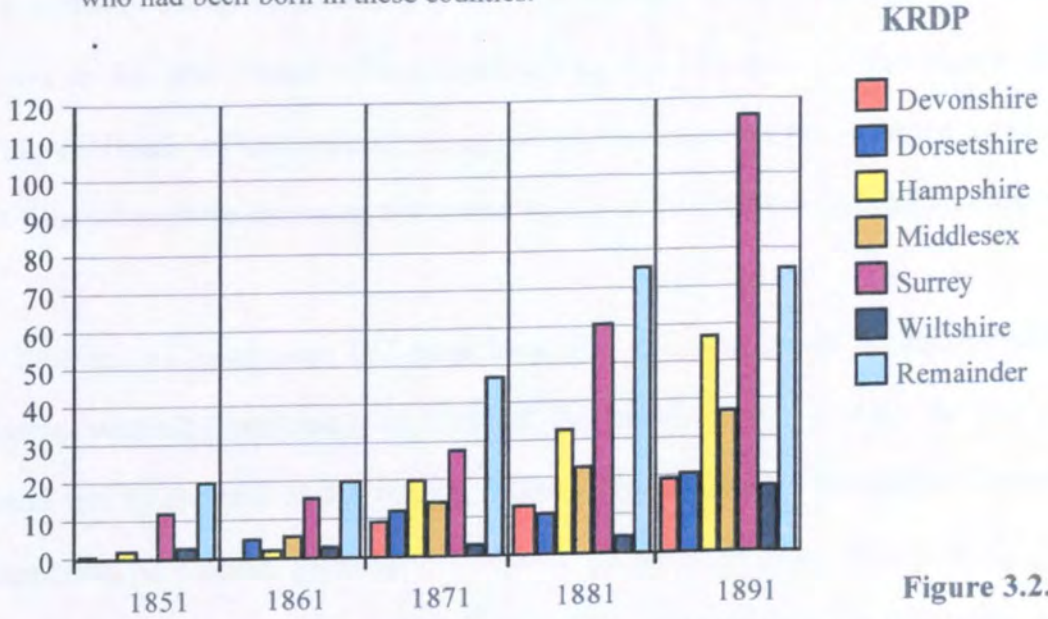


Figure 3.2.

Showing the percentages of railway workers living in Kingston 1861 to 1891 and the six main counties in which they had been born.

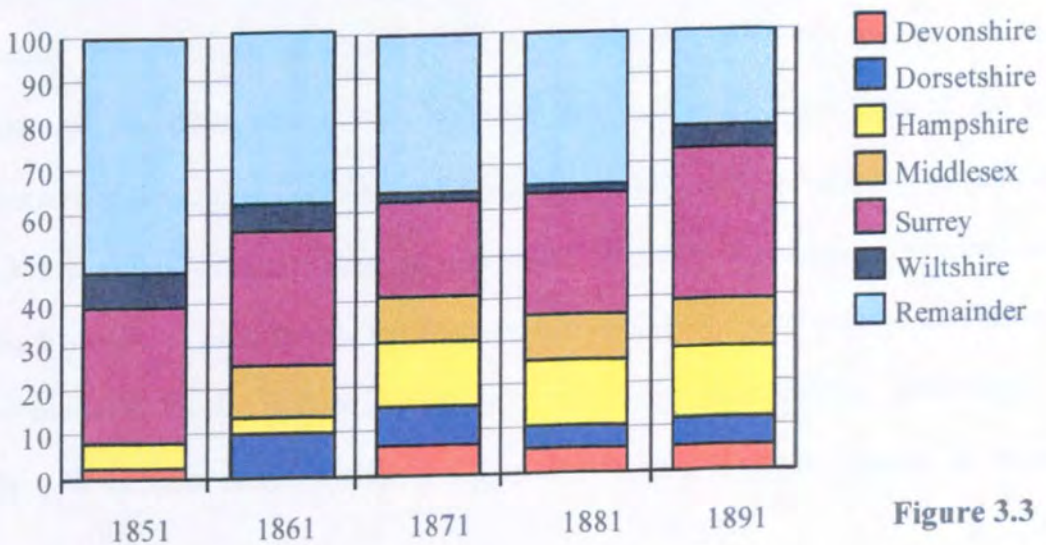


Figure 3.3

Kingston Railway Data taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University.

referred to as 'Railway Labourers' these individuals may have been 'navvies', although there is no evidence of track work in the area at that time. Thus the figures shown on the graph for 1851 include individuals who were obviously only passing through the locality and probably unconnected with the working railway, whereas all of the 11 labourers shown on the 1861 census were married, except one who was a widower, and all were living as 'Heads' of their household, apparently making their homes in the locality. By 1861 therefore those shown on the census appear to be long-term railway employees.

In 1861 the 51 employees had been born in a combination of twenty-two different counties with 62.7 per cent born in six of the counties through which the line ran, or would run by the end of the century. These counties were Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Middlesex, Surrey and Wiltshire. However the three other counties, which were, or would be later, close to the line Berkshire, Cornwall, and Somerset were not well represented. By 1891 the 343 employees had been born in twenty-nine different counties, and six locations outside England. The men born in the six counties already mentioned, far outnumbered the remainder and totalled 78.1 per cent of the whole. Moreover, if Berkshire, Cornwall and Somerset are included, 283 railway workers out of the 343 working within the Kingston area (82.7 per cent) were born in the nine counties through which, or near which, the line ran. Although this doesn't prove that these men were recruited locally it does make this circumstance a probability, particularly as in 1891, 68 of these workers were living as sons within the family home, as shown in Figure 2.1.

However the fact that this increase in percentage of those born close to the line was neither uniform nor fast can be seen from the graphs. Even in 1891, 55 of the railway workers living in Kingston had been born in locations some distance from the line. A

COUNTIES BOUNDARIES

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND & WALES

KEY FOR FIGURES 3.5, 3.6, 3.9.

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----|-----------------|
| BDF | Bedford | | |
| BRK | Berkshire | | |
| BEW | Berwickshire | | |
| BKM | Buckinghamshire | | |
| | | | |
| CAM | Cambridgeshire | | |
| CHS | Cheshire | | |
| CON | Cornwall | | |
| CUL | Cumberland | | |
| DBY | Derbyshire | | |
| DEV | Devonshire | | |
| DOR | Dorsetshire | | |
| DUR | County Durham | | |
| ESS | Essex | | |
| GLS | Gloucestershire | | |
| HAM | Hampshire | HEF | Herefordshire |
| HRT | Hertfordshire | HUN | Huntingdonshire |
| KEN | Kent | LAN | Lancashire |
| LEI | Leicestershire | | |
| LIN | Lincolnshire | | |
| MDX | Middlesex | | |
| NBL | Northumberland | | |
| NFK | Norfolk | | |
| NTH | Northamptonshire | | |
| NTT | Nottinghamshire | | |
| OXF | Oxfordshire | | |
| RUT | Rutland | SAL | Shropshire |
| SOM | Somerset | SFK | Suffolk |
| SRY | Surrey | SSX | Sussex |
| STS | Staffordshire | | |
| WAR | Warwickshire | | |
| WES | Westmoreland | | |
| WIL | Wiltshire | | |
| WOR | Worcestershire | | |
| YKS | Yorkshire | | |



The three-letter abbreviations are Chapman County Codes

Figure 3.4

The Association of British Counties is acknowledged for allowing this map to be copied and used freely.

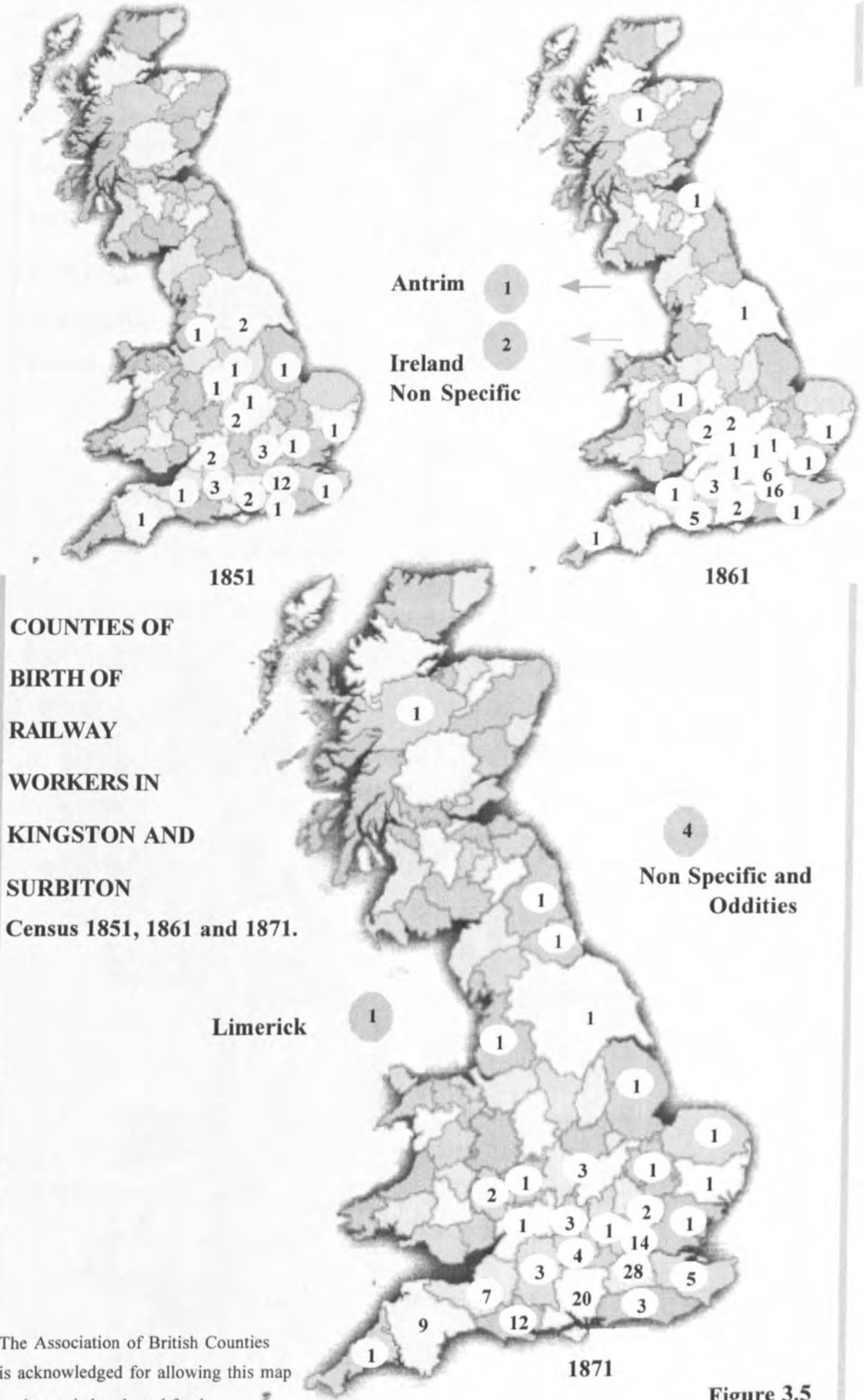


Figure 3.5

COUNTIES OF
BIRTH OF
RAILWAY
WORKERS IN
KINGSTON AND
SURBITON
Census 1881 and 1891

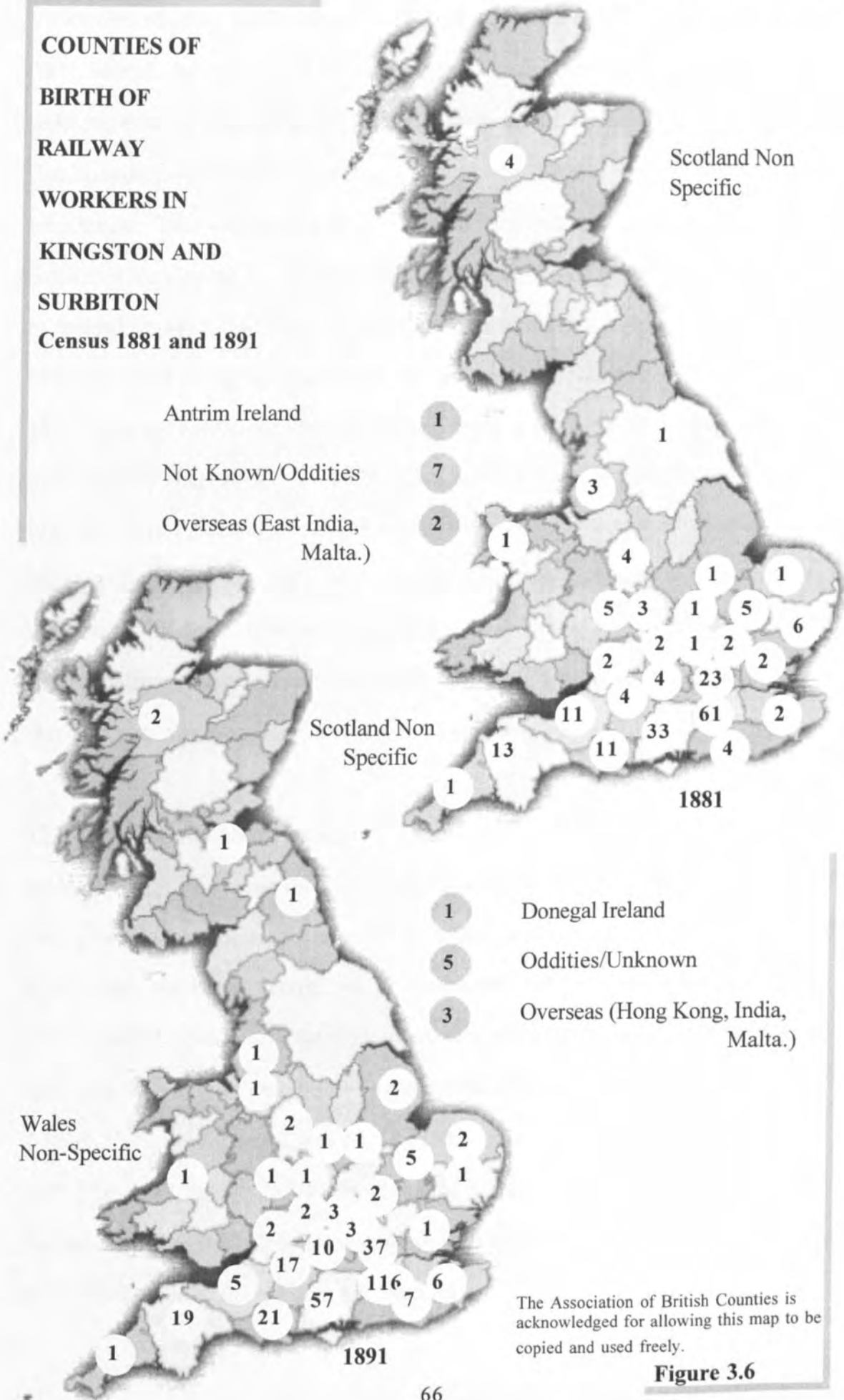


Figure 3.6

visual representation can be found in Figures 3.5. and 3.6. Included in this number in 1891 were 2 from Scotland, 1 from Ireland, India, Malta and Hong Kong, with 5 unknown making the number 60. Although from details on the census there is no doubt that Thomas Colley who had been born in Malta was living in Kingston at the time of his recruitment, there remained a sizable number who did not appear to fit the standard pattern of recruitment.¹⁷ We know for instance that Frederic Macaulay, who was born in Ireland in 1830, had been in London in his childhood but had returned and was recruited whilst living in Ireland, and arrived to join the Company in late 1850 or early 1851.¹⁸ On the 1861 census he can be found living in Fleetland, Claremont Road with his uncle Colonel Hugh Kyd.¹⁹ Thus although Kingsford's and McKenna's observations are to some extent confirmed from the Kingston data, recruitment adjacent to the developing tracks was not the whole story, particularly in relation to those who were aspiring to join the managerial ranks. Moreover by taking a close look at the census, it is possible to suggest some reasons for these differences and also for the changing age patterns of the work force, during the decade intervals of the census.

The Composition of Staff by Age

As has already been noted the 1851 KRD shows that a high proportion of the workers were probably navvies and therefore not long-term staff, therefore the figures from 1861 to 1891 only will be considered. An interesting feature of the 1861 data shown in Figure 3.7, is that 64.71 per cent of the work force were over thirty years of age. Some of these men were labourers or porters, for instance John Wisley a labourer was born in 1797, William Pett also a labourer was born in 1805, and John Stevens, a porter, was born in 1809.²⁰ In 1842, an age limit of under thirty-six years of age for porters on recruitment had been introduced.²¹ Thus some of these men had probably been 'in situ' at the start of the railway before the age limit had been set.

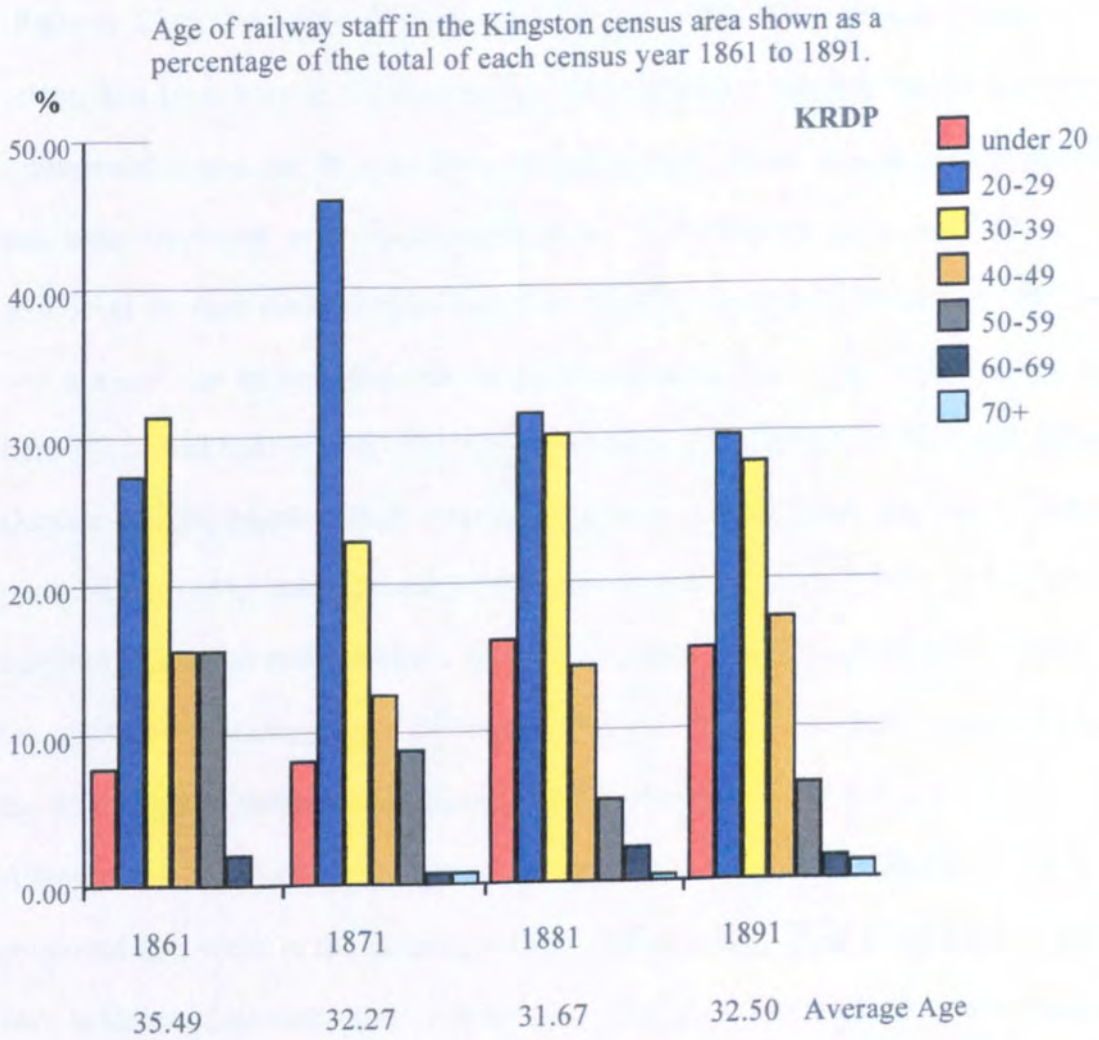


Figure 3.7

Kingston Railway Data taken from
Kingston upon Thames Local History
Database Kingston University.

However a few of the more senior office managers were also men of mature years, and no age limit is mentioned in the minutes for men in senior positions. Hickman Hearney, a 'Railway Clerk' was fifty-seven years in 1861.²² His wife, who was fifteen years his junior, had been born in the East Indies. It is therefore possible that he had valuable commercial experience from working abroad. Hector Morris, was aged forty-seven, and had been employed as a 'Railway Inspector'.²³ Archibald Scott was forty in 1861 somewhat younger than the other two men. He had joined the Company in 1852 and it was obvious that he had been chosen for a managerial role. Prior to his moving to the L&SWR he had been employed by the Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee and the North British railway companies. Throughout the minutes from the period after 1857, (minute books for a period after 1850 and prior to this date are missing), his name features many times during most Traffic Committee meetings. He became General Manager from 1870 until 1885 and as will be seen in Chapter Nine, after his retirement, he became a director until 1902 when he resigned on account of his age.²⁴ Although not found on the Kingston census until 1871, William Wesley in 1860, was employed as a clerk in the Passenger Audit Office at the age of forty-one.²⁵ He was born in County Limerick. The 1861 Kingston census data shows many of the employees were men of mature years. Only in 1861 did the 'over fifties age group' total more than 10 per cent of the workforce at over 17.65 per cent, and the number of 'thirty to thirty-nine year olds' exceed those of the 'twenty to twenty-nine age group' (Figure 3.7.).

Although many of the labourers and lower grades may have found long-term occupation through earlier association with the laying of the line, it is doubtful whether the engagement of office managers or inspectors would have taken place before 1837 when the line had been completed. Joseph Beattie, the Locomotive Superintendent of the L&SWR, in his evidence taken before *The Select Committee on Accidents on Railways* in

1858 stated that he joined the Company in 1837.²⁶ With the Company expanding at a rapid pace during this period, and with an insufficiency of senior staff coming through from the ranks due to a sudden upsurge in requirement, the engagement of mature experienced middle management would have made sound Company policy. The fact that these more senior men were born in districts far removed from Kingston, Hickman Hearney in Ireland, Hector Morris in Berwickshire, Archibald Scott in Scotland, may be partly coincidence but it would go some way towards an explanation as to why so many staff in the area in 1861 had been born outside the locality of the line. This does not indicate that the Company had actually recruited in these areas but that the directors undoubtedly had connections outside the locality and would act on reliable recommendations. We know, for instance that, although not senior at that time, Frederic Macaulay had been recruited from Ireland for future management. He was to progress to Secretary of the Company and the President of the Widows and Orphans Fund. Previous experience, frequently means change of location and the older the person the more times they may have moved before finding a current occupation and residence. Hickman Hearney had been born in Ireland but had probably spent some time in the East Indies. Once employed in senior positions these individuals would doubtless have stayed with the Company until they retired thus perpetuating the numbers of those born outside the area into later decades. Archibald Scott recruited during the 1850s, remained on the payroll until 1891 having become a director.

The age limitation for ‘servants’, that is uniform staff, appears to have started soon after the 1840s. For railway police and porters, the rule disallowing anyone over thirty-five years of age being employed, was in place from July 1842, together with a stipulation that the height for these grades must be five foot eight inches or above.²⁷ In August 1859 the heads of department recommended that apprentices should be discontinued:

that instead thereof the system be adopted of appointing properly qualified youths

from time to time - payable weekly, and subject to dismissal at a Weeks Notice at any time.²⁸

This appears to have been reconsidered, as an 'Apprenticeship Scheme' in the form of a letter compiled by Archibald Scott and Frederick Clarke, dated April 1863 was found in the Traffic Minutes and is shown in Figure 3.8. This letter formalises an existing procedure for office and telegraph grades. However it is of interest to note that although in the letter it is stated that 'All Junior Clerks shall not be less than 16 years of age nor more than 19 when nominated by a Director....', it will be shown later that many clerks who lived within the Kingston area at this time were recruited when they were fourteen years old and that one clerk was recruited at forty-one years.²⁹ The over forty-one year old was, undoubtedly, an exception. That age was considered an important factor in recruiting 'servants' is confirmed in a minute in 1864 'Lord Portsmouth to be informed that the Regulations prevent the employment of any servant over 35 years of age.'³⁰ Lord Portsmouth had sought employment for a schoolmaster who was fifty years old. Thus the employment of only young men under thirty, in the case of clerks, and under thirty five in the case of porters rather than men of all ages was in place from the early years of the service.

By the 1871 census 'the age range of the staff as a percentage' shows a marked change, (Figure 3.7). The census shows 73 young men under thirty years of age at this time. It appears that only 7 of these railway workers, each from a different county, had been born a significant distance from the line and only 2 of these 7 young men, George Thornton from Northumberland and John Leadbitter from Durham, had been born considerably further than the other 5 young men, as will be shown in Figure 3.9. By 1871, therefore, the L&SWR managers had recruited many young men under the age of thirty, who found residence in the Kingston/Surbiton area, and although it is not possible to be certain where 3 of them were born, 63 of the 70 who had been recruited, had been

Letter dated 23 April 1863
'The Apprenticeship Scheme'.

Gentlemen

We have carefully considered the questions referred to us from you Committee of the 2nd last and now beg to propose the following for your consideration.

1. That all Clerks on the present apprentice and apprentice Clerks lists shall so soon as they are 19 years of age be eligible for appointments as Clerks, and that until the existing staff of apprentices is exhausted all vacancies for Clerks shall be filled up by the promotion of apprentices from that list as suitable candidates are found therein for offices requiring to be filled up.

2. All Junior Clerks shall not be less than 16 years of age nor more than 19 when nominated by a Director, and will have to pass the preliminary arithmetical and medical examination, and will then be eligible to enter the service.

3. That the commencing salary of the Junior Clerks shall be £30 per annum, and if their conduct proves satisfactory the salary will be increased as follows, subject to the satisfactory report of the Head of the Department in which the Clerk is serving.

1st year after appointment £30.

2nd £35.

3rd £40.

4th £50.

The salary remaining at the same rate of £50 until the Junior Clerk is promoted into the Senior Clerks List.

4. That all vacancies for Senior Clerks be filled up from the Junior Clerks List to seniority of service, so soon as the age of 19 years shall be attained, and the individual shall be suitable for the appointment it being understood as a general rule that in no case can any Junior Clerk be promoted into the higher class unless he has served for 3 years, and recommended by the head of his Department for the promotion.

5. That in the event of a vacancy occurring and for which no Junior Clerk is eligible the Directors have notice of such an appointment and they shall then send in their turn a nominee for the appointment of a clerk of not less than 20 years of age and not more than 30 - at a commencing salary of £60 per annum in the Country or £70 in London.

6. That all promotion shall be reported to the Various Committees and sent up as at present to the Board for confirmation.

7. All clerks to provide security.....

8. All Telegraph Clerks to be not less than 14 years of age.

The pay to be 10 shillings per week and when living with their friends or 12 shillings if they have to provide their own Lodging....

On their first appointment they have to serve a probationary term in order to learn the use of the Instrument and during which period no pay is received.

Signed: A Scott
Frederick Clarke.

Figure 3.8.

UNDER THIRTIES 1871 COUNTIES OF BIRTH

11 UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE
62 BETWEEN 20 AND 39 YEARS OF AGE

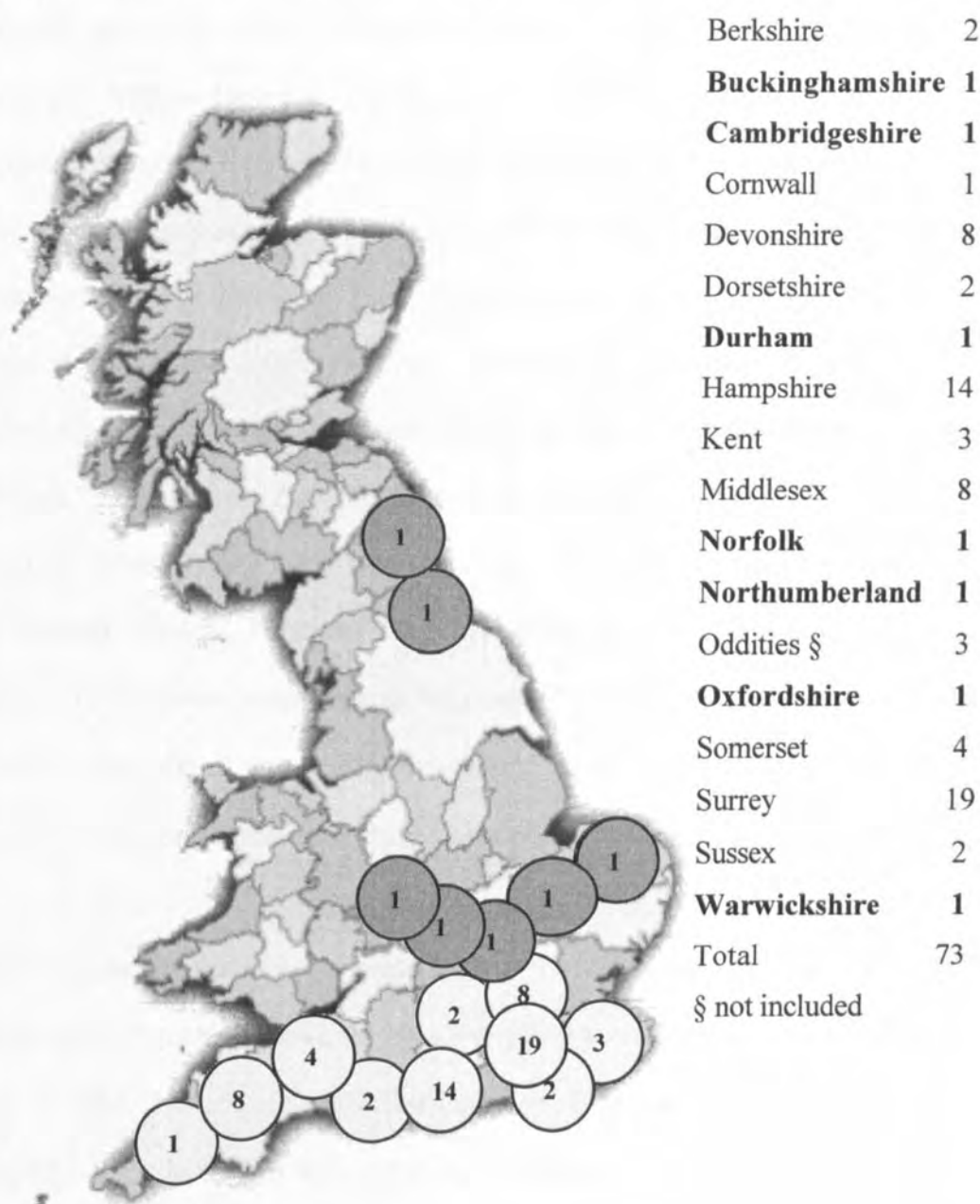


Figure 3.9.

Information taken from 1871 census

The Association of British Counties
is acknowledged for allowing this map to be copied and used freely.

born in counties relatively close to the line.

It has already been mentioned that although the Scott/Clarke letter (Figure 3.8.) states that clerks should not be employed under sixteen years of age, many of the clerks, whose records have been found, were recruited aged fourteen years, and some were even younger. William Dyson's record shows that when he joined the Company in 1838, as an apprentice in the Passenger Audit Office, he was only eleven years old.³¹ Living at home during the early years of a young person's employment may have been preferred by the managers, as punctuality and good behaviour could be enforced more easily if the young clerk remained in the family setting. Did the Company prefer their staff to be slightly older when they were recruited from distant counties? It is impossible to be certain, but George Thornton from Northumberland was seventeen in August 1869 when he started working for the L&SWR and John Leadbitter from Durham was twenty when he joined in January 1866.³² However even seventeen year olds created problems. In 1869 Augustus Benn was removed from Passenger Audit to another department when he was seventeen for being concerned in an assault in the office. However after a further problem in 1870 he remained employed by the L&SWR until 1901 when he was superannuated.³³

The increase in railway personnel living in households as sons has already been mentioned, (Figure 2.1), with the sons increasing from 5.88 per cent in 1861 to 19.83 per cent in 1891. These sons included both the office grades and the uniform personnel. Although initially in 1861 the 3 sons had consisted of only 3 clerks, the Hilditch brothers and a Percy Pont who lived with his widowed mother, in 1871 the 7 sons consisted of 5 clerks, a labourer and a porter.³⁴ By 1881 the balance had shifted with the 40 sons consisting of 10 clerks, 2 of whom were Mr William Dyson's sons Harris and Charles, and 30 uniformed and engineering grades. By 1891 the clerks had become 20 in number

with an accountant and an assistant paymaster and the remainder, a total of 48, were uniformed and engineering grades. Although it is possible that in some instances a widow might move to accommodate a son, it seems unlikely that a whole family would move in these circumstances. The increase in the recruitment from within the local area is therefore clearly seen in Figure 2.1, as is the decrease in boarders and lodgers within the same period.

Patronage and Apprenticeship

The patronage system was an outstanding feature of L&SWR recruitment. This had come into effect as soon as the Company started expanding and it is possible that this system was used by all the railway companies.³⁵ The system at its most basic required that vacancies be filled only by those nominated by the directors of a company. The L&SWR continued this procedure, as the clerks' staff records show the name of the individual responsible for the nomination at the top of the left hand side of the page, with at least one of these records dating back to 1838.³⁶ When he entered railway service in November 1838 Mr Dyson was recommended by W. Reed Esq., who was Company Secretary.³⁷ However the L&SWR also appears to have allowed prominent individuals to recommend new recruits, apart from the directors. In 1856 the name of Archibald Scott, at that time a manager, can be found on W.H.Hilditch's record when he first joined the Company. Although the method has been criticised it did have some advantages in an era when communication between individuals was limited. It could also be argued that this was little more than a precursor of 'the reference'. However unlike 'the reference', if individuals did not live up to expectation their 'sponsor' was informed.

There is no indication that patronage was used in the L&SWR other than to appoint the office clerks, although in some companies even guards, pointsmen, porters and

gatekeepers were employed through these methods. However in the minutes of evidence taken before the *Select Committee On Accidents On Railways 1857-8* Joseph Beattie, the Locomotive Superintendent on the L&SWR, stated that the L&SWR directors never interfered with him in the selection of the men in his charge, which included all the engine drivers, all the foreman, mechanical men, draughtsmen, fireman, blacksmiths, coachmakers and all the mechanical trades.

I think for efficient working it would be desirable that the head should have the selection of the machinery which he has to work with...so that he may get competent men and of general intelligence...a man may be a very sound engineer, but he may be deficient in some other points which would make him a very poor engine-driver; a man, although he is a good mechanician, must have good judgment and presence of mind, and be able to act in emergencies.³⁸

The impression is given that Mr Beattie made his own decisions concerning those who came within his sphere of influence. However it is obvious that even Joseph Beattie would have required some form of reference from ‘respectable people’ and some background relating to his recruit’s capabilities.

Mr Dyson’s work record shows that he was apprenticed when he joined the Passenger Audit Office in 1838. Although clerks were regularly moved from one station to another those who entered the Audit Department generally stayed in that Department or moved to one of the other offices at Nine Elms and later Waterloo. It is possible that those considered suitable to train as clerks were formerly bound to disallow their leaving and taking their training and Company knowledge elsewhere.

A minute dated 8 November 1844 noted:

This Committee recommends that W Paxton be appointed as an apprentice in the Audit Office and that articles of apprenticeship be executed and that a return of the present apprentices be laid before the Committee. This Committee recommends that the salary of Wm Allen be raised to £35 p. annum provided he is willing to be bound as an apprentice, the indentures to be dated so as to give the lad the benefit of his previous services and to end his term at the age of 20 years. The apprentices in all future appointment to be bound to the Secretary of the Company.³⁹

However on the 15 November 1844 the minutes note that a letter had been received from Mr Allen stating that 'he had no objection to his son being bound as an apprentice, but as he does not intend to remove him, he suggests whether the expense is not necessary.' The minutes continue 'The lad to be bound and the Company to defray the expenses.'⁴⁰ It is obvious that the Company found Mr Allen a worthy employee.

Figures 3.10 and 3.11 using the sixty-two full and partial records of the KRDC, show 30 of the 62 clerks had started work before they were sixteen years of age, and that this circumstance occurred up to and including the 1890s. The eleven-year-old Mr Dyson has already been mentioned. The youngest and probably one of the first clerks to enter L&SWR service, Mr Dyson started before the line was completed to Southampton. He retired on superannuation in 1892, fifty-four years later, at the age of sixty-five years. During this time his salary increased from £18.20 to £350 per annum. He worked solely for the Passenger Audit Office later becoming the 'Examiner of Station Accounts' until he retired.⁴¹ Mr Stockdill who started as a messenger in the Goods Department in Nine Elms in 1861 on a wage of £15.60 per annum was the second youngest clerk to be employed. He was only thirteen years old. When he retired his salary, as Chief Rates Clerk, was £315 per annum.⁴² At forty-one years Mr William Wesley was the oldest clerk out of the forty-four full records to join the company, he came from County Limerick in 1860 joining the Audit Department and commencing work on a salary of £70 per annum. He was earning £110 per annum when he had to retire through ill health sixteen years later.⁴³ It appears therefore that the age rule set by Archibald Scott and Frederick Clarke was either ignored or not adhered to rigidly, or that it was a recommendation that the directors failed to approve. However there was undoubtedly a policy to recruit young staff, only six out of the sixty-two records, were of staff over twenty years of age at the time of their recruitment.

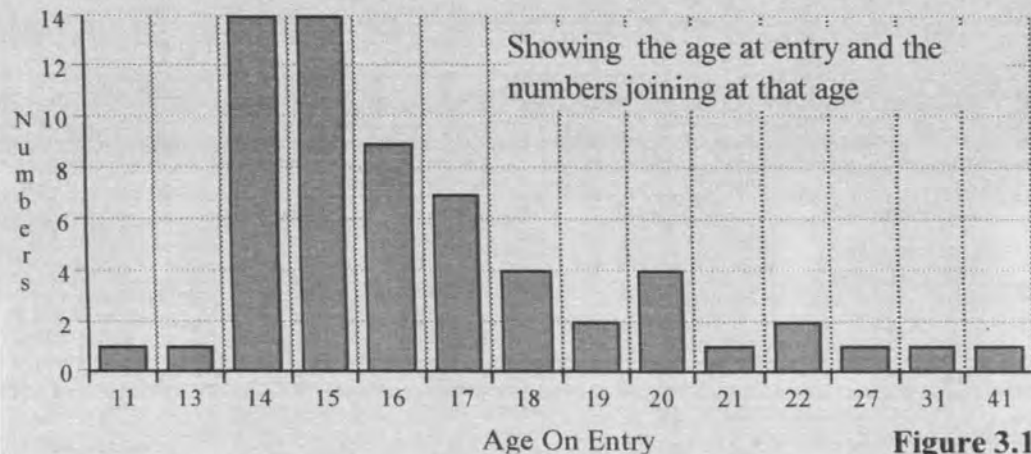


Figure 3.10

L&SWR Clerical Staff Records

KRDC

Figure 3.10 and 3.11 have been calculated using both the 44 full and 18 partial work records.

Figure 3.10 shows the age of entry and the numbers joining at that age.

Figure 3.11 shows that age of entry and the year of entry. It will be noted that none of the clerks found in the records joined over the age of 20 years after 1869.

RAIL 411/491-495 & RAIL 411/498-504 (TNA Kew).

Age

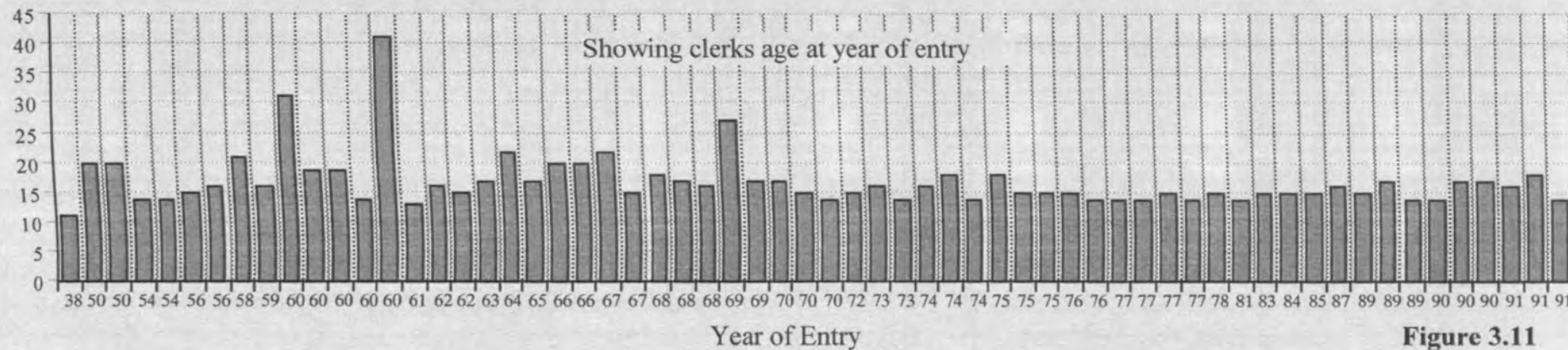


Figure 3.11

Using only the forty-four full records the difference in salary from the date of commencement to leaving the service is shown in Figure 3.12. The 2 employees with no increase in their wages included an employee who had worked for the railway for nine years, was involved in various misdemeanours and was arrested for debt in 1869. The other left within two years. In most cases, the low increase was the result of the employee leaving the service within a short period of time. However there were some employees who after many years of service were paid a much lower salary than others who had served the Company for a much shorter period. One such employee had commenced service as a clerk at Kingston in 1867 aged sixteen years on a salary of £30 but had a salary of £110 reduced to £100 when, after five moves he was sent to Weymouth as an agent. He was asked to resign in 1899 as he had neglected his duties and there was a deficiency of £39.7s 4d. George Cooksey was dismissed after sixteen years service for cashing a cheque for somebody who was not a L&SWR customer resulting in a loss of £164.18s 0d for the Company. His salary was at that time £90 per annum ⁴⁴ Mr John Hilditch was earning £145 per annum as agent at Romsey Station when he retired in 1898 after forty-two years service. ⁴⁵ His brother William however as a station master at Waterloo was earning more than double this amount, a sum of £360 per annum and lived rent free in a house belonging to the Company. ⁴⁶ The two largest salary increases were those of Sam Fay and Frederic Macaulay. Sam Fay joined the L&SWR as a junior clerk at Itchen Abbas with a wage of £30 per annum. He left the Company in 1892 to become General Manager of the Midland and South-Western Junction Line, rejoining the L&SWR in 1899, when the Midland and South-Western was no longer in debt, to become Superintendent of the Line on a salary of £1,500. In total when he left the Company again in 1901 to become General Manager of the Great Central Railway he had completed twenty-two years service. ⁴⁷ Further details of his career may be found in the Glossary. Mr Frederic Macaulay's recruitment from Ireland

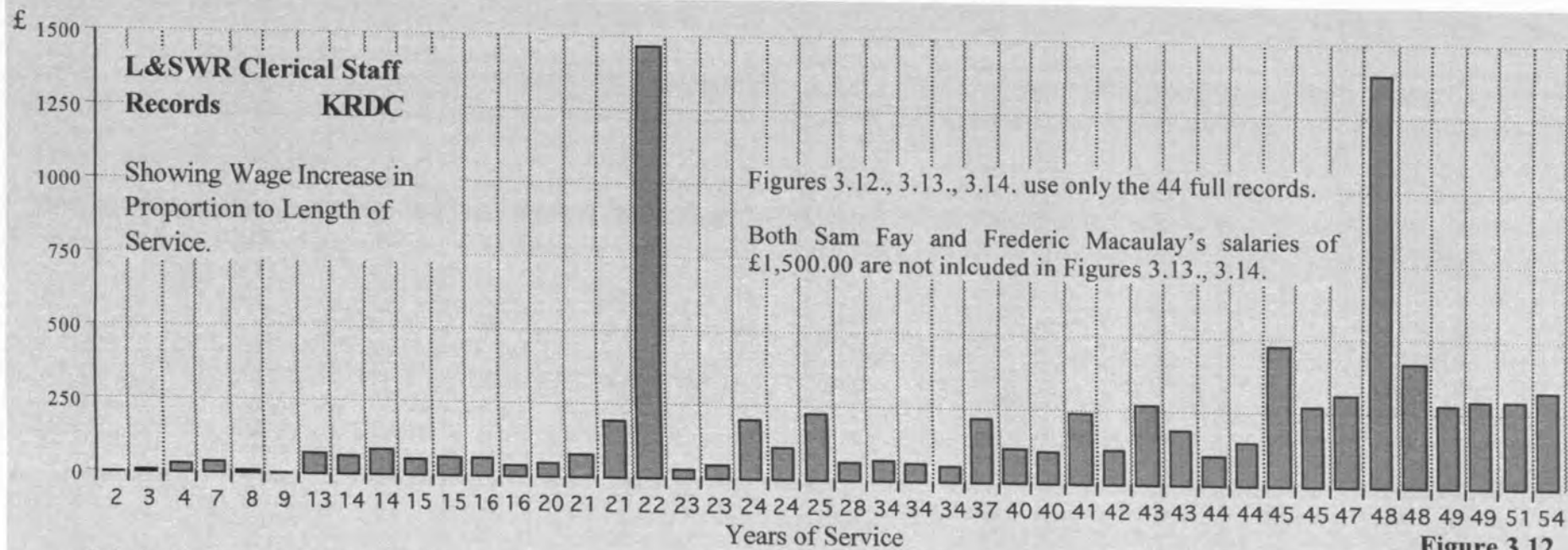


Figure 3.12

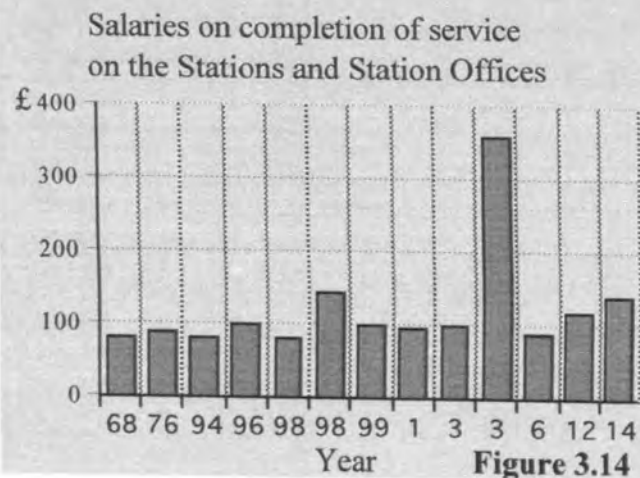


Figure 3.14

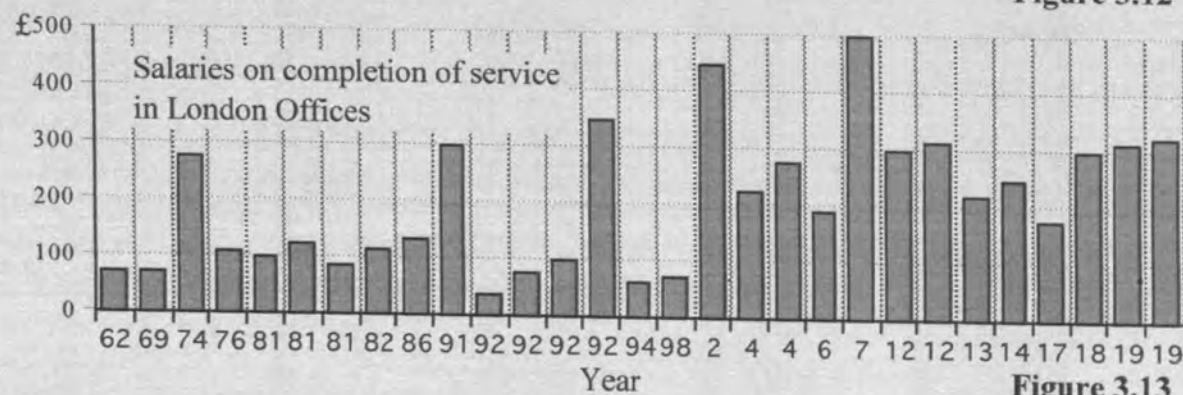


Figure 3.13

RAIL 411/491-495 & RAIL 411/498-504 (TNA Kew)

has already been noted. Before he retired after forty-eight years service he was also earning £1,500 as Company Secretary.⁴⁸ Although both these salaries are shown in Figure 3.12, neither is included in Figures 3.13, and 3.14, as they were far from typical.

The forty-four full records show that on entry 33 employees worked in the London offices, many in the Passenger Audit Department. Of those working in the London offices 28 had continued to be employed in what was the administrative centre of the Company, throughout the whole of their working lives, 5 had been moved to placements in stations outside and 3 had been moved from the stations to be promoted into the London offices. Excluding Sam Fay and Frederic Macaulay's salaries, the average wage on leaving for those working in the London offices was in excess of £204 per annum. For those outside in the stations the average salary on leaving was in excess of £121 per annum. Working within the offices at Nine Elms and Waterloo appears to be far more beneficial financially. However these records are only a small proportion compared with the number of clerks found in the Kingston location and undoubtedly include some who left the service early. They should therefore not be assumed to be a true sample of average earnings, merely an indication of the higher pay within the London offices as opposed to that received by the clerks working in the station offices.

During the 1870s the minutes show the recruitment of daughters either following letters written by their fathers requesting a place for them in the service, or following the death of their father a railway employee. 'Read letter from Mr J McLees Agent at Honiton Station requesting that his Daughter (aged 15) may be employed as Telegraphist at Yeovil Station. Approved.'⁴⁹ Again on the 20 December 1877 the minutes read 'Miss Falkner Daughter of the Agent at Crewkerne Station be employed as Telegraph Clerk there at 11/6 per week.'⁵⁰ A memo on the 23 January 1878 reads that following the death

of Mr Blake of the Telegraph Department at Southampton, his son who had been assisting his father was made chief clerk with a salary increase from £50 to £70. It also states that Mr Blakes' two daughters, aged sixteen and fourteen years should be employed in the office at 10 shillings per week each.⁵¹ In all these cases there is no mention of a waiting list nor of apprenticeship schemes, and undoubtedly the employment of young female workers was at this time only considered when a family connection already existed with the Company. The wages of young women were always less than those of the young men. In January 1877 an article written in *The Railway Fly Sheet* shows the attitudes of the time to the employment of young women:

there is no doubt that the gentler sex can only be employed in the performance of the lightest duties, requiring neither the highest intelligence nor a large amount of endurance...the bulk of the fair set are averse to the mastery of intricate details, and would be unable to stand the strain demanded by the office work of the railway services. It is also readily understood that the inexorable laws of nature would be always interfering should efficient female clerks be produced....The race in the railway service will always be won by the swift, the strong, and the enduring; man's place is not likely to be usurped by the gentler sex, whilst man's position may be improved by the judicious use of a class whose services, if employed, must necessarily be cheaper, and cannot be competitive...⁵²

However in March 1885 a memo reads: 'letter from Mr White recommending that Miss Frances Cobby, Telegraphist at Sidmouth be removed to Devonport with the pay of 25/- per week. Her sister to take her place at Sidmouth Station at the pay of 12/6 per week. Approved.'⁵³ The impression is therefore given that by the mid 1880s the good services of at least one young woman was gaining recognition.

The offer of the position of 'Waiting Room Attendant' or similar vacancies within the Company were frequently made to widows after the death of a husband. In these cases there appears to have been a period of waiting. In 1881 when William Farmer a signalman at Wimbledon was killed by a train the minutes read: 'Employment to be found for the widow Farmer when possible.'⁵⁴ After John Buckwell the porter died his

wife Margaret may be found on the 1881 census with the occupation of 'Waiting Room Attendant', most probably at Kingston as she lived and continued to live in close proximity to the station. However neither the death of her husband nor the subsequent offer of this position to her is mentioned in the Traffic Minutes. Instances of female recruitment should not be overstated. The instances of young women joining the service as clerks appear to be very limited during the nineteenth century.

Relieving Pauperism

In 1867 Rowland Hill's report to the *Royal Commission for Railways*, suggested that the railway companies had relieved 'the parish of much pauperism by giving profitable employment to the peasantry...' ⁵⁵ Hill's remark was probably no more than rhetoric in a bid to extol the virtues of the railway. However the claim that the railways found their workers in agricultural districts where wages were very low has found some acceptance. Kingsford writes that this is confirmed by an examination of applications for employment from 1840 onward.⁵⁶ Although recruitment in some poor areas was very likely, this would have been for commercial not for charitable reasons. The L&SWR directors indifference to the plight of unemployed agricultural labourer is shown in the 1843 Traffic Minutes. Sir T. Baring wrote to the Company stating that the farmers in the neighbourhood of Whitechurch (now called Whitchurch in Hampshire) had taken into their service a number of the labourers who were, at that time, unemployed, in order to lessen the poor rates in the parish, and suggested that the directors should adopt a similar course. The minuted reply written on 5 January 1843 reads:

The Secretary was instructed to inform Sir T Baring that the road (the railway line) has been let to a contractor and consequently the Directors have no control over the men, that the public safety demands the employ of such men who have been practically trained ...⁵⁷

The managers do state that they will forward the letter but this appears to be little more than a courtesy. Thus the L&SWR managers show no inclination to employ labour on

humanitarian grounds. Kingsford's claim that contractors' men who were injured were often given employment by the railway companies is not found to be the case within the L&SWR.⁵⁸ Several instances of individuals seeking employment after injuries following railway construction have been found which are similar to this minute which was dated 3 December 1841 and reads that a letter:

...from Mr Stuart (a surgeon of Gosport) soliciting employment for a man who was employed in the construction of the works on the Branch line and who had sustained an injury. The Secretary was instructed to reply thereto and to state that the public safety demands that only able bodied men should be employed and the Directors regret that there is no situation to which the man in question can be appointed.⁵⁹

Was there unemployment in Kingston? Did the railways managers recruit staff from the poorer sections of the community, from what occupational categories were railway personnel recruited? It is impossible to be precise concerning poverty in Kingston. The census figures show that throughout the whole of the 1851 to 1891 period those classified as paupers were approximately just over 1 per cent of the population as a whole but reducing by 1891 to just under that figure. Most of the inmates of the workhouse were of mature years and many were unwell. Undoubtedly this was not the whole situation and there would have been many more who lived on the fringe of poverty. There were within the area of Kingston a wide variety of occupations and although the remuneration from many of the jobs would have been very low most healthy young men would have been able to find occupation of some kind.

There are obvious difficulties in tracing the backgrounds of railway workers prior to their entering the service. Many young people, indeed some more mature individuals, moved from one location to another during this period, obviously looking for work. One particular case shows how far individuals were prepared to travel. George Luxton can be found on the 1851 census aged eight years of age living in the Wanderings in Kingston,

his father a farm labourer. Although his mother and father are shown on the 1861 census George is not found until 1881, when he was living in Wimbledon and the manager of the West Side Coffee Tavern. The 1881 census shows that he had a Scottish wife and a daughter aged eleven years of age born in Edinburgh. He can be found on the Kingston census in 1891 now a platelayer, with a new wife who had been born in Wimbledon, twenty two years his junior, and 3 young children all born in Kingston.⁶⁰ Thus his return to the area must have been some time in 1883. Although Mills and Schurer in 'Migration and population turnover' (1996) argue that internal migration was over short distances, mainly within a ten or twenty-mile radius, there were undoubtedly exceptions.⁶¹

Migration in and out of Kingston was a norm, and although it has been possible to find the father's occupation for a few of the Kingston-born men, there is an insufficient number from which to make assumptions. Moreover, 14 of the railway sons in 1881, living with 'Heads' unconnected with railway service, were actually living with widowed mothers. There were also 9 in this position in 1891. As some of these individuals had come from outside the area, it was not possible to find the father's occupation, nor the sons prior to their railway occupation. Thus detailed analysis cannot be undertaken.

Although the railway appears to be employing 3 inmates of the workhouse these men had not been born in Kingston. The 1881 census shows sixty-nine year old George Eustace who was born in Cornwall, occupation 'Railway Engineer' and John Kemp aged seventeen from East Molesey, occupation 'Railway Porter', both living in The Union Workhouse in Coombe Lane.⁶² In 1891 forty-five year old, Robert Duff a 'Waggon Lifter' from Donegal, in Ireland, was similarly placed.⁶³ Why these men were employed but living in the workhouse, we have no way of knowing. It is also possible that these men were stating jobs in which they had been previously employed before they became

workhouse inmates. (This is mentioned in Chapter Two). It could be that they were seeking work, however if they were employed, in these three cases, the Company may have relieved the burden on the Kingston poor rate but the 'relief' can hardly be termed significant. The evidence suggests that there were no Kingston-born railway workers who were unemployed or living within a family where the 'Head' was unemployed, when recruited by the railway.

Three cases give glimpses into the lives of railway workers prior to their recruitment within the Kingston area. We have for instance the case of John Buckwell. John can be found on the 1851 census aged eight years. At this time he was living with his mother and 4 sisters in Green Lane (Bellevue Road) in Kingston. His father was not at home during the night of the 1851 census.⁶⁴ However in 1861 William Buckwell can be found at the address with the occupation of a 'Labourer at the Oil Mill' whilst his eighteen-year-old son was a 'Labourer at the Cocoa Fibre Mill'.⁶⁵ The 1871 census shows John was by this time a 'Railway Porter' living in Canbury Place with his wife Margaret, 2 children and a lodger. John died at the age of thirty-six and Margaret subsequently supported the family as a railway 'Waiting Room Attendant'.⁶⁶

However, William and Elizabeth Buckwell, John's father and mother, are of particular interest as examples of those who undoubtedly lived on the edge of poverty but who managed to remain self-supporting throughout their lives. William aged seventy-two was still shown working as a 'Labourer' on the 1881 census, although by this time Elizabeth had given up her job as a 'Launderess'. Elizabeth lived to be eighty-six and William ninety-two years of age. The couple are not recorded on the 1891 census, but on their death certificates the address was still that of Bellevue Road.⁶⁷ Thus although this family were at the lower end of Kingston society, both the father and the son were gainfully employed throughout the majority of their lives, the elderly father and mother

appear not to have been removed into the workhouse, and were sufficiently healthy to live beyond the life expectancy of the period.

Another Kingston born family were the Wrights. In 1851 William Wright aged forty-five years and his wife Sarah aged thirty-nine years lived in Marsh Lane. The census shows William was a 'Farmer'. Living within the family was his son Thomas aged nineteen years who was a 'Garden Labourer', William's daughter Sarah aged fourteen years and a grandson Joseph Emmet aged two.⁶⁸ In 1861 William and Sarah had moved to Grove Lane. William had become a 'Journeyman Tanner', Thomas still lived with his parents but was now married to Elizabeth. There were 4 grandchildren living within the family, 2 of the children were probably the offspring of one of Thomas's siblings, but 2 were the offspring of Thomas and his wife Elizabeth. Thomas at this time was a 'Journeyman Blacksmith'. In 1871 the situation had changed, William was now a widower, living with Thomas and Elizabeth who had moved to Mill Street in Kingston. William's occupation was now that of a 'Tanner', and Thomas had joined the railway as a 'Smith'. In 1881 William was no longer living within the family and had probably died. By 1891 Thomas continued to be employed by the railway as a 'Smith', but was living with Sarah in Kingston High Street. Two children remained within the home; Emma aged thirty-four years a 'Dressmaker' and Ernest who was serving a milk round.⁶⁹

The Colleys, had a military background. They had arrived in the Kingston area prior to 1861, living originally in Mill Street. The father Thomas Colley in 1861 was forty-four years of age had been born in Putney and had the occupation of 'Serjeant Army Melitia'. His wife Jane had been born in India, 1 child had been born in the Straits of Dover, 2 in Ireland, 1 in Malta, the remaining 3 in Kingston.⁷⁰ In 1871 the family had moved to Eden Street, Thomas aged eighteen was the eldest child at home and a 'Drummer 3 Surrey Militia'.⁷¹ By 1881 Jane had died and Sarah aged thirty was looking after the family,



Mill Street with the twentieth century Coconut Public House on the right hand side of the picture. The Colleys lived here in 1861, Thomas and Elizabeth Wright in 1871 and 1881. Harry Mudgett had become the 'Licensed Victualler' of the Coconut in 1891.

Figure 3.15.

Thomas aged twenty-eight and Albert eighteen years of age were both employed as 'Railway Clerks'.⁷² The 1891 census shows Thomas senior an 'Army Pensioner', Sarah still looking after the family, Thomas, thirty-eight years of age a 'Railway Accountant', Albert twenty-eight and William nineteen 'Railway Clerks'. The family now lived in 120 Richmond Road. Having been born in Malta, Thomas Colley was one of the few railway personnel who had been born overseas.

Although the wages of workers in Kingston undoubtedly increased when they joined the railway, there appears to be no evidence that any of the Kingston born individuals had been unemployed before they became railway workers, the railway managers having carefully selected their staff. The first family the Buckwells, were typical of many of the labouring classes living within the locality, willing to work for as long as it was possible. William Buckwell continued to work into his seventies. The Wrights on the other hand give the impression of being more skilled and versatile in relation to the job market, Thomas moving from 'Agricultural Labourer' to 'Blacksmith' and then to 'Railway Smith'. The Colleys were an army family and the 3 sons employed by the L&SWR moved from one disciplined background into another with relative ease. Thomas attained the position of 'Railway Accountant' at the age of thirty-eight years.

It can be argued that although these three cases cannot be assumed to be typical of the background of all the railway employees, they do give some indication of the diversity of individuals with railway connections within the Kingston area. Moreover although the L&SWR may have recruited from the poorer sections of the community, it also recruited from other categories including families who had served abroad and individuals with skills that could be used by the Company. The claim that it was railway policy to recruit mainly from agriculture undoubtedly may have had some basis in fact in certain locations,

but cannot be substantiated within the Kingston area.⁷³

Conclusion

The statistics show railway personnel arriving slowly, but increasing after 1863 when the branch line into Kingston was finished. By 1891 nearly four fifths of the workforce in Kingston had been born in counties through which the line ran, thus appearing to endorse the conclusions put forward by McKenna that most of the railway workers had been recruited adjacent to the developing tracks.⁷⁴ However there were still a substantial number of workers who had been born in counties many miles distant, some of these were living in the Kingston area at the time of recruitment, for instance the Colleys, others were recruited from areas outside although this was undoubtedly through recommendation and patronage. The statistics also show that during the 1850s a more mature staff had been recruited to cover the managerial needs of a fast growing industry. However by the 1870s it had become obvious that the average age of the personnel in the area had decreased. Patronage and apprenticeship schemes must have played some part in this process together with age restrictions on the recruitment of the uniformed grades and clerks. The forty four full and the eighteen partial records of the clerical staff within the KRD confirm that clerks within the Kingston area were joining the Company between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and that there were wide variations in their salaries on leaving L&SWR employment. Within the Company framework it was also policy to include female family members when their spouses or fathers had been or continued to be in railway employment, but there is no evidence that the L&SWR showed any inclination to employ labour on purely humanitarian grounds, nor is there evidence that railway workers within the Kingston census area were unemployed when recruited.

- ¹ P.W.Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p.1, 3.
- ² Information taken from the 1841 census.
- ³ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 16 Feb.1839, RAIL 412/3, (TNA); R. Baker, 'A walk round Weston Green' (Elmbridge Museum Service: 2006), Retrieved on 15 Jan. 2007 at 16.07:
<http://www.moleseyhistory.co.uk/books/surrey/weston/index.html>.
- ⁴ 1871 Richard Wiltshire, Person No.37345.
- ⁵ 1871 Charles Watkins, Person No.44176.
- ⁶ 1841, 1851, 1861, William Henry Hilditch, Person No. 5070.
- ⁷ C.G. Pooley, J. Turnbull, 'Changing home and workplace in Victorian London: The life of Henry Jacques, shirtmaker', *Urban History*, vol. 24 (2), 1997, pp. 148-178.
- ⁸ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, pp.xii, 2.
- ⁹ J.A.Sheppard, 'The provenance of Brighton's railway workers, 1841-61,' *Local Population Studies*, 72, 2004, pp.16-33.
- ¹⁰ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.30.
- ¹¹ 1891, Thomas Taylor, Person No.93391.
- ¹² 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, Archibald Scott, Person No. 16940.
- ¹³ 1891, Robert Read, Person No. 84163, 1891, Charles Scotter, Person No. 96921.
- ¹⁴ This road is approximately a mile long. It runs from Ham in the north to the Kingston station in the south; 1861,1871,1881,1891 Thomas Colley, Person No.14962; 1891, Edward Hookham Person No.85050.
- ¹⁵ McKenna, 'Victorian railway workers', p.27.
- ¹⁶ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p.3.
- ¹⁷ On the 1861 census Thomas Colley aged 8 was living in Kingston, Person No. 14962.
- ¹⁸ *The South Western Gazette*, March 1888, ZPER 11/7 (TNA), p.14.
- ¹⁹ 1861, Frederic Macaulay, Person No. 21304.

- ²⁰ 1861, John Wisley, Person No. 24685; 1861, 1871, William Pett, Person No.16483; 1851, 1861, John Stevens, Person No.11020.
- ²¹ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 15 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.77.
- ²² 1861, Hickman Hearney, Person No. 19308.
- ²³ 1861, Hector Morris, Person No. 17524.
- ²⁴ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan. 1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.
- ²⁵ 1861, 1871, William Wesley, Person No. 21746; Wesley Work Record RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.631.
- ²⁶ Joseph Beattie's Examination, (1528) Minutes of Evidence, *Select Committee on Accidents on Railways, 1857-8* vol.XIV, (1526-1654) (TNA), p112-20.
- ²⁷ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 15 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.77.
- ²⁸ Court of Directors Minutes, 18 Aug.1859, (821) RAIL 411/4 (TNA).
- ²⁹ 'The Apprenticeship Scheme', Letter dated 13 April 1863, Special Committees Minutes, RAIL 411/218 (TNA), pp.53-4.
- ³⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 Nov.1864, (267) RAIL 411/235 (TNA).
- ³¹ Dyson Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.138.
- ³² Thornton Work Record RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.589; Leadbitter Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.365.
- ³³ Benn Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.15.
- ³⁴ 1861 census, Percy Pont, Person No. 19564.
- ³⁵ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, pp.5-9.
- ³⁶ Dyson Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.138.
- ³⁷ William Reed's Examination, 26 April 1839, (1068-1377) *The Select Committee on Railways, 1839*, vol.X (TNA), pp.53-70.

- ³⁸ Joseph Beattie's Examination, (1647) Minutes of Evidence Taken Before *The Select Committee On Accidents On Railways, 1858* (TNA), p.112-20.
- ³⁹ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 8 Nov.1844, (489), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), pp.276-7.
- ⁴⁰ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 15 Nov.1844, (490), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.278.
- ⁴¹ Dyson Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.138.
- ⁴² Stockdill Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.570.
- ⁴³ Wesley Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.631.
- ⁴⁴ Cooksey Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.57.
- ⁴⁵ Hilditch (John) Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.279.
- ⁴⁶ Hilditch (William) Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.278.
- ⁴⁷ Fay Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.711.
- ⁴⁸ Macauley Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.397.
- ⁴⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 26 March 1874, (563) RAIL 411/243 (TNA).
- ⁵⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 12 Dec.1877, (166) RAIL 411/247 (TNA).
- ⁵¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 Jan.1878, (232) RAIL 411/247 (TNA).
- ⁵² *The Railway Sheet & Official Gazette*, Jan.1877, ZPER 8/2 (TNA), pp.8-9.
- ⁵³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 March 1885, (223) RAIL 411/255 (TNA).
- ⁵⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 18 Aug.1881, (64) RAIL 411/251 (TNA).
- ⁵⁵ Report from Sir Rowland Hill KCB FRS, *Royal Commission on Railways Report 186*, (TNA), pp.cvii-cviii.
- ⁵⁶ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, pp.2-3.
- ⁵⁷ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 5 Jan.1843, (219) RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.117.

- ⁵⁸ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p.4.
- ⁵⁹ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 3 Dec.1841, (52) RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.32.
- ⁶⁰ 1851,1891, George Luxton, Person No. 7978.
- ⁶¹ D.R.Mills, K.Schurer, 'Migration and population turnover', in D.Mills, and K.Schurer, (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press, Oxford, 1996), pp.218-228.
- ⁶² 1881,George Eustace, Person No. 60997; 1881, John Kemp, Person No. 60981.
- ⁶³ 1891, Robert Duff, Person No. 13867.
- ⁶⁴ 1851, William Buckwell, Person No. 16523.
- ⁶⁵ 1861 John Buckwell, Person No. 11027.
- ⁶⁶ 1871, 1881, 1891 Margaret Buckwell, Person No. 40526.
- ⁶⁷ Elizabeth Buckwell Burial Register No. 21573 Bonner Hill Cemetery 4.2.1901.
William Buckwell Burial Register No. 22703 Bonner Hill Cemetery 28.9.1902.
- ⁶⁸ 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 William Wright, Person No. 11006.
- ⁶⁹ 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881,1891 Thomas Wright, Person No.11008.
- ⁷⁰ 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 Thomas Colley, (father), Person No.14957.
- ⁷¹ 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 Thomas Colley, (son), Person No. 14962.
- ⁷² 1871, 1881, 1891 Albert Colley, Person No. 29407.
- ⁷³ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, pp.2-3.
- ⁷⁴ McKenna, *Victorian Railway Workers*, p.27.

Chapter Four

Household Structure, Kinship and Related Issues

This chapter will consider ‘Household Structure’, ‘Kinship’, and related issues, aiming to quantify and qualify both the changes and the continuities experienced by the Kingston railway workers, many of whom had been moved from a country setting to the town after joining the railway workforce. It is intended to consider P.R.A.Hinde’s paper, ‘Household structure, marriage and the institution of service in nineteenth-century rural England’ and two of Barry Reay’s books, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, and *Rural Englands: Labouring Lives in the Nineteenth Century*, to compare and contrast their findings with the information collated from the data on the Kingston railway workers.¹ It is also intended to consider the 19 railway personnel who remained within the area for three or more decades using the methods utilised by Dr. French in his paper, *Persistence in a Local Community: Kingston upon Thames 1851-1891*, that of dealing with named individuals and life cycles, with an object of finding why some workers remained and others moved to other areas.² The Kingston Data Figures for 1851 to 1891 provided by the Kingston Local History Project, and the ‘Household Structure’ relating to fifteen roads within the Canbury area shown on the 1891 census, will also be used as a comparison with the KRDF figures, in order to place the railway data within the context of the Kingston population statistics.

Both Hinde’s and Reay’s work are of interest for several reasons; Hinde uses statistical evidence from the CEBs whilst Reay uses techniques of ‘total reconstitution’. Comparisons will therefore involve both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Moreover both Hinde's and Reay's research concerns those within an agricultural setting. Thus by comparing and contrasting statistical evidence from the KRDF with the data in Hinde's paper, and the lives of individual workers with qualitative information used by Reay, it is hoped that some indication of both the continuity and the changing patterns of behaviour by the nineteenth century railway workers, many of whom moved from the country to an urban setting, will be achieved. Out of the 657 individuals shown on the 1851 to 1891 census, who lived in the area and worked on the railway during this period, only 2 individuals remained in the locality of Kingston throughout the five census periods, 3 for four and 14 for three periods. However by 1891, 87 individuals had stayed for two census periods. Using techniques employed by French, which will be discussed later, the characteristics of railway persisters will be established.

Hinde in his paper has based his work on statistical data amalgamated from census returns. He uses the data from 1851 to 1881, contrasting two areas of rural England, the registration districts of Mitford and of Atcham, and writes that the evidence in his work appears to support Hajnal's hypothesis that 'domestic and in particular agrarian service acted as controls upon the 'mean' age at first marriage and consequently upon the formation of new households. This control operated partly because of the prohibition upon marriage whilst in service, and partly because service provided a means by which to acquire the wherewithal necessary to establish a new household.'³

The intention in this chapter is to compare the data from the registration district of Mitford, which was the area where agricultural service became almost extinct, with that of the KRD material. Hinde found in Mitford that although the age of marriage was reduced, the population also declined. Thus he seeks the answer to the question 'what happened to those servants and perhaps older offspring in Mitford, who disappeared between 1871 and 1881?''⁴ This question refers to young people in their twenties who

may have left the countryside in favour of urban employment. The KRD material shows many who had been born in rural areas and had probably left an agricultural background to move into an urban setting. Thus although the Kingston railway workers were not directly related to the Mitford area, many of them would have come from agricultural areas not dissimilar from that of Mitford in central Norfolk.

Like Mitford, the Kingston Railway Family Data, the KRDF does appear to uphold the concept that once released from the constraints of agricultural occupation the age of marriage for the railway workers had decreased, particularly in 1871. Unlike Mitford the number of children born within the KRDF households is considerably higher than in those who remained in the Mitford area in central Norfolk. Between 1881 and 1891, however, there is evidence that the age of marriage shown on the KRDF had again increased and that the numbers of children being born were also reducing. It follows, therefore, that within the social structure of urban living, particularly during this latter period of the nineteenth century, there may have been elements present, which again made early marriage either less desirable or unobtainable.

Head and Spouse Figures shown on the KRDF

A preliminary view of the KRDF shows one feature that is worthy of particular comment. The KRDF 'Head and Spouse' 'Mean' figures are higher than those shown on the other databases except that of the Canbury Group, see Figures 4.1.to 4.3. The reason is the slight imbalance in the structure of the KRDF in comparison with figures for a whole area. The 'Head and Spouse' figures within the KRDF were of individuals mainly of working age, and therefore younger than the range of those shown on the census of an area. Moreover, although the minutes give several instances where widows were 'awarded' the position of 'Waiting Room Attendant', and therefore took over family 'Headship' as a railway worker from their deceased spouse, only one case has been

| Mean Number Persons per Household | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------|------|
| | Railway Worker Kingston/Surbiton | | | |
| | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 |
| Head & Spouse | 1.82 | 1.94 | 1.91 | 1.89 |
| Offspring | 1.79 | 2.05 | 2.40 | 2.35 |
| Relatives | 0.35 | 0.22 | 0.26 | 0.20 |
| Servants | 0.32 | 0.29 | 0.10 | 0.12 |
| Visitors | 0.09 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| Lodgers/Boarders | 0.24 | 0.46 | 0.37 | 0.33 |
| Total | 4.62 | 5.10 | 5.13 | 4.96 |
| Households | 34 | 87 | 134 | 219 |
| Family Members | 157 | 444 | 688 | 1086 |

Data taken from the KRD

Figure 4.1.

| Mean Number Persons per Household | | | | | Rural England |
|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|---------------|
| | Mitford | | | | |
| | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1851 |
| Head & Spouse | 1.75 | 1.77 | 1.75 | 1.71 | 1.71 |
| Offspring | 2.15 | 2.02 | 1.87 | 1.83 | 2.1 |
| Relatives | 0.35 | 0.24 | 0.32 | 0.27 | 0.33 |
| Servants | 0.29 | 0.23 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.33 |
| Sub Total | 4.54 | 4.26 | 4.15 | 4.00 | 4.47 |
| Attached lodgers | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.15 | 0.11 | 0.24 |
| Others | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.00 |
| Total | 4.75 | 4.47 | 4.35 | 4.18 | 4.71 |
| Households | 631 | 668 | 654 | 630 | 2467 |
| Population | 3044 | | | 2661 | |

Figure 4.2.

The Mitford and Rural England samples are taken from Hinde, P.R.A., 'Household structure, marriage and the institution of service in nineteenth-century rural England.' in Mills, D., and Schurer K., (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books*, (Leopard's Head Press, Oxford, 1996), pp.317-25.

| Mean Number of Persons per Household in Kingston | | | | | | Canbury Kingston |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------------------|
| | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1891 |
| Head & Spouse | 1.72 | 1.76 | 1.77 | 1.76 | 1.76 | 1.84 |
| Offspring | 1.90 | 1.92 | 2.01 | 2.17 | 2.17 | 2.43 |
| Relatives | 0.28 | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 0.24 |
| Servants | 0.45 | 0.55 | 0.57 | 0.53 | 0.46 | 0.02 |
| Board/Lodge/Visitors | 0.53 | 0.51 | 0.48 | 0.39 | 0.32 | 0.26 |
| Other | 0.10 | 0.08 | 0.14 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.03 |
| Total | 4.98 | 5.12 | 5.26 | 5.22 | 5.08 | 4.82 |
| Number of Households | 2407 | 3371 | 5230 | 6799 | 8534 | 938 |

Kingston Data Figures 1851 - 1891 provided by the Kingston Local History Project.
Canbury figures taken from unpublished MA dissertation Audrey Giles

Figure 4.3.

found in the KRDF. Margaret Buckwell who was widowed on the 27 February 1878 remained 'Head of her Household' until 1891 and probably until her own death on the 18 March 1909, having been given the position of 'Railway Waiting Room Attendant' by the L&SWR Managers. Margaret unlike the widowed 'Heads' found frequently in the census data of an area, was obviously a rarity within this small database.⁵ Thus because of the age factor within the KRDF, higher 'Head and Spouse' figures are to be expected. It is of interest to note that as the 'Mean' 'Head and Spouse' figure drops after 1871, the '20-29 year old males' as 'Heads' percentage (Figure 4.4) also declines, which appears to supports this assumption.

Other factors of interest are that Mitford over the thirty-year period spanning 1851 to 1881 shows a population decline from 3,044 in 1851 to 2,661 in 1881. The households had increased by 1861 but started to decline slowly thereafter. However the 'Mean' family size declined slowly throughout the whole period, from 4.75 in 1851 to 4.18 in 1881, with offspring declining from 2.15 to 1.83 during this period. The Kingston Railway Families, due to the recruitment by the Company, grew from 34 in 1861 to 219 in 1891 within the area. The family size grew from 4.62 in 1861 to 5.10 in 1871, 5.13 in 1881 and then dropped to 4.96 in 1891 (Figure 2.2), this appears to have been due mainly to an increase in offspring from 1.79 in 1861 to 2.40 in 1881, dropping to 2.35 in 1891 (Figure 4.1). This will be considered in more detail later. It was, however, not only the railway workers who were adding to their families. When the KRDF is compared with the offspring in the Kingston 'Households' 1851 to 1891 (Figure 4.3), it is obvious that fertility in Kingston was also increasing, 1.90 in 1851 to 2.17 in 1891. Moreover the 1891 figures for the Canbury Area show an even higher rate of increase than those of the railway workers. Indeed it can be seen from the 'Mean' of the households within the fifteen roads of the Canbury database that in 1891, 2.43 of the 4.82 'Mean' of the households consisted of 'Offspring'.⁶ This will be considered after the 'Age of

Marriage' data within the KRDF is compared with that of Mitford.

Marriage

Concerning the 'Age of Marriage', Hinde writes that in Mitford as both domestic and farm service became almost extinct, the age of first marriage was reduced. In Atcham where agrarian service remained firmly established, the age of first marriage remained high. Within the KRDP the percentage of '20-29 year old males' as 'Heads' are seen to be far higher than those of Mitford as shown in Figure 4.4. Certainly in 1861 there were only 14 in this age group within the KRDP but by 1871 these had totalled 62 and 56.5 per cent of this age group were 'Heads'. However this was to decline after 1871 and during the next two decades this decline continued but still remained higher than those of Mitford. It can be argued that this evidence appears to support Hajnal's hypothesis, that once the restraints of service in agricultural areas have been lifted, the age of marriage declined. However it must also be stated that an adjustment of this decline in the age of marriage within the KRDF appears to have occurred during the latter part of the century.

Why was there this initial decline in the age of marriage in the KRDP up until 1871 and why was there an increase thereafter? Various factors may have been operating at this time. The rise in income experienced by young railway workers on recruitment must have been a 'feel good' factor, which may have prompted earlier marriage. However a further component was undoubtedly the movement away from the family home. Although young people were mainly being recruited from counties near the railway line, many were relocated to work away from their immediate home surroundings. During this early period railway personnel came from a distance to work in Kingston. Of the 7 'Heads' under thirty shown on the KRDP in 1861 only 1 came from the Kingston area, in 1871 there were 2, in 1881 there were 3 and in 1891 there were 4 under thirty railway personnel who had been born in the local area. Thus the vast majority of those marrying

Headship of males 20-29 years in Mitford 1851-1881, and Kingston railway workers 1861-1891.

KRDP

| Year | Mitford % | Kingston Railway Data | | Average Age |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------|
| | | % | Numbers | |
| 1851 | 34.2 | | | |
| 1861 | 39.1 | 50.0 | 7/14 | 26.71 |
| 1871 | 42.4 | 56.5 | 35/62 | 26.37 |
| 1881 | 36.3 | 47.1 | 33/70 | 25.27 |
| 1891 | | 44.1 | 45/102 | 26.11 |

Information on Mitford

Hinde, P.R.A., 'Household structure, marriage and the institution of service in nineteenth-century rural England.' in Mills, D., and Schurer K., (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books*, (Leopard's Head Press, Oxford, 1996), p. 324

Kingston Railway Data taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University.

Figure 4.4.

and becoming 'Heads' under thirty had come into the area, from a distance that would have precluded remaining in the family home.

Life as a boarder or a lodger, would have been lonely particularly when working hours were long, making early independence and marriage seem desirable. Indeed, the census shows young men who arrived in the area frequently lived with couples who had very little accommodation, obviously because this accommodation was less expensive. John Leadbitter and George Thornton lodged with Charles Hindall a house decorator, his wife, 2 sons and a sister in law.⁷ The size of the accommodation is unknown but it is unlikely to have been sufficiently large for each man to have his own room. Also on the 1871 census in No 9 Elm Grove, John and Ann Fry, a couple with a one-year-old child had 3 lodgers, a signalman and 2 porters.⁸ Again in 1891 George Spencer and his wife Caroline living in No.25 had 3 children, 2 boys aged nine and seven and a daughter aged two years and lodging with them was a clerk and a carman.⁹ The houses in Elm Grove were very small. For those on shift work sleeping at odd hours would be very difficult.

What was the reason for the decrease in numbers of those marrying between the ages of '20 to 29 years' in 1881 continuing into 1891? This change towards the end of the century could be no more than a change in attitude and a disinclination to take the responsibilities attached to marriage, when home comforts, and less expense, were available as an alternative. It is impossible without considering other areas, to question whether the Kingston railway data is unusual but by the latter period of the century many of the young people working in London, particularly the clerks, and indeed some of the uniformed grades would have found it easy to commute to their place of work, 'up' or 'down the line', and staying at home was therefore an option. Certainly conditions in some homes would also have been cramped but home would generally have been more acceptable and probably much cheaper than lodging. Moreover, fourteen of

the 'Non Railway Households' (KRDP) in 1881 were 'Headed' by widows, in 1891 this was nine, and in these circumstances sons may have found it difficult to move on. Further, even although there remained long hours at work there were periods of time when the young employees were left to their own devices, towards the end of the century leisure activities were becoming an important addition to the routine of daily living.

As has already been shown, the apprenticeships schemes put in place by the railway managers would also have had an effect. The apprenticeships lasted four years, after which a higher salary was received. In the case of guards it took far longer to reach the maximum pay of the grade. This will be shown in Figure 9.3, page 321. Indeed it could be argued that this restraint may have replaced the control that had previously been in place on young men through agricultural service. It should also be noted that many young women within the Kingston area continued to be employed in domestic service, which may also have continued to influence the age of marriage in the area. Whether or not the young men if removed by the railway managers to other places of work would, or did, resort to marriage soon after they left the parental home is impossible to assess without further detailed investigation.

Offspring

As we have already seen in Mitford although the age of first marriage was reduced, the number of 'offspring' also declined. Thus the Mitford figures show an area in the process of household decline, despite 'Headship' rates averaging 38 per cent among the '20-29 year olds', over the thirty-year period between 1851 to 1881. To consider this process in detail the 'Mean' number of offspring has been broken down in age groups from the KRDF figures to compare with Hinde's figures in Figure 4.5. Although Hinde points to the fact that the decline in Mitford was greatest in the '0-4 year group', and therefore the

decline in fertility was probably the most important factor, he admits the reasons for the decline in household size are not simple, but that the fall in 'Headship' rates between 1871 and 1881 suggests that some young people may have left the area. It is this situation that prompts the question 'what happened to those servants and perhaps older offspring in Mitford, who disappeared between 1871 and 1881?'

Within the KRDF the sudden upsurge in fertility is particularly marked within the '0-4' and the '5-9 age groups', Figure 4.5. The '0-4 group' however peaked in 1881 after increasing by 50 per cent, and thereafter started to decline. By 1891 the increase over the whole period had been reduced to 23.46 per cent. This appears to be significant. Although fertility continued at a high rate there was undoubtedly a decline that would be seen in the '5-9 group' figures in the following decade. On the other hand the '5-9 group' increased every year up to 1881 when it stabilised at 0.69 in 1891, the percentage increase for the whole period being 37.9 per cent. The remainder of the 'Offspring' up to the age of nineteen, shown at five-year intervals, although not increasing every decade were higher in 1891 than in 1861. Therefore unlike Mitford where the birthrate appears to have fallen, that of the KRDP appears to have risen significantly over the whole period although there is a slowing down after 1881. However although the 'Offspring' figures for the whole of the Kingston area in Figure 4.3. are less than those of the KRDF, those of the Canbury area are even higher.

The fifteen roads that make up the Canbury sample were a mixture of old, relatively new, and new property.¹⁰ Moreover like the KRD, in 1891 the Canbury area was made up of both those who had been born in Kingston and those who had just moved into the borough. Although predominantly working class, these roads contained both the poorer elements of the old Kingston society and those who were upwardly mobile. The fact that these fertility figures are slightly higher than those of the railway workers is of

| MEAN NUMBER OF OFFSPRING PER HOUSEHOLD BY AGE | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|---------------------|
| Mitford | | | | | % Decrease |
| | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | Between 1851 & 1881 |
| 0-4 | 0.60 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.47 | -21.67 |
| 5-9 | 0.49 | 0.47 | 0.46 | 0.47 | -4.08 |
| 10-14 | 0.45 | 0.50 | 0.40 | 0.40 | -11.11 |
| 15-19 | 0.30 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | -20.00 |
| 20-24 | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.15 | -6.25 |
| 25-29 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.05 | -37.50 |
| 30+ | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.04 | -33.33 |
| Totals | 2.15 | 2.02 | 1.87 | 1.83 | -14.88 |
| | 3044 | | | 2661 | -12.58 |
| KRDF | | | | | % Increase/Decrease |
| | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | Between 1861 & 1891 |
| 0-4 | 0.62 | 0.83 | 0.93 | 0.76 | 23.46 |
| 5-9 | 0.50 | 0.54 | 0.69 | 0.69 | 37.90 |
| 10-14 | 0.44 | 0.36 | 0.49 | 0.47 | 7.64 |
| 15-19 | 0.15 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.26 | 80.09 |
| 20-24 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.08 | -6.85 |
| 25-29 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.04 | |
| 30+ | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.03 | |
| Totals | 1.79 | 2.05 | 2.40 | 2.35 | |

Figure 4.5.

The ‘% Decrease Between 1851 & 1881’ is not shown in P.R.A. Hinde’s paper. This is an addition included in order to compare Mitford statistics with those of the KRDF figures.

The Mitford sample is taken from Hinde, P.R.A., ‘Household structure, marriage and the institution of service in nineteenth-century rural England.’ in Mills, D., and Schurer K., (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators’ Books*, (Leopard’s Head Press, Oxford, 1996), pp.317-25.

interest for two reasons. First the Canbury Sample, included roads where infant mortality had been, and continued to be, very high, which indicates that fertility was, or had been, probably higher than the fertility shown in the data.¹¹ Second the Canbury sample had a similar imbalance to that of the KRDF; the residential structure had a predominance of young adults, the 'Head and Spouse' ratio being not dissimilar to that of the KRDF.

The comparison of the KRDF material with that of the whole area and the Canbury data gives perspective to the data. The railway workers fertility was slightly higher than the whole of Kingston but lower than the nine hundred and thirty-eight families, 4644 individuals, which made up the Canbury Sample. Thus this would appear to suggest that the growing number of 'Offspring' within the railway workers was part of a much larger trend, having less to do with the particular circumstances of the railway worker and more to do with a situation during that period of time and possibly also within that particular locality.

Two further observations should also be made concerning the railway workers fertility figures. It seems obvious that the lower age range of 'Heads' in 1871, as shown in Figure 4.4, if repeated throughout the railway service, undoubtedly played some part in the upsurge of the '0-4 group' in 1881, see Figure 4.5, and that a decrease in fertility, if most of this age group remained in the service, would inevitably have occurred during that period when these 'Heads' twenty years later were part of the '40 to 49 group'. However the fact that an increasing number of railway workers remained at home as 'Sons' during the latter period, may also have had an effect on these figures. In 1891 the KRDP shows that there were 68 railway sons living at home, 22 whose fathers were railway 'Heads', (Figure 2.1, page 40), and 46 whose fathers had no connection with the railway. Thus a natural decline in fertility due to somewhat older 'Heads' together with

later marriage may also have been at least partly responsible for the change after 1881. Whether this decline was peculiar to railway personnel or part of a national trend is therefore uncertain. The extent of fertility within the Kingston census area has yet to be investigated.

Household Structure

Barry Reay argues that the concentration on household size has not only resulted in kinship links being neglected, but has encouraged the idea that nineteenth century 'Kinship' was weak.¹² Linking together life events from baptisms, marriages and burials which allowed an in-depth analysis of families, he argues that despite the appearance of 'Simple' family structures, and a highly mobile population, kinship links during the nineteenth century within the Kent locations of Boughton, Dunkirk and Hernhill, which he studied, were strong. It has already been noted that although it has been possible to add to the information gleaned from the census on individuals such as William Hilditch, one of the first station agents, and to some extent Archibald Scott, the railway manager, in the majority of cases we have only one glimpse of individual 'Heads', living within their families, on one particular night. Certainly, as Barry Reay points out this glimpse can provide a very incomplete picture. However if this is all there is available it is important to utilise this to advantage, and from this information, it is obvious that 'Kinship' links played an important role in more than 20 per cent of railway family lives during the individual census periods.

Moreover the fact that there is little evidence of family connection over time does not mean that this did not continue, although the extent to which contact was made is impossible to gauge. We shall never know how much money was sent 'home', how often there was communication. Nevertheless relationships between offspring, parents and siblings did continue and kinship ties remained through periods of time and despite

problems of distance.

A comparison between the household structures of the KRDF as opposed to those of Hernhill in Kent, as presented by Barry Reay, show obvious differences, see Figures 4.6-4.8. For reasons already stated there were fewer widows, therefore the 'Widow/Widower' group percentage is much smaller, nor were there individuals 'Unmarried with Child'. However in 1871 the percentage at 17.2 for 'Extended Households' is the same as Hernhill but rises higher than Hernhill in 1881.

It is possible to argue therefore that although there were some similarities between the two groups, there were also marked differences. However this could be, at least in part, the result of the imbalance within the KRDF as opposed to that of Hernhill. The average age of those included within the KRDP was never above 35.49 years during the period 1861 to 1891, (Figure 3.7). It was therefore more likely that there would be more 'Offspring' within the households of this group than a group with a wider age range. Moreover the growing numbers of 'Offspring' within the KRDF have been noted earlier in relation to Hinde's study. However unlike Reay's Kent workers, where nuclear families actually lived an extended lifestyle, with kin next door, the railway families who appeared nuclear in construction were undoubtedly nuclear in reality. There is little sign of 'Kin' other than a few with railway kin living nearby.

The arrival of the railway workers in Kingston was, of course, dependent on the appointment of individuals made by railway managers. Familial intimacies had to be abandoned in place of new opportunities. Indeed where three or more railway households found homes within the same road, there appear to be only a few obvious kinship relationships and place of birth connections between household 'Heads'. For instance there were the Ferriers, two households, both came from Crayford in Kent. We have

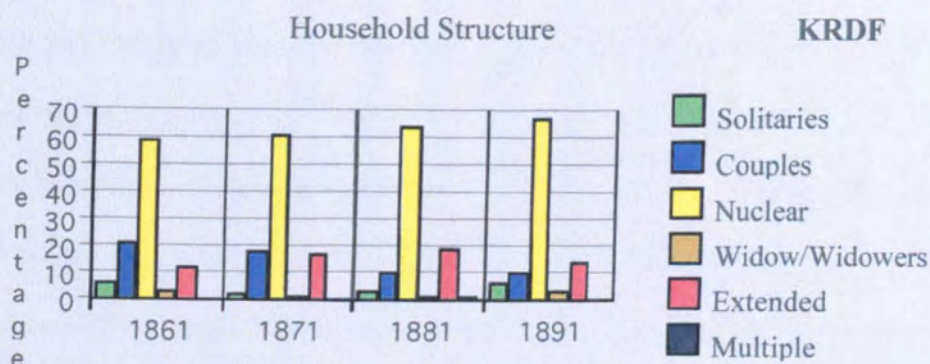


Figure 4.6.

| Household structure railway workers Kingston census area | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|--|
| 1861 - 1891 (in percentages) | | | | | |
| | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | |
| Solitaries | 5.9 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 6.0 | |
| Couples | 20.6 | 18.4 | 10.5 | 10.1 | |
| Nuclear | 58.8 | 60.9 | 63.9 | 67.0 | |
| Widow/Widowers | 2.9 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 2.8 | |
| Extended | 11.8 | 17.2 | 19.5 | 14.2 | |
| Multiple | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | |
| Total Number | 34 | 87 | 134 | 219 | |

Figure 4.7.

Kingston Railway Data taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University.

| Household structure in Hernhill | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1851 - 1891 (in percentages) | | | | | |
| | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 |
| Solitaries | 2.3 | 3.5 | 6.6 | 1.9 | 4.7 |
| No family | | 1.4 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Couples | 18.6 | 12.8 | 14.6 | 12.0 | 22.5 |
| Nuclear | 60.5 | 61.0 | 51.0 | 55.7 | 49.7 |
| Widow/Widowers | 3.9 | 7.1 | 7.9 | 7.0 | 5.2 |
| Unmarried and child | | | | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Extended | 14.7 | 13.5 | 17.2 | 18.3 | 13.9 |
| Multiple | | | 0.7 | 1.3 | 1.7 |
| Co-resident Siblings | | 0.7 | 1.3 | 1.3 | |
| Total Number | 129 | 141 | 151 | 158 | 173 |

Figure 4.8.

Reay, B., *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.159.

already considered Charles Ferrier and his family. However a more obvious exception were the Coulsons who were found on the 1881 census.¹³ These 'Railway Labourers' were obviously kin, probably brothers. Both were living with their wives, in a house in Grafton Road. William Coulson was thirty-four years; Joseph was twenty-four years of age. Both had been born in Cambridgeshire, although in different towns. Their wives had both been born in Norfolk, although again in different towns. The youngest couple had 3 children, a five, a two and one year old, born in Cambridgeshire, Yorkshire and Surrey, thus it is possible to map the probable former places of residence of these families. As the L&SWR lines were mainly in the south, it is possible that these 'Railway Labourers' were working for contractors laying the lines and moving from one area to another.

Apart from the Coulsons, there were no other 'Multiple' households, and it is obvious that once situated in the Kingston environment, workers would have integrated within the local area. However at least two families show that contact was continued over time and distance.

On the 1861 census William Hilditch's sister can be found living with him. William had arrived in the area prior to 1841, in 1851 we find him a widower with a lodger and a housekeeper and two small sons. However the 1861 census shows the household being increased by the arrival of his sister and her 3 daughters. William had been removed from his duties at Kingston (Surbiton) Station in May 1858. He was given three months money and afterwards a pension of £1 1s. 0d. a week, his son having written to the managers. Thus with this pension and his sons working for the railway, the family were financially secure. However, William was unwell and this gives significance to his sister's visit, kin being obviously preferable to paid help at this time. Mary Estlin was a widow, and in 1861 was shown keeping house for William and by having her daughters with her it appears that this was long term.¹⁴ How far they had travelled and how long

they stayed is unknown but the daughters who were in their late teens and early twenties had been born in Spool in Lancashire. They had travelled some distance therefore to provide William with the help he needed whilst his sons were working. Family contact, in this case, had been retained over many years.

Similarly in the case of Archibald Scott, the L&SWR Manager, contact with his sister must have been maintained throughout the time he had lived in Surbiton, which was from the mid 1850s. In 1891 when Archibald was seventy years of age, Helen Scott aged fifty-five years had found a home with her brother.¹⁵ In *The South Western Gazette*, which reported his funeral on the 9 December 1910, it was noted that his sister was one of the chief mourners.¹⁶

Obviously it would have been more difficult to continue interaction with 'Kin' when circumstances and responsibilities placed individuals many miles apart. However a break-down of the data relating to 'Kin' within the railway households puts sisters at the top of the list, as shown in Figure 4.9. During the 1861 to 1891 period 16 sisters were to be found in the households of their brothers, together with 12 sisters in law. Unfortunately as we have seen, William Hilditch had to resort to paid help when his wife died before the 1851 census, however in the three other cases of widowers with young children shown on the later census, one 'Head' had his sister living with him, the other had his sister-in-law, whilst a third had his brother, sister and mother. It becomes obvious therefore that 'Kin' came when there was a need and 'Heads' provided a home for 'Kin' also as appropriate. George Hook a 'Railway Labourer' aged twenty-six and his wife Sarah aged twenty-five living in Alpha Road cared for his eight-year-old sister Katey along with his own children, a three-year-old called George and the baby Ernest.¹⁷ (Unfortunately George died in August 1891 aged thirty-five years). It should not be forgotten that there were also 13 railway personnel (KRDP) during 1861 to 1891, who

| Family Members Staying With Kingston Railway 'Heads' | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | Total |
| Sister | 1 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 16 |
| Niece | 3 | | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| Sister in law | | 3 | 6 | 3 | 12 |
| Mother | | 2 | 2 | 6 | 10 |
| Mother in law | | 1 | 2 | 6 | 9 |
| Father | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Nephew | | 2 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| Brother | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| G.Daughter | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| G.Son | 3 | | | 2 | 5 |
| Brother in law | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Cousin | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Father in law | | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| Married Daughter | | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Son in law | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| Ward | 1 | 1 | | | 2 |
| Daughter in law | 1 | 1 | | | 2 |
| Brother to Wife | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Family Member/Lodger | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Father's Wife | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Total | 12 | 19 | 35 | 43 | 109 |
| Railway Heads Totals | 34 | 87 | 134 | 219 | 474 |
| Percentage of Kin to Heads | 35.3 | 21.8 | 26.1 | 19.6 | 23.0 |

Figure 4.9

Kingston Railway Data taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University.

lived with 'Heads' unconnected with the service, 3 nephews, 4 brothers, 2 sons in law, 2 brothers in law and 1 grand nephew, see Figure 2.1, page 40. Moreover many of the 'Sons' who were railway workers and not included in the KRPF lived within households where their widowed mothers were the 'Head'.

Richard Cooper is found on every census from 1851 to 1891. A 'Pointsman' and a 'Signalman', in his latter years he became a 'Porter'. He lived with his wife Sarah in Cottage Grove throughout the forty years of the census, and over this period his 5 children gradually left home. Sarah died in February 1889. On the 1891 census he is found aged seventy-nine years living with his seventeen year-old grand-daughter Lydia. He died on the 31 May 1891.¹⁸

Certainly, as Barry Reay points out these glimpses of household relationships are very incomplete pictures. Nevertheless we know for certain that between 1861 and 1891, 109 'Kin' stayed within 474 families during four census periods, that 13 railway workers lived with relatives who were unconnected with the service, and that 23 railway sons lived with their widowed mothers during 1881 and 1891. Moreover during the ten-year gaps between each census there is every chance that many more cases of interaction with 'Kin' occurred. Thus there is irrefutable evidence that 'Kin' regardless of living many miles apart, remained in contact over long periods of time.

Household Strategies

Barry Reay writing in *Rural England* considers that women's work in rural England involved two economies. There was the formal economy with a wage, which was ruled by men, and the informal economy without a wage, located within the family.¹⁹ However, the alternatives to agricultural labour varied from county to county, from lace-making and plaiting straw in Bedfordshire to employment in the woollen and cotton

industries in Yorkshire.²⁰

What is marked within the KRDF is that so few wives participated in the formal economy. Figure 4.10. shows that in 1861 out of thirty-four families only 4 wives were involved in work where payment came from outside the home, 1 wife was a dressmaker, the others included a twenty-one year old brewhouse labourer and 2 laundresses, in 1871 out of eighty-seven families there were only 6 wives formally employed, these included 3 dressmakers, a charwoman, a laundress and a straw plaiter. In the latter census years the percentage of wives working within the formal economy was even less. Out of one hundred and thirty-four families in 1881 there was again only 6 wives working for payment outside the home and in 1891 out of two hundred and nineteen families only 10 wives were involved. In these cases the type of work did not differ from previous years, being those of dressmaker and laundress, although in 1891 within their number there was a nurse. In comparison with information given by Reay where in many country areas a high percentage of wives were employed in home industry, most of which was outwork and very poorly paid, the KRDF wives remained outside such activities. In Kingston and to some extent Surbiton, the influx of workers coming into the area created a need for places to stay, thus railway wives along with many other wives within the locality provided lodging, and in some cases boarding, for individuals who arrived from outside the area. It seems probable that with careful planning, the needs of 'Boarders', 'Lodgers' or 'Kin', could be fitted into the normal daily routine, with a minimum of inconvenience and possibly, with careful planning, a reasonable financial return.

There were some who obviously found the situation very profitable. The Mudyck's in 1881, lived in the Forester Arms, in 30 Brighton Road. Harry an 'Engine Cleaner Railway' and Charlotte his wife, both aged thirty-nine, had 2 daughters and 8 boarders

under their roof. Ten years later, Harry with his name spelt Mudgett on the 1891 census, was no longer employed by the railway. His household was now much smaller and included his wife, daughters, a servant and 2 lodgers; he was now a 'Licensed Victualler' and his place of residence the Cocoa Mill Public House in Mill Street.²¹ Obviously this occupation had been found to be more profitable than his railway duties.

There were two other railway families who on the 1891 census had more than the average number of boarders or lodgers. Alfred Allen a 'Railway Engine Driver', and his wife Elizabeth who lived in Gibbon Road, had 2 sons and 6 boarders.²² The boarders consisted of a 'Printer compositor', a 'Governess' born in Mauritius Africa and her 4 pupils aged six to ten years who had been born in Chertsey. The Tuckey's, Edwin a clerk in one of the railway offices, who was forty-seven and his wife Ellen aged thirty-six years, ran an establishment called Silchar House in Fife Road.²³ The couple childless, catered for the needs of the more educated elitist boarder. Boarding with them at this time was a 'Methodist Preacher', a 'Land Agent', a 'Solicitor' and an 'Army Tutor'. Mrs Tuckey had a servant as an aid in her activities.

From Figure 4.11. it can be seen that over 40 per cent of the railway families in the Kingston area between 1861 and 1891 had one or more second incomes. However a second income would not have doubled the family budget. Certainly the Mudgetts, the Allens and the Tuckeys would have found their second occupations profitable, but other individuals such as the Frys, who in 1871 lived in Elm Grove, would have acquired far less from their endeavours and undoubtedly were more inconvenienced by accommodating several lodgers in a very small property.

Although by 1891 Figure 4.10. shows that 73 of the children living within the railway family units were working, 22 of these being daughters, (Figure 2.2), and that these

Household Income

KRDF

| | Total number of rail families | Families more than 1 income | Lodger/ boarders/ kin | Wives income outside home | Children working |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1861 | 34 | 16 | 14 | 4 | 10 |
| 1871 | 87 | 37 | 41 | 6 | 11 |
| 1881 | 134 | 65 | 59 | 6 | 35 |
| 1891 | 219 | 107 | 72 | 10 | 73 |

Figure 4.10

| | Families | Percentage of households with more than 1 income | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | 2 incomes | 3 incomes | 4 incomes | 5+incomes |
| 1861 | 16 | 47.1 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| 1871 | 37 | 42.5 | 23 | 11 | 3 | 0 |
| 1881 | 65 | 48.5 | 43 | 18 | 1 | 3 |
| 1891 | 107 | 48.9 | 70 | 20 | 12 | 5 |
| | Families | Percentage of couples/solitaires with only 1 income | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 1861 | 6 | 17.6 | | | | |
| 1871 | 9 | 10.3 | | | | |
| 1881 | 11 | 8.2 | | | | |
| 1891 | 28 | 12.8 | | | | |
| | Families | Percentage of families with children with only 1 income | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 1861 | 7 | 20.6 | | | | |
| 1871 | 32 | 36.8 | | | | |
| 1881 | 50 | 37.3 | | | | |
| 1891 | 71 | 32.4 | | | | |
| | Families | Percentage of families with servants with only 1 income | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 1861 | 5 | 14.7 | | | | |
| 1871 | 9 | 10.3 | | | | |
| 1881 | 8 | 6.0 | | | | |
| 1891 | 13 | 5.9 | | | | |
| Totals | | | | | | |
| 1861 | 34 | 100 | | | | |
| 1871 | 87 | 100 | | | | |
| 1881 | 134 | 100 | | | | |
| 1891 | 219 | 100 | | | | |

Figure 4.11.

Kingston Railway Data taken from
Kingston upon Thames Local History
Database Kingston University.

‘Offspring’ would have paid towards their keep, the margin of excess in their wages would have been relatively small. However some remuneration from these activities would have found its way into the family budget. In these cases however the remuneration received came from the formal economy. Similarly there would also have been some daughters working away from home, although these are not shown on the railway census. The remuneration for a young servant in 1902 was £1 per calendar month. Although the young person was given food, if a breakage occurred, the money was taken from the wages, and with shoe leather and clothes to find there would be little left from payment at the end of the month.²⁴ In Kingston as in many other areas of the country, young women entered domestic service at the age of fourteen years of age, and families would have been in receipt of small sums from these daughters, although it is unlikely that the amount would have been significant. Thus the indications are that family income in most instances was limited, wives rarely participating in the formal economy, but in the case of ‘Offspring’ most young people who worked did so outside the home.

Figure 4.11. also shows that in 1861, 20 per cent of families with children, rising to over 30 per cent in 1871, had only income from the ‘Head’. The most difficult period in the life cycle of the family unit was the period when the children were young. However if money was in short supply, even very young children worked. This can be seen both in some factories areas and in agriculture during this period. It would appear to be significant therefore that in the KRDF, between 1851 and 1891, only 2 children have been found working below the age of fourteen years, (Figure 2.2). The first was Henry Edmonds, aged twelve years, in 1861 an ‘Errand boy’ living in Alpha Road with his father William a ‘Porter’ and his mother Emma a ‘Dressmaker.’²⁵ The circumstance of his early move into the labour market, however, was probably motivated by ambition rather than poverty. By 1871 Henry, aged twenty-two years, was a ‘Printer Compositor’ and

the family had moved to Richmond Grove. The second child was Frederick Bristow who in 1871 aged thirteen years was a 'Grocer's assistant', and lived in Westfield Road.²⁶ By 1881 the Bristow's had left the area.

Apart from family incomes, there would have been many unrecorded activities which saved money and which were part of day-to-day living. From the census it is impossible to gauge how many individuals had allotments and if gardens were of sufficient size, how many families kept chickens. As we have seen many of the railway workers had arrived from the country and such activities, an integral part of an agrarian lifestyle, would have been carried into the urban environment.

There were also many couples or solitary workers with only one income. In 1861 the six in this group 17.6 per cent of the whole, consisted of the Petts who were both fifty-six years of age, and the Wisley's who were sixty-four and fifty-eight years.²⁷ The Clarks were in their forties, the Halseys and Dunns in their thirties while the Woodmans were slightly younger.²⁸ Five of the men out of the six couples worked within the uniformed grades. By 1891 there were twenty-eight families out of two hundred and nineteen, 12.8 per cent of the total number with only one income. Again the men 'Heading' these 'couples' were mainly uniformed grades. Thus it appears that there must have been a sufficiency of income to allow the wives to remain without employment. In 1891 there were thirteen railway families with servants. The numbers of railway managerial staff and clerks living within the Kingston census area were higher than the national average. Neither Surbiton nor Kingston were idyllic both had sewerage problems well into the nineteenth century, and in Kingston there were some areas where infant mortality was as high as in the metropolis. However for those with a good income and able to choose a prime location this was a good place to live. It was within easy access of Nine Elms and Waterloo, where the L&SWR offices were situated, but also remote from the dirt, grime

and disease of the city.

Certainly from the census material there is no evidence of extreme poverty, even among the poorer sections of the railway community in the area. Moreover, although having a large number of children was initially a burden on family finances, children would be an insurance for the future, a higher income for the family at a later period. Indeed, as has already been noted, by 1891 sons were remaining within the family home for far longer than the earlier period.

Railway Persisters

There is a basic incompatibility between Dr French's study that identifies residential persistence within the Kingston census area, and persistence within the KRD.²⁹ The elements of this incompatibility have been considered briefly, earlier in this chapter, and are explained as the difference between a census area with the full range of population which included an age range dating from birth to death, and with a variety of occupations, as opposed to a male dominated occupational group within a specific age range. Thus 'in depth' comparisons between the two groups is not possible, as railway persistence during the nineteenth century, particularly those of the uniformed grades, was mainly work related, with the railway deciding who should remain and who should be transferred to locations outside the Kingston area. However the methods used by French, that of dealing with named individuals and life cycles, is a useful tool with which to consider the differences between railway persisters and the main group of railway personnel as found within the KRD.

It has already been noted that out of the 657 railway personnel, many with families, shown on the 1851 to 1891 Kingston census, only 2 railwaymen remained within the locality throughout the five census periods, 3 remained for four and 14 remained for

Persisters Occupations and Residential Movements

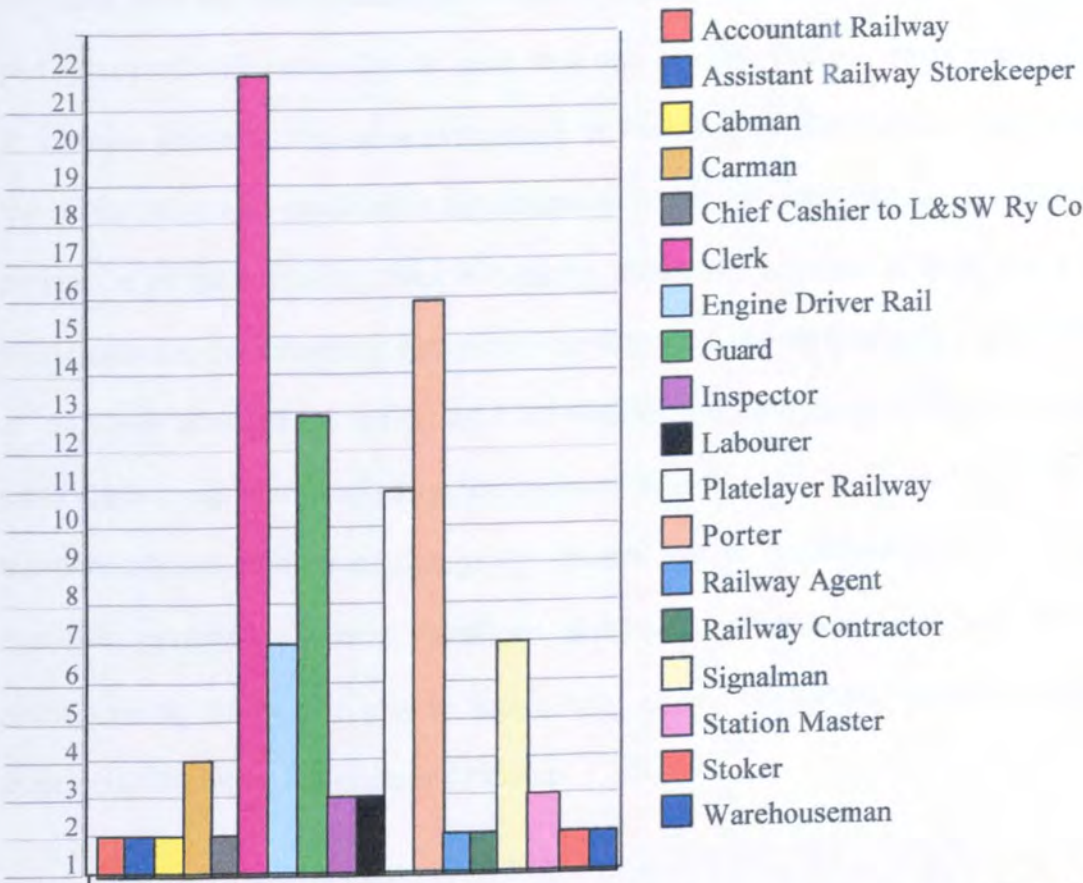
Figure 4.12

| NAMES/BIRTH | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Richard Cooper | Signalman | Pointsman | Signalman | Signalman | Porter |
| Thames Ditton | Railway Station | Cottage Grove | Cottage Grove | Cottage Grove | Cottage Grove |
| Thomas Maynard | Porter | Porter | Signalman | Signalman | Porter |
| Hampshire | Leatherhead Road | Brighton Road | Brighton Road | Brighton Road | Brighton Road |
| Charles Smith | Pointsman | Pointsman | Porter | | |
| Kingston, Surrey | Surbiton Hill | Alpha Road | Alpha Road 4 Lamb Place | | |
| Silas Lush | | Porter | Porter | | Porter |
| Gillingham Dorset | | Cottage Grove | Westfield Road | | Westfield Road |
| Archibald Scott | | Railway Manager | Railway Manager | Railway Manager | Railway Director |
| Scotland | | Uxbridge Road | Gordon House South Bank | | |
| William Edmonds | | Porter | Porter | Porter | Signalman |
| Berkshire | | Alpha Road | Richmond Grove | Richmond Grove | Richmond Grove |
| James Dunn | | Platelayer | Platelayer | Platelayer | Platelayer |
| Worcestershire | | New Malden | Cambridge Road | Grafton Road | Grafton Road |
| Robert Halsey | Porter | Signalman | Porter | Signalman | |
| Bridport | | Surbiton Station | Brighton Road | St Leonards Road | |
| Frederick Baker | | | Signalman | Signalman | Signalman |
| Surrey | | | Gloucester Road | Elton Road | Elton Road |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| John Buckwell | <i>Scholar</i> | <i>Labr.Cocoa Fibre Mill</i> | Porter | | Figure 4.13 |
| Margaret Buckwell | | | | Waiting Room Attendant | |
| Hampshire | | | Canbury Place | Cowlease Road | East Road |
| Alfred Denny | | | Labourer | Porter | Porter |
| Surrey | | | Glenbuck Road | Glenbuck Road | Clay Lane |
| Augustus Ferrier | | | Porter | Porter | Porter |
| Kent | | | Cleaveland Road | Cleaveland Road | Cleaveland Road |
| Edwin Newbury | | | Porter | Railway Guard | Railway Driver |
| Devonshire | | | Gloucester Road | St Georges Place. | St Georges Place. |
| William Solomon | | | Inspector L & SWR | Inspector | Ticket Examiner |
| Surrey | | | Paragon Place | Paragon Place | Paragon Place |
| Louis Stenning | | | Engine Driver | Engine Driver | Engine Driver |
| Middlesex | | | Elm Grove | Gibbon Road | 1 Waltham Villas |
| Joseph Tester | | | Porter | Ticket Collector | Ticket Collector |
| Sussex | | | St Leonards Sq. | St. Leonards Sq | St. Leonards Sq |
| William Tippet | | | Porter | Railway Collector | Railway Porter |
| Hampshire | | | Cleaveland Road | Arlington House | |
| Thomas Wright | <i>Garden Labourer</i> | <i>Journeyman Blacksmith</i> | Railway Smith | Railway Smith | Railway Smith |
| Kingston, Surrey | | | Mill Street | Mill Street | High Street |
| John Wyatt | | | Signalman | Signalman | Employee |
| Guildford, Surrey | | | Elm Road M. | Elm Road M | Elm Road M |

The Growth of Railway Persistence

KRD



Showing those who stayed two census periods but not including the 19 who stayed longer.

1851 - 1861 2
1861 - 1871 2
1871 - 1881 4
1881 - 1891 79

By 1881 for many railwaymen living in the Kingston census area had become a matter of choice not necessity. It is possible that some of the 79 railway personnel moved on after 1891 but equally possible that many families stayed and remained within the area into the 20th century.

Figure 4.14.

Kingston Railway Data taken from Kingston upon Thames Local History Database Kingston University.

three. These railway personnel are shown in Figures 4.12. and 4.13. The smallness of this group relates to the lack of personnel arriving originally to man the railway, however it becomes apparent when reading the Traffic Minutes that it was the policy of the railway managers to move certain staff, at frequent intervals. There is no rationale as why this was so, but it could have been a means whereby staff gained experience, particular staff with promotion in mind. It is also possible that managers saw movement as a means whereby criminal activity might be discouraged. On the other hand many of the uniformed grades remained at the stations to which they were first assigned for a large proportion of their working lives. Movement sometimes occurred if there was a minor misdemeanour, but excepting station masters who were moved frequently, the movement of the lower ranks of the uniformed staff was far less than many of the office grades, particularly those who worked on the stations. It is therefore not surprising that all of the occupational profiles of this group, except that of Archibald Scott, the General Manager, consisted of porters, signalmen, platelayers, pointsmen, ticket collectors and a railway smith. These men may be found living around the stations where they worked, these being Surbiton, Kingston and Malden.

Unlike the Kingston persisters only 3 of this group had lived in Kingston prior to joining the railway, although Richard Cooper came from Thames Ditton, which was only a short distance from the Kingston census area. Most of the group found accommodation on arrival but moved within the first decade to an address where they stayed until they either left the area or in the case of Richard Cooper, they died. On the other hand those arriving in 1871 appear to have found adequate accommodation from the beginning of their arrival into the area. The exception was Robert Halsey and the Buckwell family, who moved every decade. Why Robert Halsey moved is unknown but Mrs Buckwell having taken over as 'Waiting Room Attendant' after her husband's death during the

1870s was obviously aiming to better her circumstances. By 1891, the census shows that her children were working but remaining with their mother in the house in East Road, see Figure 4.15. This accommodation would have been far superior to that in which she had lived prior to 1891. The housing in Canbury Place has been demolished and only one house remains standing in Cowlease Road.

During the early period moving from one house to another was possibly associated with the poor living conditions within the vicinity. The Edmonds' family made every effort to move. Alpha Road was almost a quagmire during the 1850s³⁰ The family had moved to Richmond Grove by 1871. The exception within the early persisters was Archibald Scott, the General Manager and on the 1891 census, 'Director', who was present during four census periods. In 1861 Mr Scott was living in Uxbridge Road. He moved to Gordon House, Southbank before the 1871 census. Uxbridge Road was within a fifteen-minute brisk walk to Surbiton Station, but during the winter might have taken longer. Gordon House, on the other hand, was only a few minutes walk down hill from the back of Surbiton station, thus his commuting backwards and forward was made much easier by this move. In his particular circumstance he obviously liked living in the area for he could have moved to another location without inconvenience. This preference for the Kingston/Surbiton vicinity as a place to live initially shown by Mr Scott was experienced by other railway personnel towards the end of the period.

The 87 who stayed for two census periods mainly did so at the end of the nineteenth century. Here again there were those who, like the Colleys, had been in the area prior to joining the railway. Of the 87, there were 2 who are to be found on the 1851 to 1861 census and include the Hilditch family who, having arrived before 1841 were the first railway family in the vicinity, 2 are shown in 1861 to 1871 and 4 in 1871 to 1881. The remainder are found as residents on the last two census periods 1881 to 1891. Figure



26 East Road the home of Margaret Buckwell and her children is in the centre of the picture. Margaret lived in Canbury Place and Cowlease Road before moving to East Road prior to 1891. The house was undoubtedly superior to her previous homes. Canbury Place has disappeared and only one house remains in Cowlease Road. Margaret died on the March 18 1909 and is buried in Bonner Hill Cemetery. (Kingston Life Cycles Database)

Figure 4.15.

4.14. shows the variety of grades within this group, and that during this later period more railway workers and railway managers were living in the area than would have been working within the locality of the stations. Out of the 87 there were 21 clerks, 15 porters, 12 guards and 10 platelayers. Also among this number was an accountant and a chief cashier. Certainly it does appear that by 1881 the Kingston census area, as a place to live, had become a matter of choice not necessity.

From viewing the occupations of the early group of persisters it is obvious that by staying in the location they had not achieved 'upward occupational mobility'. Richard Cooper was shown on the census from 1851 to 1891 as a signalman, pointsman, signalman, signalman, porter. These were all responsible occupations but he appears not to have progressed beyond his original occupation. Most of those shown in Figures 4.12. and 4.13. were similarly placed, except Edwin Newbury who advanced from porter, to guard, and then to engine driver.³¹ Being prepared to be uprooted periodically did aid the chance of promotion in certain positions within the Company. This was particularly true of the clerks who worked on the stations. However those who worked in the London offices progressed within their departments and were not subject to the same periodic disruption. Change of location for these obviously superior clerks was a matter of choice. The salaries of the clerks within the London offices were on average far higher than those who worked on the stations. By 1881 at least seventy-nine railway families had made their homes with some permanency within the Kingston census location and continued to remain in the area up to and beyond 1891.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered 'Household Structure', 'Kinship' and related issues, comparing and contrasting Hinde and Reay's findings with the information collated from the data on the Kingston railway workers. Consideration has also been given concerning

the railway personnel remaining within the Kingston area using the methods utilised by Dr. French in his paper, with an object of finding why some workers remained within the location.

The Kingston Railway Family Data, (KRDF) shows that once released from the constraints of agriculture the age of marriage decreased, particularly in 1871, however between 1881 and 1891 there is evidence that the age of marriage for railway workers had again increased and that the numbers of children being born were also reducing. It appears that by the 1880s, there may have been elements present within the urban area, which replaced the restraints experienced within the agrarian setting.

Nearly 60 per cent of the railway families appear to be nuclear in construction and there is little sign of 'Kin' living nearby in the area. However a breakdown of the relatives living within the railway families shows that on census nights between and including 1861 to 1891 the four hundred and seventy-four railway families shown on the census had 109 relatives living within their family units and that during this period more than 40 per cent of these families had more than one income.

A break down of the railway census data shows 657 individuals, during the 1851 to 1891 Kingston census period, came and worked on the railway. However only 2 remained within the locality throughout the five census periods, 4 for four and 13 for three. Thus only 9 per cent of railway persisters stayed for more than twenty years. One of these individuals was a manager. The other 18 men were employed on the local stations and lines; out of these uniformed 'servants' only Edwin Newbury found promotion, rising from being a porter to become an engine driver. The 87 who stayed for two census periods mainly did so at the end of the nineteenth century and it is noticeable that this group included all grades, many of whom would have been managers working in the

offices within the London area. Thus it is possible to assume that by the end of the nineteenth century, particularly those working in London, had found the location a pleasant place in which to live and were prepared to settle in the locality permanently.

- ¹ P.R.A.Hinde, 'Household structure' in D. Mills, and K. Schurer, (eds.), *Local Communities*, pp.317-25; Reay *Microhistories*; Reay, B., *Rural England: Labouring Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (Palgrave MacMillan, Hampshire, 2004).
- ² French *Persistence in a Local Community*.
- ³ Hinde 'Household structure', pp.317-25..
- ⁴ Hinde 'Household structure', pp.324-5.
- ⁵ 1871,1881,1891 Margaret Buckwell, Person No.40526.
- ⁶ Giles, 'Fertility and related issues'.
- ⁷ 1871 John Leadbitter, Person No. 36753.
1871,1881 George Thornton, Person No. 36754.
- ⁸ 1871 John Fry, Person No. 34900
- ⁹ 1881,1891, George Spencer, Person No. 69703.
- ¹⁰ The houses within the Canbury Sample were:
Acre Road, Beresford Road, Canbury, Cowlease Road, Canbury Passage, Canbury Place, Deacon Road, Elm Crescent, Elm Grove, Elm Road, Florence Road, Hudson Road, Lowther Road, Willoughby Road, Canbury Park Road.
- ¹¹ French, *Death in Kingston upon Thames*, pp.7-8.
- ¹² Reay, *Microhistories*, pp.156-7.
- ¹³ 1881 William Coulson Person No.58284; 1881 Joseph Coulson Person No. 58286.
- ¹⁴ 1861 census Mary Estlin, Person No. 25317.
- ¹⁵ 1891 census Helen Scott, Person No. 88901.
- ¹⁶ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.
- ¹⁷ 1881, 1891 George Hook, Person No. 49474.
- ¹⁸ 1851,1861,1871,1881,1891 Richard Cooper, Person No. 5073.

¹⁹ Reay, *Rural Englands*, p.51., cites D. Gittins, 'Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930, in J.Lewis (ed.), *Labour and Love* (Oxford, 1986), p.251; E. Higgs 'Women, Occupations and Work in the nineteenth-century censuses', *History Workshop Journal*, vol.23, Spring (1986), p.60.

²⁰ Reay, *Rural Englands*, pp.61-4.

²¹ 1881,1891, Harry Mudgett, Person Number 56066.

²² 1891, Alfred Allen, Person No. 88208.

²³ 1881, 1891, Edwin Tuckey, Person No. 51341.

²⁴ Anecdotal evidence Jessie Spencer (1891 census) Person No. 90643.

²⁵ 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, William Edmonds, Person No. 21004.

²⁶ 1861, 1871 John Bristow, Person No. 17470.

²⁷ 1861, John Wisley, Person No. 24685.

²⁸ 1851, 1861, William Clark, Person No. 3138; 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, Robert Halsey, Person No. 6585; 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, James Dunn, Person No. 23108; 1861, William Woodman, Person No. 23350

²⁹ French *Persistence in a Local Community*.

³⁰ Richardson, *Surbiton: Thirty Two years of Local Self Government*, p.23.

³¹ 1871, 1881, 1891, Edwin Newbury, Person No. 26450.

Chapter Five

The Early Years 1839 - 1850

To view the L&SWR experience as uniform over the whole period of the nineteenth century, is to miss the differences between the early years when both managers and staff were grappling with the expansion of the network, and a later period when routine and rigid discipline prevailed. Although the absence of the Traffic Minutes between September 1850 and July 1857 is regrettable, the gap does provide a natural break between the years when the system was in its infancy and a later more orderly period. Moreover some of the gaps left by this absence are bridged by the Special Committees Minute Book dated 1849 to 1858.¹

In this chapter the early years of the railway will be considered, a period when small errors of judgment could result in a prison sentence for railway 'servants'. However even during these early years there was a fundamental policy of care for those uniformed staff who became victims of accident. By the mid 1840s there was a Friendly Society subsidised by the Company and which, following membership and the appropriate subscription rate, would fund both sick and injury absences. Payment of gratuities and doctors' fees following accidents were made by the managers, and a return to work policy for those who had recovered sufficiently to resume their duties was also in place, although on most occasions, resumption from accident necessitated menial work. Although at first sight, given the laissez faire social policy in Britain at this time, this treatment of staff appeared surprising, it will be argued that this early 'paternalism' would have been expected from a Company conscious of its public image. Nevertheless

there is evidence that during these early years the welfare and safety of the staff was of secondary importance compared with the problems associated with line construction and early railway management.

It was also during this period that the interaction between parliamentary bodies and the railway companies was formalised, whilst at the same time a system of corporate management was established which, although initially ineffective and crude, evolved over time into a corporate force with a wealth of expertise. Both these factors were important catalysts in the welfare policies of a later period.

Railway Planning and Fulfilment

The railway line took much longer to finish than anticipated, causing considerable frustration to both the Board and the shareholders. As focus had been on completion, and the enterprise new, many of the problems and the type of demand required of the service, were not reliably anticipated.

It took many years before the L&SWR became a working reality. In August 1826 a Robert Johnston first wrote to Abel Rous Dottin, the Member of Parliament for Southampton, suggesting that there should be a railway from the town. It took a further fourteen years before the line between Southampton and Nine Elms was opened, and another two and a half years before the Gosport extension was completed, creating a link between Portsmouth and Southampton.² Compared with the acquisition of a factory site, such as that of Josiah Wedgwood's Etruria, when a suitable plot of land was located, and matters proceeded in an orderly progression thereafter, the complications of acquiring land and building a railway line were enormous.³ In the case of the London and Southampton, the site of the proposed line was to be a thin slice of land seventy eight

miles long, which, in some instances, cut through estates and permanently altered the landscape. In laying a railway line landowners had to be encouraged to sell and shareholders to invest. It has already been mentioned that in order to attract investors it was an advantage to be able to offer the benefits of limited liability, which came with incorporation by private Act of Parliament. Involving Parliament appears to have affected the enterprise in two important ways. First the venture was slow to come to fruition but also, as we shall see later, it was to result in a close relationship between what was eventually to become the L&SWR Board and Parliamentary figures. Indeed six of those who attended the Court of Directors meetings between 1839 and 1850 were also at some time, during this period, Members of Parliament.⁴

The railway line took many years to become a working reality, and although the first passenger train ran through Surbiton on the 21 May 1838, and the line between Winchfield and Basingstoke, Southampton and Winchester were both opened on the 10 June 1839, the line between Nine Elms and Southampton was not completed and officially opened until the 11 May 1840.⁵ The urgency felt by the directors can be heard in the words of William Reed, the Company Secretary, when he was examined by the *Select Committee on Railways* on the 26 April 1839. After applying for power to extend the railway to Gosport. He stated:

we have an object in view; we have the money to accomplish that object, and the means of every sort, and we are very anxious to get on with the work...the Portsmouth trade forms a very considerable item in our estimate of the revenue... to defer that for a year, is to ask us to give up a large sum of money which we think we ought to earn; and also, withholding from the public the accommodation which they ought to possess.⁶

One can picture the irritation of the directors when after the extension to Gosport was agreed and the work started the fifteen and three quarter mile track which would allow access to Portsmouth traffic, was found particularly difficult to lay. A tunnel half a mile

long proved to be so unstable that Joseph Locke closed it for more than two months after only four days of the line being opened. Nock quotes the Board of Trade as saying that although they had 'not observed any cause for apprehension in respect of the tunnel...(they)...could take no responsibility for such work...and that this must rest with the directors of the company.' The line was opened again on the 7 February 1842.⁷

Many problems were not anticipated because of the newness of railway travel. For instance the railway carriages had been built by people who constructed them on the lines of stage coaches. They were too light and slight for railway work, and Joseph Beattie's first job on taking over the running of the Carriage Department was to rebuild and furnish the carriages with stronger springs.⁸ A further problem according to Sam Fay was that Mr Easthope interfered personally in all departments:

He not only gave directions concerning the working of traffic, but appointed the majority of employés (sic), nine-tenths of whom, it was wickedly said, were "free and independent" voters of the Borough of Leicester, for which Mr Easthope was M.P. The engineers' department being interfered with as much as any other, Mr Locke at length rebelled, and threatened to leave the concern...⁹

Moreover the amount of training received by those who were actually in the forefront of the service was questionable. Some of the instructions appear to have been put in place after the service had started and after incidents had occurred. According to R.A. Williams the first inexperienced employees were trained by a man called Davis, who with a few porters, had left a northern line to work for the London and Southampton.¹⁰ Fay writes concerning Davis that he was:

an Irishman troubled with a very fiery temper, which led to his receiving a request from the board to resign, and accept the less onerous duties of agent at Weybridge.¹¹

Although there is a degree of humour attached to the following example of early railway directives, they show the limitations and dangers incurred by compiling rules and regulations piecemeal after incidents had occurred.

In June 1840 when a train left Kingston (Surbiton) Station without a guard the following directive was issued:

that the Drivers of the Engines are not to start without the bell being rung and that the clerks at the Stations be instructed upon no account to fail at the appointed time to ring the bell instead of starting the trains by a verbal direction.¹²

On September 1841 a further directive stated:

That with respect to the starting the trains at Stations after the Bell has been rung the train shall not start until the Guard shows a white flag or Lamp to the Engine man and that he shall see that the Passengers are seated and the doors of the Carriages closed before he shows his flag.¹³

By October 1841 there were still problems:

That upon all occasions of the starting a train the same is not to be put into motion until at least half a minute has elapsed between the ringing the bell, the Guard seeing that all the passengers are in the carriages and taking his seat, when he is then to give the signal for departure and that upon no occasion shall a train be started without both guards being in their seats and the signal is not to be given until they have taken their places. Resolved that Mr Martin be instructed to forward a copy of the foregoing Resolution to each of the Guards and Engine driver.¹⁴

However in February 1842 an instruction was issued:

Read letter from the Rev. Mr Coffin complaining of the Agent at the Basingstoke Station in not allowing him to proceed by the train he having arrived after the specified time for Booking passengers although the train had not departed. The Committee in reference to the Rev Mr Coffins (sic) complaint of being left at the Basingstoke Station on the morning of the 5th inst. although he reached the office prior to the departure of the 7 o'clock down train are of opinion that there was a great want of discretion on the part of Mr New in refusing to book the Reverend Gentleman by the train. In carrying out the regulations of the Directors Mr New should always bear in mind that they are framed for the general convenience of the Public and not that of their servants and in their execution a reasonable relaxation when in favor (sic) of the Public is intended to be exercised by their Agents and Servants, and in no case to be enforced in an offensive or arbitrary manner. The Committee recommend that a copy of this minute to be transmitted to the Chief clerk at each of the Company's Stations.¹⁵

This last instruction appears to undermine the previous directives. Mr New was obviously applying the rules rigidly, but in the circumstances of the time, when there was no communication between trains, nor between guard and driver, punctuality was of utmost importance.¹⁶

A further incident mentioned by Bagwell quoting from *The Times*, 4 August 1845 shows the inadequacy of early L&SWR labour control. Certain men at Nine Elms who were expected to work from six in the morning until ten or later at night for a wage of 18 to 20 shillings a week, handed over a petition for shorter hours or payment of overtime.

Immediately the petition was presented, the chief clerk 'went down by express engine to all the stations between London and Southampton' with an agreement for every porter on the line to sign, requiring him to remain at the existing rate of wages and to undertake not to leave the service without a month's notice. The men at the provincial stations signed 'under the belief that the London men had done so'. The chief clerk then returned to London to induce the Nine Elms men to sign by showing them the other porters' signatures.

Thirty-nine London men refused to sign and were dismissed.¹⁷ Even if the incident was exaggerated, it shows that seven years into the running of the service, labour control was haphazard and crude.

During the early years there were several incidents and accidents. Some of these were not serious, for instance Mrs Tennant had been left at Kingston (Surbiton) Station by the unhooking of one of the carriages on the mail train in April 1840. The Traffic Committee agreed to pay her ten shillings the cost of her conveyance to Weybridge. 'Mr Stovin being instructed to determine upon whom it is to be levied.'¹⁸ There were, however, at least six serious accidents judging by the number of claimants, these occurred in Winchester during 1840, Wimbledon 1847, Richmond 1848, Woking 1848, Richmond 1849 and Basingstoke 1850. Members of the public were not adverse to creating hazards.¹⁹ Planks were laid across the track, stones thrown at the trains, horses and carts driven across the line.²⁰ The L&SWR managers were not always successful in their bid to prosecute once an offender had been apprehended. In April 1847 after a Mr Pendry had been committed for trial at the Sessions for crossing the Richmond line with his horse and cart, it was noted that he was not convicted 'through the imperfect wording of the Act of Parliament which was referred to the Court for consideration.'²¹

However although during the early years railway travel appears to have been precarious the public were not deterred. Indeed the sudden upsurge of demand undoubtedly took the early railway managers by surprise. The line between Nine Elms and Southampton did not serve any town of major importance except Winchester, the promoters having deliberately bypassed certain areas to cause less disruption to housing. Colonel Henderson, the first chairman of the London and Southampton Railway Board, in his initial speech promoting the railway at a meeting in 1831 claimed that two trips a day each way would be sufficient for passengers at the opening of the line. This was based on a report showing 100,000 persons annually using passage vessels at Southampton.²² However the situation was found to be vastly different. Only eight days after the railway was opened on 21 May 1838, William Reed advertised in *The Times* newspaper that there would be extra trains for Epsom races. This was only a small advertisement on page two of the paper and hidden amongst other advertising. The advertisement is shown in Figure 5.1, on page 143.²³ On the 31 May 1838 a report stated.

It is speaking very much within bounds to say that at an early hour upwards of 5,000 persons were assembled at the gates of the Southampton Railway at Nine Elms, near Vauxhall, for the purpose of going by railroad trains to the Kingston station and from thence by other conveyances to the race course. The steamboats which ply from London Bridge and from Hungerford were filled with passengers who made sure of getting down to Epsom by the railroad. Hundreds were fated to be disappointed. There were ten times more applicants for seats in the train vans than there were seats for their accommodation.²⁴

Fay writes that calculations regarding the twelve weeks prior to 13 August 1838, shows that passenger numbers had reached 93,795 with receipts of £11,059. 12s. 3d.²⁵ Thus within three months of the line opening between Nine Elms to Woking Common, on average more than 1,000 passengers per day were using the service, more than three times the original estimation. (Prior to electrification of the suburban services the Company were to carry 35,000 passengers annually, over 94,000 daily.)²⁶ The directors had

calculated the extent of public demand inaccurately. There was little provision for third class passengers, the 'labouring classes', many of whom could not have afforded to have taken the stage coach, had not been considered to be potential customers. Fay writes:

A framework with seats, fitted on the bed of a carriage truck, constituted the vehicle in which third class passengers travelled in those days...On a wet day the conditions of poor wretches condemned by poverty to travel in such conveyances may be more easily imagined than described; if they turned their backs to the storm the rain ran down their necks, if they faced it their eyes became blinded and their pockets filled with water...²⁷

By 1844 the Railway Act instigating the Parliamentary Train costing one penny a mile stopping at all stations, involved the management in further planning and increased the numbers using the service.²⁸

It was, however, the build up of the system which took up most managerial time during the 1840s. The line was extended from Nine Elms to Waterloo. The Company acquired Richmond Railway, the line was carried out as far as Datchet and in 1848 Queen Victoria gave permission for the line to be extended across Home Park into Windsor. Thereafter the Queen regularly used the L&SWR for her journeys to and from London. It is not intended to detail all the lines acquired by the Company during this period, nor the problems associated with the 'gauge war'. However despite numerous complications the build up of the service was impressive. From 1843 Indian, South African and West Indian mails had transferred from Falmouth to Southampton.²⁹ As the Company was not allowed to own and operate steamers, the South Western Steam Navigation Company was formed in 1845, taking the mail to the Channel Islands, and running to Le Havre and St. Malo. This was changed in 1848 when the railway was allowed to own and operate the vessels. Southampton Shipping Papers held in the University of London Library (Senate House) include three bills of sale, dated 8 June 1847, for the vessels, the *Ariadne*, *Camilla* and *Monarch*, showing that these were sold to George Henderson of

Southampton (the former Chairman) and Matthew Uzielli, a merchant, of 62 King William Street, London, (one of the directors during the mid 1840s) by the Trustees of the South of England Steam Navigation Company.³⁰ Thus it can be argued that the Court of Directors during these early years were engaged in a range of activities which precluded more than a cursory consideration of staff welfare.

Managerial Policies 1838 to 1850

Although only a few memos have been found in the 1838 to 1850 Traffic Minutes, concerning staffing problems, it becomes obvious that there was a definable, although basic, managerial policy in relation to staff during this early stage in the history of the L&SWR. The lack of memos, less than forty in total, were due to the small number of staff employed at this time. Only one hundred and ninety miles of track had been opened by 1847.³¹ The policies disclosed within the memos appear to give the railway worker certain privileges particularly in relation to accidents, such as the payment of doctor's bills and continued employment even with a disability. When compared with the privileges given by other employers during the 1840 period, and set against the backcloth of the extreme poverty experienced by many in England during this time, these procedures appear reasonable and in some cases compassionate and generous.

The period prior to the coming of the railways was an age of severe deprivation for certain sections of the labouring population both in the countryside, and also in the towns. In 1832, 10 per cent of the population were paupers with poor relief costing the nation over £7,000,000.³² The Poor Law Amendment Act came into force on the 21 August 1834 with the aim to reduce the heavy burden on the Poor Rate. The Andover Scandal during 1845-6 covered by *The Times* newspaper, although an extreme case of workhouse inhumanity was not an isolated incident.³³ The period following the opening

of the L&SWR line was the period of Chartism, insanitary housing, cholera, typhus, smallpox and the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, and although there was also Factory Reform, with limitations, Public Health Acts, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws this was an era of distress for many. Thus although the railway workers were overworked, frequently exposed to danger and extremes of temperature, their conditions appeared to be better served than many others at this time. Compared with life in the army, from which some of the railway workers may have come, the factory during the 1840s before the later Factory Acts, or on the estate where a man's wife and children had to work alongside him in the fields to earn enough to eat, they appeared well placed. It seems reasonable to suggest that during the 1840s even the lowest rank of railway personnel, the labourer, would have considered himself to have the advantage over his agricultural equivalent. However, it will be argued later that, to a large extent, any 'feel good' factor was subsequently found to be illusory, as staff could be fined and imprisoned for negligence, and many of the uniformed grades were killed and injured during the early and subsequent years of the service.

What were the policies revealed within the Traffic Minutes? Between 1839 to 1850 there were four memos relating to illness. In June 1842 when Mr Lyles the booking clerk at Nine Elms requested leave of absence on account of ill health, his application was 'complied with'.³⁴ Eight years later, on the 5 May 1848 when Mr Watkyns was in a similar situation 'his request is granted'.³⁵ On the 19 May 1848, the Rev Mr De Starck 'wrote as to his son's resigning his situation from ill health on the understanding that he may be allowed to resume duty on his recovery.'³⁶ Again when the Rev. Mr De Starck wrote in to the committee, 15 September 1848 he was informed that his son could be 'reappointed'.³⁷ Thus it becomes obvious that well established employees were required to give a letter requesting long term sick, the Company having to give their permission for

the absence, but in the case of the younger members of staff, resignation was expected with resumption at the discretion of the directors when the individual had recovered.

The memos relating to staff injuries are also few in number. Some of these memos and those of four cases of 'Death' are listed in Appendix 1, pages 351 to 354. From these minutes a policy may also be found. As we have already seen the Company refused to employ any person who had been injured before joining the L&SWR service, including the period during which the lines were being laid. However even in the early years the managers tried to find work for those who had the misfortune to have had an accident in Company time. In July 1842 'Crouch' a lad who had been injured by a crane accident, was appointed as an assistant in the Andover Road Station at a salary of 18 shillings a week and the expenses relating to his accident paid.³⁸ In January 1848 the case of 'Glazier' who had lost part of his feet was referred to the Officers Committee, the object being to try to find him employment.³⁹ This situation would have been particularly difficult in cases where individuals were badly maimed. A memo concerning 'Thompson' a railway policeman who in 1843 was 'under the influence of a deep seated disease which is likely to terminate fatally' and who had given good service, a sum of £5 was given to Mr Martin to be dispensed at this manager's discretion.⁴⁰ In 1846 'Pumfret', who had hurt his hand and had been without wages for eight weeks was allowed £3.4s.0d.⁴¹ It can be seen therefore that the Company were prepared to give money but only limited amounts and only to those who were in dire circumstances and who had previously given good service.

The Company were also prepared to pay surgeon/doctor's fees following an accident at work. Probably because many accidents were in public places and several doctors appeared to be treating the same individual, the bills were frequently questioned. This

can be seen in the memos relating to 'Obee', 'Thackham' and 'Jarvis'. Some doctor's fees were said to be very high. This may have been because the public considered that the railways had considerable resources. A similar situation also occurred with demands from the medical profession when members of the public were injured. The early period of the railway was a steep learning curve for the managers and their inexperience at the start of the service may be seen in a minute relating to one of the first accidents to a member of the public with whom they had to deal, in December 1838. The memo reads 'that the case be referred to Mr Bircham (the solicitor working for the Company) with instructions to take Council's opinion as to the liability of the Company in this case, and the Secretary has been instructed to ascertain how other Companies acted in similar ones.'⁴² By 1849 the committee, having acquired more awareness, could state with authority, that the surgeon's bill presented by a Mr Webb for attendance on a guard, a porter and a pumper injured at Basingstoke was over priced. 'Mr New to be informed that the Company will pay the Bill less £2.2/- as the charge for amputating two fingers £4.4/- is considered too high.'⁴³

The memos concerning 'Trowbridge' mention a Benevolent Society and later the Friendly Society and detail a dialogue between this society and the railway managers. 'Trowbridge' had been squeezed between the buffers of two waggons. He had obviously reached the limit of his friendly society benefit because he had been absent from work for nearly four months. He must have mentioned that he wanted to resume railway service and the managers hoped that he would be competent to the duties of a gatekeeper. After reports from the secretary of the friendly society the managers gave Mr Watkyns a sum of £15 Mr Watkyns was instructed to endeavour to obtain a reduction in the surgeon's bill which was £8 and to hand the balance to 'Trowbridge'.⁴⁴ The friendly society was undoubtedly the 'in-house' Friendly Society which had been formed to address the

LONDON and SOUTHAMPTON RAILWAY.

—Epsom Races.—The public are informed that, with a view to accommodate the visitors to Epsom races, **EXTRA TRAINS** will **RUN** on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, from Vauxhall to that point of the railway to the south of Kingston which is nearest to Epsom. On those days trains will start at the following hours, viz. :—Morning, at 6, half-past 7, 8, 9, 10, half-past 10, 12, and 1 o'clock; and the trains will leave the same point, on their return to London, as follow :—Afternoon, at 4, quarter-past 4, half-past 5, 7, three-quarters past 7, half-past 8, 9, and 10 o'clock. Fares—First class, 2s. 6d.; second class, 1s. 6d.

By order of the Directors,
WILLIAM REED, Secretary.

The Directors invite the attention of parties who may be disposed to convey passengers from the railway to Epsom races to these hours of departure, and will be glad to furnish such further information for their guidance as may facilitate them in accommodating the public.

The Times Tuesday, 29 May 1838

Figure 5.1.

| Staff changes at Kingston (Surbiton) Station June 1848 | | | |
|--|------|-----------------------------|------|
| Present | | Proposed reduction in staff | |
| 1 Police | 20/- | 1 Police | 19/- |
| 2 Police | 19/- | 1 Porter | 18/- |
| 2 Porters | 20/- | hire of the remaining | |
| 2 Porters | 18/- | Policemen & etc to be | |
| 1 Horsekeeper | 18/- | Ticket Collectors | |
| 2 Pointsmen | 20/- | | |

RAIL 411/3 29 June 1848 (1104)

Figure 5.2.

| ANALYSIS of the railway accidents for the two years ending December 31, 1848 | | |
|--|--------|---------|
| | Killed | Injured |
| Passengers suffering from causes beyond their own control | 28 | 215 |
| Passengers suffering from causes which they might have prevented | 23 | 13 |
| Railway servants suffering from causes beyond their own control | 30 | 57 |
| Railway servants suffering from causes which they might have prevented | 232 | 85 |
| Trespassers and strangers suffering from crossing or standing on the railway | 96 | 22 |
| Persons suffering from misconduct of railway servants | 2 | 1 |
| Suicides | 2 | |
| Dionysius Lardner, | | |
| Railway Economy: A Treatise on the New Art Of Transport 1850 p.267 | | |

Figure 5.3.

financial problems when staff had accidents and possibly illness. More detail concerning this Society, which was started in 1844 will be considered later in Chapter Eight. Reference within the Traffic Minutes to a friendly society has not been found prior to the 'Trowbridge' memos written in 1848. According to information in *The Gazette* the Company's annual grant started in 1849.⁴⁵ Fay in his book wrote that a provident fund was established for the relief of sick or disabled servants in 1843. The nucleus of the fund, he wrote was a sum of £250, which came from fines, and that 600 out of the 659 staff became members of the society in the first year.⁴⁶ This may have been the Decayed Clerks Fund which was used to supplement payments and was also used to provide clerks' pensions during the early period of the Company.

Concerning 'Death' cases, gratuities for wives and mothers of employees who were killed in Company time in the course of their duties, were at the discretion of the managers. It appears that gratuities were only paid when there was a request for assistance, although it is possible that some instances have not found their way into the Traffic Minutes. The memos show gratuities ranging from £5 to one which totalled £60. However some knowledge of the individuals concerned, which has not been recorded, may have played a part in the wide variations. However the 'Ralph' case shows perseverance being rewarded. Following a letter from Mr Hodgson on the 31 March 1848 this lady was granted £10 as compensation after the death of her husband who had been killed at Basingstoke. On the 20 April of that year the Rev. C. Lane wrote to the managers, again on the 3 November 1848 a Mr Chester wrote to the managers. Finally a 'petition' was received from Mrs Ralph on the 11 May 1849. Whether this 'petition' had been signed by others is unknown or whether the word 'petition' refers to the nature of the communication is uncertain. Nevertheless the managers 'recommended that £20 more be given as compensation to be paid by two instalments viz 11 May 1849 and 11 May

1850.⁴⁷ The spirited insistence by a women of her right to more than she had been 'allowed' after the death of her husband is found more than once within the Traffic Minutes. A similar situation was again shown in the case of Mrs. Baker a decade later in 1858. The Traffic Minutes read:

Mr Scott reported that a Guard named 'Baker' was killed by being run over by the 8.35 a.m. train from Hampton Court on the 20th May. He was seen on the top of the Break (sic) carriage on leaving Wimbledon and was missing when the train arrived at Clapham. It is believed he fell off the Break (sic) Seat in a Fit. The Coroner's Jury found a Verdict of 'accidental death' with a strong recommendation to the Directors that the outside Breaks (sic) should be done away with as they did not consider them safe.⁴⁸

Read letter from Mrs Baker widow of the Guard that was killed by falling from his Train asking for assistance. No liability can be admitted. Mr Scott to make further inquiry and to report.⁴⁹

Mr Scott reported the result of his interview with the friends of Mrs Baker the widow of the Guard who was lately killed by falling from the Train while in motion. This Committee cannot acknowledge any responsibility but Mr Scott may settle for £60 upon a discharge in full of all claims.⁵⁰

The minutes are not explicit in naming Mrs Baker's friends and the amount is questionable because the minutes have been altered but there is little doubt that this lady received far more than the normal gratuity. The Coroner's verdict may have had some influence in this case.

Given the laissez faire attitudes prevailing in the country prior to the 1850s it appears questionable as to why the L&SWR appeared to be liberal. It has already been noted that George Revill in his thesis 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture' considers that 'To a certain extent philanthropic acts by railway companies were always part of a consciously crafted public image'.⁵¹ However Michael Ashley Stein in his paper, '*Priestley v Fowler* (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence', shows that the Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 brought in new methods of economical management. The relief of the destitute required local boards of guardians approval prior to

administering aid to casual accident victims. It is argued that this provides background to the early railway paternalism in relation to workplace accidents.⁵² Some financial outlay would have been expected from the railway companies in these cases, failure to do so would have resulted in censure from the various boards of guardians in those areas in which railway accident victims lived.

A consideration of the wage rates of railway workers also gives the impression of advantage. A memo dated 7 May 1841 shows that First Class Guards were paid more than double the highest agricultural rates in 1850-51:

That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to classify the Passenger Guards, the First Class Guards to receive 30/- and the Second Class Guards 25/- weekly and the first class Guards to be provided with belts.

That it be recommended to the Court of Directors that the Porters be supplied with two Jackets per annum, and their number placed on the collar instead of as at present on the arm.⁵³

We have no knowledge of whether or not this recommendation was agreed and if it was it would undoubtedly have been the maximum for the grade. Nevertheless the agricultural average weekly wage rates in 1850-51 were very low. Newby shows that West Yorkshire was the highest at the rate of 14s.0d. and Wiltshire and Suffolk the lowest at 7s.0d.⁵⁴ Although in some cases agricultural labourers lived in tied cottages, this could have disadvantages. On the 29 June 1848 a memo, detailed in Figure 5.2, on page 143, which shows the present and proposed reduction in staff at Kingston (Surbiton) Station gives the wage range for all personnel, police, porters, horsekeeper, pointsman, between 18 shillings and 20 shillings. Although the memo is somewhat ambiguous, these figures give a rough guide to the level of the wages received by the uniform grades at this station during the early years and compare favourably with that of agricultural labourers. The clerks' wages have already been considered in Chapter Three.

There was also a uniform for those staff who came into contact with the public, which not only singled out the worker from his neighbour providing him with status in the community, but also supplied him with clothing for which he did not have to pay, although it will be seen later that some of the station masters (agents) refused to wear the uniform caps. From 1838 the guard's uniform was chocolate coloured frock coat with dark trousers, in 1841 a scarlet coat, silver buttons and lace collar. Six years later it was changed again to a blue coat with a scarlet collar, blue trousers with two rows of scarlet piping.⁵⁵ In November 1844 the staff were allowed one week's annual leave per year and possibly a free pass to use the train service during this time. Whether by 'employés' (sic) the directors meant the clerical grades and not those who were 'servants' that is the uniform staff, is unknown. There is no mention of this being paid leave.

This Committee recommend that with regard to Holidays to the employés (sic) of this Company, that one week be allowed to each during the twelve months, excepting under very particular circumstances, when longer period can be justified.⁵⁶

Read letter from Mr Maudesley inquiring whether he may have a pass on Sunday next and also if it is necessary to apply each time he wishes to be absent the Directors having laid down a rule to grant one week's holiday to the clerks, and whether if this indulgence is taken together or on separate day a pass on each occasion will be allowed.

The Secretary was instructed to inform Mr Maudesley that a weeks holiday is allowed either to be taken for the whole week or on separate days and a pass will be granted but the application for leave cannot be dispensed with.⁵⁷

Mr Maudesley a clerk at Vauxhall can be found on the KRD as the Kingston (Surbiton) Station Master in 1861.⁵⁸ Thus from these 'advantages' it is possible to consider that the railway worker was in a better position than other workers during this period.

It is when the memos relating to the discipline of staff are considered that the disadvantages appear. Although these memos during the early period are also few in number, they give a picture of some of the tough measures to which staff were subjected.

Certainly dismissal for intoxication, and a fine of one week's wages for drinking, are understandable punishments in a situation where safety was of the utmost importance, as are dismissals for negligence. However the following which shows both imprisonment as a punishment for negligence and also the hours these men were working, which included 'shift work', does give rise to certain questions, such as, how many of the negligent acts were due to fatigue? Moreover as we have already seen staff training was probably minimal, and to some extent 'on the job'. Thus it is questionable whether sufficient training had been given, particularly during the early years.

In a memorandum dated 26 May 1843:

Mr Martin reported that an accident had occurred on Monday last by the Up Goods train running into the warehouse, thereby causing damage to the amount of £250, that the engine driver and fireman had been taken before the Magistrates at Union Haw and the former sentenced to one months imprisonment the latter to 21 days.

Mr Martin was instructed to direct his attention to the adoption of some plan of checking the engine in case of a repetition of the Engineman's negligence and thus preventing the engine crossing the Nine Elms road.⁵⁹

On the 9 June 1843 the memorandum reads:

Read letter from the Board of Trade enquiring with reference to the accident on the 22nd ulto the number of hours the men had been on the engines and their period of weekly duty. Mr Martin having reported that on the occasion in question the men left Nine Elms on the 20th ulto at 10 p.m. arrived at Southampton at 4 a.m. and returned on the evening of the 21st at half past 8 o'clock thus enjoying a rest of 16 and a half hours and that the weekly duty of these men averaged 54 hours. The Secretary was instructed to reply accordingly.⁶⁰

There is no reference in the Traffic Minutes to any further communication from the Board of Trade, concerning this case, nor to the length of training these men may have had. Nor did the Board of Trade ask at what time of day these men had previously worked. If the journeys to and from Southampton had only been rostered as six hours each of the men had worked or were about to work a further forty-two hours elsewhere during the next five day period. A memorandum found within the Traffic Minutes dated 6 December 1866 more than twenty years later, infers that the hours worked by railway

'servants' per week were far more than fifty-four hours, and that for guards and 'breaksmen' (sic) day and night duty was in rotation.⁶¹ Indeed goods guards and 'breaksmen' (sic) outside the London area were still conditioned to a sixty-six hour week up to May 1907 when their hours were reduced to sixty.⁶²

A circular, edited on the 18 October 2006, published by the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) states that 'working shifts and suffering sleep debt can produce chronic fatigue and worsening safety performance at work...Studies on shiftworkers have shown that it takes about twenty-one consecutive days for *circadian rhythms* to fully adjust to nightshift. Again, workers tend to revert to a normal day/night cycle on their rest days during this period, thus negating any adjustment which has begun.' It emphasises the importance of current research into fatigue, shift working, and of life-style training, for those so employed.⁶³ From the hindsight of the twenty first century it is possible to conclude that such a work schedule as detailed in May 1843, when there are varying shift patterns, may well have been a contributing factor in this incident. Thus it must be argued that to a large extent any 'feel good' factor the railway worker may have had during this early period was deceptive.

Compared with other occupations, particularly those within a factory environment, railway hours may not have been considered extraordinary. Although in 1847 Fielden's Act reduced the permitted maximum hours of factory work for women and children to eleven per day, sixty-three hours in any one week, the men worked much longer hours.⁶⁴ Thus for some former factory and agricultural workers railway hours may have seemed reasonable during the early years of the line. There was also a certain excitement attached to the job. However the railway uniformed staff were shift workers, and shift work affects sleep patterns. These men were engaged in dangerous, complex and strenuous

operations which required concentration at all times, and a momentary lack of awareness by any worker, including those on the stations who frequently crossed the lines, weaving in and out of moving trains, could result in a fatality.

In most occupations during the early period of the nineteenth century accidents in the workplace were not a major problem. The exceptions were mining, the merchant service with the railways ranking third in the list of dangerous occupations.⁶⁵ Therefore although the workers in the new railway companies may have appeared to be placed in a better position than many of their contemporaries outside the service, the dangerous nature of the job together with the inadequacy of compensation following accidents rendered them more vulnerable, both physically and financially, when compared with their fellow workers in factories and agriculture.

Of interest in this connection is Lardner's *Railway Economy: A Treatise On The New Art Of Transport 1850* in which he analyses railway accidents for the two years ending 31 December 1848. This gives insight into the reasoning current during the latter part of the 1840s. Lardner did not consider that the risks related to railway travel were very high, because he estimated that the chances of loss of life when travelling a mile in 1848 were 65 million to 1, whilst the chances of bodily injury were 8.5 million to 1. However Lardner only considered the cases of those who were killed or injured from causes which somebody, who had prepared the figures, had considered were beyond the control of those affected. In the case of the passengers this numbered 243, whilst that of 'railway servants' totalled 87. This is shown in Figure 5.3. page 143. Those who suffered from 'causes which they might have prevented' are not included in his calculations.'

He writes:

...it appears that in this period of two years 243 passengers suffered more or less from railway accidents from which they had no power of protecting themselves,

and that of this number 28 were either immediately killed, or died soon afterward in consequence of their wounds.

It further appears, that in the same period 87 agents of the railway were more or less injured by accidents from which it was not in their power to protect themselves of whom 30 were killed.

The proportion of deaths to the total number injured is therefore much greater among the servants of the company than among the passengers.

While only 11 and half per cent. of the passengers injured lost their lives, 34 and a half per cent. of the servants injured were killed. The cause of this difference of proportion is signally obvious from the fact of the greater exposure of the railway agents, more specially of the engineers and firemen. to the more dangerous effects of accidents.

If the figures of the culpable and the non culpable passengers are combined we find that 51 were killed and 228 were injured. Similarly calculated, the figures for the 'servants' totals 262 killed and 142 injured. Thus five times more railway servants were killed than passengers during this period, this Lardner appears to ignore, although undoubtedly his answer would have been as it had been for those railway servants who had suffered accident from causes beyond their control, that it was 'because of greater exposure...to the more dangerous effects of accidents'. What Lardner does do, obviously as an aid towards lessening 'causes which could have been prevented', is present the reader with fifteen 'Plain Rules for Railway Travellers' in order to illustrate possible causes of accidents and as a persuasion to be more careful. In Rule IX he gives as an example 'quitting a train which has broken down', in which he mentions the L&SWR engine driver who got under his train to repair the damage and was killed by a goods train which ran into his stationary vehicles. He writes that:

IX. If the train in which you travel meet (sic) with an accident, by which it is stopped at a part of the line, or at a time where such stoppage is not regular, it is more advisable to quit the carriage than to stay in it, but by quitting it remember Rules I., V., and VI.

These were:

1. Never attempt to get out of a railway carriage while it is moving, no matter how slowly.
- V. Never get out at the wrong side of a railway carriage.
- VI. Never pass from one side of the railway to the other except when it is

indispensably necessary to do so, and then not without the utmost precaution.

These 'Plain Rules' give a glimpse of the primitive early railway and although Lardner reasons in earlier writing that travelling by train was relatively safe, the fatalities and injuries mentioned as examples of accidents brought about by not observing 'plain rules' show the horrendous bloodshed possible when mistakes did occur.⁶⁶ Unfortunately there were no 'Plain Rules for Railway Servants' mentioned in Lardner's book, thus we are not privy to the 'causes' which could have prevented the railway servants from death and injury.

Furthermore Lardner does not appear to have considered the more pertinent question, why were only 12.9 per cent of passengers out of those killed and injured considered culpable whilst in the case of the railway servants the figure was 78.47 per cent? The answer must lie within the criteria relating to culpability at that time, this will be considered in Chapter Six. The lack of concentration through fatigue had not been considered, nor the provision of adequate safety measures for staff which should have included strict guidelines in such cases as the breaking down of trains. Until the service was fully operational, many of the problems could not be appreciated. However, as we shall see later, staff continued to be blamed as the originators of accidents into the latter part of the century. During the *Royal Commission on Railway Accidents 1877* the railway companies claimed that nine out of ten fatal accidents were due to '*misconduct or want of caution*'.⁶⁷

Railway Formation and Parliamentary Involvement

During these early years, the interaction between parliamentary bodies and the Railway Board came into being. Initially Parliament as a body had been uncertain how to react to the railways. Before the 1830s railways were hardly mentioned at all in parliamentary

debates, and this ambivalence remained during the 1830s. Henry Parris in his book *Government and the Railways in Nineteenth Century Britain*, sums up the situation during this period:

Throughout the 1830s government was neither anxious to regulate railways, nor convinced of the advantage of *laissez-faire*, in railway matters. The statements of ministers reveal little knowledge of the subject, or interest in it, and nothing that could be called a railway policy. Occasionally they spoke as if railway problems were urgent; but at the end of the decade they were still undecided what to do.⁶⁸

However the fact that ‘incorporation’ was essential prior to the formation of a railway company, and that this necessitated a private Act of Parliament made interaction between parliamentary bodies and railway boards inevitable. In the early years it could be argued that the connection between railway directors and individual Members of Parliament became extremely close. Indeed Members of Parliament became directors and directors became Members of the House. Even before the Bill for making a railway known as the London and Southampton Railway was passed, there were certain members involved in what became known as the London and Southampton Board. Moreover following evidence before the Lords Committee which commenced on the 26 May 1834, a dialogue between the London and Southampton Railway directors and Members of Parliament occurred on a regular basis. Individual members such as Sir Thomas Baring M.P. appear to have acted in an advisory capacity. R.A. Williams gives details concerning Baring’s involvement in persuading the directors not to seek the Act in the 1832 session in order to allow potential customers time to consider before subscribing. A meeting at the City of London Tavern on 23 January 1832 found Sir Thomas in the chair. Thereafter Sir Thomas became the Chairman of the Railway Committee of Management in London with Henderson Chairman of the Committee in Southampton. After the Bill received Royal Assent on the 25 July 1834 Colonel Henderson left the Board to become General Superintendent.⁶⁹

During the early years between the late 1830s and 1850, six Members of Parliament sat at various times on the L&SWR Board and this representation was shared equally between Liberals and Conservative Members of Parliament. The railway lobby was therefore represented within both parties of the House. It could have been both his influential position and also his involvement in land sales which prompted John Easthope's move into the position of Chairman at a time when the Company was buying large quantities of land along the proposed route of the railway. Although rumour places Easthope's early profession within the London Stock Exchange, he had been an M.P. from approximately 1826 when he represented St. Albans, later becoming M.P. for Banbury.⁷⁰ He had lost this seat in 1832 which had obviously created a vacuum in his activities but it appears that he had also been, or continued to be, a director of the Canada Land Company and one of those responsible for the settlement of 50 crofter families from Perthshire into Easthope in Canada, a town which had been named after him, which gives the impression that he had been actively involved in the project.⁷¹ Moreover by owning the *Morning Chronicle*, a paper which he probably bought in 1834 and which featured articles by prominent individuals such as Charles Dickens he undoubtedly had a wide range of influence. He was also the Chairman of the United Mexican Mining Company. In 1835 he was unsuccessful in his bid to become M.P. for Southampton. However in 1837 just prior to the opening of the first stage of the line he re-entered the Houses of Parliament, this time as Liberal M.P. for Leicester.⁷²

In 1842 William Chaplin was elected Chairman of the L&SWR, although Easthope remained on the Board and sat on the Traffic Committee for some time after this event. Chaplin had been part of a prosperous and well established family firm of road haulers operating under the name of Chaplin and Horne, before selling his share in the family business to invest his capital in the L. & S (L&SWR). Chaplin & Horne, had been one of

the main coaching operations in the South of England prior to the coming of the railway, and involved in 'horsing the mails' during the early part of the century.⁷³ By January 1847 Chaplin also became a Liberal M.P., representing Salisbury, and remained so until he retired in 1857.⁷⁴

Apart from John Easthope and William Chaplin, another M.P. Henry Charles Lacy was also a Liberal. Lacy had been appointed magistrate of Lancashire in 1840, was opposed to the Poor Law, the game laws, taxation on the poor, and the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. Apart from his directorship of the L&SWR he was Chairman of the East Anglian, the Ely and Huntingdon, the Lynn and Dereham Railway and had published pamphlets on bridge building and on *A New Kind of Atmospheric Railway for Short Distances*. The three Conservative members of the House, included Col. George Alexander Reid, retired from the Life Guards when he was elected M.P. for Windsor in November 1845. Henry Ker Seymer, who was educated at Winchester and Christ Church, Oxford, was a Fellow of All Souls' College, a magistrate, Deputy Lieutenant and M.P. for Dorsetshire. The Hon. Francis Scott who had been educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and graduated with a B.A. in 1827, an M.A. in 1832 sat for Roxburghshire from 1841 to 1847 and later Berwickshire until he retired in 1859. (Sir Thomas Baring M.P. who was Chairman during the 1832 to 1833 period is not included.) Thus the L&SWR was equally represented on both sides of the House during the early period of the line.⁷⁵

A study by Geoffrey Channon concerning 'The recruitment of directors to the board of the Great Western Railway', shows that during the 1836-55 period 6 Members of Parliament sat as directors of the Great Western Railway Board.⁷⁶ As in the case of the L&SWR Board 3 were Conservatives and 3 were Liberals. However as the number of

directors varied during time periods it is possible that there were variations in the percentage of M.P.s between the two companies.

During the early period of the line there also appears to have been a deliberate policy by the L&SWR directors to further railway interests both inside Parliament and within the ranks of those with influence outside the House by entertaining. During the late 1830s and early 1840s, as each stage of the line was completed, members of the L.& S (L&SWR) Board and their associates lavishly entertained prominent figures. On 12 May 1838 Fay writes that:

the directors accompanied by several noblemen and members of Parliament were enabled to make an experimental trip to Woking and back...The speed attained exceeded twenty miles an hour, and the trip was in every way satisfactory. A banquet was subsequently given at the Clarendon Hotel, Mr Easthope, taking the chair, and being supported on the right by the Duke of Sussex (uncle of Her Majesty the Queen) and on the left by the Earl of Caernarvon.⁷⁷

On 19 May 1838:

An elegant collation was taken on Woking Heath in specially erected tents, and the party, 'after heartily responding to the toast of 'success to the railway' resumed their places in the carriages for an uneventful return trip taking sixty-one minutes.⁷⁸

A report in *The Hampshire Chronicle* shows Easthope, accompanied by at least one other M.P. who was invited to the festivities when the track was opened up to Basingstoke on the 10 June 1839 :

At about half past two o'clock, the train started from Basingstoke on its return to Winchfield, accomplishing the distance without the slightest accident or annoyance to mar the pleasures of the day. A cold collation was provided at a cottage in the vicinity of the station, to which about sixty ladies and gentlemen sat down, including Mr. Easthope, M.P., the Chairman of the Company, Mr. T. Duncombe, M. P., Mr. Bainbridge, etc. At seven o'clock the party broke up and the train finally reached Vauxhall at ten past eight.⁷⁹

(Mr Bainbridge was a local landowner who had given, without charge, sufficient land to build a road across his estate. Mr Duncombe was one of the factory movement reformers.)

On the 11 May 1840 when Southampton had been reached, Thomas Brassey the contractor responsible for laying a large proportion of the line entertained the guests 'in marquees amply set forth with delicate viands and rare wines while the labourers feasted from roasted ox and an unlimited supply of rare beer.' On the 20 June 1840 the dignitaries of Southampton played host, this time 600 persons sat down to dinner in a large tent on the Royal Victoria Archery Ground. Among the guests were the Duke of Sussex, Lord Palmerston, the Duchess of Inverness and the French ambassador.⁸⁰ It was in this way that an intimacy was effected between members of the Board and influential persons. Indeed Parris writing in *Government and The Railways in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, considers that in 1841 'the railway interest anticipated the methods of modern pressure groups by conferring outside Parliament to decide its policy towards the 1841 Bill.'⁸¹

What then was the relationship between Parliament and the railways during the late 1830s until approximately 1850? As has already been shown the original reaction in Parliament was one of indecision. Parliamentary members believed that the railway lines, like the road and the canals, would be open to any carrier for which a toll, sanctioned by Parliament, would be paid. When by 1839 it was appreciated that opening the lines to any carrier was not a sensible proposition, and that the railway companies would have a monopoly, it became apparent to some Parliamentary figures, including Gladstone, that in the interests of the public, regulatory powers should be put in place.⁸² Parris considers that the original intention in 1840 was to run a Railway Department within the Board of Trade experimentally, with the emphasis being on statistical and legal work. The Act stated that companies were not to open lines until after one month's notice to the Board, and, during this time, the Board would be able to appoint persons to inspect the lines.

The Board could also call for returns, and prosecute companies to enforce Acts. The sudden increase in accidents placed an immediate emphasis on enquiries related to collisions together with the inspection of new lines and included investigations regarding carriage construction, wages and the hours worked by the men.⁸³

However although the Board's powers were initially increased, the trend was checked, mainly due to the 'laissez-faire' attitudes of the Whig government. Sir Robert Peel's argument was that if Parliament took responsibility, the railway directors would become less accountable. In 1842 he stated:

...Whilst I admit the power and right of parliament to interfere, nobody can depreciate more than I do the interference of parliament carried beyond proper limits...The railway companies would be glad to shelter themselves under the responsibility of the government...All the evidence is perfectly conclusive, that any attempt to regulate the speed at which the train was to travel, would be beyond the authority of the government to effect; and so far as the safety of persons is concerned, by such interference it would rather be lessened than increased.⁸⁴

However when John Strapp, Resident Engineer of the L&SWR, some sixteen years later, was called in and examined before the *Select Committee on Accidents on Railways* on the 14 April 1858 he was asked:

1661: From your experience in these matters, should you be prepared to state, what in your opinion, taking the probable average condition of the permanent way, and of the plant, and of all the materials connected with a railway train, would be the greatest speed at which a train when in motion ought to be allowed to travel, consistently with a fair amount of safety?- I think that a train ought not to travel, having regard to those conditions, at a speed of more than 40 to 45 miles an hour...

1665. Would it not be advantageous both for the company and for the safety of the public, if railway companies were prevented by legislative interference from travelling beyond a certain rate of speed? Undoubtedly it would.⁸⁵

Mr R Sinclair's evidence taken on the 21 April 1858 throws more light on the situation :

2476. When asked 'Do you think taking railways generally, that companies are in the habit of putting in their time-tables a rate of speed that is not attainable with punctuality? I think in many cases they do.

He also stated that some railway companies were in the habit of:

2485:...advertising a rate of travelling which they did not maintain; that there was a want of punctuality in many cases.⁸⁶

By the 1870s the Board of Trade did not even possess legal powers of enquiry after an accident. Colonel Yolland's evidence taken before the *Select Committee on Railway Companies* in that year, detailed in the Conclusion of this dissertation, confirms this situation.⁸⁷ Thus the presence of the Board of Trade's inspectors at the scene of an accident had become little more than an act of courtesy as they had no power to act in an official capacity.⁸⁸

Parris considers that this lack of power 'was more apparent than real, since the Department came to intervene more effectively in the interest of public safety without any formal increase in powers...developing a system many of whose features - delegated legislation, administrative tribunals, appeals to the minister and quasi-legislation for example - ...were not consciously intended.'⁸⁹ However although this may have been the case towards the end of the nineteenth century, during the intervening years, many of the accidents on Britain's railway, and many more accidents to the uniformed staff may have been prevented if companies had been forced to shorten hours and introduce safety measures more quickly.⁹⁰

Although during the first decade, concentration was on issues such as public safety, satisfying demand, and, further expansion of the network, the 'railway interest' by the 1850s had become an incredible force. Francis writing in *A History of the English Railway*, describes the opposition to the original 1844 Bill:

Petitions against it continued to pour into the legislature. Questions were asked with the vehemence of self-interest; the members were wearied and worried with attacks, ... Every important town in the kingdom held meetings to oppose it. A deputation waited on the ministers. The representatives of twenty-nine railway companies with fifty millions to back them were there to persuade Sir Robert Peel

and Mr Gladstone to withdraw the bill.⁹¹

Even before the line was laid in 1834 the 15 London and Southampton (L&SWR) directors had started recruiting managerial staff to run Company affairs. As we have already seen, Colonel Henderson, formerly a Royal Engineer, the first chairman, left the Board to become a general superintendent. His salary was £1,000 per annum and he also had a rent free house at Lavender Hill in Battersea.⁹² By the end of this period in 1849 Mr Bircham, the solicitor who had previously acted for the Company had also become Company solicitor with a salary of £1,500 per annum.⁹³ Between these dates many more individuals with professional experience entered railway service. By 13 November 1861 a report of the Superannuation Committee states that the L&SWR had within its ranks '306 Clerks and superior Officers whose united salaries amount to £36,000 a year'. In charge and included within this number were the Traffic Manager, the Secretary, the Engineer and the Locomotive Engineer. It was noted that without the salaries of these four officers the salaries totalled £32,000, and it must be assumed, therefore, that these four salaries alone amounted to £4,000 per annum.⁹⁴ There appears to have been a wealth of expertise within the ranks of the L&SWR together with ready access to the outcome of parliamentary debates and the findings of select committees. However it is intended to argue later that it was not only the adaptation of governmental reformism into railway procedure, later in the century, which produced what has been termed 'railway welfarism' but a growing managerial expertise, aiming to produce economic viability to satisfy the demand of shareholders.

Even the lesser employees acknowledged the importance of economy. A letter from Mr Crombie, an employee working in Mr Bircham, the Company solicitor's office, and copied into the minutes of a meeting of the Legal Business Committee 19 March 1852 reads 'The great object always in view must be the saving of expense to the Company.'⁹⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that during the early years of the line, there were in place procedures which could be called paternalistic but that these were related mainly to staff welfare following accidents. It is argued that even after the beginning of the service because of the newness of the enterprise many of the problems associated with railway work had not been anticipated and therefore guidelines were not put in place until after events had happened. Some of the problems related to staff training, accidents and the size of public demand. Moreover the build up of the system which included taking the mail to the Channel Islands and the French Ports of Havre and St. Malmo involved the directors in a wide range of activities and policy, and matters relating to staffing matters, found only a limited place within the Traffic Minutes.

The staffing policies which have been located from the retrieval of memos show that the Company was prepared to pay doctor's fees for accidents at work and give small gratuities to workers and widows for work place accidents. These procedures were possibly related to a growing emphasis on change in the legislation relating to the Poor Law. There was also evidence that staff working shift hours were being blamed for negligence which currently would have been considered due to the disruption of sleep patterns now referred to as *circadian rhythms*.

By the 1850s the system of corporate management which had emerged within the railway companies was potentially very powerful and contained a variety of expertise; there was also a capacity to grow and expand very rapidly. This appears to have worried individual Members of Parliament throughout most of the nineteenth century, because they saw the railway companies as monopolies, but the attempts to enforce regulatory powers failed because of the laissez-faire ethos of the majority in Parliament

along with the powerful manipulations of railway pressure groups.

Behind the rationale of the L&SWR 'Court of Directors' was the continuous emphasis on economy and the ongoing need to be accountable to the shareholders. This emphasis was found within the minuted deliberations of the committees and during some of the preambles relating to procedures. It is suggested that although government reformism played some part in railway procedure later in the century, 'railway welfarism' emerged out of growing managerial expertise which aimed to achieve economic viability. Both the unfettered power of the Company during most of the nineteenth century, and the emphasis on economy, in different ways, were to become major influences on the lives of those who worked within the confines of the Company.

- ¹ Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/216 (TNA).
- ² R.A.Williams, *The London & South Western Railway, vol.1, The Formative Years*, (David & Charles, Newton Abbot: 1968), pp.13-47; Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, pp.1-9.
- ³ Edna Healey, *Emma Darwin: The Inspirational Wife of a Genius* (Headline, London: 2001), p.12.
- ⁴ Court of Directors' Minutes, RAIL, 411/3, (TNA).
- ⁵ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol.1, p.35-42.
- ⁶ Examination of Mr William Reed, Secretary of the Southampton Railway Company, 26 April 1839, *Select Committee on Railways 1839*, (1363, 1367) (TNA), pp.53-70.
- ⁷ Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.7.
- ⁸ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.42.
- ⁹ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.38.
- ¹⁰ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol.1, p.42.
- ¹¹ Fay *A Royal Road*, p. 39.
- ¹² Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 12 June 1840, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ¹³ Traffic and General PurposesTraffic Police and Goods Committees, 17 Sep 1841, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.16.
- ¹⁴ Traffic and General PurposesTraffic Police and Goods Committees, 29 Oct.1841, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.25.
- ¹⁵ Traffic and General PurposesTraffic Police and Goods Committees, 18 Feb.1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), pp.47-8.
- ¹⁶ H.Parris, *Government and the Railways In Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 1965), p.7.
- ¹⁷ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.30-1.
- ¹⁸ Traffic and General PurposesTraffic Police and Goods Committees, 1 May 1840, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).

- ¹⁹ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, Winchester 1840, RAIL 412/3; Traffic Committee, Wimbledon 1847, Richmond 1848, Woking 1848, Richmond 1849 and Basingstoke 1850, 411/227 (TNA).
- ²⁰ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 15 May 1840; 27 May 1842, (120), RAIL412/3 (TNA), p.68.
- ²¹ Traffic Minutes, 1 April 1847, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), p.86.
- ²² Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol.1, p.15.
- ²³ *The Times*, 24 May 1838, (TNA), p.2.
- ²⁴ *The Times*, 31 May 1838, (TNA)
- ²⁵ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.32.
- ²⁶ K.Robertson, *London & South Western Railway, 150 yers of the L&SWR*, (Netherwood Dalton, Huddersfield: 1988), p. 45.
- ²⁷ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.43.
- ²⁸ An Act To Attach Certain Conditions to the Construction of Future Railways 9 August 1844 [7 & 8 Vict.] [Cap 84] (TNA Library).
- ²⁹ Nock, *The London and South Western Railway*, pp.10-31.
- ³⁰ Southampton Shipping Papers, Senate House Library, University of London: Reference Code GB 0096 MS 713 Dates: 1844-47 Retrieved 18 April 2007 11.35: http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search27coll_id=1391&inst_id=14
- ³¹ Lardner *Railway Economy*, p.190.
- ³² E.C.Midwinter *Seminar Studies in History: Victorian Social Reform*, 3rd ed. (Longman, London: 1973), p.8.
- ³³ Midwinter, *Victorian Social Reform*, p.76.
- ³⁴ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 24 June 1842, (130), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.72.
- ³⁵ Traffic Minutes, 12 May 1848, (227), RAIL 411/227 (TNA).
- ³⁶ Traffic Minutes, 19 May 1848, (230), RAIL 411/227 (TNA).
- ³⁷ Traffic Minutes, 15 Sep.1848, (262), RAIL 411/227 (TNA).

- ³⁸ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 23 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.79; 29 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.80.
- ³⁹ Traffic Minutes, 21 Jan 1848, (195), RAIL 411/227 (TNA).
- ⁴⁰ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 10 Nov.1843, (340) 17 Nov.1843, RAIL 412/3 (TNA) pp.193-4.
- ⁴¹ Traffic Minutes, 23 Oct.1846, (34) RAIL 411/227 (TNA).
- ⁴² Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 9 Feb 1839, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁴³ Traffic Minutes, 30 March 1849, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), p.340.
- ⁴⁴ Traffic Minutes, 17 March 1848, 31 March 1848, 28 April 1848, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), pp.209, 213, 222.
- ⁴⁵ *The South Western Gazette*, Sep.1881 ZPER 11/1 (TNA), p.6.
- ⁴⁶ Fay, *The Royal Road*, p.41.
- ⁴⁷ Traffic Minutes, 31 March 1848, 20 April 1848, 3 Nov.1848, 11 May 1849, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), pp.214, 220, 275, 354.
- ⁴⁸ Traffic Minutes, 7 June 1858, (547), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ⁴⁹ Traffic Minutes, 4 Sep.1858, (567), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ⁵⁰ Traffic Minutes, 1 July 1858, (598), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
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- ⁵² Stein, Michael Ashley, 'Priestley v Fowler (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence', pp. 36-7.
- ⁵³ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees 7 May 1841, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁵⁴ Newby, *The Deferential Worker*, p.36.
- ⁵⁵ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.40.
- ⁵⁶ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, RAIL 412/3, 2 Nov.1844, (487), (TNA), p.274.

- ⁵⁷ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 28 Feb.1845, (536), RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁵⁸ 1861 Maudesley, Person Number 21579.
- ⁵⁹ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 26 May 1843, (265), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.152.
- ⁶⁰ Traffic and General Purposes Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 9 June 1843, (269), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.155.
- ⁶¹ Traffic Minutes, 6 Dec.1866, (284), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ⁶² Traffic Minutes, 29 May 1907, (701), RAIL 411/267 (TNA).
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- ⁶⁵ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution*, pp.194-5.
- ⁶⁶ Lardner, *Railway Economy*, pp.266-9, 284-96.
- ⁶⁷ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution*, p.195.
- ⁶⁸ Henry Parris, *Government and The Railways*, p.26.
- ⁶⁹ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway, vol.1*, pp.17-20.
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- ⁷¹ North Easthope Township of Perth East Former Township of North Easthope.
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- ⁷⁴ Michael Stenton & Stephen Lees (eds.), *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*
- ⁷⁵ Dendy Marshall, *History of the Southern Railway*, considers that Robert Garnett was an M.P. when he was chairman between 1841 to 1842. Although he did sit on the Board during the early years of the line, Garnett has no mention in Dod's Parliamentary Companion.
- ⁷⁶ G.Channon, 'The recruitment of directors to the board of the Great Western Railway' I *The Journal of Transport History*, vol. 17. (1) 1996, p. 15.
- ⁷⁷ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.30.
- ⁷⁸ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.35-6.
- ⁷⁹ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.21; Ward, *The Factory Movement*, p.106.
- ⁸⁰ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.42
- ⁸¹ Parris, *Government and the Railways*, p.53.
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- ⁸⁴ J.A. Francis, *A History of the English Railway Its Social Relations and Revelations*, (First published: 1851) (David & Charles, Reprints, Newton Abbot: 1968), pp. 37-40.
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- ⁸⁷ Colonel William Yolland Examination 17 June 1870, (1515), *Command Papers Select Committee on Railway Companies, 1870* (TNA), pp.115-25.

⁸⁸ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution from 1770*, p.190.

⁸⁹ Parris, *Government and the Railways*, p.210.

⁹⁰ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution from 1770*, pp. 188-93.

⁹¹ Francis, *A History of the English Railway*, p. 109.

⁹² Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.21.

⁹³ Legal Business, Special Committees Minutes, RAIL 411/216 (TNA), pp.126-8.

⁹⁴ Report of Superannuation Committee, 13 Nov.1861, Special Committees Minutes, (220), RAIL 411/217 (TNA).

⁹⁵ Special Committees Minutes, Mr Crombie's letter 'At a Meeting of the Meeting of the Legal Business Committee held at the York Road, 17 March 1852, RAIL 411/ 216 (TNA), pp. 43-5.

Chapter Six

Accidents: 'Misconduct, Want of Caution or Causes beyond their Control ?'

The intention in Chapter Six is to consider the interplay between nineteenth century legal interpretation, governmental legislation and company policy in relation to accidents in the workplace, as revealed within the L&SWR Traffic and Directors' Minutes and Board of Trade statistics and reports. Particular focus, where possible, will be placed on incidents that occurred in and around the area of Kingston upon Thames and Surbiton stations. The L&SWR Returns for 'Servants of Companies and Contractors' published by the Board of Trade for the years 1872 and 1873 will also provide detail, and are to be found in Appendix 2.

Victorian tort liability and the doctrine of 'common employment'

Tort law has its origins in primitive society, and is that part of the English legal system which is concerned with civil liability. The object of criminal liability is to punish, contractual liability is to restore benefits, 'tort' liability is concerned with compensation. It allows a person whose interests have been harmed to seek reparation from the civil courts. Fleming writes that 'tort liability...exists primarily to compensate the victim by compelling the wrongdoer to pay for the damage done.'¹

The *Priestley v. Fowler* (1837) case is of interest as the first known recorded 'tort' action of an employee suing an employer for work-related injuries. The outcome of the case

demonstrates how the English judges, in particular the Barons of the Exchequer, during the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, deliberately resisted any attempt to create a limited form of liability for the working classes. Stein in his paper 'Priestley v Fowler (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence', gives a detailed account of the accident and the resulting tort action. The accident to Priestley occurred on 30 May 1835. Charles Priestley, a servant of the butcher Thomas Fowler of Market Deeping, was accompanying a cart of meat to Buckden. When the front axle of the waggon cracked and gave way, Priestley had four hundredweight of mutton fall on him, resulting in his thigh being broken, dislocating his shoulder, and various other injuries. Priestley was taken to the King's Head Inn, where he remained for nineteen weeks being treated by two surgeons. The cost was £50, which was paid by his father. The jury subsequently awarded Priestley £100.²

During 1836 the judgment was arrested on the grounds 'that there was nothing in the declaration to throw any liability on the master.' Any thought of a new trial was abandoned when Fowler became bankrupt. Subsequently when the arguments were presented before the full Court of Exchequer they were confined solely to the motion in arrest of judgment.³ In November 1837, the Chief Baron, Lord Abinger stated that lacking 'precedent for the present action,' the Court was at 'liberty to look at the consequences of a decision the one way or the other,' and warned that if legal culpability was upheld under these circumstances employers' liabilities would increase to 'an alarming extent.'

If the owner of the carriage, therefore, is responsible for the sufficiency of his carriage to his servant, he is responsible for the negligence of his coach-maker, or his harness-maker, or his coachman. The footman, therefore, who stands behind the carriage, may have an action against his master for a defect in the carriage, owing to the negligence of the coach-maker, or for a defect in the harness arising from the negligence of the harness-maker, or for the drunkenness, neglect, or want of skill in the coachman.

Lord Abinger continued considering:

that the rationale of the case could be broadened further, allowing, for example, a master to be liable to the servant, for the negligence of the chambermaid, in putting him into a damp bed.

The date of Priestley's accident is significant being May 1835. Stein notes the connection between this case and changes provided under the new Poor Law Amendment Act. Before the new 1834 legislation, the parish where the pauper had become incapacitated was under an obligation to provide medical care. The new Act merged parishes to pool medical providers, paupers were offered loans rather than provision for assistance, and local Boards of Guardians' approval had to be sought prior to offering relief to accident victims. Thus the only way to reclaim the money Priestley's father had spent was to pursue the matter through the court. It appears that Lord Abinger considered that by allowing Priestley to recover the money from Fowler, the floodgates to vicarious liability would be opened. Thereafter the 'doctrine of common employment', was laid down as controlling rule of law, although as Stein points out, 'the identity of the individuals who loaded Fowler's wagon was never presented as evidence during the court case.'⁴

Much has been made of the doctrine of 'common employment', (an employer could not be vicariously liable to one employee for the torts of other employees). Bagwell, writes that there was no strong incentive to protect the lives of the railway worker because of this doctrine, as it allowed the railway employer to escape liability for employee accidents during most of the nineteenth century.⁵ It has already been noted that Fleming, has referred to 'common employment' as 'the most common nefarious judicial ploy for reducing the charges on industry...'.⁶ Recently Stein has considered its origins, and argues that '*Priestley* is best understood within the framework of the emerging

independent tort of negligence as a failed effort to extend master/servant liability, rather than as establishing the doctrine of 'common employment.' However whether the *Priestley v Fowler* case was the originator of the doctrine or as Stein argues it was that of *Hutchinson v York, Newcastle & Berwick Rly. Co.*, and *Wigmore & Jay* in 1850, the doctrine had been laid down as a controlling rule of law by the mid nineteenth century.⁷

Although the doctrine is of interest as part of judicial history, and of attitudes relating to lack of care by a prominent section of nineteenth century society, it is intended to show that the doctrine actually affected only a small percentage of the L&SW railway workers and it is possible that other railway companies were affected in like manner. This was because the managers precluded the majority of their uniformed staff from claiming by asserting that staff accidents were the result of their *own misconduct or want of caution*.⁸ As Fleming points out, during the nineteenth century the courts 'ultimately yielded to the general dogma of no liability without fault'.⁹ Thus neither the railway managers, nor the victim's fellow workers, were liable as they were not at fault. Fault remained with the victim and therefore precluded eligibility for tort action to claim compensation.¹⁰

'Culpability' or 'Non-Culpability'

The 'doctrine of common employment' was a judicial ploy and it did, in some cases, deny railway 'servants' and their widows of compensation, which they possibly would have received had they been members of the public. However the only railway workers who would have benefited had the doctrine not been put in place were the small percentage who had been considered by the railway managers or their advisers, to have suffered an accident which had been deemed to have been *from causes beyond their own control*. For the others 'culpability' remained with the victim. Moreover this was not a strategy by the railway managers to treat their staff differently from the public. Although

in terms of compensation the public and the railway workforce were treated differently, when evaluating whether accident victims were 'culpable' or 'nonculpable', the employee and the public appear to have been treated exactly the same.¹¹

The L&SWR data, for the years 1872-3, shown in Appendix 2, pages 356-362, clearly shows the criteria by which the railway managers or their advisers judged accident victims to be 'culpable' or 'non-culpable'. This was mainly related to whether the accident was caused by a 'third party' or by an obvious irregularity. Thus in the case of accidents in which one train collided into another, or into the buffers, the person considered responsible for the accident was the individual who had caused the irregularity, all other individuals who were hurt by the incident were considered 'nonculpable'. Similarly if a rail cracked or waggons were detached, again external factors were considered to have caused the accident, and the injuries or fatalities would have been found to be from *causes beyond the control* of those who were injured. However in those cases where the victim fell from a train, or was knocked down by a train, or was crushed in a shunting accident, decapitated by a bridge and there was no obvious cause other than a slip or a miscalculation, the responsibility was considered to remain with the victim. Accidents to the public were considered by the same criteria as those of railway 'servants', and when the public were deemed to be 'culpable', the railway managers did not admit liability. More members of the public were considered to be 'non culpable' because far more members of the public travelled on a train than railway employees. Thus when a 'train accident' occurred more members of the public were killed and injured *from causes beyond their own control*. From the Board of Trade reports it is obvious that most of the accidents to railway personnel occurred during line maintenance, shunting or in the stations.

The Board of Trade reports in Appendix 2, show two cases of shunting accidents during the same year 1872. In the first case the signal box lad was considered culpable for his death, whilst in the second case the labourer was considered non-culpable. In the second incident a third party had apparently shunted some other trucks against the trucks the labourer was uncoupling, thus this incident was the only 'non-train' accident during the two year period, in which the death of the victim was from 'causes beyond his control'.

3 February 1872

A signal box lad at Twickenham was crossing a siding when he slipped and fell under the wheels of a carriage, which was being shunted, and had one of his legs and feet run over and crushed from the effects of which he afterwards died.

21 August 1872

While a labourer in the employ of the company was uncoupling some trucks which were standing in a siding at the Queen Street Station Exeter some other trucks were shunted against them, and he was knocked onto the rails and run over and killed.

However a close look at a case at Surbiton Station reveals that even when a third party was involved, an accident could still have been considered to have been *from want of caution*. Although engines were being shunted by Silas Lush, there is every reason to believe that the fatal injury to Porter Bollen in the Summer of 1866 was considered by the Company to have been the fault of the deceased. The following is the description of the Coroner's Inquest in the local newspaper *The Surrey Comet* on 2 June 1866.

Fatal Accident to a Railway Porter

An enquiry was held by Mr. Carter, the coroner, and a jury of the neighbourhood, yesterday morning, at the Antelope, Maple-road into the circumstances of the death of William Bolling, (Bollen) railway porter, aged 25, employed at Surbiton Station.

Silas Lush, shunter, in the service of the L and SWR Company, deposed that deceased was a porter in the goods department, where he had been employed about three months. On Tuesday evening, about a quarter past 6, witness and deceased were shunting two waggons, one loaded and one empty, not coupled together, down to other stationary waggons. Witness had the horse hooked on to the hinder (empty) waggons, on the right hand side. Witness told him to put down the brake of the empty waggon, and went on to pull the waggons down to the other. Heard

the brake put down. Called out twice to ask him if he was alright, but had no answer. Went round by the empty truck and saw him walking by the side of the rail, with his hand to his side, and bent double forward; went and asked him what was the matter: he replied the buffers had pinched him. Asked how he came to do that, deceased answered he did not know and asked for brandy, saying it would kill him. Witness called for the other porters, and medical assistance was obtained immediately. Deceased was taken home in a fly...

Mr. E Gunning surgeon, (with Mr. Coleman) deposed to finding deceased on the railway, supported by last witness. He was cold and pulseless. Tried to give him some brandy and water but he took very little. Took him home at once in a cab, remaining with him till he died, about a quarter of an hour afterwards. Examined him, found no external marks of injury, but had no doubt that he died from shock to the nervous system from the compression. The jury returned a verdict of Accidental Death.¹²

The Board of Trade concentrating on 'Railway Accidents' was silent concerning this incident, which is only shown as one of many statistics for 1866. Thus it is not possible to know for certain whether any blame was attached to Silas Lush, although there appears to be no indication in the Report nor in the minutes that any action was taken against him at this time. The Coroner accepted his statement, and the investigation into the reasons behind the accident are minimal. We note that William Bollen had only been employed for three months, was obviously inexperienced, and it was quarter past six in the evening. From hindsight it is possible to argue that all these factors should have been taken into account by the Coroner. However doubtless William Bollen's death found a place in the L&SWR statistics of those who acted *from want of caution*. Twenty-six years later in February 1892 Silus Lush, now referred to as 'Horse Driver Lush', was fined 5 shillings having been blamed for the death of a shunting horse at Surbiton Station.¹³

Even in some cases where members of the public were involved, the Company did not admit liability. Small gratuities were granted but large sums were not forthcoming. This

can be seen in the following, which was taken from the Traffic Minutes.

Minute dated 16.7.1857

Read letter from Messrs Bircham reporting the verdict of the Coroner's Inquest on a child named 'Hoy' who was killed by a packet of hops falling from one of the Companys Vans - also letter from Messrs Pilks and Realls on the same subject. Mr Lock was Instructed without admitting liability - to pay the expenses of the funeral of the child.¹⁴

There is no information concerning this case to enable a detailed examination. It is possible that the child should not have been in the vicinity of the van but this information is not available.

As we have already seen in Lardner's calculation, in Chapter Five, for the two years ending 31 December 1848, only 30 railway 'servants' were killed and 57 injured *from causes beyond their control*. Whereas those suffering from accidents, which might have been prevented, were 232 killed and 85 injured.¹⁵ Thus even if there had not been a doctrine of 'common employment' at this time, in 1847 and 1848, only 21.53 per cent of the railway employees killed and injured would possibly, depending on court deliberations, have received compensation. The Board of Trade figures mentioned by Bagwell during the years 1872-5 inclusive may be found in Figure 6.1.¹⁶ These figures do not disclose who was 'culpable' or 'non culpable', however it will be seen that under 10 per cent, (138 killed and 954 injured), railway staff who were killed or injured during these years were involved in 'railway accidents', the other 90 per cent (2822 killed and 8048 injured) were involved in accidents in discharge of their duties other than 'railway accidents'. The L&SWR figures for the period 1872-3 shown in Appendix 2, do give a culpability breakdown, revealing that out of the 60 L&SWR employees killed or injured, only 4 were considered 'non-culpable', (2 killed and 2 injured) the remaining 56 were 'culpable' (44 killed and 12 injured).¹⁷ Therefore only 6.66 per cent of those L&SWR

**Accidents Returned to the Board of Trade by Railway Companies
during 1872-1875 inclusive.**

CLASS I

| Years | Passengers | | Servants | | Total | |
|--------------------------------|------------|---------|----------|---------|--------|---------|
| | Killed | Injured | Killed | Injured | Killed | Injured |
| 1872 | 19 | 1233 | 42 | 214 | 61 | 1447 |
| 1873 | 38 | 1504 | 29 | 228 | 67 | 1732 |
| 1874 | 80 | 1602 | 46 | 271 | 126 | 1873 |
| 1875 | 18 | 1212 | 21 | 241 | 39 | 1453 |
| Total 4 Years | | | | | | |
| | 155 | 5551 | 138 | 954 | 293 | 6505 |
| Average for the 4 years | | | | | | |
| | 38.75 | 1387.75 | 34.50 | 238.50 | 73.25 | 1626.25 |

| CLASS II | | CLASS III | | CLASS IV | | |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|---------|
| Years | Killed | Injured | Killed | Injured | Killed | Injured |
| 1872 | 108 | 229 | 384 | 178 | 592 | 1184 |
| 1873 | 122 | 246 | 439 | 189 | 744 | 943 |
| 1874 | 131 | 379 | 425 | 245 | 742 | 2544 |
| 1875 | 116 | 594 | 391 | 331 | 744 | 3377 |
| Total 4 Years | | | | | | |
| | 477 | 1448 | 1639 | 943 | 2822 | 8048 |
| Average for the 4 years | | | | | | |
| | 119.25 | 362.00 | 409.75 | 235.75 | 705.50 | 2012.00 |
| TOTAL SERVANTS CLASS I & IV. | | | | | 2960 | 9002 |

1. Casualties of the kind usually intended by the term "railway accident" in its popular acceptation, namely, accidents to trains, causing injury or danger to passengers and railway servants in making journeys by railway.
- II. Accidents to travellers or intending travellers, from collateral causes, as distinguished from train accidents.
- III. Accidents to the public using or being upon railway stations or premises otherwise than as travellers.
- IV. Accidents to railway servants in the discharge of duties other than those intended under the first head.

*Compiled from the Command Papers Royal Commission Railways 1877
(c1637 XLVIII TNA Kew)*

Figure 6.1.

Death and Injury by Grade L&SWR
Uniformed Servants 1872 & 1873

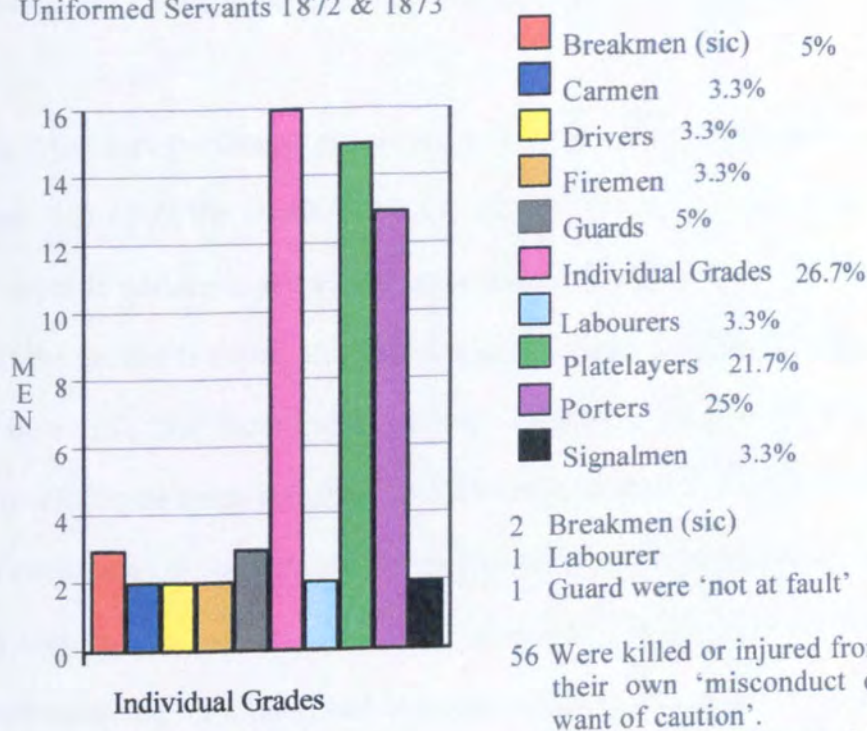


Figure 6.2.

Death and Injury Accident Types
1872 & 1873

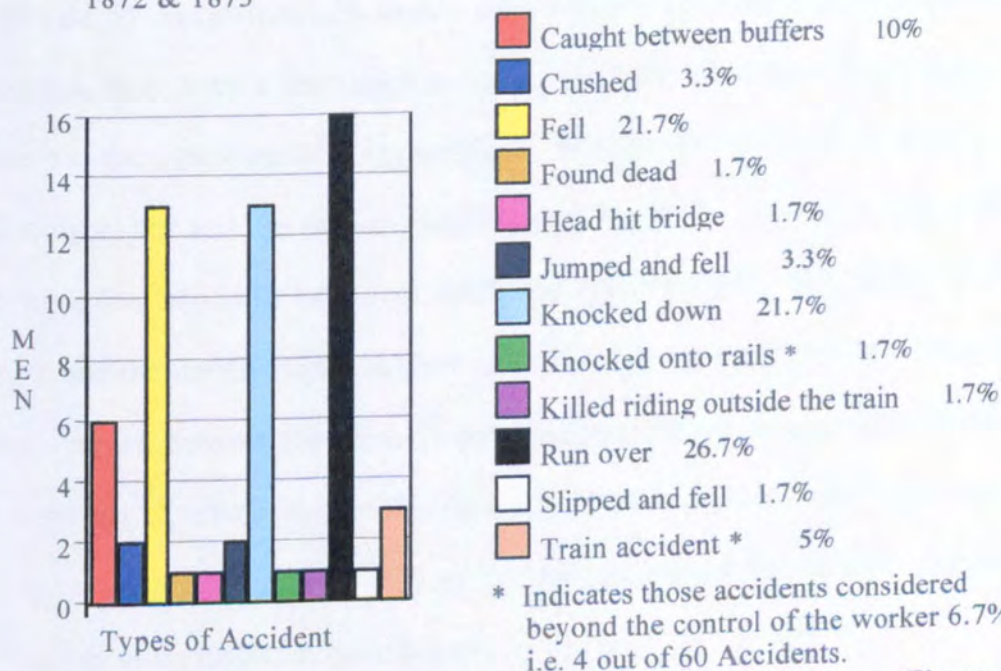


Figure 6.3.

Taken from: RAIL 1053/61 & RAIL 1053/62, (TNA).
Return Relative to Railway Accidents L&SWR

employees killed or injured at this time would have been eligible for compensation, 93.33 per cent would not have had any chance of redress against the Company.

Figure 6.2. 'Accident By Grade' clearly shows the most vulnerable grades. At this time 25 per cent (15) of all the accidents on the L&SWR were to platelayers, and 21.7 per cent (13) were to porters, many acting as 'shunters' as part of their station duties. Thus nearly half the accidents during this period involved these two grades. These men were 'run over by trains', 'fell under trains', or were 'crushed between buffers'. According to the returns relating to these accidents all of these men had been injured or killed *from their own misconduct or lack of caution*. In Figure 6.3 it can be seen that only 5 per cent (3) of the accidents to workers were 'Train Accidents' that is they occurred when the worker was travelling on a train, and only one accident, not a 'Train Accident', that of the labourer who had the train shunted into him was considered 'non-culpable'.

Within the 56 accidents, which were considered to be *from their own misconduct or lack of caution*, there were a few which were the result of individuals taking enormous risks. There was the signaller who was riding on the steps of a carriage and came into contact with a signal box and was thrown under the train and killed. There was the incident when two workmen who were taking an 'improper route' were knocked down by a shunting engine, and the station master at Ewell who attempted to get into a train while it was in motion but fell between the carriages and platform. However most of the incidents seen in Appendix 2, show responsible individuals who momentarily made an error of judgment, slipped, tripped or fell, or did not get out of the path of a train in time, probably in many instances from fatigue.

Between 13 June and 29 July 1873, seven men working for the L&SWR were killed in

the course of their duties, approximately one man each week. On the 13 June 1873 a platelayer was run over and killed by a passing train near Surbiton Station, on the 17 June a porter fell under waggons while shunting at Winchester. On the 8 July an employee in the locomotive department fell over the main line steps at Vauxhall Station, whilst during the remainder of July two platelayers were run over on the line, a carriage cleaner fell under the wheels of a train at Hampton Court station, and an engine driver fell from his engine while travelling between Woking and Guildford. All seven of these men were considered to have died through their own *misconduct* or *lack of caution*. Nobody had witnessed the death of the platelayer who was found dead on the line near Virginia Water Station, but it was considered that he also was to blame for his demise. Even without the 'doctrine of common employment' the widows of these seven men and all those others who were categorised as 'culpable' would not have been able to file a claim in a court of law as the 'fault' of the accident remained with the victim.

Thus it must be argued that the doctrine of 'common employment' may have stopped widows from taking tort action, but by evaluating accidents as *misconduct* or *lack of caution* it was the railway managers who actually closed the door to 'vicarious liability'.

L&SWR Procedures

The Friendly Society, Medical Attendance Arrangement, Accident Account.

The early years of the railway have shown that the railway directors and their managers found themselves engaged in a venture which expanded far beyond their expectations. Equally many of the dangers inherent both in railway travel and staff involvement in that travel, may not have been appreciated until after the enterprise had started. Although there is no rationale as to why it was put in place, it has already been noted that under the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act the relief of the destitute required local Board of

Guardians approval prior to administering aid to casual accident victims and that some financial outlay would have been expected from the railway companies in the circumstance of work place accident. A friendly society would have been considered an appropriate method of dealing with this situation and also that of employees sick absence and old age. The Friendly Society was started in 1844 and run by the membership but in 1849 the Company commenced annual payments to enhance the funds. It did provide staff who joined with some degree of financial security, and there appears to be no evidence in the Traffic Minutes that any distinction was made between those who were 'culpable' and those who were 'non-culpable' when paying benefits. The Friendly Society, however, was not universally supported by the staff, particularly the uniformed grades, and rather than let individuals become destitute, there were instances of managerial intervention in the payment of benefits to staff who had not joined the Society.

There was also another fund referred to as the 'Decayed Clerks' Fund' into which management could delve to give one off payments or allowances to staff. In 1862 a sum of over £19, which had been left at Waterloo Station, was paid into this Fund.¹⁸ In 1859 Mr. Hilditch received his payments from the Clerks' Superannuation Fund, which was probably the same Fund.¹⁹ The wife of Frederick Finch who had been a porter at Waterloo prior to his death in 1862 was also a beneficiary.²⁰ In 1866 Mr. Maudesley the Agent at Surbiton Station was granted a pension of £50 a year out of the 'Decayed Clerks Fund'.²¹ Thus the 'Fund', despite its name, was used to provide payments for both the uniformed staff and Agents. Whether this Fund predates the Friendly Society, or was part of it, is unknown, but it does appear that the 'Decayed Clerks' Fund' was controlled by the L&SWR managers.

The Friendly Society covered sickness, accident and superannuation. How long the benefit of half pay for sickness was allowed is uncertain as the Traffic Minutes give little information concerning accident benefits for weekly paid staff.²² The two illustrations relating to payments following accidents, both of which are shown in Appendix 1, occurred in 1846. 'Trowbridge', was a member of the Society, 'Pumfret' probably was not. Both of these cases have been discussed in Chapter Five.²³

The fact that he had not received any money for eight weeks gives the impression that 'Pumfret' was not in the Friendly Society, although this is not stated in the minutes. Two further cases within the Traffic Minutes during the 1860s also give the impression that the beneficiaries were not in the Friendly Society. In the case of George Bessant 'half-pay' may have been given by the managers. George was paid 12 shillings a week 'for a time'.²⁴ Twelve shillings would have been at least half pay and possibly more for a porter at this time. In January 1861 a 'Boy' in the Carriage Department who had fallen off of a van was allowed 6 shillings a week 'until further notice', the directors having been asked to allow some temporary relief as he was in distressed circumstances.²⁵ This also may have been half pay, as a 'Boy' would not have earned much more than twelve shillings a week. Thus these cases appear to be ones where the individuals had not joined the Society but that half pay, or even more than half pay may have been granted. However it must be stated that these cases do not constitute proof of a generality and given other examples of payments and decisions made by the Traffic Committee there is some doubt about the consistency of their 'grants' and 'gratuities'.

Up to the 1860s it was not mandatory as part of the terms and conditions of employment to join the L&SWR Friendly Society. In 1857 the Traffic Committee recommended to the Board that those who had not reached the age of forty-five years

should be requested to join, those not joining would be barred from relief and not employed if they did not join.²⁶ This recommendation appears not to have been enforced. In 1863 reference was made to the difficulties experienced in getting the Company's servants to join. The matter was referred to the Officers Committee to consider and report.²⁷ In 1867 all new porters and other uniformed grades employed by the Company were invited to join or 'to show that they belonged to some benefit club according to their terms of engagement.'²⁸ In 1868 the Managers warned '...all porters to be informed by circular that unless they subscribe to all the funds of the Friendly Society the directors will not entertain applications when accidents, illness or death occur.'²⁹ By 1869 it was recommended that all new men entering the L&SWR service were expected to join the Friendly Society whether they were members of another society or not.³⁰ However this obviously left many uniformed employees outside the ranks of the Society as they had joined the Company prior to 1869.

When managers were dealing with the office grades and the station agents the situation appears to be somewhat different. Requests from these members of staff were mainly centred on longer periods of full pay when individuals were sick. Thus either the Friendly Society had a two tiered benefit scheme and different contribution rates, allowing the better paid more benefits, or the uniformed workers were receiving payments from a different source, which allowed full pay for a period and then half pay. It appears that the Traffic Committee were prepared to give extra monies to the office clerks and the station agents as and when their sick absence benefits had been exhausted and that this was at their discretion. In the case of the uniformed grades there is little, if any, mention of sick absence following the ceasing of Friendly Society benefits, only requests from uniformed staff and widows for out of pocket expenses, which included the cost of funerals, following accidents.

In principal, friendly societies were, and remain, a sensible method of dealing with the question of remuneration when a worker was, or is, sick or injured. However bringing the 'self help' concept into the workplace was fraught with complications, particularly when joining a friendly society was not mandatory. In all situations individuals vary in their desire to secure their future. It is obvious from hindsight that some 'servants' did not want to prepare for adversity; others undoubtedly felt that they could not afford it, particularly those with large families, whilst the concept of 'self-help' precluded a higher subsidy from the shareholders or owner of the Company. However the major complication was managerial interference. If the managers were providing relief for individuals such as 'Pumfret' and 'Bessant' who may not have joined the Society, then there was little incentive for individuals to join. The situation awaited the change, which occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century, when 'the cost of injury was debited to the expenses of production' and the company took responsibility for payments to accident victims.³¹

It must therefore be argued that the situation relating to the Friendly Society and to the Traffic Committee's involvement in the allocation of funds was not ideal and open to the vagaries of individual managers and directors. Some individuals were allowed far more than others, particularly those in higher grades, and if there were circumstances, which prompted a greater beneficence in these cases, this has not been recorded. As we have seen, by 1869, new entrants were expected to join the Friendly Society as part of the terms and conditions of employment. Eric Hopkins points out that railway friendly societies were criticised in the 1874 Report because of their compulsory nature. He writes that the subsidies provided were not legally binding and that if the individual left the company he forfeited his benefits.³² Obviously many workers would have felt safer

joining a society that would continue to cover them if they were no longer employed by the L&SWR.

Apart from providing additional payments for staff who had not joined the Friendly Society the Traffic Committee did provide payment for artificial limbs for accident victims and the occasional requests for payment for a replacement limb were, except in a few instances, 'agreed' or 'approved' almost without comment. Moreover 'out of pocket expenses' following an accident victim's return to duty were frequently made. However 'gratuities' had to be requested.

A second managerial procedure in relation to staff welfare was the Medical Attendance Arrangement. A Dr. Beaman had proposed this system for the staff, an account of which will also be considered in detail in Chapter Eight.³³ The 'Arrangement' came into being during the mid 1850s with a Medical Fund being made up of £300 advanced by the Company and £450 from staff contributions. The 'Arrangement' was compulsory but the contributions were graded according to staff rank and wages. Moreover although it was referred to as 'medical' it was obviously used as an 'in house' advisory service for those 'servants' who had been injured. Indeed Dr Beaman was also frequently used in an advisory capacity in connection with accidents to the public. In the minutes covering the period from July 1857 until March 1860 he features frequently as he dealt with the growing number of passenger compensation cases. On various occasions during this period Dr. Beaman was given cheques, £100, £200, £350 and £400 are mentioned, and this money was used to settle certain of the smaller accident claims made by the public against the Company.³⁴ Thus although the 'Medical Attendance Arrangement' was based on a graded but mandatory scheme of contributions, and appears to have been more practical and egalitarian than the Friendly Society, much of Dr. Beaman's time,

particularly during 1857 to 1860 was committed to dealing with accidents to the public.

However as we shall see this situation was changed by the L&SWR in 1886 with the establishment of an 'Accident Fund' to provide allowances during disablement and gratuities in the case of death among the Company employees. The directors in 1889 in relation to this Fund stated that they would: '... reserve the power to refuse an allowance in any case or withdraw, or reduce or increase it at any time, according to their sole and absolute discretion.' However when the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, came into operation on the first day of July 1898, arbitration had been put in place to settle any dispute relating to the provisions under the Act.³⁵

Governmental Intervention

The Employer's Liability Act 1880 did give employees some redress against negligence, but its limitations can be clearly seen within the wording of the act. Workmen could only claim against the employer when the accident occurred:

- (1) By reason of any defect in the condition of the ways, works, machinery, or plant ...
- (2) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer who has any superintendence entrusted to him...
- (3) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer to whose orders or directions the workman... was bound to conform...
- (4) By reason of the act or omission of any person in the service of the employer...
- (5) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer who has the charge or control of any signal, points, locomotive engine, or train ...³⁶

Thus the falls, slips, and miscalculations, those accidents where there was no obvious cause remained outside the entitlement of this act.

Between 1880 and 1900 only two incidents where the wives of deceased L&SWR employees solicited redress under the Act have been found. The first was in March 1883 after a fatal accident at Milford Goods Station in Salisbury.

Read letter from Mr Hinley asking for compensation to the widow of Samuel Coombes a Porter at Milford Goods Station Salisbury who was killed through the breakage of a 10 Ton Crane. Further enquiries to be made.³⁷

Mr Scott recommended that the full amount payable under the employers liability act viz £132.12/- be paid to the widow of Porter Coombes recently killed by the breakage of a Crane at the Milford Station, Salisbury. Approved as in full payment and in discharge of all liability.³⁸

Under the Act compensation 'shall not exceed such sum as may be found to be equivalent to the estimated earnings, during the three years preceding the injury', thus widow Coombes received three year's wages in compensation. However she appears to be in isolation in the Traffic Minutes. A second case in November 1887 that of a shunter who had been working at Nine Elms was probably not accepted, as there is no indication that the L&SWR managers paid the amount claimed as compensation to the widow.

Case of R Hill

Read letter from Messrs Lindsay & Co. asking for payment of £179.8.0. as compensation to the widow of the above man, a Shunter in the Company's Service who met with a fatal accident at Nine Elms on the 21st October. Also report thereon from the solicitors. Further report to be made.

By 1893 the managers were obviously being cautious for when G. Lavey a porter at Kingston Station met with a fatal accident the matter was referred to the solicitor for a report.³⁹ Although there is no information in the Traffic Minutes, a report in *The South Western Gazette* gives the detail concerning this accident:

He was engaged in shunting carriages near Kingston station, and was crushed between the buffers, sustaining fearful injuries. He was removed to St. Thomas's Hospital, and expired soon after admission. The poor fellow had been instrumental in connection with the movement in aid of the widow and family of the late guard Symes; and his loss is much lamented by his late comrades at Kingston and in the districts.⁴⁰

As the opinion was that there was no legal liability upon the company in connection with this fatality the gratuity was only £20.⁴¹

Although the 1880 Act had only limited influence on the L&SWR payments to employees, there is an indication that it alerted the directors to the possibility of future change. The Accident Fund has already been mentioned. On 18 March 1886 the scheme was discussed, and agreed at a meeting of the directors on 1 April 1886. Payments from this Fund are shown in the Traffic Minutes from 1887 to 1889. However there is no indication that between 1887 and 1889 large sums were paid out in compensation from this account. The statement submitted in February 1889 for the previous quarter, showed payments of £89.11s. 0d. for 63 cases of injuries and £33 for gratuities in 2 cases of death, and was typical of the payments made during this time. Thus the 1880 Act appears not to have applied to any of the workers receiving compensation during this period of time, but the formation of the Fund may have been in preparation for future government legislation.⁴²

By 1889 an 'Extract from the Proceedings of the Staff Pension Fund Committee November 15th 1889' gives further detail concerning the Accident Fund:

The Staff Accidents Account, authorised by the Board resolution of 1st April 1886, should be continued during the further pleasure of the Directors.

The granting of allowances, either for accidents or old age, should be vested in the Directors only without any appeal from their decision as to amount or otherwise, and they should reserve the power to refuse an allowance in any case, or withdraw or reduce or increase it at any time, according to their sole and absolute discretion...⁴³

Moreover in a memo entitled Extract from the Proceedings of the Staff Pension Fund Committee and dated the 21 October 1892 the following is stated:

...Accident Allowances Uniform Staff...All allowances from that Fund in future to

be irrespective of any money payments from Clubs...⁴⁴

Thus by 1892 the injured employee received a payment from the Accident Fund, and although this payment was far below those receiving entitlement under the 1880 Employers' Liability Act, over and above this amount the employee also received any benefits he may have amassed from his subscriptions into the clubs to which he belonged. Moreover not only was the Accident Fund established in 1886 but also the compulsory staff subscriptions to the Staff Medical Fund, the former 'Medical Attendance Arrangement' ceased on 30 June 1887. Thereafter the 'Arrangement' was financed by the Company. Thus the changes relating to the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act appear to have been anticipated, at least in part, by the L&SWR directors and managers. This is not surprising given the close relationship between Parliament and the Board. Indeed this apparent preparation for change appears to endorse Robert Asher's conclusion that after 1880 both the workers and the leaders in three of the organised trades in the United Kingdom moved steadily towards acceptance of welfare state policies.⁴⁵

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 brought about a major change of emphasis, with entitlement to benefits without the consideration of whether the victim was 'culpable' or 'nonculpable'. The only injuries excluded under this Act were minor injuries from which workers had less than two weeks away from work, (in the 1906 Act this was altered to one week); injuries caused by personal negligence or wilful act of the employer; and injuries attributable to the serious and wilful misconduct of the workman. It is assumed that if the employer was negligent or had engaged in a wilful act, which caused the accident, the employee could claim compensation through the courts. However, consideration of the Act shows that it applied 'only to employment ... 'on or in or about' a railway, factory, mine, quarry, or engineering work...' The ambiguity of

the 'on or in or about' is one of several within the wording of the Act. Robert Asher particularly mentions that in the dangerous construction trades, where the Act stipulated that workers were 'to receive accident compensation only if they labored (sic) on buildings higher than thirty feet.'⁴⁶

It has not been possible to find a definitive line of exclusion for those railway workers who were, or were not, covered by the 1897 Act, but there appears to be a probability that the Board of Trade's Table 9 has a place in the decision relating to eligibility. The reason for this assumption is that the Board of Trade had produced Table 9 within its statistics in 1896 a year before the passing of the Act. Moreover, as will be shown later, several examples within the Traffic Minutes add credence to this conjecture.

From the 1870s the Board of Trade statisticians divided accidents to staff and public into three categories. Accidents to railway workers, passengers and others were from this time categorised as Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 related to those individuals who were killed in 'Train Accidents'. Table 5 related to 'Persons Killed or Injured by the Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles.' These tables will be considered in Chapter Seven. There was a further category which, prior to 1896, was classified as Table 7. This covered those 'Servants of the Companies and of Contractors injured otherwise than in Accidents to Trains or by the Movement of Railway Vehicles', individuals injured or killed other than those within the first two categories. Prior to 1896, these were shown only as a total for the United Kingdom. However after this date these statistics were shown for each railway company and classified as Table 9.

Although after July 1898 there was no reason for the payments granted by the new legislation, to be mentioned in the Traffic Minutes, as the Workmen's Compensation

Committee dealt with all the cases, four cases of 'death' have found a place in the Traffic Committee deliberations. These are informative, as the last three cases appear to show individuals who were not covered by the 1897 legislation, Table 9. The first case was possibly a Table 5 case and shows the amount granted by the new legislation but also the L&SWR directors and managers 'granting' extra payments over and above the grant allowed by the 1897 Act. On the 31 January 1900:

The General Manager submitted an appeal from Mrs Lingley, widow of the late Chief Inspector Lingley, Nine Elms for assistance. £200 to be given in addition to the £300 granted by the Workmen's Compensation Committee.⁴⁷

The mention of the amount awarded by the Workmen's Compensation Committee in the minutes is of interest because £300 was the limit allowed by the 1897 Act and it is apparent that Mrs. Lingley considered that £300 was insufficient and had requested more. This would have been discussed by the Traffic Committee and thereby the amount found a place in the minutes. As will be seen Mrs. Lingley was 'given' a further £200, her husband having been Chief Inspector at Nine Elms.

The three other cases, the first in November 1902, the others in November 1905 and August 1907, also found a place in the minutes. These show the Workmen's Compensation Committee referring applications for assistance from three widows who had applied to them.

In 1902 the minute states:

Referring to the minute of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of 24th ulto as to the case of the late Carman Bond who fell off his van at Smithfield on the 3rd September last and died on the 11th September the General Manager submitted the application of the widow and recommended that a gratuity be given her.

The Traffic Committee considered:

A gratuity of £25 may be given.⁴⁸

In 1907 the minute was very similar:

W.C.G.Davey Late Parcels Carman

Read minute of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of the 25th ulto. referring to this Committee an application from the widow of this man for assistance. Carman Davey fell from his van in May last and fractured his skull which caused his death.

The Traffic Committee considered

He had been in the Company's service 39 years. £100 may be given.

In these two cases the amount allowed by the Compensation Committee is not mentioned, and although it is not possible to state definitively that Carman Bond and Carman Davey would not have been eligible for compensation from the Act, it seems more than probable that this was the case. Both these deceased employees' jobs had been to drive horse drawn delivery waggons, and therefore both their activities were only indirectly connected to railway vehicles and the line. Both wives had contacted the Committee. The Committee contacted the Traffic Committee and it was agreed that a sum of £25 be 'given' to Bond's widow and five years later a sum of £100 be 'given' to Davey's widow. The Traffic Committee obviously felt that Carman Davey's widow, her husband having completed 39 years service before he fell out of his van and fractured his skull, should be 'given' more.⁴⁹ The third case appears to confirm the fact that these men were not eligible under the Workmen's Compensation Act although the word 'Supernumerary' is used in this case which could have made some difference.

Read minute of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of the 19th ulto referring to this Committee an appeal from the widow of H. Bush, a Supernumerary Carman at Kingston, who met with a fatal accident whilst driving his van in June last. The Company not being liable to pay compensation the widow asks for assistance. £25 may be given.⁵⁰

Under the act Mrs. Bond, Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Davey would have received at least £150.

These cases not only appear to show evidence of the legislation in operation, but also disparity between individuals, those who were eligible and those who were not.

Moreover they also show a continuance by managers and directors even after 1897 to

exercise discretion in the payment of accident benefits.

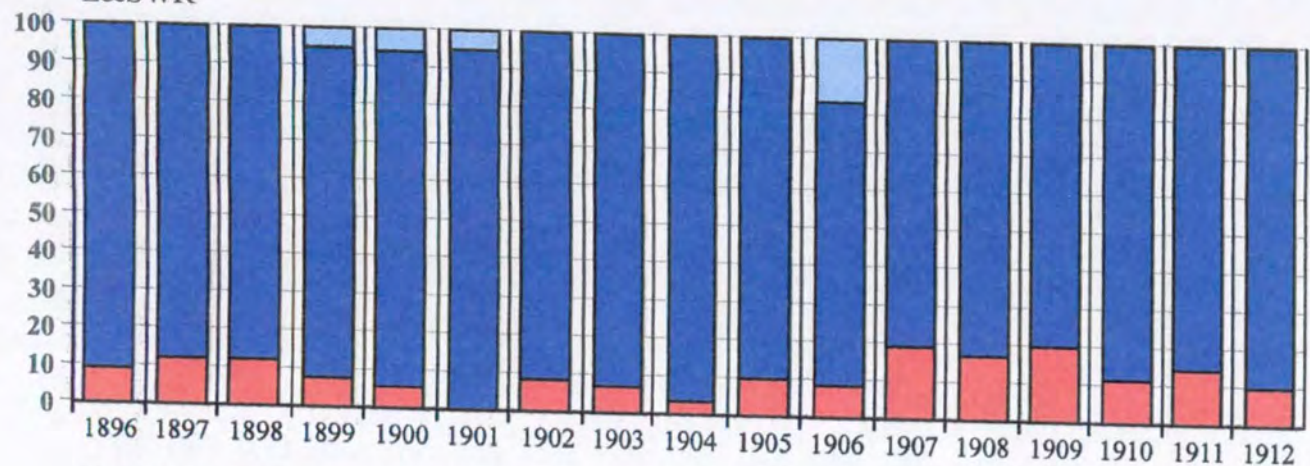
Although it is not possible to state with absolute assurance that Table 9 was the exclusion category for all those who were not eligible under the Act, it does appear to be a distinct possibility that generally this was the case, and although in 1912, the Board of Trade pointed out that although accidents not connected with the movement of trains, (Table 9) were not as a rule attributable to railway working, however:

an exception must be made in the case of accidents caused by contact with the live rails and live wires of railways equipped for electric traction, which are distinctly railway accidents though not caused by the movement of vehicles.⁵¹

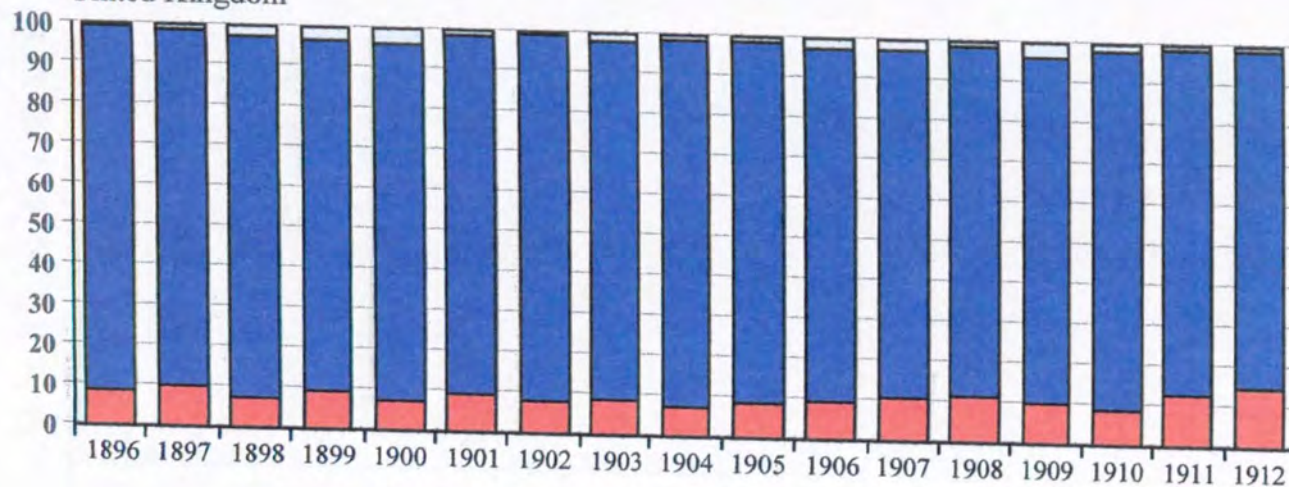
Thus there were undoubtedly exceptions. However if Table 9 was the category of exclusion, the statistics show that the majority of 'death' cases, shown in Figure 6.4. were covered by the Act, and that the most excluded in any one year was 20 per cent. Moreover in 1901 there were no exclusions because the L&SWR recorded no deaths in Table 9 during that year.

However the situation regarding injuries was the reverse. The vast majority of those who were injured whilst working for the railway companies remained outside the protection of the 1897 legislation. This is shown in Figure 6.5. In 1912, 80 per cent of those injured in the United Kingdom were categorised as Table 9, whilst 84 per cent were shown in the L&SWR figures. Certainly those who were listed as injured under Table 9 were growing in number. This was partly due to a change in policy by the Board of Trade in 1906. This required non-fatal accidents to be reported whenever they caused absence from ordinary work for a whole day. Previously, reporting was required when an absence preventing five hours work on any of the next three days, had occurred. The change resulted in an increase in the injury figures. However increases in these figures was also the result of the growth in the transportation of goods, the loading and

Railway Servants Board of Trade 'Death' percentages between
Tables 9, 5 and 4
L&SWR



United Kingdom



9. Servants of the Companies and of Contractors killed otherwise than in Accidents to Trains or by the Movement of Railway Vehicles

5. Servants of Companies and Contractors, killed by the running of Trains or the movement of Railway Vehicles.

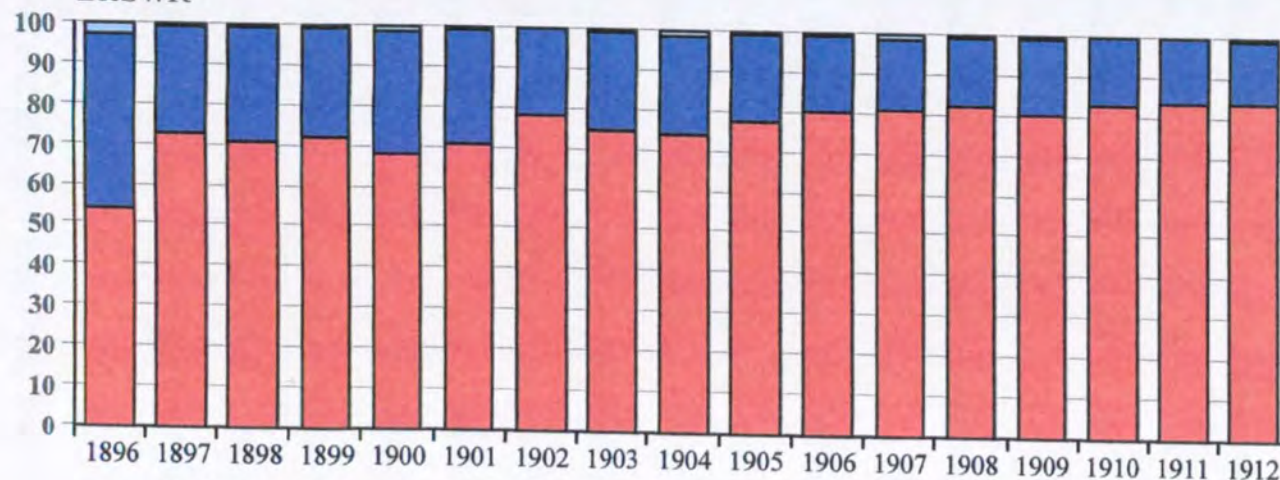
4. Servants killed in Accidents to Trains.

From Board of Trade Statistics
RAIL 1053/85-
RAIL 1053/101
(TNA)

Figure 6.4.

Railway Servants Board of Trade 'Injury' percentages between
Tables 9, 5 and 4
L&SWR

■ Table 9 ■ Table 5 ■ Table 4

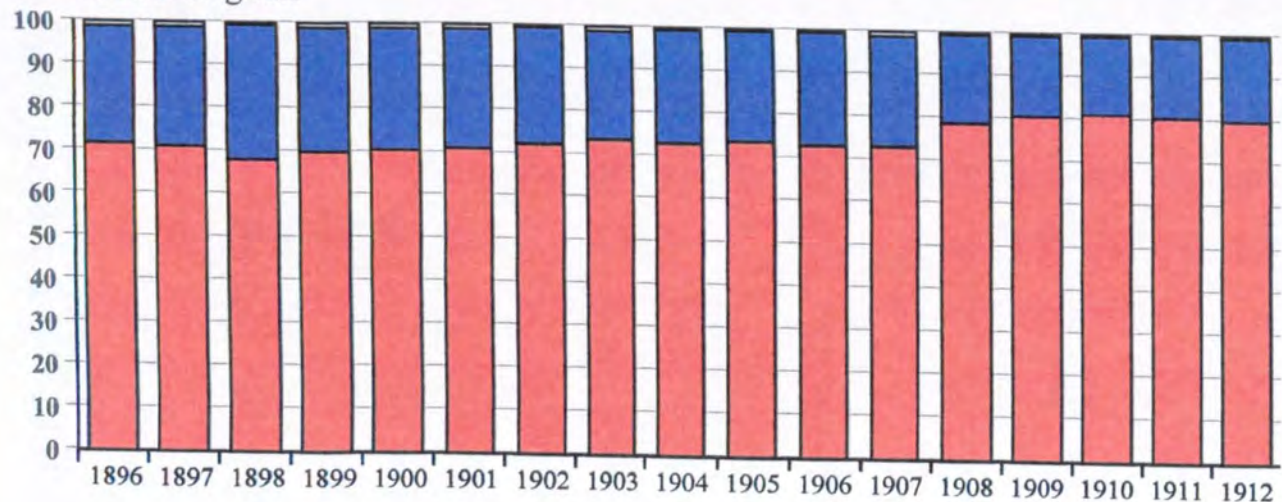


9. Servants of the Companies and of Contractors injured otherwise than in Accidents to Trains or by the Movement of Railway Vehicles

5. Servants of Companies and Contractors. injured by the running of Trains or the movement of Railway Vehicles.

4. Servants injured in Accidents to Trains.

United Kingdom



NOTE: An Order of the Board of Trade of the 21 December 1906 required non-fatal accidents to be reported whenever they caused absence from ordinary work for a whole day (instead of absence preventing five hours' work on any of the next three days). This caused an apparent increase in 1907 and later years.

From Board of Trade Statistics
RAIL1053/85-
RAIL 1053/101 (TNA)

Figure 6.5.

unloading of waggons, trucks, and movement of luggage. This would have been heavy work with injuries being those of back problems, hernias and muscular disorders, not life threatening but nevertheless painful. Indeed within this group it was inevitable that there would have been those with serious long-term incapacity. The Board of Trade figures in 1912 show that throughout the United Kingdom 795 individuals had been injured by the falling of waggon doors, lamps, bales of goods etc. and more than one third of the 22,638 injuries shown in Table 9 occurred through activities which involved the loading and unloading of vehicles and moving goods and luggage in stations.⁵² If all those within Table 9 were excluded under the Workmen's Compensation Act 1897, all these injuries remained outside this legislation.

Ambiguities have already been mentioned as being present in the Act. Another is that weekly payments for injury cases were to be 'not exceeding fifty per cent' of former wages calculated over a three year period. This wording could have been open to interpretation as 'less than fifty per cent'. Unfortunately no accident injury cases have been found within the minutes after 1897. This is not surprising because all the cases would have been dealt with by the Workmens' Compensation Committee and those not covered by the Act would have been processed by those dealing with the Accident Fund. However one case relating to an incident prior to the Act coming into operation on 1 July 1898 has been found in the Traffic Minutes. This case was obviously not included within those about to be administered by the Workmen's Compensation Committee, but it shows the level of compensation being given after 1897 and the length of the payment the L&SWR managers had given in relation to this particular case.

Guard Wooldridge had been badly injured in a railway accident in 1880 and although there is no evidence of payments there is little doubt that he received compensation at

the time of the accident, and continued to receive some remuneration after this date. During the fateful evening when he was injured, the fact that the brake van was in the centre of the train in which he was travelling was noted by the Board of Trade as being a contributory factor in the accident. Moreover the Board of Trade report also mentions the inattention of a signalman. These factors should and probably did entitle him to payment under the Employers Liability Act of 1880. In June 1898 this case was transferred to the Traffic Committee. This was unquestionably because from the 1 July 1898 the Accident Fund was being operated under the rules of the 1897 Act and this paralysed employee was a relic of a former payment scheme, which obviously dated back to the 1880s. In June 1898 he had been granted half pay which 'may be continued up to the 30th September 1898 when a further report will be made.' In another memo it states that he had paralysis of the side and that he was receiving 13s.6d. a week.⁵³ The minutes show his continuing half pay until his death on the 14 July 1900 when his widow was awarded a gratuity of £25. In November 1901 Mrs. Wooldridge appealed for further assistance but this was declined. Thus there is evidence that the managers were paying half pay to an accident victim prior to the 1897 Act coming into operation, and that a payment had been made to Guard Wooldridge throughout the twenty years of his incapacity.

Was fifty per cent of a wage sufficient compensation for long-term incapacity, which sometimes resulted from serious accidents? Nothing would compensate a worker who was permanently incapacitated by accident. However it has already been noted the L&SWR worker could also have received benefit from 'Clubs' over and above the Accident Fund and indeed it appears probable that benefits from the New Friendly Society would also have been received by those entitled to this cover.

The New Friendly Society predated the Accident Fund. It came into operation on the 1 July 1880 whilst the Accident Fund was adopted on the 1 April 1886. One of the new rules detailed in the Actuaries Report of January 1879, later adopted by the Society, stated:

That no sickness allowance be paid for partial disablement but only for total inability to do any work.

Although it is possible to have partial disability through illness it does appear to be probable that accident benefits continued to be paid to the members of the L&SWR Friendly Society who had received cover for this benefit prior to the change in rules. The change in the Society rules related to the relinquishment of all contingent pensions to which the members were entitled, there is no mention of down grading sickness benefits. It appears therefore that those who were entitled to accident benefits prior to 1 July 1880 probably received them after this date.

Asher in his paper 'Experience counts' writes that 'union leaders reported that the advent of workmen's compensation had not induced union members to withdraw from union benefit plans.'⁵⁴ It is therefore possible that some individuals would have more than one benefit scheme on which to rely in time of an emergency. The Act also provided for weekly payments to be reviewed either at the request of the employee or the employer, and could be subsequently diminished, increased or redeemed after six months by payment of a lump sum. Further, whereas the L&SWR directors had stated in 1887 that they reserved 'the power to refuse an allowance in any case, or withdraw or reduce or increase it at any time, according to their sole and absolute discretion...' the Act provided for settlement by arbitration.⁵⁵

Despite its limitations and the ambiguities, the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897 was

a major step forward. The difference between the 1897 and the 1880 act was the abandonment in 1897 of the fault principle.⁵⁶ Some railway workers, possibly as many as 10 per cent of those killed and 84 per cent of those injured, within the L&SWR in 1912, remained outside the legislation. However this exclusion would have been policy throughout the entire railway industry. Moreover although there appears to be some instances where company managers and individuals unconnected with the L&SWR were in breach of the legislation, (this is indicated in a letter to all County Court Judges found in archival material relating to administration of the act), there is no reason to doubt that the L&SWR managers and directors did other than comply with the detail contained within the Act and subsequent legislation. The Act had the full force of the Secretary of States's office in Whitehall behind it, and companies would have found difficulty if they tried to evade compliance. During 1898 letters were sent out from Whitehall appointing 32 judges to service the Act together with over 400 Medical Referees. (The Kingston arbitration cases were seen by Thomas Lusson M.D., M.R.C.S., who lived at Wilton Lodge in Norbiton.)⁵⁷ Certainly the L&SWR managers continued to exercise some control, but there is no reason to believe that the Company did other than comply with the detail contained within the 1897 and subsequent Worker's Compensation legislation.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the 'doctrine of common employment' only affected a few workers because most of the accidents to railway 'uniformed' staff were considered to have been caused by *misconduct* and *want of caution* and not *causes beyond their control*. Thus as liability was linked to fault throughout most of the nineteenth century, these victims of accidents would not have been eligible to file a claim in a court of law, and were effectively barred from claiming compensation by railway managers rather than by the 'doctrine of common employment'.⁵⁸

The L&SWR data Appendix 2, for the years 1872-3 clearly shows the criteria by which the L&SWR managers or their advisers judged accident victims to be 'culpable' or 'non-culpable'. A person was 'non culpable' when an accident was caused by a 'third party' or an obvious irregularity, otherwise the employee was considered to at fault. The figures, show that most accidents around the stations or on the lines, which were not 'railway accidents', were considered to be the fault of the accident victim.

Initially payments to accident victims were made from the in-house Friendly Society but many employees failed to join. In some cases the L&SWR managers gave small allowances to those without wages through accident or sickness. Although joining the Friendly Society was made compulsory for new entrants in 1869, many remained outside. During the 1880s a Company funded Accident Scheme was initiated together with the adjustment of the Medical Attendance Arrangement altered to be funded entirely by the Company.

Governmental intervention with the Employers Liability Act 1880 aided only a few accident victims. Moreover the Workmen's Compensation Act 1897 appears to have only covered those 'uniformed workers' whose accidents were a direct result of contact with the trains or track vehicles. Although this included most of those who were killed, it did exclude a large proportion of individuals with workplace injuries, possibly as many as 80 per cent of those injured in the United Kingdom, 84 per cent of those injured in the L&SWR in 1912. This was because many who lifted and moved freight did so without coming into contact with trains. Although the Act provided for settlement by arbitration, the L&SWR managers continued to exercise their discretion over the payment of benefits made outside the 1897 Act as and when they felt so inclined. However the Workman's

Compensation Act 1897, despite its ambiguities, brought about a change of emphasis. By excluding 'fault' as a means of claiming relief, the worker was allowed to claim benefit as a matter of right.

¹ Brian Beattie, *Torts: Twisted Origins*. Retrieved 18 April 2007 at 13.57:
<http://www.kcba.org/scriptcontent/KCBA/barbulletin/0502/article13.cfm>

Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p.1-3.

The word 'tort' originated from the Latin 'tortus' which meant 'twisted' or 'crooked', but with its progress from the French into English, the word became a general synonym for "wrong". Although the word disappeared from common usage it was retained as a technical term within the law.

² Stein, 'Priestley v Fowler (1837) and the emerging tort of negligence', pp. 1-8.

³ The British Encyclopaedia Volume 4 (Odhams London: 1933)

Court of Exchequer: An ancient English court of record, established by William the Conqueror, and intended principally for the care and collection of the royal revenues. It was one of the supreme courts of common law, and is said to derive its name from the chequered cloth, resembling a chest board, on which the sums were marked and scored with counters. The judges of this court were the chief baron and five junior or *puisné* barons. This court was abolished by the Judicature Act of 1873, and its jurisdiction transferred to the High Court of Justice.

⁴ Stein, 'Priestley v Fowler (1837), and the emerging tort of negligence', pp. 6, 12, 36-7., 44.

⁵ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution*, p.194.

⁶ Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p.515.

⁷ Stein, 'Priestley v Fowler (1837), and the emerging tort of negligence', pp. 25, 44.

⁸ 1972-3. RAIL 1053/61 & RAIL 1053/62. (TNA)

'from their own misconduct or want of caution' and 'causes beyond their own control' are phrases to be found in the Board of Trade return Relative to Railway Accidents.

⁹ Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p.7.

¹⁰ Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p.519.

¹¹ Board of Trade Reports - 'Return Relative to Railway Accidents', L&SWR RAIL 1053/61 & RAIL 1053/62 (TNA).

¹² *Surrey Comet*, 2 June 1866, (LHR).

¹³ Traffic Minutes 17 Feb.1892, (1357), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).

- ¹⁴ Traffic Minutes, 16 July 1857, (45), (TNA).
- ¹⁵ Lardner, *Railway Economy*, p.267.
- ¹⁶ Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution*, p.194.
- ¹⁷ Board of Trade, Reports Return Relative to Railway Accidents - L&SWR, RAIL 1053/61, RAIL 1053/62 (TNA)
- ¹⁸ Traffic Minutes, 6 March 1862, (1393), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ¹⁹ Court of Directors' Minutes, RAIL 411/4, 6 Jan.1859, (286), RAIL 411/4 (TNA).
- ²⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 March 1862, (1383), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ²¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 Jan.1866, (870), RAIL 411/235 (TNA).
- ²² Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Dec.1857, (257), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ²³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 Oct.1846, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), p.34.
- ²⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 9 Aug.1860, (263), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ²⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 Jan.1861, (584), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ²⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Dec.1857, (257), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ²⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 20 Aug.1863, (912), RAIL 411/233 (TNA).
- ²⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 21 March 1867, (472), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ²⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 3 Dec.1868, (199), RAIL 411/239 (TNA).
- ³⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 Sep.1869, (762),RAIL 411/239 (TNA).
- ³¹ Fleming *The Law of Torts*, p.519.
- ³² Eric Hopkins, *Working-Class self help in nineteenth-century England*, (University College London Press: 1995), pp.44-5.
- ³³ Medical Committee, 9 July 1856, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/216 (TNA), pp.217-8.

- ³⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 3 Nov.1859, (1373), 17 Nov.1859, (1389), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ³⁵ Second Schedule, Arbitration, (Workmens' Compensation Act). An Act to amend the Law with respect to Compensation to Workmen for accidental Injuries suffered in the course of their Employment [6 August 1897] [60 & 61 Vict.] [Chapter 37]. (TNA Library).
- ³⁶ An Act to extend and regulate the Liability of Employers to make Compensation for Personal Injuries suffered by Workmen in their service [7 September 1880] [43 & 44 Vict.] [Chapter 42.]Page 1. (Employers' Liability Act), (TNA Library).
- ³⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 28 Feb.1883, (1405), RAIL 411/251 (TNA).
- ³⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 14 March 1883, (1436), RAIL 411/251 (TNA).
- ³⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 May 1893, (17), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁴⁰ *The South Western Gazette*, June 1893, ZPER 11/12 (TNA), p.6.
- ⁴¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 May 1893, (46), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁴² Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 Jan.1889, (64), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).
- ⁴³ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards,drivers etc., 15 Nov.1889, (10), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ⁴⁴ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards,drivers etc., 21 Oct.1892, (51), RAIL 411/447 (TNA)
- ⁴⁵ Asher, Experience Counts, p.360.
- ⁴⁶ Asher, Experience Counts, p.370.
- ⁴⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 31 Jan.1900 (241) RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁴⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 Nov.1902, (1720), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁴⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 7 Aug.1907 (827), RAIL 411/267 (TNA).
- ⁵⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 1 Nov.1905, (1729), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).

- ⁵¹ Accidents on Railway Premises not Due to Train Accidents or to the Movement of Trains and Railway Vehicles. Included in notes under Table XVIII III Board of Trade Reports, RAIL 1053/101 (TNA).
- ⁵² Accidents on Railway Premises not Due to Train Accidents or to the Movement of Trains and Railway Vehicles. Included in notes under Table XVII III Board of Trade Reports, RAIL 1053/101 (TNA).
- ⁵³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 Jan. 1899, (1652), RAIL 411/261 (TNA).
- ⁵⁴ Asher, Experience counts, p.371.
- ⁵⁵ Workmens' Compensation Act, 6 August 1897 [60 & 61 Vict.] [Chapter 37]. (TNA) ; Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 15 Nov. 1889, (10), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ⁵⁶ Fleming *The Law of Torts*, p.520.
- ⁵⁷ Home Office, 'Out letter books, 15 Oct. 1900, H0 157/3 (TNA).
- ⁵⁸ Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p.519.

Chapter Seven

Shifts, Fatigue & Economy

If challenged, the L&SWR directors and managers, even during the early years of the service, would have considered, that there was an innate humanity shown to their staff within their procedures. There was before 1850 a basic policy of care, although limited. By the mid 1840s the Friendly Society was operational. The mid 1850s saw the organisation of the Medical Attendance Arrangement; this would have been seen as a progressive staff welfare policy, although it only covered staff within the London area.¹ By the 1880s there was the Accident Fund. The requests to the L&SWR management by the uniformed workforce regarding concessions, which commenced initially during the 1860s, but escalated after 1870, show a slow but gradual improvement in staff conditions but a continuing refusal by management to sanction a reduction in hours. By the beginning of the twentieth century, although the signalmen at Waterloo were working an eight-hour day, many other 'uniformed' grades remained conditioned to twelve-hour schedules.² The question remains, why, when having put into effect welfare policies, and responded favourably to most of the Board of Trade requests, did the directors and managers fail to address an important element behind many of the accidents, that of *fatigue*?

It will be argued initially that there appears to be several reasons for this failure, the first being that *fatigue* was not recognised as a work related problem during the early period of the line, and that long hours were accepted as part of the pattern of working class

existence by both managers and workers alike.³ Further the L&SWR managers and directors, starting in the 1860s, were involved in updating the system and the railway stock, and would have considered that these improvements were a priority. However a major reason for the refusal to reduce hours was undoubtedly one of economy and this situation remained until after the end of the century. Thus *fatigue* may have been a hidden factor behind some of the 'Railway Accidents' and also the accidents of those who were 'Killed and Injured by the Running of the Trains and the Movement of Railway Vehicles' even at the latter end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, although the 1893 and 1900 railway legislation may have played some part in reducing accidents, the injury rate for workers continued to remain high and long hours a feature of railway employment until beyond 1912.⁴

References will be taken from the Traffic and Directors' Minutes and the L&SWR 'Returns for Servants of Companies and Contractors' published by the Board of Trade, in particular using incidents which occurred in and around the area of Kingston upon Thames and Surbiton stations.

Subordination and Priorities

During the nineteenth century, long working hours were part of the pattern of everyday existence for most of the working classes, not only in Britain, but also throughout most of Europe. Prior to railway employment, it has only been possible to trace the background of a few of those within the KRD. However Kingsford states that an examination of applications for employment on the railways from 1840 onwards, does show that many new recruits did come from agricultural districts where wages were very low.⁵ It has already been noted that places like Mitford in central Norfolk over the thirty-year period spanning 1851 to 1881 shows a population decline from 3,044 in 1851 to

2,661 in 1881. There were many other areas, like Mitford, where young people found a future away from their agrarian roots and many who found employment on the railway came from such a background. These early railway workers would have moved from one environment where those who employed them demanded long hours and subordination, to another which, although possibly more demanding, paid higher wages and was not subject to seasonal variations. Railway work would therefore be seen as preferable to agriculture as a means of livelihood, a position to be retained once employment had been achieved.⁶

It is impossible to come to any conclusion concerning the attitudes of the Traffic Committee and that of the Board of Directors concerning their uniformed staff in the initial railway period. During the early years the numbers who were killed or injured on the stations, and the lines, were ignored in the Traffic Minutes. The only record was that of widows requesting help. There is no mention of numbers and no memos showing the desire to reduce these numbers. Apart from one comment from a director in May 1860 that the £7.7s.0d. paid for the funeral of a platelayer was excessive and that no grant for funeral expenses in such cases should exceed £5 in future, the minutes were silent.⁷ The reason is probably that for a management living within the paradigm of a belief that the vast majority of accidents had been caused by *misconduct* or *want of caution*, the concept of blame became an acceptable norm and other factors were never considered. The clerks who worked at the stations also laboured long hours. At least one clerk had to be in each station ticket office prior to the first train arriving in the morning. This involved a young person being at his place of work long before normal office hours. Lateness and absence from duty could involve a fine for a first offence but dismissal if repeated. Indeed many of the cash deficiencies and irregularities, followed by dismissal may also have been related to *fatigue*.⁸ Long hours were part of railway service and

fatigue and its consequences were not questioned. ‘*sleep debt*’ and ‘*circadian rhythms*’ had yet to be identified.⁹

However before the mid 1860s there was also no mention of any deputations from the work force. An incident recorded in Chapter Six, which is mentioned by Bagwell quoting from *The Times*, 4 August 1845, does show a certain militancy at Nine Elms. However the militancy was quickly subdued by the dismissal of thirty-nine men.¹⁰ It is possible therefore, not only to assume that there was acceptance of the situation by the L&SWR managers, but also there was a degree of acceptance by the ‘servants’. There may have been other incidents but these are not recorded and there is no evidence of groups of individuals vocalising their concerns prior to 1866. Nielsen, questioning the reasons behind what he refers to as ‘factory paternalism’ considered that the subordinate role adopted by the workers at Brede textile mill in Denmark arose out of the cultural background of the workforce, and its adaption to industrial production.¹¹ Although there is a disparity between those who lived within the confines of Brede, a closed community, dominated by the owner, and those who worked for the L&SWR, yet fundamental similarities remain. The workforce of both came predominantly out of an environment where a subordinate, unquestioning relationship with those in authority, was the norm. Even at a later period towards the end of the nineteenth century, the railway workforce was expressing gratitude for concessions that were similar to those expressed at Brede.¹² A resistance by both railway and Brede management to what was seen as the threat of organised labour movements, are also to be found. Thus in the early years the workforce tolerated their subservience, undoubtedly because they felt that there was no alternative.

In defence of the Company it must be stated that between the mid 1860s up to and including the 1890s the L&SWR directors were not only extending the service, but were

also making railway improvement a priority. It is also reasonable to suggest that they would have considered that by improving the network and the stations, the uniformed staff, as well as the public, would have found the network safer. Indeed this, to some extent was true. However as Bagwell points out, a further reason could also have been that from 1846 the railway companies had to pay compensation to passengers following accidents.¹³

Certainly by the 1860s the early network of stations had begun to appear very crude, and the old methods of time interval and manual brakes were only adequate whilst there was little traffic. Once this increased collisions became more frequent. Although there are few eye witness descriptions of the early network there is retained within one accident report, a rare glimpse of Surbiton station in May 1864 showing the imperfect state of the early system. The condition of the station would be similar to most of the stations built on the main line from London to Southampton by the L&SWR during the early period of the line. The report also details the problems relating to the signals and also those of the brakes on the train. Thus this report encapsulates the main basic problems of the railway during the 1860s. The report was written by the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Captain H.W.Tyler R.E., concerning an accident on 14 April 1864 when the tender of the Necropolis train struck a horse box standing in Surbiton Station.¹⁴

Following the accident Captain Tyler reported:

The roof of the up-passenger platform, which was supported on wooden pillars about four feet from the edge of the platform, was thrown down, all the pillars having been carried away except one-on the south; though there is no evidence to show what struck them. These pillars were too near the edge of the platform to be safe for the public, and were within 16 feet, and others within 11 feet 6 inches of each other. I am glad to find that the Company are now erecting others in place of them at greater distances, both from the edge of the platform and from each other; and I would take the opportunity of pointing out that a similar improvement is much required on the down platform also...¹⁵

Repairs had been started almost immediately. Even although nobody was killed, the

accident received prominent attention from the Board of Trade, obviously because they were asked to do so by the L&SWR. If the platform had been full of people, the accident would have caused considerable loss of life.

Capt. Tyler's report concludes,

The general accommodation at the Surbiton station (in 1864) is very far from being commensurate with the requirements of the increased and increasing traffic which now passes through it.¹⁶

Further parts of Capt. Tyler's report highlighted the need for 'block working', which will be described later.

The engine-driver, fireman and guard all agree that the distant-signal from Surbiton was only partially turned to danger. The driver "took it to be 'off'"; the fireman thought that it "appeared to be 'off' as he approached it from a distance," but "that it was inclined to be 'on' as he came nearer to it." The guard only saw it after he had run 200 yards past it, and then thought on looking back that it was "from half to three parts of the way towards danger." It is one of those semi-disc in common use of the South-Western Railway, and is not so clearly visible at any time, but especially when it is not properly turned to danger, as a good sized semaphore. The signalman is provided in his hut with a small tell-tale signal, worked by a galvanic current through a copper wire from the distant signal, which is intended to indicate to him when this distant signal is working properly. But the tell-tale was in want of a very simple adjustment when I visited it, as it turned to danger when the distant signal was partially "on". It appears from the evidence of the signalman, that he had tightened up the signal-wire several times in that morning, in consequence of its having expanded from the heat of the sun; and it is plain that having been misled by the imperfect indication of his tell-tale, he had tightened it too much to allow of its working properly.¹⁷

However it was not until 1873 that the points and signals at Surbiton were altered with the cost to the Company of £345.¹⁸ In that year a new Telegraph and Goods Office was also erected at a cost of £140, and additional sidings added at a cost of £300.¹⁹

A third portion of Capt. Tyler's report refers to the condition of the brake on the train.

He (the engine-driver) noticed that the station signal was at "danger" when he was about 400 yards from it; but he could not see it well, because the dust from the coal in his tender (which was in front of him) flew into his eyes; and almost at the same time he saw that there was a horse-box standing on the main line at the passenger

platform. He told his fireman to apply the tender break (sic); but the female screw of the break (sic) stripped, and the break (sic) would not therefore act. He reversed his engine, placing the lever in forward gear, and applied his steam; but the lever flew into backward gear again, and became strained so that he could not move it. The tender struck the horse-box at a speed which he estimates at 20, his fireman 15, and the guard of the train at 50 miles an hour...²⁰

The accident occurred because the signals were inadequate and the brake on the engine of the train jammed. Unable to brake, the engine hit the horse box at full speed, which knocked into the wooden pillars holding up the roof of the station, which in falling brought down the roof. The accident killed three horses belonging to Edmund Antrobus, a relative of one of the partners of Messrs Coutts the bankers, and caused considerable damage to the station. Mr. Antrobus demanded £387, which he considered, was the value of the three horses. The minutes state that Mr. Scott was to endeavour to settle this claim at £50 for each horse. A minute dated 8 June 1864 stated that Messrs Farrer (Coutts' solicitors) had agreed to accept this amount.²¹

It is obvious, therefore, that the line, the stations and the rolling stock needed updating by the 1860s, and that the railway directors and managers would view this as a priority. The new inventions being developed became known as 'lock, block and brake' and are detailed in L.T.C.Rolt's book *Red for Danger*. A summary of what Rolt calls the basic science upon which the safe working of the railways evolved was the elaboration of three simple basic principles, the interlocking of points and signals, the use of suitable 'block' telegraph instruments to enable a space interval between trains, and a brake which could be applied instantly by the driver or guard to every wheel of a passenger train.²² The period after the 1860s was one of experimentation and one in which railway companies started to put through expensive modernisation programmes as well as continuing to extend their service. The L&SWR started to put in the Block System in March 1865, just under a year after the Surbiton accident.²³

Economy in the workplace

To rely on the new inventions of 'lock, block and brake' to ensure the safe working of the railway without reducing the hours of the workforce, appears from hindsight to be extremely shortsighted. Moreover by the mid 1860s, the managers and directors of the L&SWR would have had some awareness of the problems related to long shifts. The public were becoming more conscious of the dangers of the railway workers excessive hours of labour. P.S.Bagwell mentions that both Captain Tyler and Colonel Yolland condemned railway companies in Board of Trade reports for endangering public safety by allowing the uniformed staff to work long hours. The editorial board of the *Lancet* inquiring into the influence of the railways on public health, reported that many staff, in particular signalmen, guards and engine drivers, were working fifteen hours a day.²⁴ Why did the L&SWR managers and directors appear to ignore this situation? The rationale concerning the refusal to consider the request for a reduction in hours for uniformed staff was made very early in the requests by workers to management. These requests started in 1866 when the silence of acquiescence was broken. The requests are to be found in the Traffic Minutes and are not only a record of the interchanges between staff and management relating to pay and concessions, but also reveal the managements' refusal to negotiate with the unions, the various tactics used towards economy, and staff working conditions.

The rationale relating to the refusal to consider shorter hours may be found in the memorandum dated 6 December 1866.

the rate of wages now paid has been fixed in consideration of the fact that an exact daily duty could not be laid down as it must vary with the requirements of the Traffic, and that if the principle of payment for overtime were recognised the present scale of Wages must be reduced.²⁵

The schedules of the uniformed workers were complex. Viewing some of the hours of

duty, during the period 1888 to 1912, which will be detailed later in this chapter, the complication of the organisation is apparent. However during the day the men frequently 'stood' waiting for the time when their train would be due to leave. These breaks were necessary as a rest but on occasions were several hours in length, and above a certain time limit were a waste of time. It was necessary to work longer hours when involved in long distance travel, but the 'requirements of traffic' argument is less relevant when applied to the shorter distance drivers. Moreover both signalmen and porters were not subject to the same type of schedule experienced by the railway-driver, fireman and guard, who moved from location to location. No schedules have been found for the staff prior to the 1870s. However Kevin Robertson writing in a book to commemorate 150 years of the L&SWR, gives some indication of working hours. He writes that during the early years there were tales of L&SWR pointsmen, policemen, and even drivers and firemen falling asleep at their posts. Even during the 1860s the working week was seven days, and that a signalman at Godalming worked 16 hours on Monday, 14 hours each day from Tuesday to Saturday and twelve hours on Sunday. This totalled 98 hours.²⁶ There can be no reason for the continuation of these long shifts other than that of economy by the L&SWR managers and directors. Although the financial crisis in the country, which resulted in the bank rate being raised to 10 per cent during 1866, is not mentioned in the minutes, there is little doubt that the directors and managers were ever mindful of the need for the careful management of the finances.²⁷ If the managers had agreed to shorter hours this would have involved either bringing in more 'uniformed staff' or allowing paid overtime. Both of these measures would have resulted in considerable expenditure. The cost of taking on more staff to reduce the hours is obvious. The complications related to overtime payments, such as checking the schedules which 'varied with daily requirements' by those in charge of the men, and having the schedules calculated into payments by clerks, who would have had to calculate staff wages

manually, inevitably would have involved the employment of many extra office staff. It was undoubtedly more economical to leave the situation unchanged, to insist that long hours, due to varying 'traffic requirements', were an inevitable part of railway service, and to compensate by giving slightly higher rates of pay. It must be stated however, that by the 1880s the rates of pay were falling behind those of other industries. When in November 1911 it was decided to alter some of these rates and the hours of duty of the various grades in line with those of the Great Western Railway Company, (at the time when passenger guards scheduled hours were reduced from twelve to eleven), the increase in expenditure was said to be approximately £24,600 per annum.²⁸

Apart from the problems related to schedules the memorandum dated December 1866 gives the information that 'each goods guard and breaksman (sic) would have day and night duty in rotation'... and concludes with the veiled threat

The Reply to add that further agitation cannot be permitted and that those who are dissatisfied with the service may send in their resignations...²⁹

From the hindsight of the twenty-first century it is possible to appreciate the problems which 'day and night duty in rotation' would have had on the individual. *Circadian rhythms* operate on a twenty-four hour cycle to which the body adapts. Resetting can only proceed at a rate of one to two hours a day, so it may take the clock the best part of a week to adapt to a revised shift pattern. To have day and night duty in rotation would intensify the severity of circadian disturbance, a person may be expected to perform demanding mental and physical tasks at a time when the clock is driving reaction times and mental performance to their nocturnal nadir. This situation would undoubtedly increase the possibility of accident in the workplace.³⁰

The early requests within the Traffic Minutes show other features of the complexities of life on the footplate. Four months after December 1866, 28 March 1867 a further

request from the passenger guards appears to have achieved more.

That all Guards working the London Suburban Traffic shall have their duties so arranged as not to exceed 12 hours per day for each, and if called upon to do extra duty to receive for a Kingston, Hounslow or Hampton Court Train 1/- per trip; beyond that distance 2/- per trip... When a Guard has to take his Train to Clapham Junction and to return to London on foot (after all passenger Trains have ceased running) he shall be paid 1/- and any Guard being on duty which necessitates his residing from home shall be allowed 2/6 for expenses per night...³¹

These requests appear to have been allowed. Returning to London on foot from Clapham Junction after all the trains had ceased during the night was not only time consuming, but probably perilous in 1866. We are not privy to the gap between shifts but a mere ten hour shift with a long walk afterwards would allow little time for family life and a reasonable sleeping period. It will also be noticed that the extra payments were exact amounts, and were related to journeys rather than hours making calculation easier. Thus if there were complications, resulting in delays, the payment would remain the same. Moreover although the railway continued to aspire to a twelve-hour day, workers did continue to work beyond these hours, as can be seen in two of the schedules shown later. The requests appear to have been allowed as in May 1867 the minutes note a letter from the passenger guards expressing satisfaction with the manner in which their memorial was met.³²

Some signalmen did have shorter hours. In September 1867 the Waterloo signalling arrangements were changed with the saving in wages being equal to '£350 a year besides working the men in eight hour shifts instead of twelve hours.'³³ How this saving was effected is not obvious from the minutes. However these shift patterns were not widespread throughout the service as the accident report concerning the collision at Hampton Wick Station in 1888 shows that the Kingston signals were manned by nine and a half hour shifts, and at Hampton Wick there was possibly a ten hour shift.³⁴

Apart from giving some insight into working conditions, the requests for concessions together with the replies from management, show the controlling power the directors had on their workforce, which included a refusal to deal with the unions. The Signalmen's and Switchmen's United Aid Society contacting the L&SWR managers requesting increased wages and a diminution in the hours of duty in January 1866 set the tone for all further communications from the unions. Mr. Scott replied:

...that this Company must decline to recognise any such Society but any representation from their own servants will as hitherto receive every consideration and attention.³⁵

Thereafter the management had only dealings with their workforce, and when on several occasions the Company was approached by the unions, the communications were ignored.

Except during the early period in 1866, there was a lack of co-ordination not only between grades but also between the same grade in differing locations. In January 1890 it was agreed that London guards on completing twenty years service should receive 2 shillings more than 'County' guards.³⁶ However in May of the same year the 14 passenger guards living beyond the London district asked that they might be placed upon the same footing as the guards living in London and at Clapham Junction. This was allowed.³⁷ Even as late as 1908 this fragmentation continued. In May of that year two deputations were received one being the collectors and examiners at the London stations and the other being the collectors and examiners at the stations in the 'Central and Western Districts'.³⁸ Also in that month a deputation was also received from the carmen and van loaders (18 and 3 in number respectively) employed at Southampton Goods Stations, as well as the horsekeepers at the London stables who wanted their annual holiday of one week to include a Sunday.³⁹ Even in 1908, there were separate negotiations for different grades and also separate negotiations for the same grade working in differing

geographical locations.

It is unlikely, that the management deliberately created this situation, it evolved at a time when communication between groups was limited, but it was not discouraged. It is also possible that the experience in 1866 when a combination of grades requested concessions and found rejection may have influenced petitions thereafter. From 1867 the managers appeared to have responded more positively to individual grades. However, whether or not this situation was engineered, by only dealing with small groups the management were able to carefully restrain the workforce; to sidestep the unions, and retain financial viability. Moreover interviews with petitioners allowed a judgment of the mood and motivation of the workforce, and an awareness by the management of the spokesman of the group.

The replies from the management to some of the requests show the various tactics used to keep a careful control on the finances. Decisions to divide grades into two classes and give a wage increase to the higher class were bestowed on one occasion, and increases to some of the men, whilst excluding others was also actioned. This was obviously to satisfy the more mature workers as opposed to those less established.⁴⁰ Bagwell writing in *The Railwaymen*, mentions similar tactics used on the Stockton and Darlington in 1838.⁴¹ Concerning holidays with pay, the three days that were allowed to 'Weekly Servants' in October 1872, was qualified with the phrase 'when practicable'.⁴² In the circumstances this was appropriate. When Pearce, a guard, and Carey, a driver with the L&SWR were questioned by the *Railways Accidents Commission 1875*, Carey said that he had no holiday allowed him and Pearce stated that he was supposed to have three days in the year without loss of pay but not every year, as sometimes they could not be spared.⁴³ In the period when there was no overtime, extra duty would have been worked

for no extra pay, apart from any allowance made for over twelve hours. Holidays were therefore taken mainly at the expense of the other workers.

A further concession was the gift of old uniforms and jackets to non-uniformed, manual grades. These were renovated, the cost being 2 shillings for a jacket provided with new collars in 1895 and £60 for 600 jackets in 1896.⁴⁴ This concession cost little, but was well received by labourers not entitled to Company clothing. Thus this apparent generosity when scrutinised is shown to have affected Company finances only minimally.

Both Bagwell and Asher have detailed the work of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in relation to long hours for railway workers, and the work that culminated in the Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900, which will be discussed later.⁴⁵ The Act to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants passed by Parliament on 27 July 1893 gave the Board of Trade the power to order companies to bring work hours within reasonable limits. However the Act did not specify what were 'reasonable limits', this was left to the judgment of the officers of the Board of Trade. The hours apparently being judged as unreasonable may be found in a memo in the minutes in June 1902, which reads:

The General Manager reported that the Board of Trade in pursuance of a Resolution of the House of Commons, have called for a Return of the number of cases in which Railway Servants (in certain grades) were on duty for more than 12 hours at a time, or who after being on duty more than twelve hours were allowed to resume work with less than nine hours rest, during the month of December last.⁴⁶

A further memo mentioned in the November 1902 minutes states that the Board were glad to note an improvement in the Company's return as regards the servants' hours compared with the similar return for December 1891.⁴⁷ Most of the staff accident victims, investigated by the Board of Trade after 1893, had work schedules which did not

exceed twelve hours. Some of these cases are shown later in the chapter. However, there were other cases where, because only nine hours rest was obligatory, the remaining three hours out of the twenty-four, could be inserted into the twelve hours of duty, thus making a total of fifteen hours away from home. The problems related to a split schedule will be found in the case of Driver Robins shown later in this chapter

However it does appear that some of the other companies may have continued to be in excess of these limits for a much longer period. Asher particularly mentions the enforcement effort by the Board of Trade, which by 1896 had led to forty-three cases resulting in a decrease in the length of work duties on railways.⁴⁸ Bagwell writing in *The Railwaymen* considers that there were still thousands of instances of men working in excess of twelve hours a day. In December 1902 the number of cases of men working over this limit on a shift was 75,389. In October 1903 the total was 99,586.⁴⁹ Even twelve hour schedules were undoubtedly long and it appears reasonable to assume that *fatigue* could have been a major factor resulting in some of the accidents, both those referred to as 'Railway Accidents' and also those accidents which occurred from 'Movement of Vehicles used exclusively upon Railways'.

Accidents and Fatigue

It has already been noted that the Board of Trade divided the accident statistics, which concerned the public and the uniformed staff, into three categories. Table 4 related to those who were killed or injured in 'Accidents to Trains'. Table 5 was concerned with those killed or injured by 'The Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles'. Table 9, (statistical data of those employed by the railway who were killed or injured by other means not by trains or railway vehicles), has been considered in Chapter Six.⁵⁰ Concentration in this chapter will be on Tables 4 and 5. The sample presented covers twenty-five years, from 1888 to 1912. Bagwell considers that prior to this period and

even up to 1896 the statistics were unreliable.⁵¹ Moreover an 'Order of the Board of Trade' on the 21 December 1906 required non-fatal accidents to be reported whenever they caused absence from ordinary work for a whole day (instead of absence preventing five hours' work on any of the next three days). This may have caused an increase in 1907 and later years.⁵² However it has been decided to take a twenty five year period as a reasonable span for observation with an awareness that some of the earlier statistics prior to 1896 may not have been reported to the Board of Trade and that in 1907 the criteria regarding the reporting of injuries also changed.

Was the safety of the public travelling on the trains compromised by the emphasis placed on profit by the L&SWR directors and managers? It will be argued that although Figure 7.1. shows that there were only 32 members of the public killed between 1888 and 1912, there is evidence that this was the case. Moreover the safety of the 'uniformed worker' on the stations and the lines, shown in Figure 7.2, was also continuously at risk for similar reasons. Certainly, the hours of some of those who were considered responsible for accidents, given the dangerous nature of the employment, would have been considered excessive if currently performed. Moreover the current knowledge relating to *sleep debt* and *circadian rhythms* also rendered many of the schedules of the men hazardous. There were, of course, other factors that may also have been responsible for *fatigue*. It must be remembered that all those who worked for the railways also had other lives, some with the responsibility of young families, and many would have found sleeping during the day a problem.

In most cases the family circumstances of those interviewed during the Board of Trade enquiries are not easily located. However Thomas Parsons the signalman who was considered partially to blame for the collision at Hampton Wick station on the 6 August

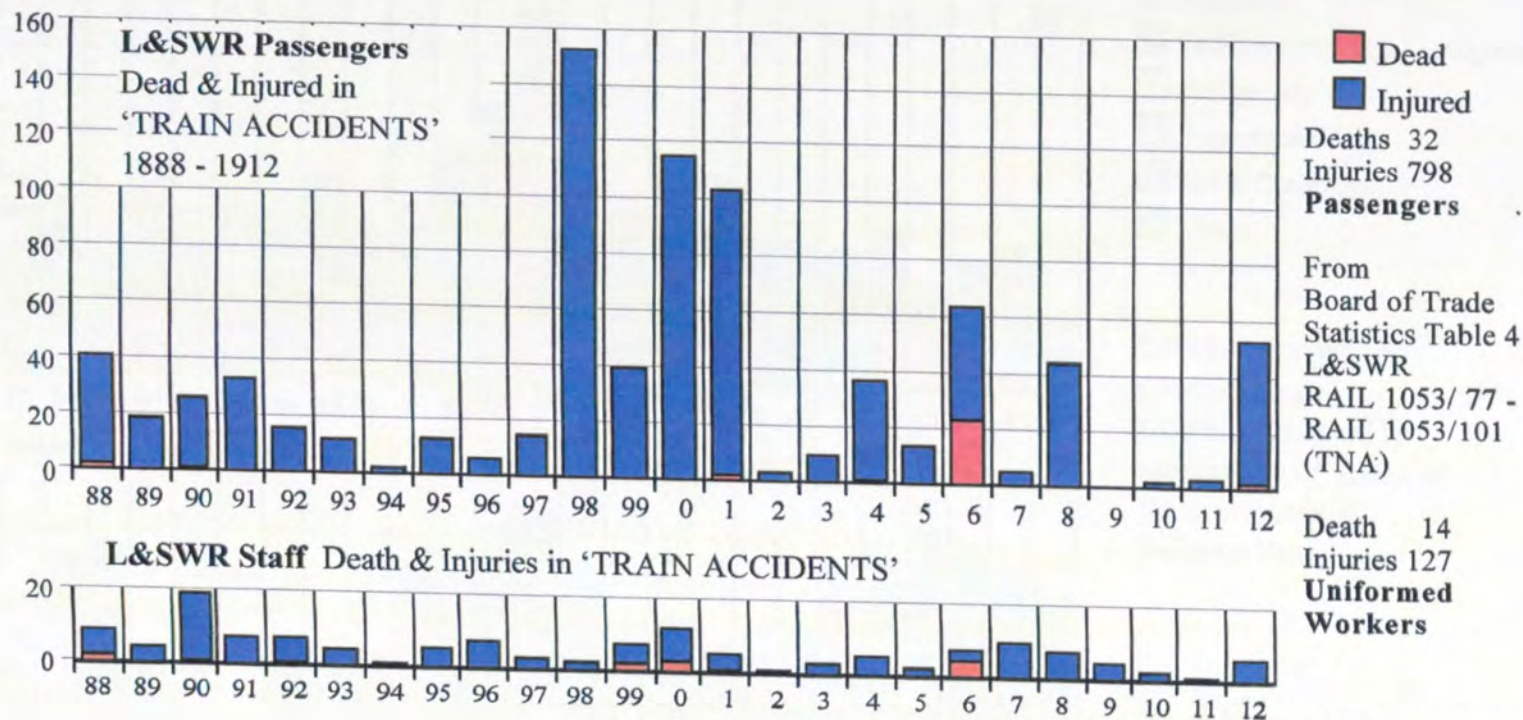
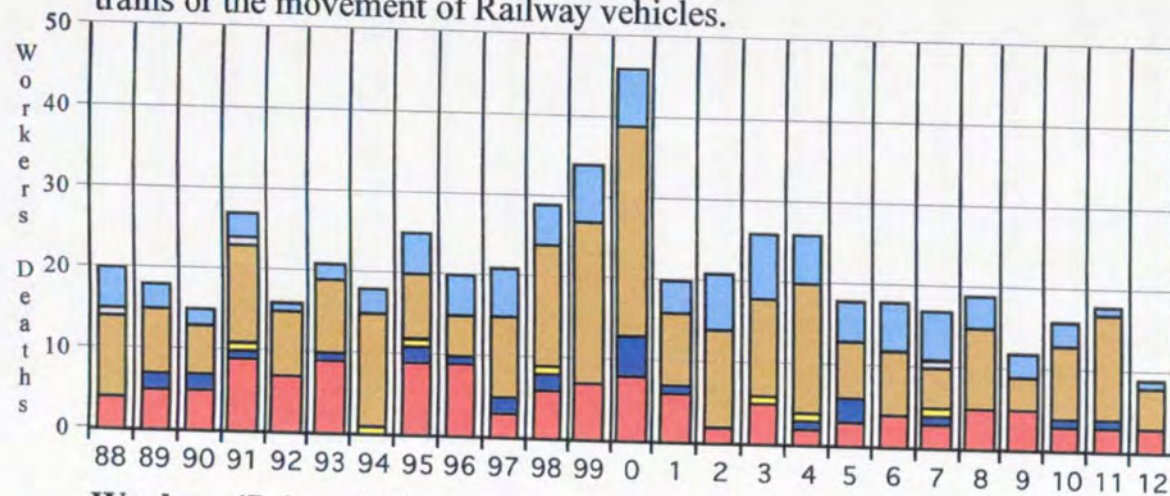


Figure 7.1.

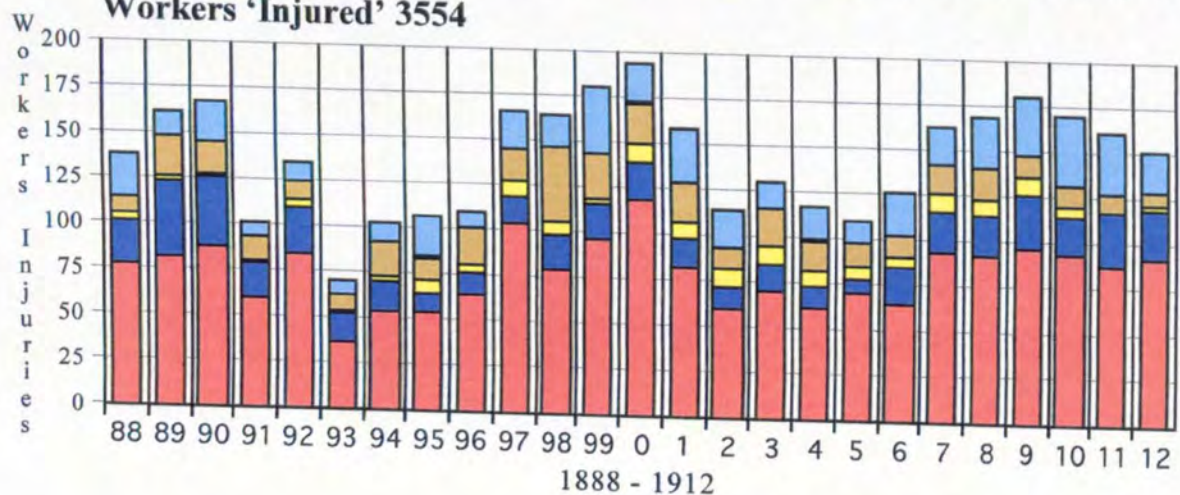
Board of Trade - Table 5 - L&SWR
Workers 'Dead' 530 "By the running of the
 trains or the movement of Railway vehicles.



Shunting
 Falling/Attending to engines
 Bridges etc
 Permanent Way
 Level Crossings
 Misc.

L&SWR Servants of
 Companies and
 Contractors killed by
 the running of Trains or
 the movement of
 Railway Vehicles.

Workers 'Injured' 3554



From Board of Trade
 Statistics Table 5
 London & South Western
 Railway
 RAIL 1053/ 77 -
 RAIL 1053/101 (TNA)

Figure 7.2.

1888, lived in Kingston and is to be found on both the 1881 and the 1891 census. Daniel Pickles and William Franklin also included in the KRD were also involved.⁵³ It is possible that Thomas Parsons lived in Gibbon Road in 1888 as he was living there in 1881, although by 1891 he had moved. Gibbon Road was within easy reach of Kingston station, the journey backwards and forwards to work taking no more than twenty minutes each way.

In 1888 Thomas had 4 children aged seven, four, two and a baby of under one year of age. It is impossible to tell how Thomas' sleep schedule was affected by his home circumstances but sleeping during the day would have been difficult with such a young family. On the day of the disaster he had been on duty six and three quarter hours when the accident occurred at 11.56 p.m. He was not considered entirely to blame as the Board of Trade report also mentions the carelessness of Daniel Pickles, the light engine driver, also a Kingston resident, and the fireman, who had both been on duty nine and three quarter hours. Moreover the Board of Trade report also stated that there was a deficiency in the signalling arrangements at Kingston. However a degree of blame was apportioned to Thomas Parsons for this tragedy. Normally Thomas worked a nine and a half hour shift that started at 5 p.m. on the evening of the fateful day of the accident on the 7 August. However he stated that he had left work half an hour after midnight the day before. The day before the accident was a Sunday and it is possible that on Sundays the shift was two hours shorter than his usual nine and half hours as normally he would have finished at 2.30 a.m. Thomas therefore worked Sundays and there is no indication that he worked a six-day week, although it is possible that he had an occasional day when he was relieved from his duties. His hours therefore were in excess of sixty per week, he worked alone on his shift, in control of thirty-nine levers. The Board of Trade report shows the complications and gives some explanation concerning the reasons behind the

accident.

At about 11.42 p.m. on Monday the 6th instant (Bank Holiday), the light engine No.484 arrived at the Kingston high-level station from Twickenham with a train of empties...On ordinary nights this engine would then have finished the day's work, and would have gone to the engine shed, backing through No.31 cross-over road on to the down line, and thence into the shed road, but, owing to the special Bank Holiday traffic, it had upon this night to go back on the up line to Twickenham to fetch another train. Of this the signalman and the shunter at Kingston were ignorant; and neither the driver nor the fireman of the light engine took what might have been supposed to be the natural course of informing the signalman of the fact while the engine was standing on the up line within calling distance of the cabin...Instead of doing so the driver went forward on the up line until he was again clear of No.31 points and when these were turned for him he backed through them, and came to a stand on the down line under the cabin and then for the first time the signalman was told by the fireman, and afterwards by the driver, that the engine had to go back to Twickenham...

Unfortunately the signalman, being unaware when the light engine was coming back from the up line through No.31 points that it was not as usual going straight into the shed, and having the empty train waiting to go to Teddington, had kept his hand on the lever working No.31 points, ready to put it back as soon as possible so as to release the locking upon the starting-signal and it is only too clear that, in his anxiety to get this train away, he mechanically put back the lever and closed No.31 points, and forgot to set them again for the crossing before telling the driver of the light engine to start. The engine therefore went away towards Hampton Wick upon the wrong line ...⁵⁴

A driver, fireman, and 2 passengers were killed, a driver, head guard and 13 passengers were injured, 3 seriously, in the head on crash between the light engine and a passenger train, which was just pulling up to stop at Hampton Wick station. The light engine driver Daniel Thomas Pickles, who had head injuries and was badly shaken, stated that he did not know that the shunting had been finished and this was the reason he did not call out to the signalman. Moreover he stated that he had not noticed they were on the wrong line. Driver Pickles had been on duty from 2.5 p.m. (probably 2.05 p.m.) that afternoon and it was nearly mid-night. He also had a large family including 2 young children one four and a two-year-old. A third resident of Kingston, the guard William James Franklin was on the Waterloo to Kingston train. Although not implicated in the

crash it is of interest to note his hours. He stated that he had come on duty at 8.35 a.m. and was still on duty when the accident occurred at 11.56 p.m. that evening. Because it was Bank Holiday he had worked two hours more than his normal duty. William Franklin had worked more than fourteen hours on the day of the accident.

Most of the railway workers involved in accidents during this period, and investigated by the Board of Trade, lived outside the area of the Kingston and Surbiton census, therefore it is not possible to view their family circumstances. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suggest that the men employed by the L&SWR were not dissimilar to Thomas Parsons, Daniel Pickles and William Franklin. Some were fathers of young children a circumstance which could also occasion broken sleep, moreover most would have lived in houses in close proximity to their neighbours making sleeping odd hours problematic. None of this was the fault of the L&SWR nevertheless this was an added factor with which those who were working odd hours, and long shifts, had to contend.

A glimpse at a few of the Board of Trade reports concerning those who were killed or injured in 'Train Accidents' (Table 4), similarly show how a trivial incident, a momentary lapse of concentration, could cause an accident. The following accidents also show that some of these incidents, including the major accident in 1906, occurred at the end or towards the end of a long shift. Three of the workers schedules are also included.

On the 23 June 1888, a few weeks before the Hampton Wick accident, Thomas Chivers a driver with twenty-five years experience in London and South Western employment, was blamed for the collision that occurred between the goods train from Weybridge to Bishopstoke, and the Brockenhurst to Southampton passenger train. The accident occurred at 6.44 p.m. almost twelve hours after Thomas had come on duty at 6.50 a.m.

At the Board of Trade inquiry Thomas gave details of his day before the accident:

I took the 7.54 a.m. train from Southampton to Basingstoke, arriving at 8.58 a.m. I started back at 10.35 a.m. arriving at Southampton at 11.35 a.m. I then stood till 1.10 p.m. and had my dinner. I then took the 1.10 train from Southampton to Brockenhurst arriving at 1.45, started back at 2.10, arriving at Southampton at 2.51, and then stood till 4.30, when I took to Brockenhurst the train to which the accident happened on its return journey ... (I returned by the 6.5 p.m. from Brockenhurst to Southampton Docks...)

Thomas Chivers 'started the train on a handsignal from a guard, which was only meant to indicate that the work at the station was done...' rather than the railway signal which he should have used. This small lapse of concentration, made after nearly twelve hours work, caused injury to 10 people. Eight of these were passengers, the others a fireman and a guard.⁵⁵

In 1890 the collision between the Bath to Bournemouth West train which belonged to the Somerset and Dorset Railway Company, and the L&SWR Wimborne to Bournemouth train, at 5.20 p.m. on the 23 December 1890, was blamed on the driver of the L&SWR train William Squires. William had only been driving for eighteen months but had been employed by the L&SWR between fifteen and sixteen years. William described a normal day prior to the accident.

On the 23rd December I came on duty at 6.25 a.m. ...I was shunting at Bournemouth East till about 10.55, ran light to Branksome junction, and did shunting till about 11.30; went light to Wimborne, and did shunting duties till about 5.10. p.m. having in the meantime run the 2.5 p.m. train to Bournemouth West, and back with the 2.55 p.m. train arriving at Wimborne at about 3.31. That is my ordinary day's work, and I should get back at Bournemouth West and do shunting till 7 p.m., and then return to Bournemouth East and go off duty at about 7.40.p.m.⁵⁶

Thus a regular day for Driver Squires was more than thirteen hours. The Board of Trade report considered that he had looked at the 'junction' rather than the 'home' signal by mistake. One lady passenger was killed and 3 others were very seriously injured, the

driver and fireman of the Bath train were injured as was the fireman of the Bournemouth train.

The accident on the 21 February 1901 which occurred at about 9.45 a.m. between the Brentwood to Nine Elms train and an omnibus which was crossing the Grove Park Level Crossing near Chiswick resulted in the deaths of 2 of the occupants of the bus with the third person seriously injured. The 2 horses, which were pulling the omnibus, were also killed. The accident was blamed on the irregularity of keeping the gates open longer due to increased traffic, but also on the gatekeeper Edward Wright for not using 'all the means in his power to satisfy himself that no train was near...that he failed to see the light engine when it was possible for him to do so.' Edward Wright was a man of mature years having been thirty-six years with the Company, working previously as a signalman. Of some significance was the fact that his hours of duty were from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. during alternate weeks.⁵⁷

The final accident viewed was the most serious experienced on the L&SWR line. It occurred on Salisbury Station at 1.57 a.m. on the 1 July 1906 when the weekly boat express train, from Plymouth to London, left the rails and came into contact with a milk train and another light engine. This accident is mentioned in all the histories of the L&SWR as it was considered a major disaster, and had such a deplorable effect on public opinion. The accident killed the engine driver, fireman, and 24 passengers, seriously hurt and maimed 7 passengers, the ticket collector and 2 waiters. It killed the guard of the milk train onto which the engine fell as it turned over, and also the fireman of a light engine, which was stationery at a platform. The driver of the light engine was also badly scalded. The Board of Trade came to the conclusion that the speed at which the train was travelling on a sharp curve at the east end of Salisbury station, had probably caused

the accident. However the engine driver Robins should have known that he had to slacken speed at this point and apparently had not done so, and had said previously that he had no intention of arriving early in London. Nock considers that the type of engine used may have been to blame.⁵⁸ Rolt considers that although there was competition between the South Western and Great Western Companies, there was no truth in the rumours that passengers had tipped the driver to make a fast run, but what was remarkable was that although the train was speeding at over seventy miles per hour prior to the accident, the vacuum brake, which remained in perfect order after the crash, had not been applied.⁵⁹ Unfortunately because of the driver's death, the reason why the accident occurred has remained a mystery.

It was stated that Robins was fit and well before the journey. However Major Pringle who wrote the Board of Trade report states:

On the night previous to the accident (29th June), Robins was on duty from 5.30 p.m. until 4 a.m. on the 30th June. After nine hours rest, he came on duty again at 1.30 p.m. and worked to Salisbury where he arrived at 4.42 p.m. He went to shed at once, and I understand was booked off duty until 8.12. p.m. when he left for Templecombe. He reached Templecombe at 9.6 p.m., and stood in the siding until 1.22 a.m. on the 1st July. The normal hours of duty would appear therefore, for this special tour, to be from 1.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. and from 8 p.m. till 4 a.m. If full credit is given for the three hours interval of rest at Salisbury, Robins appears to have been on duty for 9 and a half hours at the time of the accident.⁶⁰

It seems probably that Robins had not had a sound sleep for some time. Nine hours was an insufficient rest period although, as has already been noted, it was the time period laid down by the Board of Trade under the Act to amend the Law with respect to the 'Hours of Labour of Railway Servants' 1893. Moreover, although Major Pringle stated that Robins had only been on duty nine and a half hours at the time of the accident, he had been at work for more than twelve hours. He may have managed a short sleep at Salisbury during the three and a half hours he had off duty at that station but it was an insufficient period of time to have a restful, recuperative sleep. It is unlikely that it will

ever be known why the L&SWR boat express train did not reduce speed at Salisbury. However, to date the possibility that Robins shift patterns and his lack of sleep may have played some part in this tragedy has not been considered. Apart from the loss of life and the serious injuries to some of the passengers, in December 1908 when all the claims had been made the Traffic Minutes note that this accident cost the Company more than £60,420 in compensation.⁶¹

There is therefore every possibility that the Salisbury accident was due to *fatigue* indeed the driver may have fallen asleep. The causes of an accident in 1900, which occurred on the Great Western Railway at Slough Station, which also remained unresolved was also possibly due to a similar occurrence. The Board of Trade in their General Remarks found the situation ‘somewhat peculiar’. The engine driver had failed to observe certain signals, which were at danger, and took his express train past them without stopping. The report considered:

There was no reason for attributing it to intoxication or illness, and he stated that he was not asleep. It could only be suggested that, as he had risen early and had recently taken food, he might have been in a drowsy state, or that his mental faculties had become temporarily deadened or inactive, and a condition of “absence of mind” so produced.⁶²

The driver of the Slough train had stated categorically that he had not gone to sleep; however falling asleep on duty was a dismissible offence and not something to which a worker would admit.

Obviously not all ‘Train Accidents’ were caused by *fatigue*. Some were due to faulty equipment, others from a variety of causes including inclement weather. The fog and the inadequacy of a fog man appears to be the main cause of the Clapham Junction accident which occurred in January 1904, which resulted in an injury to George Spencer, a passenger guard, who also lived in Kingston.⁶³

The accidents presented previously are only a few of those examined by the Board of Trade, there were many others not investigated, never having been the object of an enquiry, with causes remaining forever concealed within the statistics. Thus it is not possible to make assumptions concerning how many incidents may have been caused by *fatigue*. Moreover the actual death rate of passengers using the L&SWR, during the twenty-five years between 1888 and 1912 was only 32, as has been shown in Figure 7.1, page 222. Of this number, 24 were the result of the 1906 accident. Given that in 1889 alone the L&SWR had carried 35 million passengers, this record, although not exemplary, could have been far worse.⁶⁴ The injury rate was less praiseworthy but still relatively low given the number of miles the trains had travelled during this period. Between the 1888 and 1912 period, 798 passengers were injured in 'train accidents' (this does not include the L&SWR lines with other companies). The accident rate for the 'uniformed servants' was less than those of the passengers, 14 deaths and 127 injuries during this twenty-five year period. As has already been noted the numbers of those railway servants killed and injured in train accidents were less because there were less railway staff travelling on trains than passengers at times when there was a 'railway accident'.

Thus between 1888 and 1912, although the 'servants' of the L&SWR were working long hours, the actual number of lives lost each year, both passengers and railway workers, in train accidents, averaged below 2 and the number injured 37. Moreover, many of the injuries are reported to have been relatively slight. Figure 7.1. shows the predominance of injuries during 1898, 1900 and 1901. The accident, which occurred at Bisley Station on the 11 April 1898, badly injured twenty-three volunteers of the 15th Middlesex Regiment, but the Board of Trade report states that most of the remaining one hundred and thirty passengers also injured in this accident were only slightly hurt. The reason

why the volunteers were badly injured was that some of them had put their rifles in the nets in the carriages and these had been jerked out onto their heads by the collision.⁶⁵

Similarly there is no indication that the collision, which occurred at Twickenham Station in November 1900, although involving 49 passengers, was a major incident. The driver of the Kingston train was shaken, and some passengers complained of injury, one of a nasty shock.⁶⁶ On the other hand in 1901, during a thick fog, when a Kingston to Waterloo passenger train collided with a goods train, a guard was killed. However there is no indication that the 43 passengers who complained were seriously hurt. Some of the passengers suffered from contusion and some from the effects of shock but no major injuries were indicated.⁶⁷ Although some accidents to passengers during this period were serious, many others were relatively minor.

Nevertheless, by retaining the twelve hour scheduled day, the lives of the travelling public were endangered. Although by the late 1890s travelling had become safer due to 'lock, block and brake', the new safety measures were undermined by the fact that the cognitive ability of the uniformed grades was debilitated by fatigue.⁶⁸ It appears that although the Board of Trade were aware of some of the problems related to exhaustion and fatigue they failed to realise that a twelve hour schedule was also excessive given the concentration needed in dealing with complex machinery. In the case of Robins the driver of the boat express train, it will be noted that Major Pringle stated that he had been on duty only nine and a half hours whereas he had been away from home more than twelve. Time resting between split shifts was not counted in this case as 'being on duty'. How many more workers were working split shifts, with hours 'waiting' not being counted as part of their shift hours? In the case of the driver of the Great Western Railway accident at Slough Station the inspecting officer who held the Board of Trade enquiry considered

that the situation had arisen because the driver was nearly sixty years of age. Periodical medical examinations on engine drivers who had passed the prime of life were suggested as a preventative measure. Such measures were a sensible precaution but a reduction in hours to allow the employee sufficient sleep-time would probably have been more beneficial. In the circumstances the relatively low statistics relating to 'train accidents' were a tribute to those who worked in the service during this period. It follows, however, that if the L&SWR managers had reduced the hours of their 'servants' these figure may have been even lower.

Compared with the number of passenger deaths and injuries in 'Railway Accidents' those servants and contractors 'Killed and Injured by the Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles' were far higher, as has been shown in Figure 7.2. Evidence of safety improvements to aid the 'uniformed servants' were initially very few in the Traffic Minutes. Apart from the railway improvement scheme from the 1860s, the L&SWR pattern for improved safety during the early years was piecemeal. When a guard had been killed by his van door coming into contact with the railing at the ticket platform at Waterloo, the Way and Works Committee were requested to consider if any better arrangement could be made. They replied that no improvement could be effected and that the guards should be cautioned against opening their doors on the Metropolitan extension.⁶⁹ Methods of accident prevention at this time included rewards for finding broken or cracked rails and fines levied on employees making mistakes.⁷⁰ As has already been shown following some accidents, employees were 'taken before the magistrates'.⁷¹

Although between 1888 and 1912 'Train Accidents' where the public were killed or injured were comparatively rare, accidents, which occurred from the running of the trains or the movement of railway vehicles, were not. Between these dates, 530 L&SWR

uniformed employees were killed and 3554 were injured on the stations and the lines. (On average more than 21 men were killed every year and 142 injured). The Board of Trade only investigated a small proportion of these accidents and only from the end of the nineteenth century. One of the problems noted by Bagwell was that although the railways by the 1870s had made rules to ban fly shunting, for instance, a method which involved standing on the buffers, if the men obeyed the rules they were abused by the foremen on the grounds of not working sufficiently quickly.⁷²

Four instances taken from the 'Table 5' accidents, shown in Figure 7.2, which killed 530 and injured 3,554 uniformed 'servants', between 1888 and 1912, will be detailed. These have been chosen almost at random, as every case was different and there was no set pattern to the loss of life and the many serious injuries suffered by these employees. The first accident, which occurred at Surbiton Station, and the second accident to a young and inexperienced shunter were at the end of long shifts and may have been caused by '*fatigue*'. The third accident shows how easy it was even for experienced men to be killed on the line. The fourth incident describes how the inattention of one worker resulted in an accident to another and how being alert saved his life.

On the 12 September 1900 at Surbiton Station, William Willis, a shunter, aged forty-two years was killed. The number of booked working hours per days in each month were twelve, with two hours off for meals. He had worked eleven and three quarter hours. Nobody witnessed the accident. Willis was crushed between the buffers during shunting and died soon afterwards. The Board of Trade considered that the accident was due to misadventure.⁷³

On the 7 October 1901 Alfred Bowden, at Stockbridge, aged seventeen and a half, also booked for twelve hours per day with one and a half hours for meals, had worked for

eleven hours and fifty-five minutes when his left foot was injured. He slipped and fell in front of a horse box with his foot on the rail. He was still off from duty when the Board of Trade report was made. The accident was stated to be due to Bowden's own *want of caution*.⁷⁴

On the 2 August 1905, near Sway, James Gates aged forty-three years and Charles Hayes, aged forty-six years, platelayers, who worked eleven and a half hours per day each month and had been on duty eight and a half hours, were killed on the line. Two express trains, one on the up line and one on the down line passed the same spot almost simultaneously. In stepping back to allow one train to pass they stepped in front of the other. Both were killed instantly. The particulars of the accident were that on 2 August 1905, George Bowler who was the ganger was absent at that time as, in accordance with Rule 260 he had gone 'to look over his length'. We have no knowledge of Rule 260, but it does seem that the ganger had moved away from these men and they remained unprotected. However the lack of protection was not mentioned in the inspector's report, although the Schedule attached to the Act for the Prevention of Accidents 1900, particularly mentions protection for permanent way men. The inspector's report reads:

The traffic over this section of the line is not heavy and although the lines are on a slight curve, approaching trains can be clearly seen for a distance of at least a mile. I can only attribute this mishap to want of caution, but at the same time it is to be regretted that the engine driver (W.R. Hatton) did not see any of the four men, and, consequently, did not sound the engine whistle to warn them, as directed in Rule 153.

This accident was again considered to be through *want of caution* by those killed. James' brother George and a man called Wearn who were also working on the track one hundred and forty yards nearer Sway Station had shouted. The distance between the men was too great for their voices to carry sufficiently and also because of the noise of the first train which they saw approaching them.⁷⁵

In November 1906 a guard on coming on duty at 6 p.m. at Gunnersbury, examined his train and noticed that certain roof lamps were not burning and at his request two porters got on the roof to light the lamps. Whilst they were so engaged, Sharp (the guard), for the moment forgetting the position of the porters, gave permission for the vehicles to be drawn ahead. Fortunately one porter was able to get off, but the other called William Upshall was not, and although he lay down on the roof to avoid a bridge, he was struck by it and his head was bruised and right arm fractured. The accident was considered to be due to *want of care*.⁷⁶

It cannot be certain if the basic factor behind most 'Table 5' accidents was mainly one of *fatigue*. Certainly the first two accidents occurred at the end of long shifts. William Willis had been employed for at least twenty years and was forty-two years of age. He was an employee with a wealth of experience. The second accident shows a young person seventeen years of age with little experience. Being in a job for many years did not make an individual immune from harm. Indeed the forty-two year old lost his life whilst the young person although injured, undoubtedly recovered. The third accident shows two platelayers in August 1905 employed in replacing sleepers, although hearing one train they had not noticed the other coming from behind. Although eleven and a half hours a day totalled eighty hours a week, this double accident may have been mainly due to a combination of unfortunate circumstances, but it illustrates the importance of being aware at all times of the dangerous circumstances of working on the permanent way. The final accident shows how easy it was to kill a fellow worker by a lapse of concentration. It appears that Guard Sharp had just come on duty so there is no indication that he was suffering from *fatigue*. Fortunately the twenty-one year old William Upshall was alert to the danger of his situation and reacted quickly by laying down on the top of the train.

He was thereby injured but not killed.

Why were the hours of workers not reduced? Was it because the passenger service was relatively safe, and the managers were not prepared to spend money decreasing the hours of their workforce when servants' accidents cost so little? It is impossible to be certain regarding the motivation behind the determination to retain the long shifts, but increasing the staff to reduce the schedules would have been very expensive. Indeed even after the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act it was possibly cheaper to pay the claims than to decrease the scheduled hours and take on more staff. Although, as has been shown, most of the workers' deaths on the railway were covered by the Act, it is probable that more than 80 per cent of the injuries were not. Deaths would have cost between £3,300 and £6,600 per year, based on an average of twenty-two uniformed workers a year being killed on the L&SWR from 1897 to 1912. Entitlement under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, was three times a yearly wage or £150 whichever was the greater, but not exceeding £300. Those injured, and covered by the Act, approximately 147 per year from 1897, would have received half pay, (not to exceed £1), but many of the short term absences would have been covered by other workers within their scheduled hours, thus reducing the eventual cost to the Company.⁷⁷ When eventually in November 1911:

The General Manager submitted a statement shewing the present practice and suggested increase of certain of the rates of pay in the higher grades (such as Inspectors, Foreman, Guards, Signalmen, Shunters &c.) to agree more nearly with the revised scale of the Great Western Railway Company.

2. The raising of the minimum and maximum rates of all grades in which the maximum is at present below £1 per week.
3. The reduction of the hours of duty of signalmen to 10 per day, from start to finish, where this limit is now exceeded.
4. The reduction of the standard hours of duty of passenger guards from 12 to 11 per day.

The increase in expenditure was calculated to be £24,600 per annum.⁷⁸

It is possible to argue that in some grades of railway employment the dangers were such that accidents were an inevitable incidence of the nature of the work.⁷⁹ Although this may be true, given the hazardous nature of the occupation, those undertaking the work should have been aided to accomplish their activities as safely as possible. Apart from the adoption of preventative appliances, the employment of controlled working procedures and extra staff, safe working practice could only be put into effect by an observant and alert work force, this meant a shorter working week.

The Railway Accident Act 1900 and Statistical Improvement.

Although the L&SWR managers refused to reduce the scheduled hours for a large number of the uniformed staff, the statistics show the 'deaths' of servants and contractors 'killed by the running of trains or the movement of railway vehicles' (Figure 7.2), were lower by 1912. Moreover the numbers of the staff employed by the L&SWR were increasing over the period 1888 to 1912 and therefore the downward trend of 'deaths' in terms of percentage of the workforce was even greater than that exhibited in this data. If the statistics were only accurate after 1906, as Bagwell suggests, then the earlier figures were probably much higher making the trend downward also greater.⁸⁰

Had the Act to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants, 1893, together with the Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act 1900, begun to have some effect by 1912 regardless of the continuance of long hours? It has already been noted that the 1893 Act gave the Board of Trade the power to order companies to bring work hours within reasonable limits, but did not specify what were 'reasonable limits', this being left to the judgment of the officers of the Board of Trade.⁸¹ Similarly the 'Act for the better Prevention of Accidents on Railways 1900' was programmed to follow the same procedure. However a schedule at the end of the Act,

did list twelve 'appliances' 'calculated to reduce danger', the implementation of which the Board of Trade had to bring into effect. These 'appliances' included brake levers on both sides of waggons, labelling waggons, movement of waggons by propping and tow-roping, and protection to permanent way men when relaying or repairing the line. However it was stated in the Act that 'The Board of Trade, shall, by any rule made by them under this section, give reasonable time for carrying out the requirements of the rule.'⁸²

The L&SWR did comply with the 1900 legislation regarding tow roping with relative speed. A minute shows that the General Manager in December 1902 submitted a list of alterations required at the various stations to obviate tow-roping in compliance with the Act of 1900, the total cost of the works being £4,898.⁸³ However 'Hills Patent Wagon Coupling' was found to be unsatisfactory. A report from the Superintendent of the Line in January 1904 stated that these should be removed from the waggons. The Traffic Committee approved this action.⁸⁴ Moreover it is uncertain when the fitting of the brake levers either side of waggons was completed. On 19 November 1902 the General Manager submitted the Draft Rule proposed by the Board of Trade requiring that within ten years brake levers should be fitted on both sides of the waggons and that all waggons constructed after the expiration of two years should be fitted with such brake levers with certain special exceptions. Some nine years later in November 1911 when the 'Order' was again considered it was noted that:

In the case of Companies owning 3,000 and under 20,000 wagons (which applies to this Company) 15 years are allowed for the fitting of all existing wagons and those constructed before the expiration of six months from the date of the Order, the Board of Trade having power to grant an extension of time.⁸⁵

Unfortunately there was no note regarding how many L&SWR waggons had already been fitted with brake levers either side by this time, but it seems probable that the L&SWR

were requesting an extension of time to complete the operation. It is therefore probable that it took more than ten years for brake levers to be fitted on all the L&SWR waggons and that by 1912 this may not have been completed.

The other safety measures listed on the schedule are not mentioned in the Traffic Minutes although there is no reason to consider they were ignored. On the other hand there are examples of the L&SWR managers putting into effect measures regarding safety which are not mentioned in the Act. Whether these were instigated by the Board of Trade or by the L&SWR managers is not recorded. However these were measures which were relatively inexpensive or in the case of the 'Clayton's Hand Fogging Machines' were being adopted in a bid to save money. In 1903 it was noted that in order to lessen the number of men employed for fog signalling duties in the London district 190 of these machines would be obtained at an estimated cost of £2,310.⁸⁶ Unfortunately these machines were not used on the line in January 1904 as the accident, which occurred to the Kingston train, was blamed on the fogman who according to Major Pringle the author of the Board of Trade report was incompetent and careless.⁸⁷ More efficient methods of fogging were obviously needed, as thick fog in London was a continuous hazard during the winter months.

The other measures included the examination of the workforce for colour blindness. Between January and April 1894, 1,124 men were tested 22 being found to be colour blind. These men were found alternative positions within the Company.⁸⁸ In 1897 it was agreed that horns should be supplied for use by shunters on the L&SWR as a precaution against accidents, as adopted on the London & North Western Railway. The storekeeper was to supply these.⁸⁹

Probably the most foresighted of the measures instigated by the L&SWR managers were the ambulance classes that were started in 1896.⁹⁰ In comparison with other measures the classes were relatively inexpensive but were undoubtedly very effective. In February 1899 the General Manager recommended that twenty stretchers at a cost of £2.10s 0d. each and five hundred books of instructions at a cost of 1 shilling each should be obtained from the St Johns Ambulance Association for use in connection with the ambulance classes which were being formed at some of the principal stations on the line.⁹¹ After January 1899, twenty-six ambulance classes had been formed at various stations and 642 of the Company's servants had been instructed, with 442 of them gaining certificates.⁹²

By December 1900:

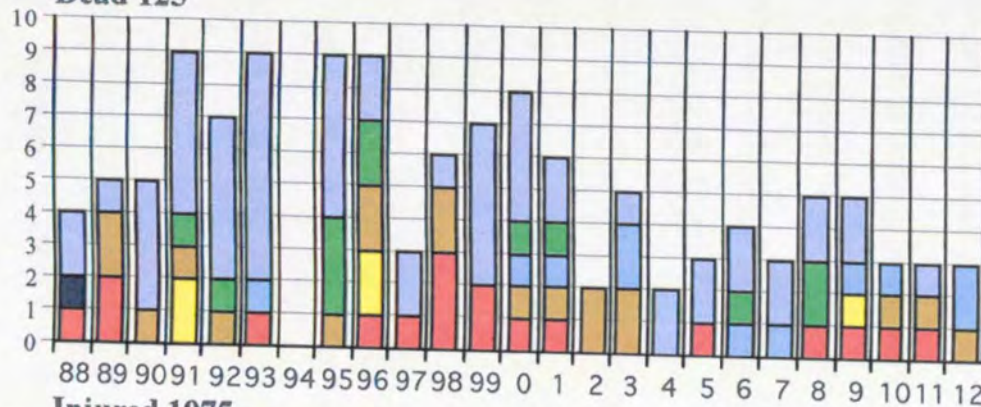
the General Manager submitted a report from the Centre Secretary of the London and South Western Railway Ambulance Association giving particulars of the working of classes formed since the 1 January 1900 and asking that a balance of £42. 6s 6d. be defrayed by the Company. 244 of the Company's employees have gained "First Aid" Certificates and 194 cases of accidents had been attended by members of the respective classes during the year. 42 classes have been held and 686 "First Aid" certificates had been awarded to the Company's employés (sic) since the 1st January 1899.

It was agreed that £42.6s.6d. should be paid and a challenge shield not exceeding £50 should be purchased.⁹³

Having attended one hundred and ninety-four accidents during 1900 the members of the classes must have been at the scene of at least 28 per cent of the incidents in 1900. In Charles Day's evidence at the Board of Trade enquiry following the accident to the Kingston train at Clapham Junction on the 22 January 1904, he states that he assisted his mate (George Spencer) 'out of his brake van at the rear of the train. He was badly injured.'⁹⁴ There is no evidence that George received First Aid but it seems unlikely that he would not have received this invaluable help following his accident, as he was the only one badly hurt, and that it was this which saved his life. He was certainly too unwell to

L&SWR Shunters' Accidents 1888-1912

Dead 125



Injured 1975

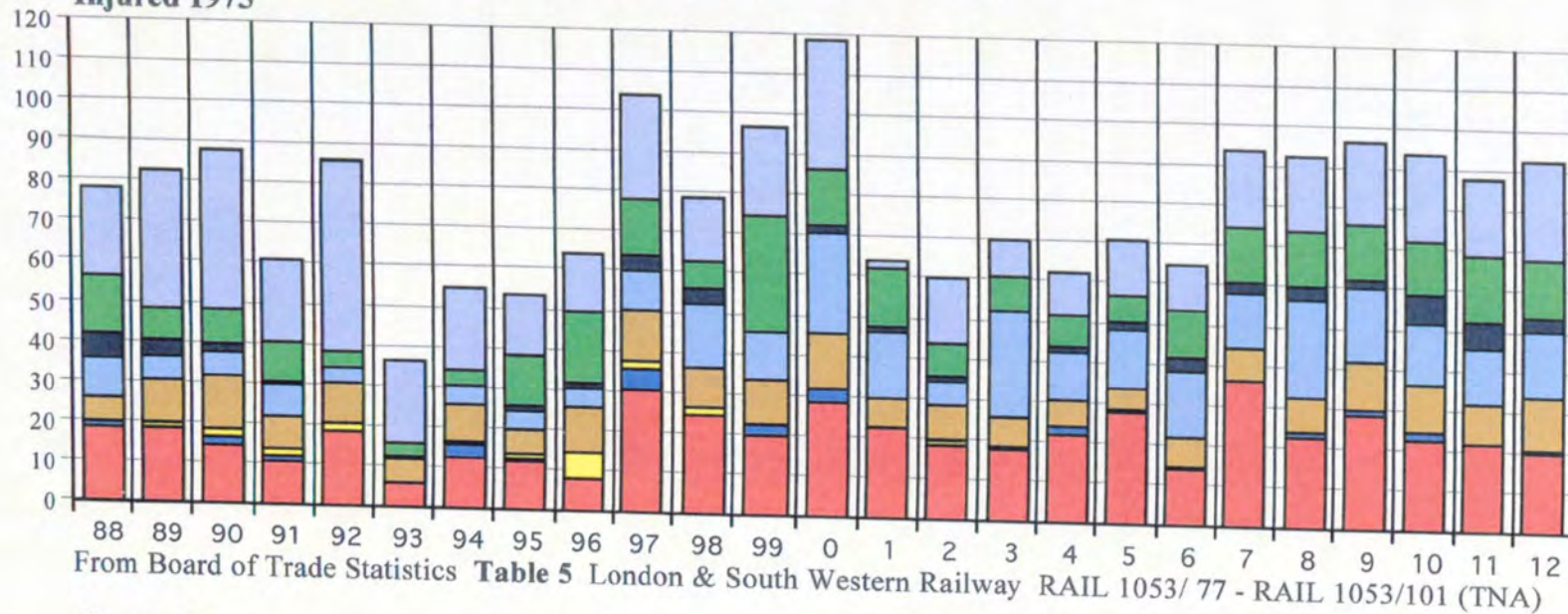


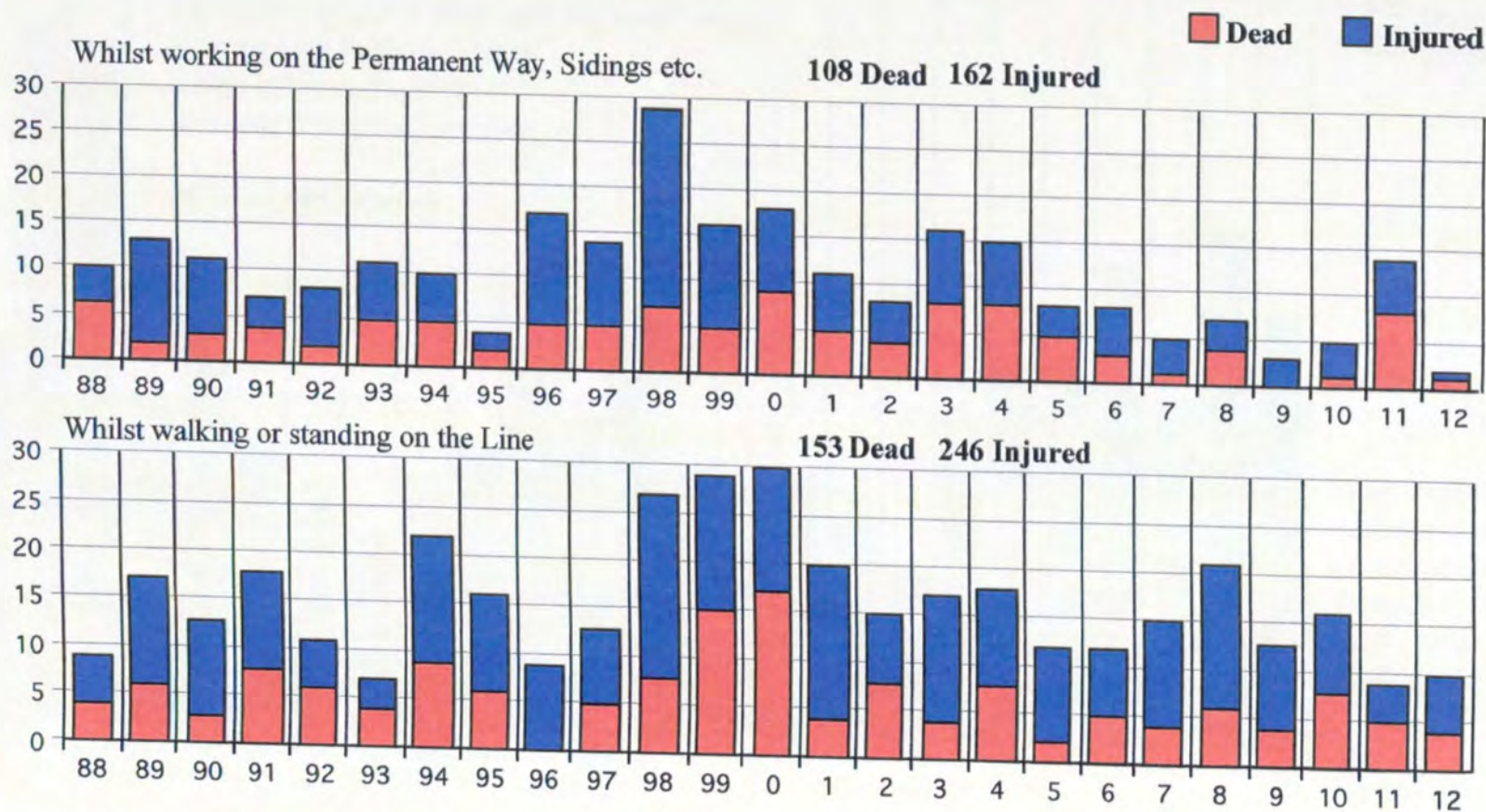
Figure 7.3.

attend the Board of Trade enquiry and remained on sick leave until the end of July 1904, when following resumption of duties he is mentioned in the Traffic Minutes as being allowed £10 out of pocket expenses from the Company.⁹⁵

The downward trend shown in the accident statistics appears to reflect the growing numbers of improvements and safeguards. However an in-depth look at the 'nature and causes' of accidents gives a somewhat different interpretation of events. During 1888 to 1912, 125 shunters had been killed and 1975 had been injured, as will be shown in Figure 7.3. The actual shunting operation was made up of a variety of differing operations. These were divided into seven groups by the Board of Trade statisticians with an eighth group which was entitled 'By other accidents not included in the proceeding'. Much had been made of the need for improved coupling devices for waggons. In March 1886 the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants held a competition at the Nine Elms Goods Yard with prizes to encourage invention.⁹⁶ However only 18 out of the 125 L&SWR shunters actually killed were engaged in this operation during the 25 years between 1888 to 1912, although 505 were injured. On the other hand 19 shunters died from falling from engines, 12 from complications during the moving of capstans and turntables and 11 from 'breaking, (sic) spragging and chocking' wheels and 59 from miscellaneous causes. Obviously improvement in coupling techniques was necessary and the saving of one life would make any new improved technique worthwhile. However shunting was a very dangerous occupation and although it was important to implement as many safeguards as possible it was impossible to make the occupation hazard free.

A further observation may be made when viewing the statistics of 'permanent way workers' and those who had to walk on the line in the course of their duty, 261 workers had been killed as opposed to 125 shunters. Thus far more men were killed whilst

L&SWR workers **Death and Injuries** on the line in the course of their duty 1888 - 1912



From Board of Trade Statistics **Table 5** London & South Western Railway RAIL 1053/77 - RAIL 1053/101 (TNA) **Figure 7.4.**

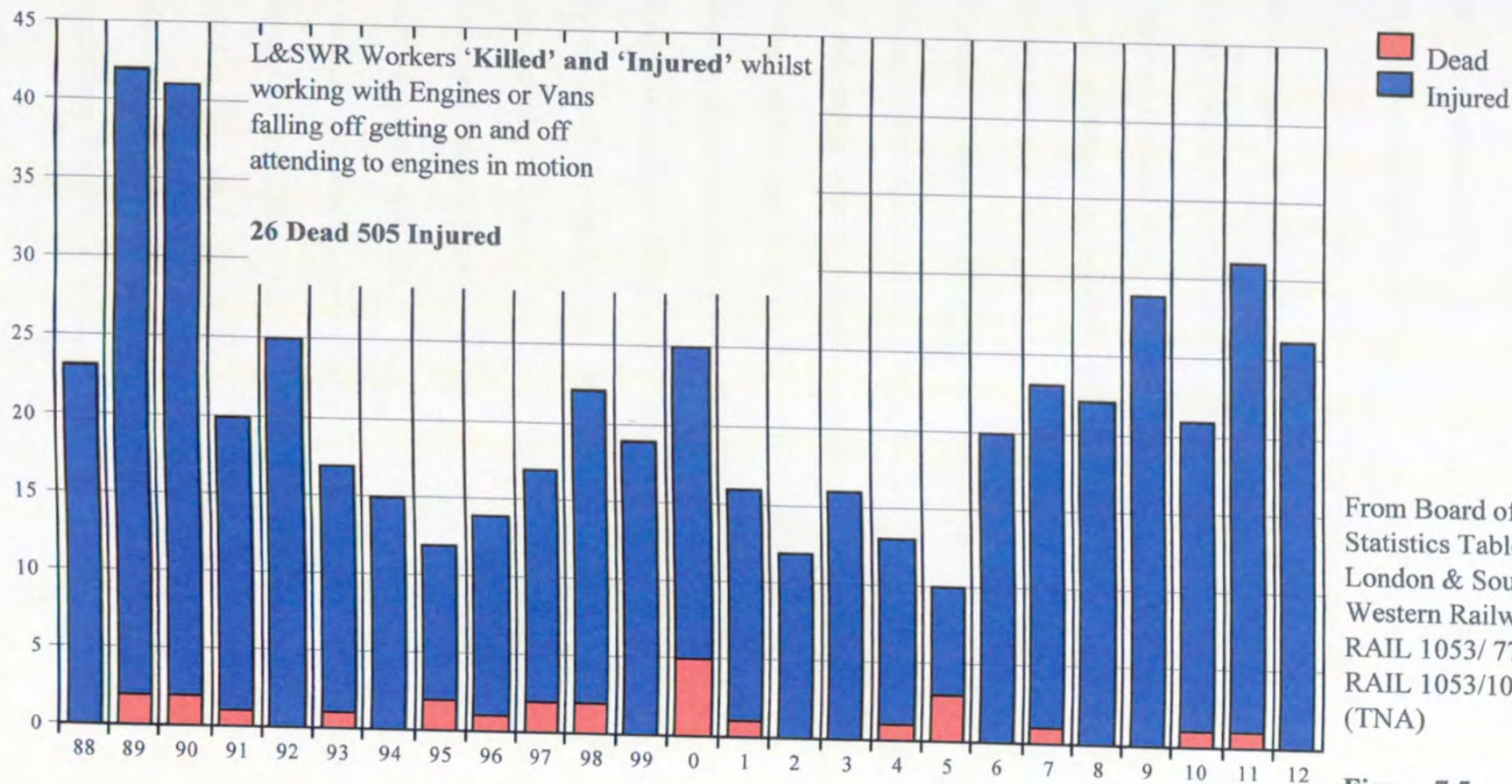


Figure 7.5.

working and walking on the permanent way, than killed by shunting, although many more men were employed doing this work, therefore the ratios relating to 'deaths' were lower. Moreover although the 1900 Act had made 'protection to permanent way men when relaying or repairing' a legal responsibility, accidents still occurred.⁹⁷

However Figure 7.4. shows two categories of worker 'killed on the line in the course of their duty', those who worked on the permanent way and the sidings but also those who had to cross the line whilst on duty. These would include the porters at the stations. Far more accidents occurred to the second category than the first. Protection to permanent way men when repairing the line had been part of the 1900 Act but this type of protection could not be given to porters at stations, nor individuals crossing the line in the course of their duty. In short procedures were so varied that to arrange safeguards for all exigencies, was impossible. Although Figure 7.4. shows an overall reduction in those killed and injured by 1912, Figure 7.5, shows those engaged with engines and vans remained prone to accidents up to and including the end of the period. Certainly the deaths of those uniformed workers who were killed from the running of the trains or the movement of railway vehicles, were fewer, but the injuries although less, remained high. The reasons why this was so remains speculative. As has already been noted, more accidents were being reported. However it is possible to suggest that the use of 'First Aid' may have been very beneficial, and could have been partially responsible for some of the reduction in 'deaths'. Initial care can save lives and the importance of 'First Aid' by properly trained individuals cannot be underestimated. Certainly out of the 167 uniformed workers who suffered accident on the L&SWR in 1912, only 9 were killed. Nevertheless out of the 158 who were injured (over 3 every week) some injuries may have been minor, however there is little doubt that there were others which were severe.

Conclusion

The avoidance of railway accidents was a difficult problem for the railway managers and directors and one with which they struggled throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. From the mid 1860s the service was gradually upgraded, and from the statistical evidence it becomes obvious that by the 1890s the chances of being killed or badly injured in a train accident on the L&SWR were relatively remote. By 1889 the L&SWR carried 35 million passengers every year.⁹⁸ Only in 1906 did fatalities rise above 2 passengers a year and this was due to the 'boat express train' tragedy when 24 members of the public were killed. However a careful consideration of the Board of Trade reports clearly show that some of the accidents during the twenty five year period between 1888 and 1912, were due to small mistakes by those on the footplate or in the signalbox and that the men responsible were either working shifts which were split, rotated between night and day, or long hours which in some cases involved night time duties. On the other hand the numbers of the workforce killed and injured in the stations or on the lines, in accidents with trains or rolling stock, were much higher than those involved in train accidents, and remained so throughout the period. However many incidents both those of railway accidents and those suffered by individuals on the lines or at the stations, were brought about by a workforce whose performance was frequently impaired by lack of sleep.

The reasons for long working hours appears to be that initially both the managers and the workforce accepted this as the normal pattern of everyday life. However when later through public pressure and Act of Parliament the Board of Trade was given the task of implementing reform, the guidelines, which were set, were far from adequate. Although individuals were stopped from working up to twenty four hour periods without a break, a shift which was 12 hours in length with nine hours rest in between, allowed those

working split shifts to be away from home for up to fifteen hours without being in breach of the Board of Trade guidelines. Robins the driver of the weekly boat express train which crashed in 1906 was due to work from 1.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. and from 8 p.m. till 4 a.m. Major Pringle R.E. considered this 11 and a half hours duty, but Robins would have been away from home fourteen and a half hours, as the three hours he had in the middle of his shift were counted as his own time although he was at Salisbury.⁹⁹ However the 2 hours Driver Joy had been standing at Brookwood before the accident on the 11 April 1898 when the 23 volunteers were injured, was counted by Major Marindin R.E., as part of Joy's duty, which had reached 10 and a half hours by this time.¹⁰⁰ Thus there also appears to be a lack of consistency in the recording of split schedules.

Although it is impossible to fully evaluate the motivation behind the managers' refusal to reduce the workers hours, economy was always a factor in their calculations. It has been argued that even after the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act, it was possibly cheaper to pay the claims than to decrease the scheduled hours and take on more staff. Although it can be argued that knowledge was limited, the L&SWR managers and directors must have known that tiredness caused accidents, as this was common knowledge by the 1860s. From hindsight it appears remarkable that so little was done to alleviate the problems of the uniformed workers many of whom were killed or injured 'By the Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles', and shows a lack of care on the part of management. Even as late as 1905 individuals were still considered to have been responsible for their own deaths, whilst working in extremely dangerous situations. The inspector investigating the case of James Gates and Charles Hayes, the platelayers who were killed near Sway, stated that this accident was due to *want of caution*. It is impossible to calculate whether these men were tired or not, but they were working eleven and a half hour day shifts. Bagwell writes that the railway managers were as

kindly family men as the servants in their employ but that it was 'often not possible for them both to declare a generous dividend on ordinary shares and to make adequate arrangements for the safety of railway workers.'¹⁰¹ However this lack of care put lives at risk. It certainly perpetuated unnecessarily many of the hazards in a workplace fraught with danger. The reduction in hours when it came in 1911 was inadequate. Change awaited the formation of the National Union of Railwaymen in 1913 when bargaining from a position of strength by a union representing the majority of the workers was, for the first time, able to apply some leverage against the domination of the employers within the industry.¹⁰²

- ¹ Medical Committee, 9 July 1856, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/216 (TNA), pp.217-8.
- ² Appendix 2, p.353.
- ³ Bioclocks - *The Tyranny of Time* The Economist December 18 1999 Retrieved on 17 July 2005 13.31: <http://twinsite2000.tripod.com/articles/tyranny.htm>
- ⁴ An Act to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants [27 July 1893] [56 & 57 Vict.] [Chapter 29].
An Act for the better Prevention of Accidents on Railways [30 July 1900] [63 & 64 Vict] [Chapter 27].
- ⁵ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p.2-4.
- ⁶ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.20.
- ⁷ Court of Directors' Minutes,, 24 May 1860, (1493), RAIL 411/4 (TNA).
- ⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 Feb 1870, (1056), RAIL 411/239 (TNA).
- ⁹ Bioclocks - *The Tyranny of Time*.
- ¹⁰ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.30-1.
- ¹¹ N.J. Nielsen, 'Lifelong care and control paternalism in nineteenth century factory communities', Retrieved on 11 April 2004 from *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, vol. 24, 1994 pp.70-89: http://ethnum.etn.lu.se/eth_scand/.
- ¹² Traffic Committee Minutes, 14 Dec.1871, (606), RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ¹³ Bagwell *The Transport Revolution*, p.193.
- ¹⁴ Report 19 May 1864, Accident 14 April 1864 at Surbiton Station. Captain Tyler's Report, Board of Trade Reports RAIL 1053/57 (TNA), pp.27-8. The Necropolis train was a funeral service from Waterloo to Brookwood. For want of a turntable at the Necropolis Station, on its return, the engine ran back to London tender first. This was why the tender hit the horse box and the dust from the tender flew into the driver's eyes.
- ¹⁵ Surbiton Station Accident Report, 19 May 1864, (Accident 14 April 1864), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/57 (TNA), pp.27-8.
- ¹⁶ Surbiton Station Accident Report, RAIL 1053/57 (TNA), pp.27-8.

- ¹⁷ Surbiton Station Accident Report, RAIL 1053/57 (TNA), pp.27-8.
- ¹⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 20.Nov.1873, (368), RAIL 411/243 (TNA).
- ¹⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 27.Feb 1873, (1381), 26.April 1873, (1482), RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ²⁰ Surbiton Station Accident Report, RAIL 1053/57 (TNA), pp.27-8.
- ²¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 June 1864, (101), RAIL 411/235 (TNA).
- ²² L.T.C. Rolt, *Red for Danger*, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth: 1967), p.40.
- ²³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 March 1865, (447), RAIL 411/235 (TNA).
- ²⁴ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, pp.36-7.
- ²⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 Dec.1866, (284), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ²⁶ Robertson, *London & South Western Railway*, pp.47-48.
- ²⁷ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.37.
- ²⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 Nov.1911, (997), RAIL 411/269 (TNA).
- ²⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 Dec.1866, (284), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ³⁰ M.Hastings, Reader in Neuroscience, Department of Anatomy, University of Cambridge. BMJ 1998; 317 (7174): 1704 (19 Dec.) 'Clinical review: The brain, circadian rhythms, and clock genes'. Retrieved 18 April 2007 18.50: <http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/317/7174/1704>
- ³¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 28.March 1867, (473), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ³² Traffic Committee Minutes, 23.May 1867, (577), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ³³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 12 Sep.1867, (809), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ³⁴ Thomas Parsons Evidence, John Cullimore Evidence, Hampton Wick Accident Report 31 Aug. 1888, (Accident 6 Aug. 1888), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), pp. 59-60.
- ³⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 Jan.1866, (867), RAIL 411/235 (TNA).

- ³⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 29 Jan.1890, (520), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).
- ³⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 14.May 1890, (652), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).
- ³⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 13.May 1908 (1237) 27 May 1908, (1257), RAIL 411/267 (TNA).
- ³⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 13.May 1908 (1236) 24 June 1908 (1263), RAIL 411/267 (TNA).
- ⁴⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 Jan.1872, (617), RAIL 411/257, 22.April. 1891, (1029), RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ⁴¹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, pp.24-5.
- ⁴² Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 Oct.1872, (1149), RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ⁴³ Pearce and Carey's Minutes of Evidence, 22 Jan. 1875, (9836-9), *Royal Commission Railways* (TNA), pp.268-71.
- ⁴⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 9 Jan.1895, (798), 28 Oct.1896, (2110), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁴⁵ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, pp.94-127; Asher, 'Experience Counts, pp.366-7.
- ⁴⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 11 June 1902, (1520), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁴⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 19 Nov.1902, (1731), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁴⁸ Asher, 'Experience Counts', p.367.
- ⁴⁹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.172.
- ⁵⁰ Board of Trade Reports, RAIL 1053 (TNA).
- ⁵¹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.100.
- ⁵² This information is included at the bottom of the Board of Trade statistics after this date.
- ⁵³ 1881, 1891, Thomas Parsons, Person No. 62696.
1881, 1891, Daniel Pickles, Person No. 69694.
1891, William Franklin, Person No. 85010.

- ⁵⁴ Hampton Wick Station Accident Report 31 Aug. 1888, (Accident 6 Aug. 1888), Major F.A. Marindin's Conclusion, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), pp.56-66.
- ⁵⁵ Tunnel Junction, Southampton, Accident Report, 16 July 1888, (Accident 23 June 1888), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), pp.41-4.
- ⁵⁶ Broadstone Junction. Accident Report, 27 Dec. 1890, (Accident 23 Dec. 1890), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/79 (TNA), pp.86-92.
- ⁵⁷ Grove Park Terrace level-crossing near Chiswick Accident Report 8 March 1901, (Accident 21 Feb. 1901), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/90 (TNA), pp. 84-90.
- ⁵⁸ Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, pp.91-97.
- ⁵⁹ Rolt, *Red for Danger*, p.168.
- ⁶⁰ Salisbury Station, Accident Report, 31 July 1906, (Accident 1 July 1906), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/95, pp.86-103; Mr Henry Holmes Evidence, 93-4., Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/95 (TNA), pp.93-4.
- ⁶¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 27.May 1909, (1707), RAIL 411/ 267 (TNA).
- ⁶² Great Western Railway, Slough Station Accident Report, General Remarks, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/89 (TNA), p.32.
- ⁶³ Clapham Junction West, Accident Report, 16 Feb. 1904, (Accident 22 Jan. 1904), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/93 (TNA), pp.47-53.
- ⁶⁴ Robertson, *London & South Western Railway*, p.51.
- ⁶⁵ Bisley Station Accident Report 25 April 1898, (Accident 11 April 1898), Major Maradin's Report, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/87 (TNA), p.62.
- ⁶⁶ Twickenham Station Accident Report 8 Nov.1900, (Accident 7 Oct.1900), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/89 (TNA).
- ⁶⁷ Near Malden Station Accident Report 14 Dec. 1901, (Accident 23 Nov. 1901), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/90 (TNA).
- ⁶⁸ Rolt, *Red for Danger*, p.40-2.
- ⁶⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 20 Sep.1860, (358), & 18 Oct.1860, (386), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ⁷⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 May 1859, (1080), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).

- ⁷¹ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 19 May 1843 RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.149.
- ⁷² Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.102.
- ⁷³ Surbiton Accident Report 12 Sep.1900, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/89 (TNA), p.155.
- ⁷⁴ Stockbridge Accident Report 7 Oct.1901, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/90 (TNA), p.191.
- ⁷⁵ Near Sway Accident Report 2 Aug. 1905, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/94 (TNA), p.158.
- ⁷⁶ Gunnersbury Accident Report 31 July 1906, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/95 (TNA), p.147.
- ⁷⁷ An Act to amend the Law with respect to Compensation to Workmen for accidental Injuries suffered in the course of their Employment [6 August 1897] [60 & 61 Vict.] [Chapter 37].
An Act to consolidate and amend the Law with respect to Compensation to Workmen for Injuries suffered in the course of their Employment [21 December 1906] [6 Edw 7] [Chapter 58].
- ⁷⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 Nov.1911 (997), RAIL 411/269 (TNA).
- ⁷⁹ Fleming, *The Law of Torts*, p. 519-20.
- ⁸⁰ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen* p.100.
- ⁸¹ An Act to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants [27 July 1893] [56 & 57 Vict.] [Chapter 29].
- ⁸² An Act for the better Prevention of Accidents on Railways [30 July 1900] [63 & 64 Vict.] [Chapter 27].
- ⁸³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Dec.1902, (31), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ⁸⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 13 Jan. 1904, (643), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ⁸⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 Nov.1911, (988), RAIL411/269 (TNA).
- ⁸⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 27 May 1903, (287), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ⁸⁷ Clapham Junction West Accident Report 16 Feb. 1904, (Accident 22 January 1904), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/93 (TNA), pp.47-53.

- ⁸⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24.Jan.1894, (337), 18.April.1894, (470), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁸⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 26 May 1908, (496), RAIL 411/269 (TNA).
- ⁹⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 18 March 1896, (1501), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁹¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 1.Feb 1899, (1722), RAIL 411/261 (TNA).
- ⁹² Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Jan.1900, (219), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁹³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 12 Dec.1900, (680), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁹⁴ Clapham Junction West Accident Report 16 Feb.1904, (Accident 22 Jan.1904), Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/93 (TNA), pp.47-53.
- ⁹⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 Aug.1904, (1061), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ⁹⁶ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.104.
- ⁹⁷ An Act for the better Prevention of Accidents on Railways [30 July 1900] [63 & 64 Vict.] [Chapter 27].
- ⁹⁸ Robertson, *London & South Western Railway: 150 years*, p.51
- ⁹⁹ Salisbury Station Accident Report, 31 July 1906, (Accident 1 July 1906). Robins shift detailed in Major Pringle's conclusion, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/95 (TNA), p.100.
- ¹⁰⁰ Report 25 April 1898, (Accident 11 April 1898), Bisley Station, Major Maradin's Report, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/87 (TNA), p.62.
- ¹⁰¹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.98.
- ¹⁰² Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.125.

Chapter Eight

Discipline, Reward and Welfarism

In Chapter Five of this dissertation it has been shown that the railway managers, particularly in the early years, treated their staff harshly and although the arbitrary nature of this harshness had disappeared by the 1850s, there remained an environment of rigid discipline throughout most of the nineteenth century. Moreover the limited paternalism of the early period was, by 1900, augmented by more complex structures. In Chapters Six and Seven the relationship between legal interpretation, governmental legislation and Company policy, with reference to accident compensation in the workplace and scheduled hours, has been considered. The intention within this chapter is to consider the rationale behind those policies effected by the L&SWR, which emerged without overt governmental intervention, in particular the Medical Attendance Arrangement, the changes to the Friendly Society, the Widows and Orphans Fund, and the Clerks' Superannuation and Pension Schemes and the uniformed grades Non-Contributory Pension. The primary sources studied show directors, managers and occasionally staff involved in policies and procedures in an era when schemes were untested by experience.

Richard Price writing in *Labour in British Society* considers that prior to 1850 'large scale management remained a function of securing discipline and consent through systems of direct paternal control.'¹ Later in his work he states that railway work 'rested upon the combination of an iron discipline and paternal welfarism. In return for a military style of obedience, a wide array of occupational benefits and status distinctions were provided.'²

It will be argued that, prior to 1890, there is no indication within the L&SWR primary sources that during the formation of procedure, the directors and managers consciously provided benefits in return for obedience. Certainly in the organisation of the Clerks' Pension Fund the Company were concerned to seem generous in their arrangements with their senior office staff but this was to orchestrate amicable retirements. After 1890 with the organisation of the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme there was undoubtedly a move to appear generous. However prior to 1890 any semblance of benevolence within the organisation of benefits appears to have been coincidental and on occasions non-existent. The various schemes and procedures were in essence tools, or a set of tools, to enable staffing difficulties to be sorted out as prudently as possible.

Punishment and Gratuities

Much has been written about the harshness of railway discipline. Frank McKenna considers that it stemmed partly from the needs of the industry, but he also writes that it arose from the expectations of railway managers many of whom came originally from the army.³ Inevitably there would be some who had found a place in railway services from the army ranks but there is nothing in the L&SWR minutes to suggest that army discipline played a significant part in Company organisation or discipline methods. From the early eighteenth century fines and prosecutions were used as a means of control in most industrial undertakings, and although as the nineteenth century progressed dismissals frequently replaced prosecutions, fining continued into the twentieth century, both on the railways, and within other industrial enterprise.

To understand the reasoning behind the disciplinary measures used by eighteenth century manufacturers it is necessary to take account of those who were at the lower end of the

social scale. Ashton considers that no generalisations are more unsafe than those relating to social class, particularly during the eighteenth century 'the wide diversity of organisation was matched by a similar diversity in the conditions and attitudes of the workers.' Unfortunately both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, contemporaries tended to blame the poverty of the working classes on defects of character. There were, undoubtedly, some workers who were neither hardworking nor provident, but equally there were others who were, but had fallen into poverty through no fault of their own. What can be stated as a normal condition of most domestic producers in England, and indeed throughout towns including London, was that those who laboured were underemployed at least during certain times of the year. This was not of their seeking, but occurred because it was sound business sense on the part of their employers to have excess labour available to cope with the peaks and troughs of industry, as and when this occurred. The worker had little choice regarding this situation, which was commonplace. Life was therefore frugal, and domestic labour frequently included the very young child, but it did encourage a variety of occupations within the family unit, and a limited time for play, games, dances and activities.⁴

Thus the basic problem for industrial enterprise was that the social behaviour of the working classes, having been used to under-employment, did not mould easily into the changing industrial scene, which involved long hours. Ashton details the 'Rules for the Preservation of good Order in the Works of Wm. Reynolds & Co' which required that workmen labour from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with an hour and a half for meals, and that if any workman failed to keep his scheduled hours he was fined a shilling. If the workman earned more than twelve shillings a week, he was fined 2s. 6d. Those who spent too long at meal times were fined half a day's wage. Any man who did not give a month's notice was fined up to 10s 6d. By 1740 prosecution was added to some penalties. In 1747 a

breach of contract was punished by a prison sentence. In 1749 work put out had to be returned within twenty-one days, whilst in 1777 this was shortened to eight days.⁵

During the 1770s Josiah Wedgwood at Etruria fined his workmen 2s. 6d for a variety of misdemeanours which included lack of punctuality, lack of cleanliness, waste and error and the 'conveying of ale or liquor into the manufactory (sic) in working hours' and 'writeing obseen (sic) or other writeing (sic) upon the walls.'⁶ Although Wedgwood handled his labour relations exceptionally well, when a riot broke out at Etruria in 1783 the military was summoned with the result that two men were arrested, one of whom was later hanged.⁷

The difference between the railways and other industries, was that the railways were a public amenity and safety at all times was of utmost importance. More than any other occupation it was necessary for staff to keep regular hours and act with sobriety. To do otherwise was to endanger life. Just over two years after the opening of the L&SWR line the Act for Regulating Railways (1840) was put on the statute books. Within this Act Paragraph XIII 'Punishment of Servants of Railway Companies guilty of Misconduct' covers the whole range of misdemeanours for which the railway worker might be guilty. If the railway manager considered an incident an offence the worker could be fined a sum not exceeding £10 or imprisoned with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding two calendar months. Paragraph XIII of the Act read:

That it shall be lawful for any Officer or Agent of any Railway Company, or for any Special Constable duly appointed, and all such Persons as they may call to their Assistance, to seize and detain any Engine Driver, Guard, Porter, or other Servant in the Employ of such Company who shall be found drunk while employed upon the Railway, or commit any Offence against any of the Bye Laws, Rules or Regulations of such Company, or shall wilfully, maliciously, or negligently do or omit to do any Act whereby the Life and Limb of any Person passing along or being upon the Railway belonging to such Company, or the Works thereof respectively, shall be or might be injured or endangered, or whereby the

Passage of any of the Engines, Carriages, or Trains shall be or might be obstructed or impeded, and to convey such Engine Driver, Guard, Porter, or other Servant so offending, or any Person counselling, aiding, or assisting in such Offence, with all convenient Dispatch, before some Justice of the Peace for the Place within which such Offence be committed, without any other Warrant or Authority than this Act...⁸

Thus, particularly during the early years of the line, fines could be levied for almost any misdemeanour. Serious cases such as the one mentioned in the minutes in September 1860 would be dealt with by the Justice of the Peace.

Mr Scott reported that he had suspended William Merten, Guard for coming on Duty Intoxicated and that he had since learned that he was Intoxicated when in charge of a Train the previous Day. The Guard to be Dismissed and Prosecuted.⁹

However in many other cases fines were levied by the Company against their employees without the aid of outside authority.

It has already been mentioned that Revill considered that the control mechanisms used on the railways were similar to those used in early factory settlement, and involved a form of delegated authority and surveillance used initially 'in townships, villages and across the open terrain of the industrial suburb...and later observed in the Victorian textile factory.'¹⁰ It is possible that information regarding individuals and their misdemeanours filtered through to designated individuals. Control during the early 1840s appears to have been delegated to a Mr Martin. In October 1841 he was 'instructed to admonish the Agent at Kingston (Surbiton) Station for his conduct upon the occasion in suffering himself to be irritated.'¹¹ In February 1843 a passenger guard, a goods guard, and a porter were all dismissed following reports concerning their misconduct.¹² In April 1843 several policemen who came to town to be sworn in as constables had 'wasted their time'. France, Thompson and Danning were fined one week's wages; Tarrant, Stannard, Inglethorpe and Coleman were fined three and a half days wages.¹³ How these men had 'wasted their time' is not disclosed but obviously their activities during their London

visit had been met with disapproval. There appears to have been a network of surveillance that supplied Mr Martin with information. In June 1843 Mr Martin was instructed to submit a book detailing the misconduct of men, or any occurrence on the line during the week, at each meeting of the Traffic Committee. Mr Slovin was to adopt the same course in reporting the policemen or porters for misconduct.¹⁴ Thereafter Mr Martin's book was laid upon the table and his suggestions and recommendations approved.¹⁵ Mr Martin and Mr Slovin appear to have been the arbiters of the fate of many individuals who, upon their recommendation, and without the right of any representation or appeal, were fined or dismissed from the service.

In some cases the fines appear light. Ten shillings was levied against Mr Sansom, Station Agent at Moreton, and five shillings against George Davis a porter. The couple had sent a truck of sheep to Farnham instead of to Fareham and the mistake had cost the Company £6.¹⁶ However in the case of Sergeant Swindon, who was fined £1 for losing sight of a suspicious character pointed out to him by Inspector Bent, the fine seems particularly harsh.¹⁷ The £1 would have been nearly one week's money. During the early years there is evidence that the pointsmen in particular were called to account. This was a job which had to be executed manually and would have been particularly challenging in bad weather conditions. Harris a pointsman was found to have held the points improperly for the Loop Line. Although there had not been an accident, his pay was reduced 1 shilling a week until further notice.¹⁸ Langran a pointsman at Nine Elms Junction had signalled a train to come on and then found that he was unable to get the pin holding the points out as it was tightly held. He was fined 20 shillings.¹⁹ Although no harm was done, after the pointsman at Wilton Station turned the Up Exeter Express Train into the loop line at the station instead of allowing it to run upon the straight line, it was decided to fine him £2 and he was warned that in future any similar occurrence

would result in discharge and prosecution. Notice of this was to be sent to all pointsmen.²⁰ However when a similar incident occurred at Honiton Station the porter who had acted as pointsman was only fined 20 shillings and again cautioned that on a repetition of the offence he would be dismissed and prosecuted.²¹ These four incidents, which occurred within a five-month period during 1861, show the frequency of fines for one particular grade but also inconsistencies both in the size of the fine and the threat relating to imprisonment. As has already been noted the minutes also show fines being levied on station clerks who came to work after the first morning train and the dismissal of those who lost Company money. The loss of Company money by clerks was frequent and continued into the twentieth century. In most cases the management made every effort to retrieve the outstanding debt. In the case of a booking clerk at Waterloo who was called upon to resign in March 1901 following a deficiency of £8.19.3d, a sum of £6. 11s.3d standing to his credit in the Superannuation Fund was taken together with the £1. 6s.11d wages owing to him. The remaining £1.1s.1d. was cleared.²² After forty-one years of reliable service with the Company a fifty-eight year old clerk, one of those featured in the KRDC was dismissed when a deficiency of £250.11s. 6d was found in his accounts in November 1904. Any monies accumulated in this man's pension fund would have been used to reduce the debt. There was no other complaint on his record. Thus years of good service did not stop dismissal when such a catastrophe occurred.

A surprising entry in the Board Minutes dated 21 February 1878 shows the L&SWR directors also having to pay fines:

If any Director not in his place within one hour of 12 o'clock on Committee days and 11 o'clock on Board days be fined £2 for each non attendance and £5 for non attendance at General Half Yearly Meetings such fines to be equally divided between all Directors at the end of each quarter.

The shareholders had voted for this situation. There is no evidence that any director was late or omitted to attend, moreover as the chairman's remuneration was £600 and each of

the eleven directors received £400 per annum at this time, the fines were far less punitive than those imposed on the workers.²³ That the fines were to be equally divided is ambiguous and could mean that they were to be paid by all the directors regardless of who had incurred the fine but may mean that the money was to be returned to all the directors divided equally. By December 1880 fines for lateness and for non-attendance at Board meetings were abolished.²⁴

The L&SWR minutes, do not show the range of discipline and fines used within some of the other railway companies, described in the work of McKenna and Kingsford. This is possibly because discipline on the L&SWR footplate was controlled outside the Traffic Minutes. Both writers show a wide range of punishable offences, and it is indisputable that within the railways 'en masse' there evolved a disciplinary system which was both complex and original and which remained so throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. However regardless of its complexity, railway discipline in the L&SWR, appears to be no more than the continuation of a trend which had started and was continuing in other industries. However as railway safety depended on a strict code of conduct the discipline was more stringent. Moreover once in place, much that was thought to be a necessary restraint in the early days of the line was retained through habit and evolved into footplate ritual. Railway discipline in the L&SWR, appears to have developed out of the punitive culture of early industrial society and was not something that was specifically railway in character. Indeed fines were still being used at the end of the nineteenth century. Bryant and May fined young girls working in their 'Match Factory' 3d. out of a 4 shilling a week wage for having dirty feet.²⁵

One of the first rewards noted in the Traffic Minutes was in February 1858 when:

Mr Scott recommended that Two Porters at Ringwood Station should be rewarded for stopping a Ballast wagon which had run out of a Siding on to the Main Line and

by reason of the Incline was passing Ringwood at a rapid pace when it was fortunately stopped by the two men.

The two porters received 10 shillings each.²⁶ Again, in November 1857 a gratuity recommended by Mr Scott was given to:

W Russell, Signalman at the Farnborough Station for his exertions and presence of mind in preventing an accident on the night of the 22nd October through a slip at Frimley. The signalman to receive a gratuity of £2.²⁷

In May 1859, Mr Scott recommended that a reward of 20 shillings should be given to a guard called Purkiss, 'for discovering and reporting a broken rail in the Guildford Tunnel, whereby the risk of an accident was prevented.' A reward of 20 shillings was also given to Bennet who was a porter at Rowlands Castle Station. He had discovered a 'slip' near the station preventing the risk of an accident.²⁸ Thereafter many £1 gratuities were given for finding broken rails and slips. Did Mr Scott introduce the system of rewards within the L&SWR? It has already been noted that the Traffic Minutes are missing between August 1850 and July 1857 and rewards may have been introduced after his appointment as Traffic Manager. Thus punishments and rewards similar to those used during the earlier period within the factories were part of the L&SWR procedures from the early years of the line and continued up to and beyond the nineteenth century.

Concerning the 'status distinction' of the uniform this was obviously welcomed by the ordinary worker as a means of saving money, and certainly some employees may have considered that it gave them 'distinction'. It did allow individuals clothes for work without having to pay for them. However in the 1870s the memos show that some of the clothing was not warm enough in the winter, and that cloth was preferred to cord trousers.²⁹ Both the brakesmen on the goods trains and the travelling porters requested thicker clothing and later in the 1890s the demand was for overcoats and then for waterproof clothing. It was therefore not only a matter of distinction but also a matter of

keeping warm and dry, which occupied the minds of those wearing the uniform. Moreover many of the station agents did not like wearing the uniform caps. In 1875 Mr. Portal noticed that the agents at Wareham, Wool and Holmesly stations were not wearing them and they were 'to be cautioned'.³⁰ At various times this matter was brought up until in June 1884 the Board recommended:

that in all cases of promotion to Stations or change from one Station to another all new Agents and Agents who have hitherto worn Uniform Caps shall wear their caps when on duty on the Platforms, whether there be an Inspection at the Station or not: But Agents who have hitherto not been obliged to wear the Uniform Cap shall not be ordered to do so on removal to Other Stations unless they be transferred to an inferior Station for any cause. The Rule expecting wearing Uniform Caps not to apply to the following stations viz Waterloo, Southampton, Davenport, Exeter, Yeovil, Salisbury, Bishopstoke, Guildford, Dorchester, Bournemouth.

A better cap to be provided for Station Masters.³¹

Although the uniforms may have been a status symbol for some, for others such as the station agents, the uniform, in particular the 'cap' was seen as demeaning.

Welfarism

George Revill disputes the military influence of the railways stating that:

it is debatable to what extent railway administration followed pre-existing modes of organisation, from either commercial or governmental sphere and to what extent they were themselves the organisational innovators disseminating techniques to other sectors. During the early nineteenth century the departments of the British military were far from being exemplars of efficiency and control...³²

Certainly there were clerks such as the Colleys who had been born into military families and Colonel Henderson became the first General Superintendent in 1834, but there is no evidence that within the L&SWR railway administration was influenced by a military presence. Were the L&SWR directors and senior managers innovators? There is within the primary sources documentation to give some credence to this comment. This will be considered in more detail later in this chapter and in Chapter Nine. Moreover the L&SWR was in constant touch with their counterparts within the other railway

companies and there was a continuing flow of information between them. One of the first accidents on the line in 1839 prompted the resolution to find out how other companies dealt with similar circumstances.³³ In October 1841 when the clerks started losing money in giving change and receiving money, the London and Birmingham Railway Company was consulted.³⁴ In April 1861 a considerable effort was made to organise the Clerks' Pension Scheme effectively. Returns were requested from the departments relating to the ages and salaries of staff. Six insurance companies were contacted asking for their terms and conditions regarding life insurance and superannuation. Finally enquiries were made into the practice of other companies, in particular the London & North Western Company's Superannuation Scheme is mentioned.³⁵ In March 1874 the Secretary was instructed by the Salaries Committee to obtain returns from the Audit and Traffic Departments of the South Eastern, the Brighton, Great Northern and Great Western Companies and also the Clearing House Staff regarding pay increases.³⁶ This information was returned quickly as it had been received by the next meeting, which was on the 16 April 1874.³⁷ These were not isolated incidents, there is much to suggest that there was a constant flow of intelligence circulating between the companies, that what happened in one was noted by the others, and that innovative changes, emerged out of each circumstance which demanded organisation. Indeed a sufficient bond was achieved by November 1878 between the L&SWR and the directors of the Caledonian and North British Railway Companies that an exchange of passes was made between the directors.³⁸ A similar exchange was made with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company Board, by May of the next year.³⁹

It will be shown later that during 1876 to 1880 the Company was found using actuaries and taking second opinions from other actuaries before taking the final decision regarding the changes to the Friendly Society. Although companies did not replicate procedure

exactly they did watch and learn from each other. Moreover change was never a deliberate attempt to appear benevolent, there was always an ulterior motive, which included convenience, economy and 'in the interests of the company'. It is intended to consider the background and the changing pattern of several key L&SWR procedures.

The Medical Attendance Arrangement

The 'Medical Attendance Arrangement' materialised in 1854 after it was found that the doctor who had been called to Nine Elms following a possible outbreak of cholera at the Depot, had presented a bill for £9. 0s. 6d. to the management. Cholera had arrived in England more than twenty years earlier in 1831 together with typhoid fever in 1832.⁴⁰ In 1853 when Newcastle and Gateshead as well as London were hit by cholera, more than 10,600 people had died. The worse hit areas at the beginning of the 1854 outbreak were Southwark and Lambeth and it was probably at this time that the railway workers at the Nine Elms Depot were, or thought they were, infected.⁴¹

It is not difficult to appreciate the fear that must have been felt at the Depot. A Dr. Statham had been called in by Mr Beattie, the Locomotive Superintendent. The doctor's bill remained unpaid until the matter had been investigated. The Special Committees' Minute Book does not state how many workers were involved, nor their fate, but there were obviously several individuals as the Medical Committee who met on the 9 July 1856:

made enquiry into the circumstances under which Dr. Statham's Account of £9.0.6d for certain medical Attendance on some of the Company's Servant's at Nine Elms in 1854, was incurred - and the orders from Mr Beattie or his principal Superintendent, for each such case having been produced, and Mr Beattie having explained that they were all cases of great emergency during the Season of the Cholera that year, - the Committee beg to recommend that the account be paid.⁴²

The Medical Attendance Arrangement therefore developed out of a major health problem

LONDON & SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY

Medical Attendance Arrangement 9th July 1856

The resolution:

to recommend to the Board that Dr. Beaman be authorised to attend all the men and Clerks and Officers in the Company's service attached to their London Establishments, i.e. on this side of the Falconbridge, together with their Wives and Families on consultation, if required, (except in cases of Midwifery or Syphilis). Dr Beaman finding all necessary medicines and other matters, as detailed in his letter or report before referred to. That he also attend and undertake all such other cases beyond the district, named, as the Officers of the Company may recommend shall be placed in his care as Consulting Medical Officer.

That for the purpose of carrying out this arrangement, each person in the Company's employment, or on the Staff, within the limit before named, contribute weekly to the Medical Fund as follows viz

All those in receipt of wages and etc amounting to 25/- per week, or less, are to pay 1d per week.

All those in receipt of more than 25/- per week to pay 2d per week.

Boys, or unmarried men receiving not more than 12/- per week, to pay one half penny per week, commencing 1st August next.

That the Company pay a sum of £300 a year to the Fund.

That Dr Beaman receive the £300 paid by the Company, and the payments made by the men and staff, whatever these sums may amount to.

It is estimated that the sums to be contributed by the men and Staff will average £450 per annum.

That no other charge whatever be made by Dr. Beaman against the Company, or the men or Staff, or their families, included in this arrangement."

RAIL 411/216 (217-8) **Figure 8.1.**

LONDON & SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY

January to June 1860 Scale of Charges Arranged with Dr Beaman pursuant to Minute of 22 March last (1860)

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 5/- | for each visit within the usual London Circle |
| 7/6-10/6 | each visit in severe surgical cases |
| 21/- | each visit for consultations in Surgical cases, or visits beyond Wandsworth or Clapham Stations, as far as Richmond or Kingston. |
| 42/- | for each visit for journeys beyond those points to Windsor, Reading or Farnborough |
| 63/- | for each visit to Basingstoke, or equal distances. |
| 84/- | for each visit beyond Basingstoke, or to Southampton or Portsmouth |
| 5 guineas | for each visit to Weymouth or Exeter. |
| These charges to include expenses. | |

RAIL 411/217 (86) **Figure 8.2.**

within the London area. Although some compassion would have been felt for the employees, managerial concern would also have been focussed on the disruption to the Depot should an outbreak of cholera occur. The Nine Elms Depot had become a pivotal centre for the movement of food products and goods throughout the south of England and beyond, with many employed on the site. The meeting held on the 9 July 1856 notes that on the 12 February 1855 a letter written by a Dr. Beaman to the managers proposing a Medical Attendance Arrangement was read at a committee meeting convened for the purpose of trying to find a solution to this problem. The committee reported that they had gone fully into the subject and had had the assistance of several of the 'Heads of Departments' during their investigations and had decided:

that they recommend to the Board the adoption of the following arrangement, (see Figure 8.1.) as to the one most conducive to the general health, comfort, and efficiency of the staff, but also the most economical in every point of view as regards the advantages accruing from it to the Company.⁴³

There had been other instances of deductions from workers' wages for medical services during an earlier period. Ashton mentions that at the Horsehay ironworks in the 1790s the workers had to contribute 6d. every month to the doctor and that this was not an isolated case.⁴⁴ The Medical Attendance Arrangement as shown in Figure 8.1, however was a more complex scheme than some of the late eighteenth century arrangements. Given the failure of the Friendly Society to attract membership, it is of interest to note that the Arrangement was compulsory for all those living in and around London, although payments were graduated according to ability to pay and by contributions, which were relatively small in comparison with wages. These contributions were estimated to reach £450 per annum. The Company were to pay £300 a year to the Fund and both these amounts were to be paid to Dr. Beaman.

A consideration of the Arrangement gives the impression that the L&SWR directors had

sanctioned and partially funded a procedure whereby their London staff would receive medical assistance in the event of an epidemic or medical services as and when required. Moreover the mens' contributions were based on the ability to pay and covered the families as well as the men. The Arrangement appeared to be one of enlightened paternalism undertaken by a caring management. However upon reflection it must be argued that had there been a sudden epidemic, under the terms of the scheme, between one and two thousand railway workers within the 'London Establishments', and their wives and children, were technically the responsibility of one doctor with an annual fund of £750, which also included his salary for the services he rendered. It is doubtful whether he could have managed to deal with large numbers of sick individuals, which would have included both men, women and children, without further resources, but under the terms of the scheme 'no other charge whatever be made by Dr. Beaman against the Company, or the men or Staff, or their families, included in this arrangement.'⁴⁵

Thus by the terms of the scheme the management had negated all responsibilities relating to the sickness of their men, working within the metropolis, for a sum of £300 per annum. This even in 1856 was a relatively small amount given the possible problems, particularly as the Nine Elms Depot lay alongside the Thames and by 1858 the 'Great Stink' forced officials to hang sacking soaked in deodorising chemicals at the windows of the House of Commons a short distance away. In the Traffic Minutes dated from July 1857 there was, however, no mention of the difficulties of the railway workers who were working at the Depot. They were not able to take a summer break from duties in the same way as the Members of Parliament.

The catastrophe did not occur and following the agreement to proceed, there is very little written information relating to the service rendered by Dr. Beaman to the uniformed staff

in relation to this Scheme. In February 1859 a minute states that he reported on the state of health of Mr Hilditch, late station agent at Kingston (Surbiton), and we can assume that the doctor probably made a visit to Surbiton at this time.⁴⁶ There is no recorded evidence that he made other visits to staff nor that he held a surgery. There are however numerous minutes referring to him dealing with the claims of accident victims during 1859 to the early 1860s. It is possible therefore that he may have been requested by management to devote most of his time to this occupation, particularly as serious railway accidents during this period had increased.

The management's aim regarding economy can be clearly seen in their treatment of Dr. Beaman during the next few years. Although there is no rationale within the minutes, it is possible that the appointment of Dr Beaman as Medical Officer would have been considered a cheaper method of dealing with accidents and staff sickness than by the employ of a number of doctors only loosely connected to the Company. In 1852 Mr Crombie had been selected to carry on the day-to-day law business of the Company leaving only the more complex business to be completed by the Company Solicitors. Mr Crombie in his acceptance letter regarding his post had written to management:

I accept the appointment with the full understanding that if my time is not fully occupied with the matter specially referred to I shall make myself...useful in other matters of a similar description in the Company's service.⁴⁷

Did the directors believe that Dr Beaman sentiments would be similar? Mr Crombie was engaged with a salary of £500. Dr Beaman was receiving approximately £750 for any work undertaken in relation to the Medical Arrangement, but did have the outlay of medicines and £450 of this money came from the railway staff not management.

Dr Beaman was not inclined to be 'useful in other matters' without further payment. In March 1860 he submitted his six-month expenses for work unrelated to the Medical

scheme, a sum totalling £414. 5s. 6d. His bill was considered excessive and:

The Secretary was directed to see Dr. Beaman as to the scale of charges made for the various visits and journeys in this account, which had been reported as in the same proportion as those in the last account paid him for similar services, and after conference with him thereon, to prepare and bring up to the Committee, at a future meeting, a modified scale, having reference to the nature of visits and attendance and the distances travelled.⁴⁸

The modified scale is shown in Figure 8.2, page 268.⁴⁹ Dr Beaman's bills were carefully monitored, the Secretary made a careful examination of the account and an abstract was prepared showing the sums paid to parties as 'Compensation to Medical Men and Dr. Beaman's Fees.' Dr Beaman continued to send in his half yearly bills, which were referred to the Secretary for what had become the usual examination prior to payment. However on the 19 March 1863 he was only paid £50 for his half yearly fee. In February 1864 a further half yearly fee of £50 for the period up to 31 December 1863, appears to have been a final payment for his services over and above the Medical Attendance Arrangement.⁵⁰ Although there is no actual note to this effect it does appear that Dr. Beaman was too expensive.

In January 1864 it had been decided that Local Medical Officers should be appointed. During 1864 to 1867 the Company found medical practitioners in various locations along the line and gradually established casual connections with them, possibly sometimes on a retainer. The Company appears to be trying to find the cheapest method of dealing with staff accidents and those of the public. In many ways employing medical men along the line would be sensible as the journey involved would be far less than if one medical officer had been employed residing in the London area. In March 1865 Dr Coleman of Surbiton did travel to see three members of the public who were accident victims, he charged £7. 5. 0d, for his visits to Egham, and Chertsey.⁵¹ Dr. Coleman of Surbiton, has previously been mentioned in Chapter Seven. He attended Porter Bollen after his

accident in 1866. He is shown on the 1861 and 1871 census as a 'M.R.C.S. & A.C.Gen. Practioner' and lived in Victoria Road Surbiton, very near the station.

However by 1867 the Company were again considering the prospect of having an arrangement with one medical man and it was agreed that Dr. Vine's scale of fees should be accepted. These fees will be found in Figure 8.3.⁵² At a first glance these fees appear to be similar in price to those of Dr. Beaman but Dr Vine's fees appear to have included not only the visit but a full written report, Dr Beaman may have charged extra for this service. It should also be noted that Dr. Vine only charged extra for a fly or another conveyance when the distance he had to travel exceeded one mile from the station. It can be assumed therefore that Dr Vine in like manner to Dr Beaman was engaged in activities outside the Medical Attendance Arrangement, but that his scale of charges were cheaper than Dr. Beamans. It is possible therefore that the amount of time given to the Arrangement by the Company's Consulting Medical Officer was limited. The fact that in May 1887 the goods guards, porters and others at Nine Elms and Vauxhall Stations minuted the General Manager requesting that they be relieved from the expense of the scheme, gives the impression that by this time it was not used by the men unless management asked them to attend after injury or long term sick absence.⁵³

By 1887 it was decided that the new Medical Arrangement should be entirely financed by the Company for a sum of £700 per annum. Dr. Vine was instructed to continue his attendances at Waterloo, Nine Elms and Clapham Junction, Figure 8.4., and to supply 'the staff with any necessary medicines at those stations, but not at their homes as heretofore unless required to do so by the General Manager or Secretary in any special cases'.⁵⁴ Within this new arrangement there was no mention of families in the wording of the scheme. Moreover the Company had extended Dr Vine's activities to examining

LONDON & SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY

Dr.Vine's Scale of Charges 18th July 1867

10/6 for every visit to a case of Accident within four miles of Waterloo Station including Clapham Junction such sum to include a visit if needed, to the Medical Attendant, and forwarding a full written report of the case.

7/6 for examination and consultation at his own residence of any case of accident including ... a full written report &c.

21/- for consultation by appointment with an Hospital or Consulting Surgeon including full written report &c.

21/- for each visit to Wandsworth and Stations as far as Richmond or Kingston Stations and such sum to include written report &c.

42/- for each visit beyond Richmond or Kingston Stations to Windsor, Reading or Farnborough, or Guildford to include written report &c.

63/-to Basingstoke and all Stations on the Alton Line or equal distances, with report &c.

84/- beyond Basingstoke to Winchester Southampton Gosport Portsmouth, or Salisbury including the Andover & Redbridge and Netley Lines.

105/- for any distance not exceeding thirty miles beyond Southampton or Salisbury say Templecombe Junction in the one case and Wimborne Junction in the other.

126/- to Weymouth or Exeter and places beyond Exeter on this Company's system.

The above charges to include all Expenses, excepting payments out of pocket for Flys or other conveyances when the distance exceeds one mile from the station.

RAIL 411/219 pp.158-9. **Figure 8.3**

LONDON & SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY

Medical Arrangements after 1 July 1887:

The attendances to be as follows:

At Waterloo Station (General Offices) on Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays from 1.30 to 2.30 p.m.

At Nine Elms (Surgery) on Tuesdays Thursdays and Saturdays from 9.30 to 11 am.

At Clapham Junction (Mr. Howse's Surgery) on Mondays and Fridays from 9 am to 10 am.

Dr. Vine (if so required) to examine all candidates for the Company's Service, and all men for promotion and also to certify all cases of sickness and recovery before return to duty according to forms to be arranged by the Heads of Department.

RAIL 411/255 (1382) **Figure 8.4**

recruits, and the certification as fit of those who were resuming duties after sick absence or accident. In August 1891 Dr. Vine gives the impression that he was not content with his remuneration for he applied for a further scale of fees but this was declined.⁵⁵

Following Dr. Vine's illness in September 1896, two doctors, a Dr Archer and a Dr Taylor were appointed the new Medical Advisors.⁵⁶ The salaries of these gentlemen were increased from £250 to £350 per annum in December 1897 when they took over from Dr. Vine to deal with the Medical Arrangements. Thus although the monies funding the doctors and the scheme remained the same, the work load was divided between two individuals. By 1899 a Dr Bond had also been retained as the Company's Consulting Surgeon but on his death in June 1901 he was not replaced.⁵⁷

By this time the numbers of those employed in the London area had increased considerably from that period in 1856 when the Arrangement had first been initiated. Although the two doctors were employed in dealing with medical matters, they would also have seen accident cases if only 'to certify all cases of sickness and recovery before return to duty.' Certainly the death rate amongst employees was declining but the accident rate remained high due to the growing numbers of employees actively employed in the movement of goods rather than working with and for the travelling public (Figure 6.5). In 1896 injuries to staff totalled 253, in 1912 nearly four times as many workers having been incapacitated the number had reached 985. Many of these accident cases would have been outside the London area. However, as has already been noted from the statistics in 1912, more than one third of all injuries shown in the Board of Trade, Table 9, occurred through the loading and unloading of vehicles, and it was at Nine Elms, an area covered by the Medical Attendance Arrangement, where many of these activities took place.⁵⁸

In April 1901 a memo in the Traffic Minutes shows that Dr. Archer and Dr. Taylor like Dr. Beaman and Dr Vine were continuing to work outside the London area. It also shows that Doctors Archer and Taylor like Dr. Beaman, were not prepared to be 'useful in other matters' for nothing, and that their accounts continued to be carefully monitored:

The General Manager reported that accounts had been received from Dr. Archer and Dr. Taylor for the six months ending December 1900 amounting to £91.0s.1d. and £756.8. 8d., respectively and that they had been settled at £90.4.4d and £562.14.2d. In connection therewith the General Manager submitted a Revised Scale of Fees to be allowed to the Doctors' in accident cases. Approved.⁵⁹

Was the service of benefit to the workforce? There were some advantages in having the service available, particularly for minor ailments. There is no indication that the men were charged for using the service and those who worked at Waterloo, Clapham Junction or Nine Elms could consult the doctor with ease and during working hours. The doctors were used to visit accident cases both those of the public and railway 'servants'. This would have enabled a proper assessment of the injuries following accidents and was therefore of advantage to the Company as well as to those injured. Indeed by 1887 the Staff Medical Scheme did appear to have more benefits for management than for the staff and by taking over the full payment for the Scheme in July 1887, management indirectly acknowledged that the service was mainly to their advantage. In 1856 what had started as an 'Arrangement' to care for staff should a cholera pandemic occur had, by 1887, evolved into an Occupational Health Service, a service where medical men gave health advice to staff, but also acted in an advisory capacity to management, confirming or denying the fitness of employees returning to their duties and examining the workforce for special defects such as colour blindness.⁶⁰

When Dr. Taylor resigned in November 1911 he was given one quarter's salary as from the 1 December 1911. Dr. Archer was thereafter appointed sole Medical Officer in

London at a salary of £600 per annum as from the 1 November 1911.⁶¹

The Friendly Society

The Friendly Society more than any other procedure shows the lack of concern by management to appear benevolent. Unlike most of the other policies to be viewed the Friendly Society was not carefully considered prior to formation. In Chapter Five it has been noted that it was started in 1844 and first mentioned in the Traffic Minutes in 1848. During the early years of the service the use of a Friendly Society was the accepted method of dealing with sick absence. It was controlled and run by the membership and during the early years the subscription rate was one farthing in the shilling of a man's weekly wages and his allowance when he was sick or injured was half wages. In 1849 the Company gave an annual grant of £150 and two Company shares also valued at £150, which produced dividends to increase the Society funds. In 1854 the Company revised the grant to 3d. per week per member.⁶² Although initially the funding may have been adequate it was insufficient later, particularly when, during the 1860s, the accident rate increased considerably. Later, prior to 1876, the subsidy was commuted to £600 per annum.⁶³

During the 1870s adjustments had to be made and the emphasis on cost by the managers as opposed to the financial wellbeing of their staff is clearly seen in their deliberations. The 1870 Royal Commission enquiring into Friendly Societies and Benefit Building Societies, made their Final Report in 1874. The Railway Friendly Societies were criticised as being financially unsound and thereby influenced the changes that occurred between mid-1870 and 1880.⁶⁴ However the substance of that change, the decisions regarding what was 'relinquished' and what was 'retained' was made by the directors and managers of the L&SWR aided by the actuaries. After encouraging and indeed making it obligatory by 1869 for new entrants to join the Society, the Company should have felt

liable to cover the losses incurred by Society members. Unfortunately the Friendly Society refused initially to accept that there was a problem, which in the view of the actuaries, made the situation more serious as the debate extended over several years, and the Society continued to take on new membership.⁶⁵ The Society members fought the management regarding change but succumbed eventually, being persuaded that their funds were on a downward spiral, that an influx of capital was a necessity, and that it could only come from one source.⁶⁶

Sick pay through friendly society membership was the method used by most of the railway companies and if the Society had been discontinued a substitute method of payment would have had to be found. Thus it was in the interests of the Company to retain the Friendly Society if only to process sick absence payments. The L&SWR management obviously considered that the contribution of £11,000 immediately, plus £810.18.9d twice yearly for 25 years, and a guarantee of 5 per cent interest on the accumulated funds of the Society, was a sufficient outlay to make. This was what was suggested by the actuaries, and was a very large amount of money. The actuaries stated that this amount would cover the cost of sick pay for those who were currently in membership, but not the cost of continuing the old pension scheme. By 'relinquishment of all contingent pensions to which the members are entitled' the estimated liability was relieved by the sum of £56,123 retaining a surplus of £21,077:

It is proposed that this presumed Surplus shall be applied as follows

- (a) In continuing the sickness allowance, upon their present scale up to age 75.
- (b) In allowing a pension of one fourth of such sickness allowances from and after age 75
and in further aid of the above it is proposed that
- (c) The members contributions shall continue to be paid up to age 75.⁶⁷

The new rules came into force on 1 July 1880. It is almost impossible to appreciate the dismay that must have been felt by Society members who had followed the advice of

management to join, only to find that a vital part of their benefits had been discontinued, and their contributions wasted. It must be remembered that there was no state provision for pension benefits and therefore, the need to continue sick absence payments up to seventy-five years of age, the ridiculously small pension, meant that some of the older members rather than seeking retirement would have to continue working for an indefinite period. The majority of the members of the Society would have been uniformed workers as the Clerks Superannuation Fund had been established in 1865. It should also be noted that in the same year 1880, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants also wound up their superannuation fund on the advice of actuaries who had also confirmed the unsoundness of their scheme. However a lump sum of £20 in commutation to superannuated union members was made.⁶⁸ The L&SWR management did eventually make provision for those staff not included within the Clerks' Superannuation and Pension Funds, however the changes did not take place until January 1890 several years after the Friendly Society rules had been altered.

The Widows and Orphans Benefits Society

The Railway Fly Sheet covering an event in the August issue of 1874 gives some insight into the L&SWR Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund which had been started in 1861 independently of the Friendly Society and also independently of managerial involvement. The event a fete that was held in July 1874 in the grounds of Malshanger Park near Basingstoke, the home of one of the L&SWR directors, Mr Wyndham Spencer Portal, was attended by 2,000 employees. Mr Macaulay, President of the Society, in his speech at the event painted a picture of the lack of skill of the early promoters and extolled the virtues of Archibald Scott who had amended the rules and readjusted the tables and thereby the directors were able to support the Fund. The directors had obviously recognised in the Fund a means whereby widows and orphans could be financially

supported. However the low increase from 72 to 137 members in six years even after the Reserve Fund had been increased by the L&SWR management, shows that, like the Friendly Society, and indeed later, possibly because of the fate of the Friendly Society, the workers had not been eager to join the Widows and Orphans Benefits Society.⁶⁹

The fete was undoubtedly a means whereby the Society could be promoted. It is possible that Mr Portal, a Company director and later the Company Chairman, found the occasion diverting as in 1875 the fete was again held at his residence, Malshanger Park. Mr. W. W. B. Beach of Oakley Park was host in 1876, whilst the Earl of Portsmouth opened his grounds in 1877. The fetes did not raise huge sums of money. In 1878 when the event was held at Leigh Park near Havant, the home of Major-General Fitzwygram, it was reported that the total accrued from the previous four fetes was £488. Moreover there were only 207 members, although the capital sum, by this time, had reached £3,850.⁷⁰ The fete was obviously a means whereby the Fund could be publicised rather than a way to increase the capital, and it appears possible that the apparent generosity of the directors may have been a hidden agenda, that of trying to get a majority of the workforce into the Fund. This was, to some extent, praiseworthy but had the Fund been joined by most of the staff it would have solved a major problem of what to do about the Company widows and orphans, the numbers of whom had increased substantially from the early 1860s. On the other hand the Fund needed to be large enough to provide the financial support necessary.

The Traffic Minutes show that the Fund was not only increased by Company finance but also by collecting boxes on the stations, use of money accrued from fining the 'servants' and clerks, and the unclaimed money found on the stations and in the trains.⁷¹ In May 1880 a memo. within the Traffic Minutes reads that Mr Jennings of Driver,

Jennings and Capper who had been travelling without a season ticket and without paying his fare 'may renew his season ticket from the expiry of his last Ticket upon subscribing £5.5/- to the Widows Fund.' There is some doubt whether Mr Jennings paid this amount because he appealed and was summoned to attend the next meeting of the committee and after an explanation the matter was referred to the Board.⁷² It does appear, however, that the Widows and Orphans' Fund was subsidised from a variety of sources apart from a 'substantial contribution from the directors'.

The Fete became an annual event and by 1878 was referred to as an 'excursion' and 'specials' were arranged by Archibald Scott to transport between 1,500 to 2,000 persons from the Queen's private station at Nine Elms to the grounds near Havant and thereafter to enjoy a host of amusements provided by the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund Committee. In the early years of 1886, although the numbers employed by the L&SWR had reached 16,000 the members of the Widows and Orphans Benefit Society remained low at only 220. Thus only 1.5 per cent of the employees were actively involved in the Fund at this time.⁷³ This may have been because the Society was too expensive with a joining fee of 5 shillings and a yearly subscription of £2.12s. 0d., securing an annuity of £26 per annum for a widow.⁷⁴ In February 1886 an advertisement in *The Gazette* shows the Society reducing its subscriptions and benefits to allow those on lower incomes to join.⁷⁵ Nevertheless although the capital sum had risen to £21,767 by 1895 the membership was still only 274 with 51 annuitants.⁷⁶ In 1898 a *Gazette* advertisement shows that the entrance fee to join had been dropped.⁷⁷ From this time there is less information concerning the numbers joining the Widows and Orphans Benefit Society and possibly less concern relating to the small take-up of the scheme. This may have been due to the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act, allowing widows of those killed in railway accidents to receive a substantial payment, but also the activities of *The South*

Western Gazette.

In 1881 this monthly paper priced 1d, was started in the financial interests of the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund by Sam Fay and two other employees.⁷⁸ In November 1885 The South Western Railway Orphanage came into being and thereafter *The South Western Gazette* divided its profits between the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund and the Orphanage. Although the newspaper was not initially profitable, by the 1890s it had started selling advertising space and insurance, guaranteed by the Law and Accident Contingency Society. When William Willis was killed in a shunting accident on Surbiton Station in 1900 a letter of thanks in *The Gazette* shows that his wife Sarah had received £15 from this insurance.⁷⁹ In 1909 the insurance advertisement states that for one halfpenny each week the paper paid £200 to dependents of passengers killed, and £15 to subscribers killed in the performance of duty. For 1d the dependents of any subscriber killed whilst travelling by train as a passenger would receive £1,000 and dependents of subscribers killed in the performance of duty would receive £20.⁸⁰ By 1911 subscribers paid 4d. a month and they or their dependents had to produce three coupons from the previous months of the newspaper to claim an accident allowance which covered forty-nine different types of injury ranging from £1,000 for death to £1 for ‘concussion of brain when cycling’.⁸¹ In the September 1911 issue the newspaper showed the amounts paid to claimants and organisations from

The South Western Gazette Funds:

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| Widows’ and Orphans Fund | £1,765 0 0 |
| L&SWR Servants’ Orphanage | £1,600 0 0 |
| Police Mutual Benefit Fund | £130 0 0 |
| Donation to Families of Non-Subscribers, and other Benefits | £141 0 0 |
| Railwaymen’s Con. Home | £10 0 0 |
| Cycling Accidents | £7 4 4 |
| Claims for temporary disablement | £1,660 5 10 |
| Claims for Fatal Accidents and Loss of Limbs | £4,023 0 0 |
| Total | £9,336 10 2 ⁸² |

It is assumed that these figures date from 1881 when the paper was first started. In July 1914 the 4d accident claims had been changed. There were fifty-six insurances, the lump sum payments had been reduced to £400, but the dependents of subscribers killed in performance of duties were to receive £40 and included 'any Railway Company's road vehicle in which the subscriber is travelling, such injuries proving fatal within ninety days'. A further change was that subscribers totally injured by 'Accident to Train' and various other vehicles were to receive £1 10s. 0d, a week for 26 weeks.⁸³ Although there was no apparent support for the paper by the directors, it is unlikely that the paper would have embarked, or continued on this course without some endorsement from the L&SWR Board. Indeed from the 1890s, every month, the paper included within its features a picture of at least one director or senior manager, together with details of this dignitary's ancestry, qualifications and virtues.

The Clerks Superannuation

Why did the directors delay nearly ten years before establishing the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for uniformed staff? The Friendly Society was altered on 1 July 1880 and as will be shown the Non-Contributory Scheme did not commence until 1 January 1890. One reason for the delay appears to be Company concern to retain their middle management. The uniformed workers' pension scheme therefore remained last on the list of priorities. During March and April 1874 concern had been expressed in connection with the 'appointments, salaries and the general working of the Company's present system both in the Traffic and General Office Departments of the Service.' The Secretary was instructed to obtain a return relating to the number of clerks who had left the service in 1873 and the total cost of salaries in each department. As has already been noted other railway companies were also consulted. One of the objects of this exercise being 'To learn if the practice of granting an increased pay for long and faithful services if

there is no official promotion likely to arise, is admitted by any of the Companies.’⁸⁴ A month later the committee met having received the information they had requested and deciding that ‘no alteration in Salaries be made except in cases of promotion, or alteration of duty under some unforeseen circumstances, otherwise than at that time.’⁸⁵

Unlike the Friendly Society, the Clerks Superannuation Fund had been carefully organised. In 1861 several insurance companies were asked to state on what terms per cent, they would insure for life and for superannuation at sixty years of age. In November 1861 the Superannuation Committee Report stated that:

There are in our employment 306 Clerks and Superior Officers whose united salaries amount to £36,000 a year. Some of these Officers are desirous of effecting insurance on their lives, and others of securing a Superannuation at 60 years of age. It therefore appears to the Committee desirable that the benefit of any grant made by the Company should go towards either or both of these objects, at the option of the Insurer, especially as it appears that 68 of the Officers are already assured so far as Life Assurance is concerned in different offices.⁸⁶

The managers request was to be expected as other companies were organising superannuation schemes. Moreover as Hannah points out, deferring a portion of pay gave a company an effective sanction against fraud. If an employee was dismissed for losing company money, the retained portion of pay held in the pension fund could be used to pay off the debt.⁸⁷ In particular the London and North Western Company had a scheme, which had been started in 1853, and this was noted by the L&SWR managers prior to the organisation of their own scheme and was obviously one reason for their original request. Hannah details the London & North Western scheme as one that only covered the clerical staff. The contributions were 2 and a half per cent of wages with the company guaranteeing 4 per cent interest on accumulating funds and additional company contributions. The membership was compulsory, and the pension could be drawn at sixty years of age or later providing ten years service had been worked.⁸⁸

The L&SWR report dated November 1861 shows that the managers had decided to 'embrace two species of insurance, viz: a payment at death, and superannuation at an age to be fixed at a later date, or at the expiration of a certain number of years service.' Clerks between the ages of twenty and fifty were invited to join. The shareholders were to be asked for £800 to supply a fund equal to 2 and a half per cent on £32,000 which was the total salaries of the 302 officers who were to be covered not including the four senior managers. The Clerks' Superannuation Fund came into force in 1865 and was later found to be successful. In June 1870 at the first quinquennial valuation the members numbered 285 and accumulated funds amounted to £9,111.

The Clerks' Pension Fund

In December 1880 the actuaries found that the membership of the Clerks Superannuation had reached 487 and accumulated funds had escalated to £43,651. However out of the 14 annuitants who were each receiving £238 per annum, 13 remained at work on full pay.⁸⁹ In January 1881 a committee was convened 'to consider and report upon the subject of an extension of the staff superannuation arrangements, and the connected questions of salaries and promotions.'⁹⁰

There is no exact detail regarding the rationale behind the proposed 'Clerks Pension Fund', and why management ignored the plight of those who had paid into the Friendly Society for pension fund benefits. However evidence points to the need by management to make sufficient funds available to enable senior staff to be retired between sixty and sixty-five years of age, thus allowing the prospect of advancement for younger members of staff who would have resigned to find prospects outside the Company. This was obviously given priority over the uniformed workers' pension benefits. The Clerks' Pension Fund arrangements were put in place 1 January 1882.

The rules were amended for the purpose of:

- (1) extending the age from 60 to 65 years for discontinuing contributions and commencing annuities in the option of the members with the approval of the Directors and
- (2) Admitting as members those Officers and Clerks who failed to join the Fund previous to 1 June 1865 and also those who have entered the service since that date without joining the fund and may now be desirous of contributing thereto on the terms hereinafter explained.

The yearly figure to be allocated to the new Pension Fund was to be £3,000 and was being made up out of contributions of monies from the 'Staff Guarantee Fund' and the 'Decayed Clerks Fund' with the difference met by the proprietors (shareholders). The Scheme allowed retirement at any time between sixty and sixty-five years of age although retention beyond the age of sixty-five in some cases was permitted. There is no indication of how the allocation of monies was to be made except that the maximum at sixty years of age was being fixed at 75% of average salary and that the Pension Fund was to be held and managed by the directors.⁹¹

However we do know that when Mr Frederic Macaulay retired in 1898 he was already receiving an annuity of £366.10s. 0d. per annum from the Superannuation Fund, which had been paid without a deduction from salary from 1 August 1895, when he was sixty-five years of age. Written on his work record was the information that a further £500 Annuity in addition to allowances from the Superannuation and Pension Funds was granted by a Board Minute of the 13 October 1898. When Mr W.H. Hilditch retired from his position as Station Master at Waterloo on the 22 July 1903 there was written on his work record 'in consideration of his long service granted a bonus of one year's salary £360.' Thus some indication of the scale and the use of the 'surplus monies' appropriated, by the directors, have been found.

It is of interest to note that Archibald Scott retired in November 1884 from his position as General Manager, taking up the post of a director of the Company. It seems likely that he had decided that after service first as Traffic Manager, and then as General Manager, he would allow the advancement of a younger person. Nock writes that it seems to have taken the Board by surprise for they did not appoint Scotter until March the following year. However Mr Scott's sixty-fifth birthday was on the 30 March 1886 and it may have been that the Company had been generous and allowed him paid leave up to his birthday whilst they searched for his successor. In 1885 Charles Scotter, who replaced him, was fifty years of age and had been Goods Manager of the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincolnshire Railway.⁹² It seems probable that Mr Scott had taken advantage of the New Pension Scheme after finding his pension and the directors' remuneration, more than an adequate reward after thirty-two years of service. He was to live another twenty-six years following his retirement, dying at the age of eighty-nine years on the 6 December 1910.

The Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for the Wages Paid Staff.⁹³

It was not until the latter years of the 1880s that the management turned their attention to the pension arrangements of the uniformed staff. In an 'Extract from the Proceedings of the Staff Pension Fund Committee Nov.15th 1889', there is some indication that an old age scheme was sanctioned by a Board resolution of 19 January 1888 but that:

this should be taken over and dealt with under these new arrangements, and all cases of ordinary sickness be left with the men to provide for themselves by means of Registered and Certified Friendly Societies and Benefits Clubs

In the margin in red ink is written £1,000 a year is voted for this (The Non Contributory Pension Scheme.)

The Extract continues:

The Staff Accidents Account, authorised by the Board resolution of 1st April 1886, should be continued during the further pleasure of the Directors.

**London & South Western Railway Pension Arrangements for the
Wages Paid Staff of the Company.**

Commencing on the 1st January 1890.

1. Any man whether a uniform servant or not, employed in any department, and having reached 60 years of age, with not less than 25 years service, and who is not eligible for, nor belonging to, the existing Superannuation and Pension Funds may be reported to the Directors by the Head of the Department in which he is employed, and in such report his position, services, character and circumstances, accompanied by a Medical certificate as to his capacity for work, must be fully stated for the information of the Directors.

2. Any man so reported and found eligible for retirement may be granted an allowance according to the following scale, subject to the undermentioned conditions viz:-

If 60 years of age, his average weekly wages during the last 10 years will be divided into 70 parts. If 61 69 parts 62 68 parts 63 67 parts 64 66 parts 65 65 parts

Each of the above mentioned parts will be multiplied by the number of years' service of the man to be retired, and the amount so ascertained will be divided into two equal shares, one of which will represent the weekly allowance to be granted by the Company, and the other will be left to the man to provide through any Friendly Society or Benefit Club to which he may belong, or by a separate Superannuation Fund to be established among the men, or by any other means which they may decide for themselves.

3. The minimum and maximum allowances to be granted by the Company will be as follows.

At age 60 not less than 5/- not more than 15/- per week.

| | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------|----|-----|------|
| 61 | 5/4 | 16/2 | 62 | 5/8 | 17/4 |
| 63 | 6/- | 18/6 | 64 | 6/6 | 19/8 |
| 65 | 7/- | 21/-..... | | | |

4. As regards any provision by the Company's servants towards their retirement, each man is to be at liberty to exercise his own discretion in this matter, on the understanding that should he fail to make any such provision the Company's allowance will not be refused on that account but it cannot be increased to make up the deficiency to him.

5. As the allowance to be granted by the Company will be provided out of their own funds, without any contributions from the men, the Directors must reserve to themselves the right of declining, withdrawing, reducing or increasing an allowance in any case, as also the power of altering or terminating these arrangement at any time as and when they may deem necessary.

RAIL 411/447 p.40 Figure 8.5.

9. The granting of allowances, either for accidents or old age should be invested in the Directors only, without any appeal from their decision as to amount or otherwise, and they should reserve the power to refuse an allowance in any case, or withdraw, or reduce or increase it at any time, according to their sole and absolute discretion.
10. The cost to the Company (accidents and old age) should not exceed £2,000 a year, in addition to the annual amounts already allowed by the Board resolutions above mentioned.⁹⁴

The actual Pension Scheme is detailed in Figure 8.5, and it was radical. Indeed speaking at the meeting between the Pension Fund Committee and the staff delegates on the 21 February 1890, Mr Wyndham Portal stated that the new pension fund of the Company 'was so unique that its counterpart did not exist on any other railway in the United Kingdom, and its operations would be beneficially felt in every department of the service.'⁹⁵ The Scheme was welcomed by at least one engine driver who speaking at a Good Friday dinner was reported by *The Gazette* as saying that he would 'retire not with perhaps a sufficiency to live upon, but with enough to keep the wolf from the door-thanks to that excellent scheme-the Free Pension Fund.'⁹⁶ Here was a railway company supplying a non-contributory pension scheme to their uniformed staff. Hannah writes that the railway statutory schemes usually excluded the manual or weekly paid worker.⁹⁷

There is little doubt that by 1890 the L&SWR management had begun to appreciate that the appearance of benevolence might be to their advantage. However a careful consideration of the Scheme also shows the benefits to management from such an arrangement. The Scheme came into operation at a time when union membership was increasing and management would have been fearful of strike action. It gave the impression of benevolence, but the most any man could receive was a sum between £54 and £55 per annum and the least £13. The sum by which a pension would be calculated was the average weekly wage of a worker over the last ten years of his working life. It could be argued that in some cases, such as that of injury in latter years, this might be to

the employees' advantage. However in the case of a fit person the final year of salary should have been the greater, particularly after 1900 when wages increased. Moreover although the Friendly Society pension scheme had been virtually discontinued in 1880 the Non-Contributory Scheme applied only to cases of retirements on and after 1 July 1889.⁹⁸

The difference between the two pension schemes, that of the Clerks and Senior Managers and Non-Contributory Scheme for the uniformed workers shows the enormous dichotomy that existed between office grades and the uniformed staff. The primary sources show the clerks' schemes in 1881 were available for approximately 628 officers and clerks. Their Superannuation and Pension Fund had accumulated monies in excess of £43,000 with an income of £3,000 per annum which was to come from the 'Staff Guarantee Fund', the 'Decayed Clerks Fund', and the proprietors (shareholders). Admittedly a proportion of the accumulated fund had been acquired from the staff contributions. On the other hand an annual £2,000 was thought sufficient to cover extra finance to boost the Accident Fund which had been in existence from 1886 and the New Pension Fund for the many thousand uniformed staff.⁹⁹

Nevertheless many of the uniformed grades would have considered the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme benevolent, and however small, it was an income that came without payment by the recipient. However the benefits to management were legion. A worker needed to remain with the L&SWR for at least twenty-five years to receive the pension. It ensured his good behaviour and tied him to the Company. If he left his employment even for a short period of time, or if he was dismissed, his pension would not be paid. Moreover it would have been comparatively easy to administer. In defence of the Company it was obvious from the experience of the L&SWR Friendly Society and

the Widows and Orphans Fund that were it to be a scheme requiring contributions there would be some, indeed many, who would not have joined. The Non-Contributory Scheme did not need a collection from wages and could be administered by a simple calculation and thereafter entry into a book for auditing purposes.

Two factors, which were common to both schemes, should be mentioned. Neither scheme was linked to a price index and therefore in terms of real income the value of the pensions from both schemes would diminish with the possible onset of inflation. Further pensions from both schemes would cease on the death of the beneficiary. This deficiency could be overcome by the 'payment at death' insurance favoured by some clerks, and the Widows and Orphans Scheme. By 1912 there had been alterations in the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme. Pensions were granted after twenty years service but at a lower weekly amount. The Traffic Minute also includes the proviso 'in cases where a State Pension is granted the Company's minimum allowance be 2/- a week as at present.'¹⁰⁰ After 1908, were the pension payments adjusted, that is reduced, to enable those 'servants' over seventy years of age to receive the full old age pension from the state? This does appear to be a possibility and in keeping with the ethos of the L&SWR.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

There is no indication in the L&SWR minutes that welfare schemes were introduced to offset the discipline imposed on the uniformed workers. Fines levied against workers and imprisonment with or without hard labour, predated railway employment. Although railway discipline was harsh, the severity emerged out of the need to protect the public against negligent behaviour. Moreover although there may have been a military presence within the L&SWR, and certainly there was within the Board some directors with a

military background, there is no evidence of its influence on policy within the Company.

The procedures considered included the Medical Attendance Arrangement, the Friendly Society, the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Scheme, the *South Western Gazette* Insurance Schemes, the Clerks' Superannuation and Pension Schemes and that of the Uniformed Staffs' Non-Contributory Pension Scheme. The Medical Attendance Arrangement came into being to cope with the problem of a possible pandemic of cholera. This did not materialise and the Arrangement evolved slowly over time into what has been termed an 'Occupational Health Service'. By the 1880s it is possible that the men rarely used the service except following resumption from sick absence or injury and from July 1887 the Arrangement, which had previously been partially funded by staff, was fully funded by the management. The changes to the Friendly Society following the actuaries' calculations showing that the Society was moving towards a deficit, were completed by 1880. These reveal the initial indifference by the managers to the plight of the uniformed worker regarding his Friendly Society pension scheme. Although sick benefits were saved by Company funding, the old pension scheme was discontinued and the new rules merely allowed a payment of 25 per cent of sick pay after the age of 75.¹⁰² The Widows and Orphans Benevolent Scheme was started in 1862 without Company backing but by 1868 had obtained 'judicious and timely advice' from Archibald Scott and Company funding. By 1874 the series of yearly fetes within the grounds of the various directors and shareholders' estates was a means whereby new membership was encouraged. The directors adopted the scheme as a means by which the Company could deal with the increasing numbers of widows and orphans following railway accidents. However compared with the numbers of those employed the membership of the Scheme was sparse. The *South Western Gazette* insurance started by Company employees shows the entrepreneurial skills of several of the Company employees.

The Clerks' Pension Fund, was put in place in January 1882. Management were concerned to retain middle management in their employ and to make sufficient funds available to enable senior staff to be retired at sixty-five years of age. The new Pension Fund was an addition to that of the Clerks' Superannuation Fund and was made up out of contributions from the 'Staff Guarantee Fund' and the 'Decayed Clerks Fund' with the difference met by the proprietors (shareholders). A comparison of these funds which had been allocated to provide for the retirement of the 628 officers and clerks who worked for the L&SWR in 1880, with the £2,000 allocated for both the Non Contributory Pension and an addition to the Accident Fund for many thousand uniformed workers in 1890, when the scheme was organised, gives an indication of the division in terms of the value placed on the differing grades within the Company.

There are some grounds for considering that the railways in general, and in particular the L&SWR, were 'organisational innovators'. The flow of information between the various companies and the request for advice from insurance companies and actuaries shows careful preparation of new projects.¹⁰³

Did the L&SWR 'disseminate techniques' into other sectors? Certainly the Medical Attendance Arrangement in its post 1887 format found its way, howbeit in a more sophisticated form, into the personnel departments of twentieth century corporations. Although it is probable that this procedure would have evolved regardless of the L&SWR format, simply because the health of the workforce was an important aspect of Company organisation and financial wellbeing, this procedure was tried and tested in its early stages within the L&SWR and possibly other railway companies.

There is, however, no doubt that prior to 1890 the appearance of 'benevolence' was not the primary motivation behind the policy, even towards senior management. If it was necessary to pay senior managers more than a sufficiency to retire them between 60 and 65 years, to allow the earlier positioning of talented younger men, then this had to be put into place. The-Non Contributory Pension Scheme for the uniformed worker was undoubtedly related to the failure of the Friendly Society pension scheme, but it was first and foremost a control mechanism. The 1890s was a period when strike action by the unions was feared. The pension as a gift would undoubtedly be withdrawn following any strike action.

5. As the allowance to be granted by the Company will be provided out of their own funds, without any contributions from the men, the Directors must reserve to themselves the right of declining, withdrawing, reducing ...¹⁰⁴

Although this pension was far from generous its loss would be a major catastrophe for many railway 'servants' and although it is impossible to quantify its effect it probably would have had a significant influence on workforce behaviour.

Above all else the needs of the business and economic viability took precedence over every other consideration. Thus it can be stated categorically that any benefits that resulted from the L&SWR Special Committees, which were set up during the nineteenth century, were not provided to offset harsh railway discipline, nor indeed to line the pockets of retiring managers, although it is obvious that the exodus of senior staff had to be economically induced. The managers had to deal with a large number of employees as cheaply and efficiently as possible and at the same time be accountable to the shareholders. The procedures and schemes were no more than a means to this end.

- ¹ Price, *Labour in British Society*, p.35.
- ² Price, *Labour in British Society*, p.120.
- ³ McKenna, 'Victorian Railway Workers' p.27.
- ⁴ Ashton, *An Economic History of England*, p.201-4.
- ⁵ Ashton, *An Economic History of England*, p.210-2.
- ⁶ McKendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood', p.44.
- ⁷ McKendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood', p.52.
- ⁸ An Act for Regulating Railways 1840, paragraph XIII [3 & 4 Vict.] [Cap XCVII Cap.97], TNA Library
- ⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 Sep.1860, (318), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ¹⁰ Revill, 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', p.64.
- ¹¹ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 1 Oct.1841, (32), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.20.
- ¹² Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees , 17 Feb.1843, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.131.
- ¹³ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 21 April 1843, RAIL 412/3, (TNA) p.143.
- ¹⁴ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 23 June 1843, RAIL 412/3, (TNA), p.163-4.
- ¹⁵ Traffic and General Purposes, Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 1 July 1843, RAIL 412/3, (TNA), p.164.
- ¹⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 1 Nov.1860, (434), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ¹⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 Sep.1860, (326), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ¹⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 21 March 1861, (731), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ¹⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 9 May 1861 (801) RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ²⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 25 July 1861, (945), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).

- ²¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 8 Aug.1861, (986), RAIL 411/231 (TNA).
- ²² Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 March 1901, (840), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ²³ Court of Directors' Minutes, 21 Feb 1878, (697), RAIL 411/6 (TNA).
- ²⁴ Court of Directors' Minutes, 9 Dec.1880, (2093), RAIL 411/6 (TNA).
- ²⁵ The Norton Anthology of English Literature Victorian Age Topic: Annie Bessant, from 'White slavery in London' Retrieved 18 April 2007 19.09: www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/victoriantopic_1/bessant.htm
- ²⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 25 Feb.1858, (374), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ²⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 Nov.1857, (195), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ²⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 May 1859, (1080), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ²⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 8 Nov.1882, (1085), RAIL 411/251 (TNA).
- ³⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 22 April 1875, (1188),RAIL411/243 (TNA).
- ³¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 11 June 1884, (995),RAIL 411/253 (TNA).
- ³² Revill, 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', p.89.
- ³³ Traffic and General Purposes,Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 9 Feb.1839, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ³⁴ Traffic and General Purposes,Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 15 Oct.1841, (34), RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.22.
- ³⁵ Superannuation Committee, 17th April 1861, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/217 (TNA), pp.150-1.
- ³⁶ Salaries Committee, 16th March 1874., Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/220 (TNA), pp.277-8.
- ³⁷ Salaries Committee, 16 April 1874, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/220 (TNA), pp.289-90.
- ³⁸ Court of Directors' Minutes, 28 Nov.1878, (1221), RAIL 411/6 (TNA).
- ³⁹ Court of Directors' Minutes, 20 May 1879, (1471), RAIL 411/6 (TNA).

- ⁴⁰ The Crossness Pumping Station, National Grid For Learning. Retrieved on 31 Jan.2006, 11.45: www.crossness.org.uk
- ⁴¹ Summers Judith.'Soho - A History of London's most colourful neighborhood, Bloomsbury.' (London, 1989) pp.113-7. Retrieved on 27 Jan.2006, 11.51: www.ph.ucla.edu/epi/snow/broadstreetpump.html.
- ⁴² Medical Committee, 9 July 1856, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL411/216 (TNA), pp.217-8.
- ⁴³ Medical Committee, 9 July 1856, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL411/216 (TNA), pp.217-8.
- ⁴⁴ Ashton, *An Economic History of England*, p.218.
- ⁴⁵ Medical Committee, 9 July 1856, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL411/216 (TNA), pp.217-8.
- ⁴⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 Feb.1859, (929), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ⁴⁷ Mr Crombie's letter contained within the 'Meeting of the Legal Business Committee' 19 March 1852, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/ 216 (TNA), pp.43-5.
- ⁴⁸ Accident Committee, 22 March 1860, Special Committee Minutes RAIL 411/217 (TNA), p.61.
- ⁴⁹ Accident Committee, 9 Aug. 1860, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/217, (TNA), pp. 85-6.
- ⁵⁰ Accident Committee, 19 March 1863, 18 Feb.1864, RAIL 411/218 (TNA), pp.49, 139.
- ⁵¹ Accident Committee, 2 March 1865, Special Committee Minutes: RAIL 411/218 (TNA), p.283.
- ⁵² Accident Committee, 18 July 1867, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/219 (TNA), pp.158-9.
- ⁵³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 11 May 1887, (1358), RAIL 411/255 (TNA).
- ⁵⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 1 June 1887, (1382), RAIL 411/255 (TNA).
- ⁵⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 12 Aug.1891, (1157), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).
- ⁵⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 Sep.1896, (2051), 28 Oct.1896, (2108), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).

- ⁵⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 26 June 1901, (1018), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁵⁸ Accidents on Railway Premises Not Due to Train Accidents or to the Movement of Trains and Railway Vehicles, III; Table XVII, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/101 (TNA).
- ⁵⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Jan. 1901, (897), RAIL 411/263 (TNA).
- ⁶⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 Jan. 1894, (337), 18 April 1894, (470), RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ⁶¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 16 Nov. 1911, (968), RAIL 411/ 269 (TNA).
- ⁶² Fay, *The Royal Road*, p.41.
- ⁶³ Friendly Society Committee, 14 June 1876, Special Committee Minutes: RAIL 411/221 (TNA), pp.130-1.
- ⁶⁴ P.H.J.H.Gosden, *Self-Help, Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth-century Britain*, (B.T.Batsford, London: 1973), p.61.
- ⁶⁵ Friendly Society, 19 April 1877, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/221 (TNA), p.174.
- ⁶⁶ Friendly Society Committee, 11 Dec. 1879, 22 Jan 1880, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/221 (TNA), pp.264, 266.
- ⁶⁷ Friendly Society Committee, 31 Jan. 1879, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/221 (TNA), p.225-8.
- ⁶⁸ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.86-7.
- ⁶⁹ *The London Fly Sheet*, Aug. 1874, ZPER 8/1 (TNA), p.316.
- ⁷⁰ *The Railway Sheet & Official Gazette* July 1878, ZPER 8/2 (TNA), p.107.
- ⁷¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 19 April 1877 (938) £35 paid out of the Fines Fund, 19 April 1877 (938), RAIL 411/245, (TNA).
Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 March 1878 (333) £35 paid out of the Fines Fund, 6 March 1878 (333), RAIL 411/247, (TNA).
- ⁷² Traffic Committee Minutes, 26 May 1880, (474), 9 June 1880, (494), RAIL 411/249 (TNA).

- ⁷³ *The South Western Gazette* Feb. 1886 ZPER 11/5, (TNA), p.24; *The South Western Gazette*, April 1886, ZPER 11/5, (TNA), p.55.
- ⁷⁴ *The South Western Gazette* Aug. 1885 ZPER 11/4 (TNA), p.4.
- ⁷⁵ *The South Western Gazette* Feb.1886 ZPER 11/5 (TNA), p.24.
- ⁷⁶ *The South Western Gazette* April 1895 ZPER 11/14 (TNA), p.7.
- ⁷⁷ *The South Western Gazette* May 1898 ZPER 11/17 (TNA), p.2.
- ⁷⁸ *The South Western Gazette* March 1905 ZPER 11/22 (TNA), p.9,.
- ⁷⁹ *The South Western Gazette* Oct. 1900, ZPER 11/18 p.5; *The South Western Gazette*, Nov.1900, ZPER 11/18 (TNA), p.4.
- ⁸⁰ *The South Western Gazette*, Feb.1909, ZPER 11/26 (TNA), p.13.
- ⁸¹ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.13.
- ⁸² *The South Western Gazette*, Nov.1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.
- ⁸³ *The South Western Gazette*, July 1914, ZPER 11/31 (TNA), p.13.
- ⁸⁴ Salaries Committee,16 March 1874, Special Committee Minutes: RAIL 411/220 (TNA), pp.277-8.
- ⁸⁵ Salaries Committee, 16 April 1874, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/220 (TNA), pp.289-90.
- ⁸⁶ Superannuation Committee,13 Nov. 1861, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/217 (TNA), p.220.
- ⁸⁷ L. Hannah, *Investing in Retirement: The Development of Occupational Pensions in Britain*, (University Press, Cambridge: 1986), p.24.
- ⁸⁸ Superannuation Committee,13 Nov. 1861, (220), Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/217 (TNA).
- ⁸⁹ Superannuation Committee, 9 June 1881, Special Committee Minutes: RAIL 411/221 (TNA), pp.300-5. (TNA); *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995. 'quinquennial' (1) lasting five years, (2) recurring every five years.
- ⁹⁰ Superannuation Committee, 27 Jan.1881, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/221 (TNA), p.295.

- ⁹¹ Superannuation Committee Meeting, 9 June 1881, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/221 (TNA), pp.300-5.
- ⁹² Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.54-5.
- ⁹³ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 1 Jan.1890, (40), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ⁹⁴ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 15 Nov.1889, (10), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ⁹⁵ *The South Western Gazette* April 1890, ZPER 11/9 (TNA), p.5.
- ⁹⁶ *The South Western Gazette* May 1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA), p.3.
- ⁹⁷ Hannah, *Investing in Retirement*, p.10-1.
- ⁹⁸ *The South Western Gazette* April 5 1890 ZPER 11/9 (TNA), p.5.
- ⁹⁹ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 15 Nov.1889, (10), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ¹⁰⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 22 Feb.1912, (1103), RAIL 411/269 (TNA).
- ¹⁰¹ An Act to provide for Old Age Pensions [1 August 1908] [9 Edw 7] [Chapter 40]
Where the yearly means of the pensioner as calculated under this Act...
- | | |
|---|-------------|
| Do not exceed 21l the Rate of Pensioner per Week | 5/- |
| Exceed 21l., but do not exceed 23l.12s. 6d | 4/- |
| Exceed 23l.12s.6d., but do not exceed 26l. 5s | 3/- |
| Exceed 26l. 5s., but do not exceed 28l. 17s. 6d. | 2/- |
| Exceed 28l. 17s. 6d., but do not exceed 31l. 10s. | 1/- |
| Exceed 31l. 10s | No pension. |
- ¹⁰² Friendly Society Committee, 31 Jan.1879, Special Committee Minutes RAIL 411/221 (TNA), p.225-8.
- ¹⁰³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 27 April 1865, (472), RAIL 411/235 (TNA).
- ¹⁰⁴ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 1 Jan.1890, (40), RAIL411/447 (TNA).

Chapter Nine

Railway Paternalism and Managerial Strategy

Within this dissertation aspects of L&SWR personnel management have been studied, with the intention of comparing these strategies with other forms of nineteenth century labour control many of which have been labelled 'paternalistic'. There are several hypotheses concerning the degree and the nature of paternalism within railway management. Price's comment that railway work 'rested upon the combination of an iron discipline and paternal welfarism', that there was a relationship between obedience, occupational benefits and status distinctions, has already been considered.¹ McKenna saw the relationship as a covenant. The railway worker surrendered his freedom for the security of a job for life.² Revill, although reasoning that it was 'important to resist overall generalizations about paternalism on the railways', also wrote that railway paternalism took 'a form of generalised paternalism exemplified by the English countryside in the eighteenth century'.³

During the early years of the L&SWR the organisation of the Company, and possibly other railway companies, was fundamentally different in structure from most other enterprise. Initially basic 'paternal' procedures were put in place within the L&SWR because it was considered appropriate to do so. It will be argued that the major differences between agrarian, factory and railway management, that of organisational structure, the size of the workforce, and the danger of the work, not only affected the execution of this early 'paternalism' but was also responsible for the railway 'welfarism'

that evolved during the second half of the nineteenth century. Investigating L&SWR policies it becomes evident that there were two strategies running concurrently, the 'paternalism' which dated from the early period of the railway and continued, with modifications, throughout the nineteenth century, and a second strategy, the development of control mechanisms to further the interests of a growing business. The L&SWR workforce appears to have acquiesced in this situation, little evidence having been found of resistance to authority during the early years of the Company nor of the paternal bargaining mentioned by Price.⁴

Certainly after 1867 there were memorials, requests for increased wages, and for reduced hours, but there is no evidence of negotiation. Some of the requests were granted, but many more were refused. However it will be shown that after 1890, unlike some of the other railway companies, the L&SWR directors and managers had begun to appreciate the value of appearing benevolent, and when the National Railway Strike occurred in 1911, most of the L&SWR workforce showed little solidarity with the workers from other companies who took strike action.⁵

Confirmation of the early paternalism, the first strategy, has been found mainly in the Traffic Minutes, the second strategy, personnel control, is to be located within the deliberations of the Special Committees. The Company newspaper provides an insight into the milieu within which the railway servant worked, and provides glimpses of what may have been 'fatalistic resignation' within the Company, which was also found by Joyce within cotton weaving. Moreover after 1890 it appears that the management had begun to appreciate the value of the newspaper as a means by which their image could be enhanced.

The reality was however that the L&SWR management failed their uniformed staff by refusing to reduce hours, were slow to provide safety provision, and by so doing put the lives of their workers, and also the public in danger, but that these defects were, to a large extent, not challenged by the L&SWR workforce.

Use will be made of Chandler and Lazonick's guidelines relating to the hallmarks of modern business, and reference made to Joyce's 'new paternalism' within the northern factories.⁶

Fundamental differences and basic paternalism

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although not universally applied, paternalism had become an accepted pattern of behaviour to which an elite, within the educated monied classes, conformed. The system is glimpsed in a passage in the novel *Emma* published first in 1816, (quoted in Chapter One, page 21). However paternalism as enacted within the framework of nineteenth century employment was undoubtedly focussed on the needs of the business and personnel control. Within agriculture, tied cottages, harvest dinners and other gratuitous handouts coupled with a fear of unemployment were a means whereby employees could be controlled. Pamela Horn calls paternalism within agrarian employment 'a hint of the iron fist inside the velvet glove.'⁷ Newby, Bell, Rose & Saunders take this one stage further arguing that:

this management involves the superordinate class being drawn into an inherently contradictory relationship with its subordinates. On the one hand its interest is to maintain a degree of hierarchical *differentiation* from those over whom it rules; on the other it wishes to cultivate their *identification* by defining the relationship as an organic partnership in a cooperative enterprise...Hence the importance of ... 'tension-management in the successful exercise of traditional authority, i.e. the manner in which the contradictions in the relationship may be successfully contained, controlled or dissipated.'⁸

Although Howkins writing in *Reshaping Rural England*, focuses on the contradictions

within the agrarian system, for instance many landowners lived away from their estates and here the power of the landowner, could only be found in the bailiff, estate steward or agent, final decisions regarding the running of the estate were determined by one individual generally with aristocratic family connections.⁹

Paternalism was not always evident in factory work during the early years of the eighteenth century. In return for a weekly wage, the worker had to conform to strict codes of conduct, as breaching these could result in large fines, and sometimes imprisonment, and there appeared to be few concessions. Ashton quotes William Temple who stated in 1739 that the only way to make workers industrious was 'to lay them under the necessity of labouring all the time they can spare from rest and sleep, in order to procure the common necessities of life.' Arthur Young was reputed to have said that 'everyone but an idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor or they will never be industrious'.¹⁰ On the other hand although Josiah Wedgwood during the second half of the eighteenth century, disciplined his workers in order to produce exquisite pottery, he also increased their wages and provided better housing during the process.¹¹ Robert Owen between 1799 and 1813 almost doubled the value of the New Lanark mill to £114,000 by his social policies. For about twelve years approximately 2,000 prominent individuals visited the factory annually, among them the Tsar of Russia. Owen, however, became obsessed by the idea of labour becoming an integrated model of the 'good society' at large, conceiving the idea of a 'Village of Cooperation'.¹² Thus eighteenth and early nineteenth century labour control, both within agriculture and factory enterprise, varied considerably, with the treatment of staff ranging from the despotic to various forms of paternalism, most of which included both discipline and reward.

Prior to 1855 most trading and manufacturing companies were family orientated.¹³ The private Act of Parliament, which was necessary prior to the formation of a joint stock company was very expensive. The cost of the London and Southampton (L&SWR) Act was £31,000.¹⁴ Thus decision making within most companies at the beginning of the nineteenth century was made by those individuals who acted as 'heads' of the company, and if the company needed to be legalised it took the form of a partnership.¹⁵

A major difference between agrarian and factory enterprise and that of the railway companies, during the nineteenth century, was that the former were largely family based whilst the latter were joint stock companies. Although the sparsity of the material makes it impossible to acquire a complete picture of the affiliation between shareholders, directors, managers and workers what evidence there is reveals that from the beginning, the L&SWR had associations which were not the traditional relationships within agrarian or factory enterprise. Indeed differences were obvious even before the railway had been completed. A large part of the £1,000,000 original authorised capital of the line, came from Lancastrian investment.¹⁶ Read considers that the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway generated an enthusiasm for railway investment in the Lancashire area, and that 40 per cent of the London and Southampton capital came from Manchester.¹⁷ It was the Lancastrian shareholders who were concerned when they realised that Francis Giles was taking too long to construct the railway and had underestimated the cost. When the shares slumped they formed their own committee, demanded an examination of the accounts and eventually forced Giles' resignation insisting that Joseph Locke be appointed engineer in his place. Thus a vigorous shareholder influence was felt by the directors even before the line between Nine Elms and Southampton had been finished and, this influence, particularly in relation to the size of the share dividend, was to continue throughout the life of the Company.¹⁸

Unquestionably, in the early years the L&SWR did not have all the hallmarks of modern business enterprise. Although as has already been noted the Company had distinct operating units, with individual administrative offices, managed by hierarchies of salaried executives, probably with individualised books and accounts, and the capability of operating independently, the influence of the L&SWR Board, aware of the demands of certain share holding groups, permeated throughout the Company.¹⁹ The fact that in the early period Mr Easthope, the Chairman of the Company, interfered personally in all departments has already been noted.²⁰

It remains impossible to gauge how much control individual executives had in the running of their particular units. Mr Beattie told the Parliamentary Committee in 1858 that he selected his own staff.²¹ Two years previously, the Special Committees' Minutes give the impression that Mr Beattie had stepped outside his sphere of influence by incurring a bill of £9. 0s .6d to pay Dr. Statham during the cholera outbreak. From the information available, it is impossible to deduce whether the request from the Medical Committee held in July 1856 was merely a method by which the directors could procure evidence for the shareholders meeting, possibly to secure finance to initiate Dr Beaman's Medical Arrangement, or whether they were actually asserting their authority.

At the beginning of the Company the L&SWR organisation of personnel, particularly that of the 'servants', was haphazard and crude.²² The deficiency relating to early training has already been noted as has the piecemeal, muddled routine arrangements for the starting of the trains. The incident mentioned in *The Times*, 4 August 1845 when 39 men at Nine Elms were dismissed, also shows lack of managerial expertise. By pretending that one group of men had signed an agreement in order to encourage another group to sign was crude and deceptive.²³ Moreover the overbearing, inconsistent and despotic Mr

Slovin, who had been detailed to report on the misconduct of the police and porters, and was referred to as the 'Black Prince' by contemporaries, set sail for America in 1852 with £3,000 of the Company's money.²⁴ His position, however, was taken by Archibald Scott, who was to serve the Company well for many years.

Implementation of procedure

From the 1840s basic personnel procedures are to be found within the deliberations of the Traffic Committee. This has been discussed in Chapter Eight. The Traffic Committee consisted of several members of the main Board and had various managers in attendance, although their names were not included as those present on the committee list. (Information from managers and reference to managers were included in the minutes.) Control by committee was obviously due to the size and the remoteness of many of the workforce. From 1841, the Traffic Committee started making decisions regarding pay, work issues and staff discipline, but seeking ratification from the 'Court of Directors'. In 1852 Archibald Scott took over as Traffic Manager. In his obituary in *The South Western Gazette*, January 1911, it is said of Scott that he 'was of a kindly and sympathetic nature, open-handed and ever ready to give to the relief of the unfortunate and distressed, and many of the older servants of the S.W.R. Company can bear witness to his benevolence.'²⁵ Nevertheless during the early years of the line discipline remained harsh, although as has already been mentioned, 'gratuities' for good conduct and observation of faults on the line, which avoided accidents, were introduced.²⁶

Although an unusual circumstance, the case of Mrs Noakes, shown in Figure 9.1, gives an in depth insight into the mindset of the L&SWR Board as they administered justice and their brand of paternalism during the 1860s. The accident to Mr Noakes took place 6 December 1861 and was obviously a high profile case in the locality in which it occurred.

It was also unusual because a public subscription had raised £312. 7s. 11d. and there is no mention in the Traffic Minutes of a similar sum, the equivalent amount of four and a half years earnings, having been collected following the death of an employee. Mr Scott had been handed the money and requested instructions from the Board. It was decided that the sum should be invested at 4 and a half per cent with the widow being allowed 10 shillings a week. Four months after the accident the widow stated that she could not manage on a weekly income of 10 shillings and asked that 2 of her children be placed in an asylum. She was offered 12 shillings a week. However when in December 1863, two years after her husband's death, she requested and was allowed funds to facilitate her move to Berkshire, she was, at this time, only receiving the original weekly income of 10 shillings.

The accident to Mr Noakes was due to an inadequate exit for passengers on the down platform at the Portswood station, but there was no mention of the bravery of this man in rescuing a passenger and losing his own life in the process. However it is obvious that the Traffic Committee were aiming to 'do their best' for Mrs Noakes. Mr Noakes had only been with the Company since 1855. Originally a porter at Nine Elms, earning 16 shillings a week, he must have been very able because by June 1861 he had been appointed Agent at Portswood on a wage of 26 shillings a week.²⁷ Given the amount of money raised by public subscription, much had been made of his death. The money was given to Mr Scott for safe keeping, not the widow or her relatives. Although there is no mention of whether or not she was consulted, Mrs Noakes appears to have accepted that the money which had been raised would be invested to provide an annuity. By allowing 10 shillings a week allowance from the capital sum with 4 and a half per cent interest, the income would have lasted approximately seventeen years. Had Mrs Noakes received £1 a week, an amount which should have allowed sufficient income for her and her children's

Traffic Minutes Re: Widow Noakes

12 December 1861

Mr Scott reported that Mr Noakes the Agent at Portswood Station had been killed by a passing train at that station while he was in the act of saving the life of a woman who attempted to cross the railway. The coroner's jury had returned a verdict of accident death with a recommendation that an entrance from the public road should be made to the down platform at Portswood Station. Recommend the Way and Works Committee to carry out the recommendation of the jury.

26 December 1861

Read extract from minutes of the Board of 12th instant referring to this committee a letter from the widow of Mr Noakes late agent at Portswood Station asking for some assistance. The payment of 20/- per week to Mrs Noakes as authorised by the Board to be continued during January and the matter to be then reconsidered.

20 February 1862

Mr Scott reported that £312.7s 11d. had been collected for the widow and children of the late Mr Noakes, station master at Portswood and asking for instructions. This sum to be invested at 4 and a half per cent and an account kept in Mr Morgan's office. An allowance of 10/- per week to be made to the widow and children until the capital and interest be exhausted.

3 April 1862

Read extract from minutes of the Accident Committee referring to this Committee a letter from Mr Noakes as to the arrangement to pay Mrs Noakes and family 10/- per week and asking assistance to get two children into orphan asylums.

The allowance to be increased from 10/- to 12/- per week. The sum of £14.4/- already paid out of the company's funds not to be deducted from the amount of public subscriptions.

30 April 1862

Read letter from Mrs Noakes widow of the late station agent at Portswood asking for employment in a Waiting Room. Referred to Mr Scott.

10 December 1863

Read letter requesting that Mrs Noakes widow of late station master at Portswood may have some money allowed her to remove to Berkshire without interfering with the allowance of 10/- per week. Mrs Noakes to be paid a gratuity of £5 under the circumstances.

RAIL 411/233 (TNA)

Figure 9.1.

basic needs, the capital sum would have lasted in excess of seven years, in which time her circumstances might have changed. The widow appears not to have had her annuity increased. Due to the uncertainty of her future, a smaller annuity over a longer period may have appeared to her to have been the better option, particularly when she decided to return to Berkshire, where she possibly had friends and family. This case not only gives some insight into the mind-set of the L&SWR board, and possibly that of widow Noakes, but also illustrates the realities of mid-nineteenth century society, what Tosh refers to as the *difference* between *then* and *now*.²⁸

The L&SWR model of personnel management appears very similar to that of the Midland Railway as described by Revill, mentioned previously in Chapter One.²⁹ The L&SWR employees, memorialised the Traffic Committee by letter. The widows of accident victims sometimes found an influential friend or a vicar to take over this duty. At the meeting decisions were made and conveyed either by letter or through line-management. Later when requests were made deputations were received and on occasions individuals were summoned before the directors to be reprimanded. The L&SWR Board of Directors were similar to ‘the landed, aristocratic classes and the embryo middle ranks, doctors and clergy,’ described by Revill, except that the original L&SWR Board had 6 Members of Parliament, 2 of whom were magistrates, another a retired colonel from the Life Guards. By 1881 this had changed, only 1 of the 12 directors was an M.P., a Conservative, whilst the chairman, Ralph Dutton, gave his occupation on the 1881 census as a fundholder, James Mangles, together with William P. Snell were barristers (not in practice) and Wyndham Spencer Portal, called himself a ‘Justice of the Peace’, which he obviously was, but in fact he also had connections with the family paper business.³⁰ Thus L&SWR paternalism by the latter part of the nineteenth century continued to be a combination of harsh justice with small rewards and

gratuities for widows who sent in requests for help. It was administered by some who also had experience of sentencing offenders in courts of justice. Moreover unlike the factory owners described by Joyce, who knew and were known by their workforce, the L&SWR directors did not live in close proximity to their workers, nor is it likely that they would have known the names of individual employees. In the early years of the line we know that Sir John Easthope stayed in 19 Grafton Street whilst in London, but also had a home, 'Firgrove' in Weybridge, William Chaplin's London address was 2 Hyde Park Gardens but he also lived in 'Ewhurst Park' in Basingstoke, Col George Reid when in London lived at 28 Portland Place, but his country residence was 'Bulstrode Park', Buckinghamshire. Thus the directors were far removed both economically and geographically from those they controlled.

This early paternalism remained throughout the whole of the period from 1838 to 1912 with the gratuities continuing at the same level. Even after payments were made to railway accident victims from the Accident Fund during the 1880s, the 'gratuities' continued. In 1847 Gateman Brown's widow was 'allowed' the sum of £10 for funeral and mourning after her husband was killed at Wareham.³¹ In August 1904 George Spencer requested 'out of pocket expenses' and was 'given' £10 following his resumption after his accident in January 1904.³² The difference between the 1860s and the early twentieth century was that accidents were being dealt with by the Accident Committee. In January 1864 the minutes record a narrow escape from collision at Hampton Court on 23 December 1863. It reads:

Read Minute of the Officers' Committee ...

The Engine Man Tither should be fined 45/-

The Pointsman Hall to be fined 20/-

The Guard Walter to be reduced to the next Class of Guards and

The Guards Dickman & Hill to be reprimanded and cautioned.

That Mr Beattie be informed that the Reports of the Engine Driver should have been made on Form 859 and duly signed

The Recommendation of the Officers Minute to be adopted.³³

Although in a report of the accident to George Spencer found in the minutes of the 27 January 1904, there was no mention of names, nor what punishment was given to those involved, merely that there was considerable damage to the trains, and that 2 guards were injured and 6 passengers complained of slight injuries, this was because by 1886 accidents were being dealt with by the Accident Committee and only totals were reported in the Traffic Minutes from 1886, ending after 1889.³⁴ To find the punishment of the engine drivers and their firemen, after 1894, it was necessary to look into the 'Black Book of Cautions'. Driver Frost was only partially to blame for the accident outside Clapham Junction in January 1904, the main cause being the inadequacy of the fogman, however within the 'Black Book of Cautions' it is shown that Frost was reduced a grade (probably 1 shilling a week) and had to wait three and a half years for reinstatement.³⁵ Information in the Traffic Minutes relating to accidents after 1897 dealt mainly with the exceptions. The 3 accident death cases of carmen that were returned from the Accident Committee needing to be dealt with by the Traffic Committee, show the possible exclusions under the 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act. Thus during the latter years of the Company there were only occasional glimpses of the treatment of the uniformed staff. However given the size and weight of the 'Black Book of Cautions', punishments for misdemeanours remained part of railway procedure, as was the continuous refusal to reduce scheduled hours, the careful organisation of any wage increases in order to benefit mainly those in a higher grade, rather than those at the bottom of the scale. The terrible toll of life and limb can only be glimpsed after this date through the continuation of gratuities to widows, the payment for artificial legs and the replacements after the initial artificial leg had worn out, and the out of pocket expenses following accidents. Much that had been discussed in the earlier Traffic Committees had undoubtedly been taken over by other Committees, and some of the books may not have

been retained, but there is sufficient evidence to argue that the basic reward and punishment system of paternalistic control, which had been part of the early Company, remained very little changed into the twentieth century.

Certainly comparing the Traffic Minutes during the early period of the line with those written after the 1890s there were marked differences. However these differences were changes in the organisation of procedure not in the procedure itself, which remained very similar throughout the period from 1838 to 1912. It is suggested that this early paternalism, much in the same way as the footplate ritual, had become a habit, and was continued as part of an ongoing process which nobody thought to challenge or remove. Change only occurred when legislation or an awareness of complication prompted a variation, for instance in the case of the adjustment to Friendly Society benefits, due to the fear that the Society would become financially unsound. Thus throughout the nineteenth century and beyond the 'servants' and widows continued to 'memorialise the Board', and the Board continued to administer their brand of railway paternalism.

Joint stock enterprise and the development of 'welfarism'.

Although originally haphazard and crude, L&SWR joint stock enterprise emerged during the 1850s as a powerful force with a variety of expertise and a capacity to grow and expand very rapidly. Moreover this was to result in a second strategy, the development of control mechanisms to further the interests of a growing business, which are to be found within the deliberations of the 'Special Committees' from the mid-nineteenth century.

Although the L&SWR Company did not immediately develop into a model of industrial bureaucracy, even from the early years of the line, the L&SWR recruitment programme

included both *specialists* and *generalists*.³⁶ Colonel Henderson, left the board to become a general superintendent soon after the Act was secured, in September 1834.³⁷ Mr Bircham, the solicitor who had previously acted for the Company became Company Solicitor in 1849.³⁸ Mr Macaulay joined the Company at the end of 1850 as a second clerk in the Secretary's Office and became Chief Clerk in 1852 and Secretary of the Company in 1880.³⁹ Archibald Scott took the place of Mr Slovin on 17 August 1852 to be employed as Traffic Manager, later to advance to General Manager.

Moreover in 1841 John Viret Gooch, the brother of Daniel Gooch who built engines for the Great Western Railway, was engaged by the Company and by December 1843 the first engine to be built at Nine Elms had been completed. (Nine Elms was therefore ahead of both Crewe which produced its first engine in 1845 and Swindon in 1846.)⁴⁰ When Gooch left to join the Eastern Counties Railways, Joseph Beattie, who had joined the Company in 1837, took his place and the work continued as it had done under Gooch. Within a multi unit enterprise, with Gooch a salaried *specialist*, the Nine Elms hierarchy had a permanence beyond any individual or group of individuals who worked within the sheds. This Chandler considers singles out the modern as opposed to traditional business enterprise. Traditional enterprise was normally short lived, partnerships had to be reconstructed or disbanded at death or retirement, but when a manager left within a joint stock company, another was ready to take his place without disrupting the business. Men came and went. The institution and its offices remained.⁴¹ Thus with the placement of Joseph Beattie in Gooch's position the work continued as heretofore. Similarly when Dr. Beaman employed to oversee the 'Medical Attendance Arrangement', lost his position to Dr Vine during the 1860s, the 'Arrangement' continued after his departure. Moreover by making sufficient funds available to enable senior staff to be retired at sixty-five years of age, the L&SWR allowed the prospect of advancement for

younger members of staff who otherwise would have resigned to acquire status elsewhere. This Lazonick argues avoids *bureaucratic segmentation*, where 'the best of the specialists will be likely to leave the firm, while the rest will pursue their careers within a narrow speciality...' ⁴²

It can be argued therefore that although the L&SWR as a business enterprise was in its infancy, the structure and organisation of the Company and possibly most railway companies in Britain at this time, were corporate entities and unlike partnerships where the managerial role remained within an oligarchy of family related individuals.

Unlike factory paternalism, the paternalism effected by the railways inevitably had to be impersonal because of the size of the organisation and the length of the line. There was a wide gulf between those who sat on the Board of the L&SWR and those who maintained the lines and drove the trains, which was very different from the agrarian and some of the nineteenth century factory models even after 1850. Moreover within agriculture and factory personnel women had their place. Within the railway although women were employed, they were always the widows of former employees and daughters of station masters or clerks. Their position within the Company was menial and the concept of the family remained firmly outside the workplace. What the L&SWR and indeed other railway companies had developed was a male dominated workplace, which was made up of a number of business units that were self contained and which operated independently of each other, but were controlled by the Board of Directors. Even within the uniformed grades there were complicated hierarchies. The signalman, guards, and enginemen each had their own ladder of advancement, and although many industrial workers reached their earning peak at an early age, the railway worker took many years to reach the maximum of the pay scale. For instance as shown in Figure 9.3, page 320, the County Branch

Guards took twenty-one years to reach the maximum wage for their grade.⁴³

To understand railway staff control requires a realisation of the problems associated with an ever-growing workforce in an era when communication was not instantaneous. By the 1870s the numbers employed by the L&SWR were probably larger than those employed on the largest of the English estates.⁴⁴ By 1886 it is estimated that the L&SWR had 16,000 employees and by 1897 nearly 25,000.⁴⁵ Moreover not only was the workforce increasing the Company was expanding geographically. From 1838 up to 1870 twenty-seven lines including those wholly operated by the Company, joint lines, and other lines, which had been taken over by the Company were fully operational. Although the railway workforce lived within a reasonable distance of their place of work along the line, unlike other industries or agriculture, they were spread throughout southern England. This made control and communication more complex and necessitated numerous rules and regulations.

Within this complexity there had to be organisation, and some of the details relating to how this was achieved may be found from the 1840s in the 'Special Committees Minutes'. These committees were convened and sub-groups of directors were formed for the purpose of improving specific work circumstances. These committees included the 'Committee on the Goods Carrying Question', 'The London Bridge Committee', 'The Emigration Committee', 'The Legal Business Committee' and 'The Steam Packet Committee'. First and foremost these were discussion groups, chaired and attended by directors who had access to managerial staff involved in the various departments from whom they could glean information. It has been noted previously, other railways were also consulted, actuaries were employed, and advice sought from insurance companies. The proposals of these committees were subsequently put before the Board before

decisions were made, and also brought to shareholder meetings if funding was required. The joint aim was to promote Company efficiency and to reduce Company expenditure. It has already been noted that during the 1870s, the concern relating to the need to promote promising staff, can also be found discussed by a special committee. The promotion of staff within the industry was, according to Lazonick, a sign of a successful management strategy within a corporate organisation, as opposed to the type of control within a family firm where authority is passed from one generation to another of family members.⁴⁶

It was from these special committees that what has become known as 'railway welfarism' emerged. Revill writes that:

it is important to resist overall generalizations about paternalism on the railways, encompassing the whole period between 1839 and 1900. This is because rapid development in the industry, the consequent economic trauma and changing technological specifications of the industry, quickly modified management of its workforce⁴⁷

However there is much to suggest that what may have appeared to be paternalism peculiar to railway employment was, within the L&SWR, two unrelated strategies running concurrently. The first strategy, the early paternalism, which continued throughout the whole period from 1838 to 1912 and beyond, remained with modifications. The second strategy, that of railway procedures, which included the Medical Attendance Arrangement, the problems attached to finding a medical officer for the Company, together with numerous other negotiations many of which were unrelated to staff management, were part of an ongoing process of Company organisation. Considered as two strategies more sense is made of the apparent contradictions within personnel organisation. The refusal to shorten hours was part of the old concept of, 'an exact daily duty could not be laid down as it must vary with the requirements of the traffic.'⁴⁸ This was first mentioned in December 1866 following a memorial to the Traffic

Committee, from the L&SWR signalmen, porters, guards, 'breaksmen' (sic) and others. As the century progressed it must have become an axiom and was possibly believed by the staff as much as enforced by the management. Indeed Bagwell writes that in 1877 when an attempt was made to introduce a twelve-hour limit Viscount Bury, one of the L&SWR directors declared that if the Bill was passed 'railways would become unworkable'.⁴⁹ However the rationale for preferring the Medical Attendance Arrangement, a comment not meant to be seen by the workforce, was undoubtedly nearer the truth:

the one not only most conducive to the general health, comfort, and efficiency of the staff, but also as the most economic in every point of view as regards the advantages accruing from it to the Company.

A reduction in scheduled hours, particularly for the signalmen and porters would have been relatively simple over time to organise but would have been very expensive. The organisation of 'First Aid Classes', by a staff eager to improve their chances of survival should the unthinkable happen, was not expensive. Thus it can be argued that the early paternalism which had emerged during the 1840s within the L&SWR had, by the 1850s, been supplemented by a Company 'welfarism' which had evolved out of the need to organise and prepare for emergencies as economically as possible.

Workplace Resistance or Compromise?

The ongoing debate between Patrick Joyce and Richard Price has already been noted. In his book *Labour in British Society*, written in 1986, Price writes:

Labour presence in society has worked through a constant series of negotiations and accommodations which themselves set the stage for a further series of negotiations and accommodations' (and that this) 'conception of history ... does not require us to retreat into a meaningless empiricism which would see no sense or dynamic to the course of that history'.⁵⁰

In 1984 Joyce had argued that Price's perspective would lead to an undervaluation of 'the force of compromise and co-operation in the relationships obtaining between labour

and capital,' and that this perspective could leave important questions unexplored.⁵¹ There were, undoubtedly, wide variations in attitude, between labour and capital during the nineteenth century. The problems at Crewe Railway Works during the years of the 1880s have already been noted, (Chapter One). Dr Drummond shows the workforce dividing into two factions. One faction deferential, accepting the hierarchy of Company authority, the other made up of various groups of non-deferential workers including those who had arrived in Crewe bringing with them 'a rich heritage of religious and political radicalism.' Dr Drummond considers that:

the events of Crewe's Intimidation Affairs of 1885 and 1889 significant in eliciting this range of deference and non-deference amongst the Company's workers and townspeople, also saw the end of many aspects of company paternalism and railway influence politics.⁵²

On the other hand the 'servants' working on the L&SWR in the last two decades of the nineteenth century appear to be almost completely passive showing little sign of 'resistance' or 'obstruction'. To ignore these variations is to disregard fundamental issues and major differences between diverse groups of workers and their managers and valuable information relating to human behaviour will remain unexplained.

There is, moreover, no indication that much was achieved by any 'negotiations and accommodations' made by railway workers belonging to other companies prior to 1912. Although the newly formed Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants during the years 1871 to 1873, did appear to have successfully achieved certain aims, when trade depression reoccurred companies withdrew their concessions.⁵³ Within the wider society, the public were concerned about the long hours of the railway worker when they thought that it might affect their safety but both the legislation relating to hours of labour in 1893 and that of safety features in 1900 were left in the hands of a Board of Trade not wishing to antagonise the railway companies.⁵⁴ In January 1879 the Great Northern, the

Lancashire and Yorkshire, the North Eastern, North Western and the Midland all reduced the wages of their staff and some increased the hours of their workers.⁵⁵ After 1890 when the industry became involved in strike action there were some successes but also violent and calamitous failures. Following the opening of the Forth Bridge, railway hours had been increased up to ninety-seven per week. The strike, which followed, included workers from the North British, the Glasgow and South Western and the Caledonian Railways. The situation was traumatic particularly for the families who were evicted from their homes. Resumption came after six weeks when threats of prosecution under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875 were made by one of the railways. Following the return to work, 265 men remained on strike pay with no employment four months later.⁵⁶

By 1900, railway wages were below those in other sectors except that of agriculture. During the twenty years from 1886 to 1906 throughout the whole of the industry wages only increased by 5 per cent whilst within the building industry increases were 18 per cent, 23 per cent in cotton manufacture and 26 per cent in engineering.⁵⁷ The cost of living decreased during this period but the increases in railway wages were far lower than those in other sectors except agriculture. A calculation by Rowntree gives some indication of the real value of the weekly wage at the turn of the century shown in Figure 9.2. He estimated that the cost of maintaining a couple and 3 children was 21s. 8d a week.⁵⁸ In 1907 a survey showed that over 100,000 railway workers, 39 per cent of those employed, had a standard wage of under £1 a week, whilst only 11 per cent were paid over 30 shillings a week.⁵⁹ The Conciliation Scheme in 1907, the establishment of Boards of Conciliation on each railway company with company and employee representatives, although appearing to be a means whereby compromise could be reached, was not successful. Bagwell shows that when put into effect:

Because the wages and hours of the railwaymen were fixed (in a period of

Rowntree Table of Minimum Necessary Expenditure per Family 1901

| Family Type | Food | Rent | Household Sundries | Rowntree total |
|-------------------------|----------|---------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1 man | 3s | 1s. 6d. | 2s. 6d. | 7s. |
| 1 woman | 3s | 1s. 6d. | 2s. 6d. | 7s. |
| 1 man, 1 woman | 6s | 2s.6d. | 3s. 2d. | 11s. 8d. |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child | 8s 3d | 2s.6d. | 3s. 9d. | 14s. 6d. |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 2 child | 10s. 6d | 4s. | 4s. 4d. | 18s. 10d. |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 3 child | 12s. 9d | 4s. | 4s. 11d. | 21s. 8d. |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 4 child | 15s | 5s. 6d. | 5s. 6d. | 26s |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 5 child | 17s. 3d. | 5s. 6d. | 6s. 1d. | 28s.10d |
| 1 man, 1 woman, 6 child | 19s. 6d | 5s. 6d. | 6s. 8d. | 31s. 8d |

B. Seebohm Rowntree, *A Study of Town Life* (1902], p. 110.

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Department of Economic and Social History, University of Glasgow, Retrieved 14:15 12 June 2007. <http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/History/ESH/rowntree/contents.html>

Figure 9.2.

London and South Western Railway

Passenger Guards Petition 1904

| Present Scale | | Proposed Scale | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Appointment as Asst Guard | 21/- | Appointment as Asst Guard | 21/- |
| After 1 year as Asst Guard | 22/- | After 1 year as Asst Guard | 22/- |
| After 2 years as Asst Guard | 23/- | After 2 years as Asst Guard | 23/- |
| After 3 years as Asst Guard | 24/- | After 3 years as Asst Guard | 24/- |
| | as Guard | | as Guard |
| After 4 years from date of Asst Guard | 25/- | | 25/- |
| After 5 years ditto | 26/- | After 5 years ditto | 26/- |
| After 6 years ditto | 27/- | After 6 years ditto | 27/- |
| After 8 years ditto | 28/- | After 8 years ditto | 28/- |
| After 11 years ditto | 29/- | After 11 years ditto | 29/- |
| After 14 years ditto | 30/- | After 14 years ditto | 30/- |
| On appointment as Main Line Guard | 31/- | After 20 years ditto | 31/- |
| After 1 year | 32/6 | After 21 years ditto | 32/6 |
| | | Maximum for Country Branch Guards | |

RAIL 411 447 TNA (KEW)

Figure 9.3.

depression) for at least four years, the improvement in earnings of the companies went largely in the form of increased dividends.

(It is of interest to note that the authorship of the Scheme, which was reputed originally to be the work of Lloyd George, was most probably that of Sam Fay.)⁶⁰ Even by 1912 railway hours continued to be protracted. Thus it must be argued that although there were a few success stories, and there was some improvement, in the main workplace resistance by the railway worker was not successful, and although some workers did aim to resist and obstruct the domination of their boards of management they did not succeed.

There is little evidence of extreme militant action within the L&SWR. Compared with other railway companies the uniformed staff appeared to acquiesce. There had been problems at Nine Elms in 1845, but this was suppressed almost immediately. Kingsford mentions a memorial from L&SWR enginemmen in 1854, but this also appears to have been an isolated incident.⁶¹ However if there was other militant activity, and reaction to authority, it is hidden within minutes which reflected only managerial deliberations, and it is only after 1881 that some insight into the mindset of the L&SWR worker may be found.

The South Western Gazette started in 1881 by three of the clerical staff of the Company, one of whom was Sam Fay, was probably originally intended to be no more than an enjoyable read and a genuine reflection of L&SW railway life. Almost from the beginning the paper presented page after page of corporate activity. Groups were encouraged to send items into the paper, speeches at fetes and dinners were reported verbatim, profits from the paper and most of the social activities, including concerts and dinners, were given to the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Society and after the formation of the L&SWR Orphanage these were divided between both ventures. However a major interest

are articles sent in by ordinary worker, and it was among these that something resembling what Joyce has referred to as ‘fatalistic resignation’ may be found. An account sent in by one of the Nine Elms Guards to the paper in 1882 shows an unknown employee obviously despondent following the death of two of his colleagues. As and when friends and colleagues were killed there must have been many who, although perhaps not so eloquent as the ‘GOODS GUARD, Nine Elms’ felt an acute sense of loss and despair. The article is detailed in Figure 9.4.⁶² However another article which describes a ‘Guards’ Supper’ held six years later at Kingston shows railway staff sitting down to a supper at which they toast the directors and managers. It appears that there were no dissenting voices following Sam Fay’s speech, detailed in Figure 9.5, which includes the sentence:

All the praise that could be given was due to the directors for the safety with which they had conducted the line, and the generous manner, in which they treated the staff.

All those at the supper which included many who were working twelve to fifteen hour schedules, were reported to have replied:

(Hear, hear; and applause.)...

This article shows an acceptance of the terms and conditions of L&SWR employment by all those present at the Supper. Two of those present were later involved in accidents. Alexander Martin suffered a serious head injury in the crash at Hampton Wick in August 1888, and although scheduled hours had been reduced on the L&SWR after 1900, George Spencer was burnt and lacerated in the Clapham Junction crash in January 1904, mainly due to the failure of an employee who had been insufficiently trained in the procedures relating to fog warnings. An article dated July 1891 called ‘Those Gone Before’ shown in Figure 9.6, this time written by one of those involved in the production of the paper, not a uniformed employee, uses the word ‘Golgotha’ to describe the Woking cemetery, the implication being that those who had been killed had been sacrificed for the well being of others. The Necropolis Company made special concession for the South Western

The South Western Gazette March 1882

The following account of the funerals of two goods guards on Saturday, the 11th ult., has been sent us:-

Sir,- On Saturday, 11th inst., it was the painful duty of us Nine Elms men to attend the funeral of two departed mates. At 11 o'clock a.m., we assembled in uniform to the number of thirty-five, to follow the remains of the Benjamin Godfrey to his last resting place. On arrival at Tooting the numbers were increased by those who had come by rail to bid their last farewell. Among others, I noticed Inspector A.D.Mountain also C Heath, with whom the deceased made his first journey in the service of the Company, 20 years ago, as also the last on the fatal accident. The coffin was borne from the hearse to the grave by six guards, viz., Groves, Crouch, Woodcock, Eades, Newbery, and Tidman. Having returned to London, we again assembled at 2.45 p.m. to follow the remains of Samuel Pitcher to Brompton, where only three short months before the deceased had laid his wife. Now his two infants are left fatherless and motherless. On Sunday, the 19th, we again mustered in uniform to the number of 120, to hear divine service specially conducted by the Rev. Allen Edwards, Jun., at All Saints' Church. The text was taken from the 55th chapter of Isaiah, and the 6th verse, 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found.' It was worth miles of travel to listen to such a sermon. I venture to say not one, from the youngest to the grey well-worn veteran, but shed his full share of tears. The collections amounted I am informed to over £14, and much is it needed. Godfrey's widow, it is well known, has not been 50 yards from the house this ten years, she being such a cripple and quite helpless; and Pitcher leaves two infants. If, sir, you think any part of this worth a place in your paper, I shall be obliged by your inserting it...Yours obediently, GOODS GUARD, Nine Elms.

ZPER 11/1 *The South Western Gazette*, March 1882, p.4, (TNA).

Figure 9.4.

Railway Guards' Supper at Kingston March 1888

The annual supper to the guards of the Kingston District was held at the Kingston Hotel, on Wednesday evening...under very favourable circumstances, when 110 guards and visitors assembled. Mr. C.J. Pettit station master at Kingston who presided, was supported by Sir J. Whittaker Ellis Bart., M.P., the mayor (Alderman W. East), the ex-Mayor (Alderman Sherrard), Alderman F Gould, Alderman Jones, Messrs. Jas. Edgell, J. Drewett, W. Drewett, J. Kerrison, Fay, Witney, Moore, Tucker, Heemon, Dominey, Hutchins, Inspectors Townsend, Farnham, Ottaway Vicary, Sheery, Goldring and Phillips; Guards A. Charles, **A. Martin**, J. Baily, J. Bartlott, S. West, R. Arnold, E. Collins, J. Hathaway, J. Webber, **G. Spencer**, W. Mullins, E. Newbury, F. White, W. Searle, J. C. Hitchcock, G. Maynard, G. Hammonds, W. Hammonds, R. Crispin, A. Birch, W. Symes, J. Powell, J. Hall, W. Hays, T. Toms, W. Ryal, and other members of the railway staff. Supper was served in an excellent manner, and reflected great credit on the catering of Host R. Ratcliff.

The Chairman, in proposing the toast, "The Board of Directors and executive officers of the L.&S.W.R." remarked that the wish of the directors was to do the best they could for the districts through which the railway passed; to see that every town and village should have proper accommodation, and that the wants of every class should be attended to.

Mr. Fay in responding to the toast, observed that this was the jubilee year of the opening of the South Western Railway. **All the praise that could be given was due to the directors for the safety with which they had conducted the line, and the generous manner, in which they treated the staff.** (Hear, hear; and applause.)...

ZPER 11/7 *The South Western Gazette* March 1888, p.15, (TNA).

Figure 9.5.

'Those Gone Before'

Some few months ago we published and supported, a suggestion made as to the keeping in order of the South Western Mens' "God's Acre," at Woking Cemetry, and we are pleased to learn that the penny subscription established has been responded to with fair liberality, especially at Waterloo, whence the letter emanated. We are pleased to learn that an effort is about to be made to erect a tablet indicating that the plot contains the mortal remains of departed South Western servants...The Necropolis Company who are always so liberal in dealing with South Western *employés* (sic) and who have already given the portion of the cemetry in question to be devoted to South Western use exclusively, have we believe, through their secretary, intimated their readiness to provide a spot, upon which may be erected the proposed memorial, and we have little doubt that the practical aid as regards the granite necessary, and its erection would be obtained on representation being made to the proper quarter, as to the men's desire. We have been asked again to call attention to the subject, and most willingly comply with the request. It may be said that Woking is principally the burial ground -the Golgotha- of the London staff...The site is an admirable one, and is now maintained, we believe, in a manner of which the staff have reason to be satisfied, and which satisfaction could not be better expressed than by the erection of some suitable memorial stone, indicating to those unfamiliar with its precise position, and testifying that in death those who in life were cherished comrades have not been forgotten and that out of a feeling of brotherly love, they whose turn has not yet come, have chosen to conspicuously emphasise the spot, where their lost brethren repose. We hope to chronicle, ere long that the movement is in a fair way towards practical fulfilment.

ZPER 11/10 *The South Western Gazette* July 1891, p.3, (TNA).

Figure 9. 6

'employés' (sic) burials.⁶³ Although there had been no 'Train Accident Deaths' in 1891, by the end of that year 27 of the L&SWR 'servants' had been killed by the 'Running of Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles'.

Although the workplace was not the 'entire social reality' described by Joyce in relation to the textile districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the hours the men worked gave little time for other activities and companionship outside the workplace.⁶⁴ Thus the loss of friendships forged over many years, based on trust, whilst working in dangerous and difficult conditions, would be extremely depressing.⁶⁵ However there appears to be no hint of blame in relation to the Company, and the mood to be one of a fatalistic acceptance of the dangers of railway employment.⁶⁶ The workers deep sense of commitment to their fellow employees can be seen in 1893 when Edgar Verrinder the Chief Traffic Superintendent died, *The South Western Gazette* reported that:

Two trains, very heavily chartered, left Waterloo, and running to good time, arrived punctually at Brookwood. The first contained the staff, and the second the directors, chief officers and intimate friends of the deceased...The coffin was borne shoulder high from the cemetery to the grave by loving hands. The bearers who willingly sought this last sad service were Inspectors Greenfield, Sherry, Bowles, Barnes, Elliott, Toms, sen., Toms, jun., Tucker, Farnham, Ottaway, Searle, Davis and Vickery, and guards J. Edwards, J.Osman, E.Davey, J. Morrice, C.Edwards, W.Pert, W Harrison, Spike, M.Mathews, W.Wales, A.Charles, and W.Underhill. As the cortege passed along the winding paths the immensity of the attendance could be estimated. Far ahead was the coffin, and immediately following it were the mourners, then came the directors, chief officers, and friends, an apparently interminable procession, whilst lining the walks three, four, and in some places six, deep were the members of the uniform staff. No idle crowd advantaging the occasion as a holiday...⁶⁷

Mr Verrinder worked up to a few days before his untimely death at the age of fifty-six and would have been known by most of the workforce. Thus by the 1890s, loyalty to colleagues, a sense of community were all played out within the pages of *The Gazette* along with gardening hints, the results of the Science and Art Examination at the L&SWR Institute at Eastleigh, and the sale of fruit and vegetables at stations along the line.⁶⁸

Intimations of paternalism

Did the managers and directors read *The Gazette* at this time? The paper must have given those in control of the Company a clear picture of the mood of the workforce. Prior to 1890 this mood does not show even a hint of militancy but undoubtedly the directors and managers were concerned that this might change, and indeed may have been conscious of a degree of discontent. They would have been aware of the distress caused by the ending of the Friendly Society Pension Scheme. Certainly, by the 1890s militant action, by the uniformed staff, may have been considered a possibility.

It does appear that *The Gazette* as a means whereby the managers and directors could curtail the possibility of strike action had, by this time, been appreciated. Moreover in 1890 the L&SWR had brought out the Non-Contributory Pension Fund for the uniformed grades. Mr Portal who later became Chairman made an effort to meet and communicate with the staff. It is reported in *The Gazette* that he became the spokesman of the 'Staff Pension Fund Committee' in February 1890 when the staff requested that the retiring age could be reduced from 65 to 60 years of age. According to the report he 'was extremely kind and sympathetic in his explanation'.⁶⁹ In January 1891 an article shows the paper's anti union stance:

The Eastleigh men are, it is satisfactory to learn, far too wise to barter away their liberty and become slaves to the tyranny of any so-called Railway Worker's Union. ...The Union (work-house) and the gaol have been the too evident result of participation in the so-called Docker's Union, and we are not surprised to read in Southampton paper of the 25th ulto, that - The idea of forming a Railway Workers' Union at Eastleigh has not been taken up by the men, and two or three meetings called lately have proved abortive through lack of attendance.⁷⁰

It was also at this time that the directors started to use the paper for purposes of enhancing their own image. In the May edition of the paper in 1891 an article featuring Mr Ralph Dutton's portrait, states that the writer of the article had been favoured with the pictures of other members of the Board, which they hoped to produce in due

course.⁷¹ Thus despite the previous remoteness of those in the Board Room, the workforce, after the 1890s, were coming into contact with their directors and senior managers month by month. Mr Macaulay had his picture in the paper in the February 1892 issue:

In the person of the secretary, Mr Macaulay, will be recognised one who from the date of his very first introduction to the Company, in 1851, when he entered the service in the secretary's office, up to the present date has ever taken a practical interest in the welfare of the Company and its institutions.⁷²

Pictures of individual directors with detailed accounts of their lives, their recruitment, and their position and responsibilities within the Company were published. They were portrayed not only as personalities but also as experts working for the good of the Company and the workforce. These accounts could not have been written without the information coming from the directors concerned and with their express permission. In February 1893 *The Gazette* gave the background of 'the worthily esteemed chairman', Mr Wyndham Portal who had replaced Ralph Dutton as Chairman:

The illustrious family of Portal has for several generations made Hampshire its home, and ranks among the best known of its worthies. The family was a noble one of Albigeois who stood firm to the Protestant faith of their father. Several were 'capitouls' of Toulouse fought against the Inquisition, and led the Albigenses; some perished in St. Bartholomew's massacre, and at the Edict of Nantes Jean Francois de Portal with difficulty escaped death.⁷³

The article mentions that certain children of the family were concealed in an oven by a faithful nurse while the house was being searched, and later hidden in wine casks which were placed on a ship bound for the 'hospitable shores of England'. The article portrays Mr Wyndham Portal as a heroic figure with an illustrious heritage far more glamorous than Titus Salt of Saltaire and the Holdens and Illingworths of Bradford. He opened his grounds at Malshanger frequently to a variety of good causes, which included not only the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund Fete but also the Temperance Movement, and in September 1894 he and Mrs Portal entertained the orphanage children for the day.

In August 1896, whilst attending the Stockbridge races, the Prince of Wales spent three days at Malshanger.⁷⁴

Thus the directors appear to have used *The Gazette* to portray the Company as a corporate entity, with a happy contented workforce, and a paternal Chairman at the helm, particularly in that period when union membership was increasing. The paper, costing 1d. for each monthly issue, was inexpensive, and could also have been passed between workers. It seems likely that by the turn of the century when the paper was providing insurance and selling advertising space, and making a considerable profit, the numbers reading *The Gazette* were substantial. Although it is not possible to assess the degree of the directors' involvement, it appears probable that, similar to the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Society, the directors and their managers were prepared to use the ideas and creations of their employees when it was in their interests to do so.

Why did most of the L&SWR uniformed staff remain 'loyal' when strike action spread throughout the industry in 1911? A letter in *The Gazette* originally sent to *The Daily Telegraph* in 1911 and was reputed to be from one of the staff, suggests that when the writer:

first joined the company he was struck by the friendly, almost family, interest which the directors displayed in the staff...

The pleasing position of splendid isolation and immunity from industrial strife enjoyed by the South Western Railway is simply the harvest of wise, judicious, and consistent policy, steadily pursued by the directors and officers of the company, for many years...⁷⁵

It is suggested that this remark, particularly after 1890, has some basis in fact. Apart from the long schedules, low wages, and slow accident prevention, the managers by the latter period of the nineteenth century had begun to realise the need to appear benevolent. Thus by 1911, within the limitations of shareholder approval, the

management had implemented a sufficiency of 'benefits', some more apparent than real, and had used *The Gazette* as a means whereby this *largess* could be publicised. The lack of militancy was not from 'compromise and cooperation' nor 'negotiations and accommodations' but from careful 'forward planning' by an astute management. Some of these 'benefits' are listed below in Sir Charles Scotter's obituary written in 1910 and show the 'privileges' he conferred upon the staff. They include:

1. The abolition of payment by the staff to the Guarantee Fund.
(It was not necessary to have a clerks' Guarantee Fund when the employee pension fund contributions could be used to clear debt.)
2. Three days leave of absence, with pay, granted to all the men in the Permanent Way department.
3. Second-class passes granted to Enginemen and Firemen upon Annual leave who had previously had to pay privilege-ticket rate.
4. Privilege tickets obtained on other Railways...
5. Contributions to the Superannuation Fund of the salaried staff, reduced from 5 to 2 and a half per cent.
6. Pension Fund formed for all grades in the Company's service without deductions from wages.
7. Sunday pay granted to the whole of the Uniform staff.

The obituary also notes Sir Charles' support and great interest in the Orphanage.⁷⁶ A further article written after in strike in 1911 probably by the editorial staff continues...

every South Western man feels that although he does not get everything he asks for and that Conciliation and other Boards are like other human beings, not free from imperfections, yet he in common with his fellow servants, enjoys many privileges, advantages and concessions which thousands of workmen outside of the railway service not only never aspire to but seldom, if ever, hear of. The permanence of his employment during times of slackness and trade depression, when many of his fellow men are walking the streets in despair; annual holidays without stoppage of wages, passes for themselves and families, privilege tickets on all railways; uniforms, and in some cases, rents at much reduced rates; pensions for which they are not asked to contribute a single penny, libraries, reading rooms, literary institutions; ambulance classes with prizes; insurance through the Provident Clerks and other associations at reduced rates; donations to the Servants own Orphanage (which is the property and under the entire control of the men), and to the Widows and Orphans' Fund for the benefit of both of these institutions trains are run on the annual excursions; contributions to the Supplementary Pensions and other funds of kindred description, which are maintained at considerably reduced rates for the benefit of the thrifty and self-helping members of the staff, savings banks,

contributions to hospitals to obtain letters, surgical instruments for the men &c and other minor benefits of which “the man in the street” knows nothing.”⁷⁷

A glance through this list gives the impression that the managers had used the Company’s influence and organisational abilities to secure many concessions for the workers, some of which had been of little cost to the Company. It seems probable that the ‘uniformed staff’ felt that with militancy they might lose more than they hoped to gain. Above all else, the fear of losing the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme may have been a major factor in keeping the South-Western men ‘firmly at their posts’.

The list of benefits ignores the underpayment of wages, long hours and the slow implementation of accident prevention. Thus it must be stated that the L&SWR directors and managers failed their ‘servants’ in relation to accident prevention, as did the shareholders, the public, and parliament. Most of the accidents to railway ‘servants’ were not ‘Train Accidents’ and took place ‘On the Lines or in the Stations’ mostly one at a time, and frequently out of the sight of the public. Had the public felt more threatened they would have lobbied harder for parliamentary change. Unfortunately when the Board of Trade was given the authority to reduce hours and improve conditions they were too cautious.

The treatment of the railway uniformed ‘servants’ by their managers, was an anachronism, and comparable with an earlier era in terms of lack of care. The reduction in scheduled hours and an increase in the slow pace of accident prevention, had to wait until after the First World War. Moreover within the L&SWR the dichotomy between those who were referred to as ‘railway servants’ and the salaried employees continued up to and beyond 1912. The ‘railway servants’ were constrained by many outdated policies and procedures that were only relieved slowly by government legislation and union activity. Thus much of the harshness of the early paternalism was retained into the

twentieth century.

However it is possible that both the 'servants' and their managers considered that railway 'Accidents' and railway 'Deaths' were an inevitable part of railway work, as indicated in Figure 9.4. page 324 and Figure 9.6. page 326. In a newspaper article written in 1905 Sam Fay is reported to have written:

...I made my first acquaintance with the sad side of railway life-the death by accident of a man on duty. Like all other railway men of considerable traffic experience, I have been present when other mishaps have occurred, but in no instance has the scene been so impressed upon my memory as when that poor uniformed shunter was lying in the sun by the side of the trucks he had been trying to couple.⁷⁸

In defence of the directors it must be stated that they knew nothing about '*circadian rhymes*' nor '*sleep debt*', and they too worked long hours. Archibald Scott present at most traffic meetings until after his retirement in 1884 was exceptionally industrious. Unmarried and living a short distance from the back entrance of Surbiton Station he spent his working years in the service of his Company. His duties included:

Acting as a witness before a House of Commons committee; drawing up an agreement as to running powers, &c., with other companies; making arrangements for special traffic; receiving deputations from irate town councils respecting an alleged deficient train service; listening to the complaints of individual passengers, often couched in anything but complimentary language, and proposing altogether impossible conditions for the manipulation of traffic; selecting officers for important posts...⁷⁹

It was said of him that after he retired from the Board of Directors he never went on a train again.⁸⁰ When Frederic Macaulay died in July 1912 listed among his duties other than the Secretary of the Company from 1865 to 1898 and the Board of Directors after 1898, were the other positions that he had held. These included President of the Widows and Orphans Fund, Chairman of the Superannuation Fund Committee, Trustee of the Brunswick House Friendly Society, President of the London and Suburban Railway

Officials' Association and a member of the Board of the Management of the Railway Benevolent Institution.⁸¹ Moreover Sam Fay in his autobiography stated that when he became Chief of the Indoor Staff:

This my first experience of the administrative side of railway business I found very exacting and occasionally the duties extended pretty well round the clock...⁸²

Hours worked by the L&SWR managers were also long and arduous; the difference was that these would be occasionally modified whilst the uniformed staff worked rigidly to weekly schedules. Moreover managerial mistakes due to fatigue were far less likely to involve loss of life than those incurred by the 'servants'.

Conclusion

It has been argued that the major differences between agrarian, factory and railway management not only affected the execution of the early paternalism but also was responsible for the Company 'welfarism' which evolved during the second half of the nineteenth century. Although during the early years, the organisation of the L&SWR was haphazard and crude, during the 1850s the Company emerged as a powerful force with a variety of expertise. It has been noted that early railway paternalism within the L&SWR was not dissimilar to that described by Revill within the Midland Railway, 'a generalised paternalism exemplified by the English countryside in the eighteenth century described by Douglas Hay.' This early paternalism was to remain throughout the whole of the period from 1838 to 1912. A second strategy, the procedures which evolved out of the deliberations found within the Special Committees were first and foremost control mechanisms to further the interests of a growing business. It is argued that any staff benefits, which emerged from these deliberations, were secondary to the main aim, which was to promote Company efficiency and to reduce Company expenditure.

Workplace resistance by railway workers throughout the country, was nearly always

unsuccessful. By 1900 wages were far below other sectors except those of agriculture. Legislation relating to hours and safety measures were left in the hands of the Board of Trade not wishing to antagonise the railway company managers. However even in 1911 when many other companies were badly affected by strike action there is no evidence of extreme militant activity from within the L&SWR. It is suggested that the activities of *The South Western Gazette* and the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for the wages paid staff may have played some part in the apparent acquiescence of the L&SWR uniformed staff.

Within *The South Western Gazette* there are not only glimpses of a community spirit but also an intimation of an acceptance of the problems related to railway work on the part of the railway worker. It is also obvious that by the 1890s *The Gazette* was being used by the managers as a platform to present themselves as kindly individuals working for the good of the Company and for the benefit of the employees.

Although it is possible to appreciate that the managers also worked long hours and were not aware of the problems related to *fatigue*, there is little doubt that they failed their 'servants' as did the shareholders, the public and Parliament. The treatment of L&SWR staff and possibly other railway uniformed staff was undoubtedly an anachronism, comparable with an earlier era in terms of lack of care.

- ¹ Price, *Labour in British Society*, p.120.
- ² McKenna, 'Victorian Railway Workers', p.32.
- ³ Revill, 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', pp.69 & 71.
- ⁴ Price, 'The labour process and labour history', *Social History*, vol. 8. pp.62-3. Price uses the example of the ability of workers to regulate piece-work and so turn it from an instrument of subordination to one of resistance.
- ⁵ Price, *Labour in British Society*, pp.115-27.
- ⁶ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, pp.1-2, Lazonick 'Strategy, structure, and management development', pp.101-5, Joyce, *Work Society & Politics*, pp.134-55.
- ⁷ Pamela Horn *The Changing Countryside in Victorian & Edwardian England & Wales*, (Athlone, London:1984), p.38.
- ⁸ Newby, Bell, Rose & Saunders, *Property, Paternalism and Power*, pp.29-30.
- ⁹ Alun Howkins, *Reshaping rural England: A Social History 1850-1925*, (Harper Collins, London: 1991), pp.61-113.
- ¹⁰ Ashton, *An Economic History of England*, pp.202, 210-3.
- ¹¹ Mc Kendrick, 'Josiah Wedgwood', pp.52-5.
- ¹² Gatrell, Introduction, *Robert Owen*, pp.40-3, 54.
- ¹³ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, p.36.
- ¹⁴ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.17.
- ¹⁵ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*. p.50.
- ¹⁶ Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.3.
- ¹⁷ Reed, 'Railway investment', p 14.
- ¹⁸ Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, p.4.
- ¹⁹ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, p.1.
- ²⁰ Fay, *A Royal Road*, pp.38-9.

- ²¹ Mr. Beattie's evidence, (1640-1650), House of Commons, *Select Committee on Accidents on Railways 1857-8*, (TNA), pp.112-220.
- ²² Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol.1, p.21.
- ²³ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.30-1.
- ²⁴ Fay, *A Royal Road*, p.77.
- ²⁵ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.
- ²⁶ W.H.Hilditch Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p.278.
- ²⁷ Noakes Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA) p.323.
- ²⁸ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, pp.6-8.
- ²⁹ Revill, 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', p.71.
- ³⁰ *The South Western Gazette*, 1 Feb.1893, ZPER 11/12 (TNA), p.8.
- ³¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 Nov.1847, RAIL 411/227 (TNA), p.171.
- ³² Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 Aug.1904, (1061), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ³³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 22 Jan.1863 (499), RAIL 411/233 (TNA).
- ³⁴ The London & South Western Railway Traffic Committee usually met twice a month at Waterloo Station except during the Summer holiday period. The Committee dealt with the day to day running of the railway. In 1904 it was chaired by Sir Charles Scotter and the five other members of the committee included Evelyn Cecil M.P. and the General Manager.
- ³⁵ Driver Frost's Record, Black Book of Cautions No.2, 1894-1942 RAIL 411/487 (TNA), p.612.
- ³⁶ Lazonick, 'Strategy, Structure, and Management Development', p.103
- ³⁷ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol.1, p.21.
- ³⁸ Legal Business Committee, 1 April 1854, Special Committee Minutes, RAIL 411/216 (TNA), pp.126-8.
- ³⁹ *The South Western Gazette*, March 1888, ZPER 11/7 (TNA), p.14.
- ⁴⁰ Nock, *The London & South Western Railway*, pp.32-3.

- ⁴¹ Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, p.8.
- ⁴² Lazonick, 'Strategy, structure, and management development', pp.103-4.
- ⁴³ Instructions, conditions of service, rates of pay etc., relating to guards, drivers etc., 13 July 1904, (206), RAIL 411/447 (TNA).
- ⁴⁴ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, pp 9-10.
- ⁴⁵ Mentioned in a speech given by Mr A H Waddon Chairman of the Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund at the Fete, *The South Western Gazette*, July 1897, ZPER 11/16 (TNA), p.10.
- ⁴⁶ Lazonick, 'Strategy, structure, and management development', p.103.
- ⁴⁷ Revill, 'Paternalism, Community and Corporate Culture', pp 69-70.
- ⁴⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 6 Dec.1866, (284), RAIL 411/237 (TNA).
- ⁴⁹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.153.
- ⁵⁰ Price, *Labour In British Society*, p.12.
- ⁵¹ P. Joyce, 'Labour, capital and compromise: a response to Richard Price', *Social History*, vol. 9 (1), 1984, p. 67.
- ⁵² Drummond, *Crewe: Railway Town*, p.191-208.
- ⁵³ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.74.
- ⁵⁴ An Act to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants [27 July 1893] [56 & 57 Vict.] [Chapter 20].
An Act for the better Prevention of Accidents on Railways [30 July 1900] [63 & 64 Vict.] [Chapter 27].
- ⁵⁵ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.80.
- ⁵⁶ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, pp.140-8.
- ⁵⁷ Bagwell *The Railwaymen*, p.262.cites A. W. F. Rowe 'Wages in practice and theory', pp. 8-9 & 12.

⁵⁸ B. Seebohm Rowntree, *A Study of Town Life* (1902 [1st ed 1901], pp.86-118.

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⁵⁹ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.265.

⁶⁰ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, pp.269 & 284.

⁶¹ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p.67.

⁶² *The South Western Gazette*, March 1882, ZPER 11/1 (TNA), p.4.

⁶³ *The South Western Gazette*, July 1891, ZPER 11/10 (TNA), p.3.

⁶⁴ Joyce, *Work Society and Politics*, p.xiv.

⁶⁵ G. Salaman, *Community And Occupation: An explanation of work/leisure relationships*,
(Cambridge University Press, London: 1974).

⁶⁶ Joyce, *Work Society and Politics*, p.xiv.

⁶⁷ *The South Western Gazette*, Aug. 1893, ZPER 11/12 (TNA), p.9.

⁶⁸ *The South Western Gazette*, Oct. 1894, ZPER 11/13 (TNA), p.11.

⁶⁹ *The South Western Gazette*, April 1890, ZPER 11/9 (TNA), p.5.

⁷⁰ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1891, ZPER 11/10 (TNA), p.9.

⁷¹ *The South Western Gazette*, May 1891, ZPER 11/10 (TNA), p.11.

⁷² *The South Western Gazette*, Feb.1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA), p.9.

⁷³ *The South Western Gazette*, Feb.1893, ZPER 11/12 (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁴ *The South Western Gazette*, Aug.1896, ZPER11/15 (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁵ *The South Western Gazette*, Sep. 1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁶ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1911, ZPER 11/28, (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁷ *The South Western Gazette*, Sep.1 1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁸ *The South Western Gazette*, March 1905, ZPER 11/22 (TNA), p.9.

⁷⁹ *The South Western Gazette*, Dec.1881 ZPER 11/1 (TNA), p.2.

⁸⁰ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan.1911 ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.

⁸¹ *The South Western Gazette*, Aug.1912, ZPER 11/29 (TNA), pp.4 & 5.

⁸² *The South Western Gazette*, March 1905 ZPER 11/22 (TNA), p.9.

Conclusion

In the course of writing this dissertation it has become increasingly obvious that the work hazards experienced by nineteenth century railway ‘servants’ were infinitely more problematic than those currently encountered by twenty-first century railway employees. This was due to the newness of the system but also the slowness of the managers to adopt preventative measures to safeguard their uniformed staff. The Board of Trade’s lack of authority is clearly seen in Colonel Yolland’s remark at a Select Committee on Railway Companies in the 1870s:

The Board of Trade are empowered to send inspectors to the locality to look at the place where accidents occur; but they are not empowered to ask for the attendance of a single witness, or to ask a single question, and everything that they gain is supplied by the railway company; but they are not empowered to hold a public inquiry, or to obtain any information if the railway company does not think proper to give it.

Later Colonel Yolland was to state that ‘the accidents investigated were almost entirely accidents that occur to the trains.’¹ On the L&SWR, between 1888 and 1912, 14 uniformed staff were killed through ‘Train Accidents’ whilst 530 lost their lives ‘By the Running of the Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles’.

Undoubtedly accidents are not a thing of the past. The Independent Accident Investigation Organisation for the United Kingdom, RAIB (Rail Accident Investigation Branch) in its first Annual Report in 2005 which covered the first two and a half months it was operational, investigated 17 RAIB notifications out of 100 reported accidents. What is currently different is that ‘the regulations require the reporting of both accidents

resulting in serious injury and damage as well as those that have minor or no consequence.' Emerging common issues were stated to be:

- the management of train preparation in yards and,
- the way in which staff work on or around the operational railway.²

Although RAIB, like the Board of Trade during the nineteenth century, can only make recommendations and cannot mandate their implementation, 'the European Railway Safety Directive requires the safety authority to ... ensure that those to whom we direct our recommendations ... consider them and where appropriate act upon them, and ... report progress of implementation of measures arising from our recommendations.' Thus although railway employment remains a hazardous occupation, the dangers which occur through 'Train Accidents' or from 'The Running of the Trains or the Movement of Railway Vehicles', are investigated, whereas during the nineteenth century many of the hazards were ignored.

Equal opportunities legislation in 1975 has opened the door for women to take on positions which were previously male dominated. Women are no longer merely waiting room attendants, cleaners or clerical staff. National Health Contributions are currently taken from both employers and employees as part of their Social Security Contributions. Moreover, as Fleming points out, the current National Insurance Contribution rate is independent of the accident rate of a particular industry, dangerous industries therefore are being subsidised by other industries less prone to workplace accidents.³ Further support for staff is supplied by railway trade unions such as the 'Associated Society of Locomotive Steam Enginemen and Firemen' (ASLEF) who offer advice, and representation for a range of legal issues, which include personal injury and employment rights.⁴

It is common knowledge that railway work is, and always has been, dangerous, and that shift work causes fatigue. However the many difficulties faced by the nineteenth century L&SW railway worker, particularly during the early years of the line, cannot be appreciated without access to the railway minute books which date from before the line was completed in 1838. The records show the early accidents, mistakes and subsequent punishments, of those employed within an industry, which was, because it was untried and untested, extremely dangerous. Similarly an awareness of the circumstances under which the workers laboured during the early years is also incomplete without some knowledge of those who were part of this process. Reay writing in praise of microhistory considers that ‘histories which exclude the ‘knowable community’ are histories half written.’⁵ Much of what has been written within this dissertation is deliberately presented to show the effects of railway influence on named individuals.

The discovery of ‘knowable’ individuals within the locality of Kingston was the result of a fortuitous set of circumstances, which included access to the census data held on the Kingston University Database, and preservation of primary sources held at The National Archives in Kew. These primary sources survived the London ‘blitz’ during the 1940s to provide much of the background to this study. Information relating to about 80 individuals, out of the 657 railway workers retrieved from the 1851 to 1891 census, has been found. Moreover these 80 individuals covered the full range of L&SWR staff including the uniformed grades, the clerks and the senior managers, three of whom became directors of the company. Some were mentioned in the Traffic Minutes, such as Mr Maudsley a single gentleman, station master at Vauxhall Station but later transferred to Surbiton, who asked if he could have his holiday in days and if so, could he have a railway ticket for each day. Mr Maudsley was granted a £50 per annum allowance out of the Decayed Clerks Fund when he retired.⁶ This is trivial detail but it does add

substance to a name from what is best termed the 'occupational reconstitution' of the railway workforce within the Surbiton and Kingston location.

Out of the numerous issues that are woven into the fabric of this dissertation, two stand out as salient features. The first is the harshness of railway existence for the 'servants' during the early years of the line. This harshness included the lack of adequate training, the lack of accident prevention built into workplace procedure, the need to battle against the imperfections of the system, the long hours, and later, as the system improved, the knowledge that wages were gradually falling below other industries. It was only when legislation generated change that improvement occurred. Moreover legislation was slow in coming because the focus was on the 'Train Accident' rather than the thousands of 'servants' within the United Kingdom who died every year on the tracks. These deaths were almost ignored by railway management including those within the L&SWR who apparently considered that they were nearly always due to *misconduct*, or *want of caution*. On the other hand, within the railway minute books, it is possible to witness the growth of a huge enterprise, and to observe the Special Committee Meetings, which produced carefully formulated procedures, some of which were prototypes of twentieth century welfarism.

With reference to the first issue, certain memoranda, reports and traffic minutes stand out as significant and memorable. William Bollen, George Lavey and William Willis' deaths span thirty-four years, the first in 1866, the last in 1900, and are indicative of the slowness of change. There were marked similarities between how the first two died although twenty-seven years elapsed between these deaths. William Bollen, a 25 year old, had been employed 'about three months' as a porter on Surbiton Station and was killed shunting on a Tuesday in May 1866 at a quarter past six in the evening. The

Traffic Minutes state that his widow received £10, a report of the inquest can be found in the local paper *The Surrey Comet*, (calling him William Bolling), but not in the Traffic Minutes nor the Board of Trade reports.⁷ Thereafter William remained a Board of Trade statistic, classified with many others, as one who had died in 1866 through *misconduct*, or *want of caution*. Twenty-seven years later on the 20 April 1893 George Lavey also aged 25 was killed in similar circumstances at Kingston station. The Traffic Minutes show the railway managers checking with solicitors to be certain that there was no legal liability upon the Company, (this would have meant compensation under the 1880 Employers Liability Act), and as the solicitor stated that the Company was not liable, a £20 gratuity was given to George's wife, Kate, to whom he had been married in St. Luke's Church, Kingston, 8 months before.⁸ The report of the accident has not been found in the Traffic Minutes nor in a Board of Trade report but in *The South Western Gazette*, although in the paper George was referred to as Frederick G. Lavey, not George Frederick Lavey.⁹ George's lack of eligibility under the 1880 Act also meant that technically it was assumed that the accident had been his fault. Thus between 1866 and 1893 very little had changed in the treatment of staff killed individually in the course of their employment. However in 1900 when William Willis was killed in a shunting accident on Surbiton Station, because of the changes in legislation (Workmen's Compensation Act 1897) William's wife Sarah would have been entitled to three times William's yearly wage, or £150 whichever was the greater, (not exceeding £300). Although confirmation is not available, there is no reason to suspect that Sarah did not receive this money. Under the Act claims were only disallowed if there was serious and wilful misconduct of the workman. William's death was classified as *misadventure*.¹⁰

Given the harshness of the work experience of the uniformed staff, and the obvious depression felt by some of the staff after the death of colleagues, why did the L&SWR

workforce not rebel? In particular in 1911 when most of the railway companies were involved in strike action, why did the L&SWR 'servants' 'with one or two insignificant exceptions' 'remain at their posts'? It is impossible from the information available to state categorically why strike action did not occur. However from the evidence available, there was a distinct possibility that both Mr Frederic Macaulay and Sir Charles Scotter, deliberately implemented a sufficiency of benefits to deter strike action? Both men had risen through the ranks of railway companies, both from the position of a junior clerk, Macaulay within the L&SWR, Scotter from within the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway. Both men would have some knowledge of the fears and aspirations of those at the lower end of society. It has been inferred on more than one occasion that these men in different ways were responsible for the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme?¹¹

There is no doubt that an employee embarking on strike action would have forfeited his pension.¹² From the viewpoint of the twenty-first century it is almost impossible to appreciate the difference such a pension would have made to a working class employee even during the early years of the twentieth century. The stigma and degradation of entering the workhouse was to remain for many years even after the Poor Law Administration was taken over by the Local Authorities in 1929.¹³ At best the loss of the Non-Contributory Pension would have resulted in a dependence on younger family members and a loss of self worth and dignity.

The L&SWR Non-Contributory Pension Scheme although small covered the basic needs of an elderly couple. A sum of 7 shillings was the lowest amount paid to sixty-five year olds after twenty-five years service in 1890. According to Rowntree 11s. 8d. per week was a basic amount on which it was possible for a couple to exist in 1901. The 1908

State Old Age Pension (commencing 1 January 1909) although providing 5 shillings a week for a man and 7s 6d for a married couple, as long as their income did not exceed £21 per annum, was not available until seventy years of age.¹⁴ By 1912 the L&SWR scheme was granted, in some cases, with appropriate reductions, to individuals with less than twenty-five years service.¹⁵

It could be argued that the scheme was paternalistic, it was undoubtedly considered by many to be wholly acceptable and greatly appreciated, a gift given by a caring management to those 'servants' of the Company who had worked diligently without complaint for twenty-five years. However although there was no rationale, the threat of militancy within the railway workforce was a major motivation behind the scheme. Unfortunately the scheme was not linked to inflation and would have diminished in value over time but this was probably not appreciated by either staff or management during the years up to 1912.

How paternalistic were the L&SWR Managers? During the early years of the line there was much to suggest that the Company had a deliberate, although limited, policy of care. However this policy remained static throughout the nineteenth into the early twentieth century, and by the refusal to reduce the scheduled hours, and to hasten the slow pace of accident prevention, what may have appeared paternalistic in 1840 to 1850 would undoubtedly be considered as lacking in care by the end of the nineteenth century. The treatment of railway uniformed 'servants' by their managers, had become an anachronism. Bagwell in his book *The Railwaymen*, states:

No doubt railway managers and directors were as kindly family men as the railway servants in their employ...The self interest of the railway companies dictated that they should secure an ample return on their capital. But it was often not possible for them *both* to declare a generous dividend on ordinary shares *and*

to make adequate arrangements for the safety of railway workers. Safety costs money.¹⁶

It has been argued that even after the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 it was probably cheaper for management to pay compensation to victims or the relatives of those who suffered accident, than to reduce the schedules, take on more staff, and put expensive equipment into place as a means of prevention. It is, however, also possible that the workforce having been told so often, that long schedules were an inevitable feature of railway work, believed that this was the case.

Although the wages for some workers were low there is no evidence of extreme poverty, and some couples appear to have survived without the wives finding paid occupation and others supplemented the main income with additions from lodgers, boarders or other family members. Some railway families kept chickens and had allotments to grow fruit and vegetables.¹⁷ With careful management and the help of her children widows, such as Margaret Buckwell, did eventually acquire living accommodation equal to her male counterparts, (Figure 4.15).

It has been stated that 'mid-nineteenth century England was the workshop of the world. But it remained a workshop not a factory.'¹⁸ However within the L&SWR minute books, it is possible to witness the growth of a large enterprise. Although the Company was labour intensive, particularly during the early years, from the mid 1850s the Special Committees' Minutes show the emergence of carefully formulated structures and procedures, some of which were prototypes of twentieth century welfarism. There were also schemes which had been started by the workforce and were later endorsed by management. The L&SWR directors and their managers were great innovators. A board of directors with contacts and managers with specialist knowledge and access to

actuaries, insurance companies and other railway companies' experience, obviously had an advantage over many of the family business ventures where one individual, or one family, were in control. It does appear however that the innovations which developed out of the Special Committees, came into being first and foremost because of the needs of the business, paternalism being secondary to the main objectives of efficiency, economy and, by the 1890s, avoidance of militant union activity. As such, most of these schemes appear to be better described as 'corporate welfarism', rather than paternalism.

There was much to applaud in L&SWR enterprise. It is possible to argue that by the 1890s apart from the long hours, and lack of adequate safety prevention, many benefits had been accrued for the workers. There is also some indication that the Company had used their influence to secure concessions from external sources. It is impossible to state with assurance that the Company 'disseminated techniques' into other sectors, however, from the evidence available, certain features found later within the structure of twentieth century personnel management were being tried, tested and authenticated within the L&SWR. Moreover, the formation of these structures commenced during the 1850s and were working effectively long before the end of the nineteenth century.

- ¹ Colonel William Yolland Examination (1515), *Command Papers Select Committee on Railway Companies* 1870, (TNA), p.115.
- ² Annual Report 2005, published by the Rail Accident Investigation Branch; (RAIB) Department of Transport (2006) 061005; Web.pdf Retrieved on 29 June 2007. at 16.10: www.raib.gov.uk
- ³ Fleming *The Law of Torts*, p.523.
- ⁴ The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen-Legal Services; Retrieved 2 Oct. 2007 14.46: www.aslef.org.uk/information/102601/100017/legal_services/
- ⁵ Reay, *Microhistories*, p.262.
- ⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 Jan.1866, (870), RAIL 411/235, (TNA).
- ⁷ *Surrey Comet*, 2 June 1866, (LHR).
- ⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 May 1893, (17), 24 May 1893, (46), RAIL 411/259, (TNA).
- ⁹ *The South Western Gazette* June 1893, ZPER 11/12 (TNA), p.6.
- ¹⁰ Reports of Sub-Inspectors, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/89 (TNA), p.155.
- ¹¹ *The South Western Gazette*, Feb 1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA), p. 9.
- ¹² *The South Western Gazette*, Sep.1 1911, ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.9.
- ¹³ Anecdotal memories related by the Spencer family included the repayment of debts from the sale of personal belongings, husbands being separated from wives, and individuals only being allowed out on their own when 'signed for' by former neighbours or friends.
- ¹⁴ An Act to provide for Old Age Pensions [1 August 1908] [9 Edw 7] [Chapter 40].
- ¹⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 22 Dec.1912, (1103), RAIL 411/269 (TNA).
- ¹⁶ Bagwell *The Railwaymen*, p.98.
- ¹⁷ Anecdotal evidence states that the Spencers supplemented their income with both chickens in their garden and an allotment near the railway line in Kingston.
- ¹⁸ Price *Labour in British Society*, p.71.

INJURY CASES TRAFFIC MINUTES

APPENDIX 1

Crouch Read letter from I Crouch a lad who while engaged checking a carriers Goods was seriously injured in consequence of an accident with the crane and who now solicits some employment in the company's establishment. Mr Slovin was instructed to report the lad's merits and nature of his accident.¹

Mr Slovin's report on the case of John Crouch referred to him by last week's committee. Resolved That the Court be recommended to appoint the youth as an assistant in the Andover Road Station Goods Department at a salary of 18/- p. week and to allow the expense of accident amounting to £9.15.5. To be defrayed.²

Kingsbrook Mr Slovin produced a Surgeon's Bill amounting to £5.12.6. For attendance upon a Goods Porter, by name Kingsbrook who was seriously injured whilst discharging his duties. The committee recommends that the amount be paid.³

Thompson Letter from Mr Thomas Thompson a Policeman in the Company's service soliciting pecuniary aid in consequence of a long and tedious illness, which was referred to Mr Martin for his report as to the mans real (?) Condition.⁴

Mr Martin reported that in accordance with the instructions of the last Committee he had seen Thomas Thompson the Policeman, that he is under the influence of a deep seated disease which is likely to terminate fatally that although the complaint did not originate in the discharge of his duties, it was no doubt much ameliorated by his exertions at the period of the robbery near Woking, and that he is a most deserving object for consideration. This committee recommends the Court to place Five Pounds in the hands of Mr Martin for the benefit on T Thompson, to be dispensed at his discretion.⁵

Pumfret Mr Chaplin named the distressed condition of the Locomotive Pumfret at Basingstoke. It was resolved that £3.4s.0d be allowed him in consequence of his having hurt his hand while in the Company's Service, and being without Wages for eight weeks.⁶

INJURY CASES TRAFFIC MINUTES continued:

Glazier Resolved that the case of John Glazier who has lost part of his feet by an accident on the line of Railway be referred to the Officers Committee. The object being to ascertain whether there can be any employment found for the man which his calamity still permits him to fulfil.⁷

Trowbridge Read letter from the Revd T W Smith relative to Saml Trowbridge injured at Southampton. Referred to the officers of the Benevolent Society to report in the general state of the funds. ⁸

Read letter from I Tomlinson, Secretary of the Friendly Society as to Edwd (?) Trowbridge's case. Referred to the Managers of the Friendly Society for a written report as to Trowbridge's deficiency.⁹

Read report from Secretary of the Friendly Society relative to the case of Trowbridge who was injured by being squeezed between the buffers of two wagons. That as it appears that the accident happened on the 30th Decr. last, and that at this time, (the 28th Apl) Trowbridge is still unable to work, but that hopes are entertained of his being competent to the duties of a Gatekeeper - It is determined that a sum of £15.0.0. shall be handed to Mr. Watkyns, who is to endeavour to obtain a reduction of the Surgeon's Bill, £8.8.0. and to hand the balance, in the manner he thinks best to Saml. Trowbridge.¹⁰

Obee Read letter from Mr Fletcher as to his account (£12.12/) for attendance on Obee a Porter injured at Woking. Mr Fletcher to be informed that there will be no objection to pay this £12.12/- for the attendance of Surgeon's on the Porter if he will renumerate the other professional Gentlemen he sent for.¹¹

Thackham Jarvis Submit Mr Emson's (Surgeon) Bill for attendance on Thackham and Jarvis amounting to £14.17/- The Committee do not consider that Mr Emson has any claim on them they having already paid two Medical Gentlemen and seeing they did not employ him will however consent to pay him £10 as in full and without prejudice.¹²

DEATHS SON AND HUSBAND

Sawyer Read report from Mr Stovin as to the enquiry before the Coroner on the death of W H Sawyer and the result a verdict of "Accidental Death". Mr Bradford the Station Agent at Wimbledon to make his statement in writing and Mr Beattie to supply improved Screw Couplings to all the Companys Waggons also Ordered. That every Engine Driver and every Guard of the Mail, Goods and other Night trains, communicate by an exchange of Signals, with every Station and gate, whether calling at those Stations or not, and that if necessary additional men be appointed to that duty.¹³

Read letter from Mrs Sawyer mother of W H Sawyer late Breaksman killed at Wimbledon by Collision Soliciting some compensation for expenses of Funeral and mourning. Enquiry to be made if W H Sawyer belonged to Provident Society.¹⁴

Read letter from Mrs Sawyer soliciting some compensation towards the expenses of the funeral of her late son, and also for Mourning. It is recommended that £5 be allowed.¹⁵

"Brown" Read letter from Mr Raper enclosing Bills for the funeral and mourning in consequence of the death of W Brown gateman killed at Wareham It is recommended that the sum of ten pounds be allowed. This being a special case.¹⁶

Read letter from Mr Raper as to Mrs Tasker's bill for funeral expenses on account of late Wm Brown. It was recommended that the sum of £5.6.3 be paid if that it the balance.¹⁷

DEATHS HUSBANDS continued:

Ralph Read letter from Mr Hodgson applying on behalf of Mrs Ralph for some consideration on account of the death of her husband, killed at Basingstoke. It is recommended to the Court to grant £10 ¹⁸

Read letter from the Revd C Lane relative to the case of Widow Ralph
The Secretary to reply. ¹⁹

Read letter from Mr Chester claiming compensation on behalf of Mrs Ralph widow of Thomas Ralph late Guard who was killed in March last. Mr Slovin to investigate and report ²⁰

Read petition from Mrs Ralph widow of Thos Ralph late a guard who was skilled on the line 12th March 1848. It is recommended that £20 more be given as compensation to be paid by two instalments viz 11 May 1849 and 11 May 1850. ²¹

Gant Read letter from Mr Stovin reporting accident and death of Fredk. Gant passenger Guard on Richmond Line Mr Stovin to make further enquiries. ²²

Mr Stovin reported as to the case of Mrs Gant Widow of the Guard killed on the Richmond Line. It was recommended that a sum not exceeding £20 be given to the widow in addition to the Funeral expenses the mode of and time of giving it to be regulated by Mr Stovin and Mr Godson. ²³

- ¹ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 23 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.79.
- ² Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 29 July 1842, RAIL 412/3 (TNA), p.80.
- ³ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 14 July 1843, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁴ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, 10 Nov.1843, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁵ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees, RAIL 412/3, 17 Nov.1843 (TNA).
- ⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 Oct.1846, RAIL 412/227 (TNA), p.34.
- ⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 21 Jan.1848, RAIL 412/227 (TNA), p.195.
- ⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 March 1848, (209) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 31 March 1848, (213) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 28 April 1848, (222) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 2 Feb.1849, (312) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹² Traffic Committee Minutes, 22 June 1849, (364) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 1 Oct.1847, (160) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 29 Oct.1847, (170) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 Nov.1847, (173)RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 5 Nov.1847, (171) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 19 May 1848, (231) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁸ Traffic Committee Minutes, 31 March1848, (214) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ¹⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 20 April 1848, (220)RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ²⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 3 Nov. 1848, (275) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ²¹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 11 May 1849, (354) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ²² Traffic Committee Minutes, 30 April 1848, (259) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).
- ²³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 15 Sep.1848, (261) RAIL 412/227 (TNA).

BOARD OF TRADE

RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR

Appendix 2

K KILLED

I INJURED

| DATE | NATURE & CAUSE | BEYOND | | MIS | |
|------|--|---------|---|---------|---|
| | | CONTROL | | CONDUCT | |
| | 1872 | K | I | K | I |
| | SERVANTS OF COMPANY OR OF CONTRACTORS | | | | |
| 1 | 30JAN A guard while jumping into his van at Farnboro' Station fell between the platform and train and was severely injured, from the effects of which he afterwards died. | | | | 1 |
| 2 | 3 FEB A signal box lad at Twickenham was crossing a siding when he slipped and fell under the wheels of a carriage, which was being shunted, and had one of his legs and feet run over and crushed from the effects of which he afterwards died. | | | | 1 |
| 3 | 14MAR A porter at Wimbourne was crushed between the buffers of waggons and killed | | | | 1 |
| 4 | 15MAR The foreman of a ballast train jumped off the engine before it had stopped at Wimbledon Station, and falling under the train was so severely injured that he afterward died. | | | | 1 |
| 5 | 21MAR A porter was run over by a train at Clapham Junction and killed | | | | 1 |
| 6 | 18APR A platelayer was knocked down by a passing train near the West London Junction on the main line and had some of his ribs fractured. | | | | 1 |
| 7 | 13MAY A lamp-man fell off a train at Dorchester Station and was run over and killed | | | | 1 |
| 8 | 29JUN A carman in the service of the company was caught between the buffers of two waggons in the goods yard at Southampton Station, and so severely injured that he afterwards died. | | | | 1 |
| 9 | 5 JUL A messenger in the company's service was run over and killed by a train near Nine Elms Junction (Traffic Minutes £5 Gratuity) | | | | 1 |
| 10 | 11JUL A porter fell under the wheels of a waggon which was being shunted at Wareham, and was so severely injured that he afterwards died. | | | | 1 |
| 11 | 12JUL The driver of a goods train fell from his engine, near Michelever, and was hurt on the head | | | | 1 |
| 12 | 18JUL A platelayer was knocked down by a train near Raynes Park Station and injured | | | | 1 |
| 13 | 19JUL A fireman was killed near Bracknell Station owing to his head coming in contact with an over bridge while he was standing on the top of his tender | | | | 1 |
| 14 | 19JUL A porter fell under some waggons which were being shunted at Southampton Station and had his left hand run over and crushed. | | | | 1 |

BOARD OF TRADE**RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR****K KILLED****I INJURED**

| | | | K | I | K | I |
|------------------------------|-------|--|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| 15 | 21JUL | A porter fell under a train while it was being shunted at Clapham Junction and was so severely injured that he died shortly afterwards | | | | 1 |
| 16 | 21AUG | While a labourer in the employ of the company was uncoupling some trucks which were standing in a siding at the Queen Street Station Exeter some other trucks were shunted against them, and he was knocked onto the rails and run over and killed | 1 | | | |
| 17 | 24AUG | A platelayer while at work on the line between Waterloo and Vauxhall Stations was knocked down by a pilot engine, and so severely injured that he died about two days afterward | | | | 1 |
| 18 | 4 OCT | A porter while shunting at Gillingham Station had his leg run over by a goods train | | | | 1 |
| 19 | 18OCT | A carpenter in the employ of a contractor was knocked down by an engine at Torrington Station and was run over, and had one of his legs cut off. | | | | 1 |
| 20 | 28OCT | A platelayer while walking on the line at Swarthling, near Bishopstoke was run over by passenger train and killed. | | | | 1 |
| 21 | 26NOV | A platelayer while working on the line near Woking Station was run over by an engine and killed. | | | | 1 |
| 22 | 16DEC | A porter while uncoupling a guard's van from an engine at Leatherhead Station was caught between the buffers and so severely injured as to cause his death | | | | 1 |
| 23 | 17DEC | A porter whilst coupling up a goods train at Wimborne Station was knocked down, run over, and killed. | | | | 1 |
| 24 | 20DEC | A mason in the employ of the company was run over and killed by a passenger train whilst walking on the line between Sutton Bingham and Crewkerne Stations. | | | | 1 |
| 25 | 26DEC | Whilst a goods train from Portsmouth was standing at Woking Station, properly protected by the signals, it was run into at the rear by a goods train from Southampton. The breaksman of the Portsmouth train was killed. The collision was caused by the driver of the Southampton train being under the influence of drink, and to such an extent as to be unfit to have charge of the engine and train | 1 | | | |
| ACCIDENTS TO SERVANTS | | | 2 | 0 | 17 | 6 |

BOARD OF TRADE**RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR****K KILLED****I INJURED**

| | | | K | I | K | I |
|---|-------|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | | PASSENGERS | | | | |
| 1 | 15JAN | A man got out of a train before it had stopped at Wimbledon and fell between the train and platform and fractured his hip. | | | | 1 |
| 2 | 23FEB | A shunting engine which was on the wrong line at Guildford Station was run into by a passenger train. One passenger was slightly injured. The collision was principally caused by the neglect of the driver of the shunting engine in having failed to sound the proper signal whistles to indicate to the signalman in the yard where he wanted to go. | | 1 | | |
| 3 | 20MAY | As a train of empty carriages was being pushed back out of a siding at Waterloo Station it fouled the line just as a passenger train was passing into the station. Two passengers were injured. | | 2 | | |
| 4 | 26MAY | A passenger jumped from a train after it had left Sunbury Station and fractured his leg, from the effects of which he afterwards died. | | | 1 | |
| 5 | 15JUN | A passenger run over and killed instantly by a passenger train at Esher Station. | | | 1 | |
| 6 | 5 AUG | A woman while getting out of a train at Pinhoe Station fell and broke one of her legs | | | | 1 |
| 7 | 17AUG | A passenger jumped out of a train while it was in motion at Putney Station, and fell on to the platform and hurt one of his hands. | | | | 1 |
| 8 | 7 SEP | A child fell out of a carriage when travelling between Winchfield and Basingstoke. The injuries received were not of a serious nature. | | | | 1 |
| 9 | 22SEP | A passenger jumped out of a carriage before the train had stopped at Putney Station and fell under the wheels and was killed instantly. | | | 1 | |
| | | ACCIDENTS TO PASSENGERS | 0 | 3 | 3 | 4 |

BOARD OF TRADE

RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR

K KILLED
I INJURED

| DATE | NATURE & CAUSE | BEYOND CONTROL | MISCONDUCT |
|---------------------------------------|--|----------------|------------|
| 1873 | | | |
| SERVANTS OF COMPANY OR OF CONTRACTORS | | K | I |
| 1 11JAN | A shunter was run over by some trucks at Nine Elms and killed | | 1 |
| 2 30JAN | A truck carman was caught between the buffers of two trucks at Nine Elms Station and so severely injured as to cause his death | | 1 |
| 3 30JAN | A platelayer whilst at work on the line at New Malden was knocked down by a train and killed. | | 1 |
| 4 9 FEB | The gateman of a level crossing near Barnes left one pair of his gates closed across the line, when a passenger train came up, and before he could open the gates he was run over and killed, and one of the gates broken. | | 1 |
| 5 13MAR | A man in the employ of the Company was run over by a goods train at Clapham Junction, and so badly injured that he afterwards died. | | 1 |
| 6 22MAR | A labourer in the Company's service was run over by a train near Surbiton Station and killed | | 1 |
| 7 26MAR | A platelayer was run over and killed by a train between Instow and Fremlington Stations | | 1 |
| 8 3 APR | A porter whilst shunting at Sampford Courtnay Station, was caught between trucks and so severely crushed as to cause his death | | 1 |
| 9 15APR | A platelayer was run over by an engine in the Nine Elms goods yard and killed | | 1 |
| 10 6 MAY | A breaksman while shunting at Andover Station fell, and had one of his feet run over, from the effects of which he afterwards died. (Traffic Minutes £5) | | 1 |
| 11 7 MAY | A porter while shunting at Downton Station was run over by a waggon and had one of his legs crushed. | | 1 |
| 12 26MAY | A platelayer while walking on the line neat Wimbledon Station, was knocked down by a train and killed | | 1 |
| 13 4 JUN | As a mixed train was travelling between Petersfield and Midhurst, a guard's van, three carriages, and a truck ran off the rails, near Reigate Station. Two passengers were slightly injured, and the guard was seriously hurt. | 1 | |
| 14 13JUN | A platelayer was run over by a passing train near Surbiton Station and killed. | | 1 |
| 15 17JUN | A porter fell under some waggons while shunting at Winchester and was killed | | 1 |

BOARD OF TRADE**RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR****K KILLED****I INJURED**

| | | | K | I | K | I |
|----|-------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | 8 JUL | An employé (sic) in the locomotive department fell over the main line steps at Vauxhall Station and was killed. | | | 1 | |
| 17 | 10JUL | A riveter in the employ of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway was run over by a train and killed while at work on the bridge where the London, Chatham and Dover Railway passes under the London and South Western Railway at Stewart's Lane. | | | 1 | |
| 18 | 17JUL | A platelayer was run over by a passenger train near Wraybury and killed | | | 1 | |
| 19 | 22JUL | A carriage cleaner fell under the wheels of a train at Hampton Court Station and was killed | | | 1 | |
| 20 | 25JUL | A platelayer was found dead on the line near Virginia Water Station | | | 1 | |
| 21 | 29JUL | A driver fell off his engine while travelling between Woking and Guildford and was killed | | | 1 | |
| 22 | 8 AUG | A signalman while riding on the steps of a carriage at Yeoford Station came into contact with a signal box and was thrown under the train and killed. (Traffic Minutes £5 Gratuity) | | | 1 | |
| 23 | 18AUG | A platelayer was knocked down by a passing train at Winchester and injured on his head and left foot, from the effects of which he afterwards died. | | | 1 | |
| 24 | 23AUG | A coal loader was caught between the buffers of some waggons which were being shunted at Barnstaple and so badly crushed as to cause his death | | | 1 | |
| 25 | 26AUG | A platelayer while working on the line near Templecombe was knocked down by a passing train and killed. | | | 1 | |
| 26 | 2 SEP | A porter during shunting operations at Hounslow Station was crushed between buffers of Waggons, causing his death. (Traffic Minutes £5 Gratuity) | | | 1 | |
| 27 | 22SEP | A fireman fell from his engine while travelling between Lymington Junction and Holmsley and had one of his legs run over. | | | | 1 |
| 28 | 7 OCT | A platelayer was knocked down by a train near Epsom and injured on the head. | | | | 1 |
| 29 | 15OCT | A man employed in the stores department attempted to enter a guard's van while it was in motion at Holmsley Station but fell and had one his legs run over. | | | | 1 |

BOARD OF TRADE**RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR****K KILLED****I INJURED**

| | | | K | I | K | I |
|---------------------------|-------|---|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| 30 | 23OCT | A goods guard was knocked down by a passing train at Clapham Junction and severely injured, from the effects of which he afterwards died. | | | 1 | |
| 31 | 30OCT | A porter while shunting at Chertsey Station was crushed between a waggon and the wharf and killed. | | | 1 | |
| 32 | 12NOV | As two workmen employed in the Company's locomotive and carriage workshops were going home at their dinner hour by an improper route, in the Nine Elms Yard, in opposition to the Company's rules, they were knocked down by the shunting engine. One was killed and the other had his leg broken and was otherwise injured. | | | 1 | 1 |
| 33 | 13NOV | A down goods train ran into 15 waggons which had become detached from a proceeding goods train near Esher Station. The Breaksman of the detached waggons was shaken. Several waggons were damaged. There was a fog at the time, and the signalman at Esher gave the "all clear" signal to the second train without having observed that a portion of the front train had become detached. | 1 | | | |
| 34 | 21NOV | The station master at Ewell attempted to get into a train while it was in motion but fell between the carriages and platform and had one of his arms broken. (The Traffic Minutes report Death) | | | | 1 |
| 35 | 23DEC | A signalman while walking on the line at the Wandsworth Road Bridge was knocked down by an engine and had one arm broken and his head injured. | | | | 1 |
| ACCIDENTS SERVANTS | | | 0 | 2 | 27 | 6 |

PASSENGERS

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---|--|---|--|---|
| 1 | 11FEB | A man who is supposed to have fallen from the 11 p.m. train from Waterloo to Surbiton, found lying on the main line near Vauxhall, with his leg fractured and other injuries. | | | | 1 |
| 2 | 24FEB | A passenger train from Woking to London, while standing at the up line platform, Weybridge Station, was run into by a train from Chertsey. Three passengers injured. This accident was caused by the driver of the Chertsey train approaching the station at too great a speed, and misjudging his power of stopping the train. | | 3 | | |

BOARD OF TRADE**RETURN RELATIVE TO RAILWAY ACCIDENTS - L&SWR****K KILLED
I INJURED**

| | | | K | I | K | I |
|---|-------|---|----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| 3 | 4 JUN | As a mixed train was travelling between Petersfield and Midhurst, a guard's van, three carriages, and a truck ran off the rails near Rogate (?) Station. Two passengers were slightly injured, and the guard was seriously hurt. | | 2 | | |
| 4 | 28JUN | A passenger train from Clapham Junction to Kensington ran into some fixed buffer stops, owing to the wheels skidding when the breaks were applied. About 15 passengers were slightly injured. | | 15 | | |
| 5 | 28JUN | A little girl, the child of a passenger, fell from a train near Wimble, receiving severe cuts on the head which terminated fatally. | | | 1 | |
| 6 | 25AUG | A passenger train to Reading came into collision with a horse-box near Virginia Water Station. Two persons who were in the horse-box were shaken. | | 2 | | |
| 7 | 9 SEP | As a passenger train was travelling between Portsmouth and Shalford Junction on the direct Portsmouth line it was thrown off the rails by coming in contact with a bullock which had just jumped a gate and was running along the line. Three passengers were killed on the spot and 30 others were more or less injured. | 3 | 30 | | |
| 8 | 30SEP | When a passenger train was travelling between Botley and Bishopstoke Stations at from 20 to 25 miles an hour one of the axles of a third class carriage broke. Several passengers complained of being shaken, but only one made any claim upon the Company. | | 1 | | |
| 9 | 28OCT | A passenger when crossing from the up to the down platform at Wandsworth Station was knocked down by a through train and killed on the spot. She was cautioned not to cross until the train had passed. | | | 1 | |
| 10 | 20DEC | A boy who was travelling without a ticket or money jumped out of a train between Walton and Esher Stations and sustained concussion of the brain | | | | 1 |
| 11 | 26DEC | A passenger was run over and killed by a passenger train while improperly crossing the line at Vauxhall Station. | | 1 | | |
| ACCIDENTS 1973 PASSENGERS OF THE L&SWR | | | 3 | 53 | 3 | 2 |

Accidents: Inspecting Officers' Reports Parliamentary Returns

RAIL 1054/61 (1872) (TNA), pp.81-2: RAIL 1053/62 (1873) (TNA), pp.72-5.

Glossary

The purpose of this Glossary is to provide an extended picture of some of the 'knowable' individuals mentioned in the text. The Buckwells, Coopers, Wrights and Colleys are not included as their circumstances are fully explored, but the Ferriers, Cookseys and the Lush family have found a place, together with some of the managers/directors about whom more detail has been written particularly in *The Gazette*. As the extra information cannot be considered in isolation the Glossary does contain some facts already in the dissertation. The aim, however, is to provide all available detail, to enable a greater familiarity with, and understanding of, the nineteenth century railway workers living within the Kingston and Surbiton location.

Names are in alphabetical order together with the census in which the individual(s) are to be found.

Cooksey George Thomas (1881, 1891)

George Thomas Cooksey joined Passenger Audit in 1860 aged 14. He was moved to the Booking Office at Waterloo in 1869. After being appointed Chief Clerk at Clapham Junction in June 1875 he came to Surbiton in October of that year his salary being reduced from £100 to £90. In December 1876 he was dismissed from L&SWR service having cashed a cheque for a party having no business transaction with the Company resulting in a loss of £164 18s.0d. This is mentioned in Chapter Three.

In 1881 he is to be found living with his wife Mary Ann and six children in Portland Road with the occupation of 'Railway Clerk'. There is no indication that the L&SWR had re-employed him and it appears possible that he had found employment with another railway company. On the 1891 census the family had moved to Wellington Road, George continued to be a 'Railway Clerk' two of his children had left home but there were three more including a 2-month-old baby.

Day Charles (1871, 1881, 1891)

Charles Day was one of the few railway personnel who were born in Kingston. In 1881 he was 19 years of age and a railway porter living in Acre Road. On the 15 January 1885 he married Elizabeth Sandford Birch at St Paul's Church, Kingston, and by 1891 he had progressed to the position of a Railway Guard and was living in 2 Bearfield Cottages, Bearfield Road. The couple had no children at this time. It was Charles who assisted George Spencer out of the brake-van at the rear of the train after the accident outside Clapham Junction in 1904. By this time Charles was 'Head Passenger Guard'. He was riding in the front brake-van behind the engine and was employed in parcel and mail work when the accident happened.

During his report to the Board of Trade he stated that he had only been a guard for fourteen years although he had worked for the Company for twenty-six years. This would explain his absence from the Guard's Supper in March 1888, as at that time he was probably still a porter. He also stated that he had come on duty at 1 p.m. and would have gone off duty at 12 midnight on the day of the accident. Charles was therefore working an eleven hour schedule when the accident occurred.

Dyson William (1871, 1881)

William Dyson joined the London & Southampton railway in 1838 when he was eleven years of age. He was recommended by W. Reed Esq., who was at that time Company Secretary.¹ He was obviously an exceptional child. Between the period before 1871 and up to and after 1881 he lived with his wife Harriet at 1 Paragon Grove, Surbiton. The house is no longer standing. On the 1871 census the couple are shown to have eight children. Annie born 1854, William 1857, Edmund, 1860, Harriet 1861, Harris 1863, Charles 1865, Louisa 1866, and Percival 1868. Only four children were living in the house on census night 1881. Annie had married Leonard Yates, a schoolmaster, at St Marks Church. She was to make her home in St. Andrews Road in Surbiton. William and Edmund had left home, Edmund having married Kate Wiggins of Godalming. Louisa aged fourteen years of age was a scholar living in Battersea. Of the 4 remaining children, Harriet was unemployed, Percival was a scholar, Harris and Charles were railway clerks.

By 1891 the family had left the area. Mr Dyson worked for the Passenger Audit office for fifty-four years, retiring in 1892 at sixty-five years of age. Before retirement

his salary had reached £350 per annum, nearly £7 per week.

Fay Sam (Sir) (1881)

Sam Fay was found on the 1881 census aged twenty-four years of age. He was lodging in 13 Albert Road, having joined the railway in April 1872, when he was fifteen years of age. His first position was at Itchen Abbas, having been nominated to a junior clerkship, at a wage of £30 per annum, to learn the methods of passenger and freight accounts and telegraphy. Via Aylesford, Stockbridge, Turnham Green and Southampton he came to Kingston in April 1876 on a salary of £60 per annum. Whilst in Kingston in 1881 with two other colleagues, he started the *London and South-Western Gazette*. He also wrote *A Royal Road* whilst living in the borough. This was published in 1882 by a William Drewett described on the census as 'a printer employing 9 hands.' He married Frances Ann Farebrother, the daughter of a cabinet maker, in 1883. They were to have 6 children, 4 boys and 2 girls. In 1884 he took up a position in the Traffic Superintendents Office at Waterloo on a salary of £115, becoming chief clerk in 1885, salary £140, and in 1887 was earning £200 per annum. He became Chief Assistant Storekeeper at Waterloo but was offered the position of General Manager of the Midland and South-Western Junction Line at the beginning of 1892.²

The line was in the hands of the receiver under the Court of Chancery but Fay worked hard to pull it round. He returned to the L&SWR as Superintendent of the Line, with a salary of £1,500 in April 1899 when the company was no longer in debt. Three years later he became General Manager of the Great Central Railway. This company was also almost nearly bankrupt, but during the twenty-two years Fay remained General Manager he transformed it into a very profitable business, whilst also serving on various government committees. Although the origins of the Conciliation Scheme were said to have come from Lloyd George, Bagwell considers that Sam Fay was the one with the best claim to have engineered the scheme in 1907.³ He was knighted on Monday 22 July 1912 by King George V at the official opening of the new dock at Immingham, Grimsby, which, it is said was one of his ideas. He became Director General of Movements and Railways at the War Office and a member of the Army Council during the 1914-1918 war. He continued to work after his retirement travelling to Australasia to take a Royal Commission, reporting on the railways of

New South Wales and New Zealand. He was also Chairman of Beyer Peacock Locomotive Company and a director of several Argentinian railways. He died in May 1953 at the age of ninety-six.⁴

Ferrier, Charles Augustus (1871)

Charles Augustus Ferrier is to be found on the 1871 census aged 40 years of age, a 'Railway Goods Clerk' living in Ewell Road with his wife Martha aged 35, and his children Alfred 7, Elizabeth 5 and Anne Louisa 3.

On 23 March 1871 a memorandum in the traffic minutes reads:

Read report from Mr Dyson that 'Ferrier' Goods Clerk at Surbiton Station is deficient in his Cash to the extent of about £50. Also read letter from Mr Spencer Agent at Surbiton Station in explanation. This matter to be reported to the Guarantee Fund Committee and to be reconsidered when "Ferrier" recovers.⁵

4 May 1871

Cash Deficiency Surbiton Station

Read letter from Mr C Ferrier formerly Goods Clerk at Surbiton with reference to the deficiency in his Cash. The matter to be postponed for the present.⁶

There were no further memos with reference to 'Ferrier'. On the 1881 census the family were found living in 37 Andrew St., Manchester, Lancashire. Charles A Ferrier, aged 49 was an 'out of employ 'Block Printer'', Martha, was looking after the family including a lodger, Alfred 16, was an 'Office Assistant (Mess)', Elizabeth 14, was a 'Yarn Finisher', Annie 11, and another member of the family Minnie 6 were scholars.

Hilditch, William B. (1841, 1851, 1861)

Mr Hilditch was first mentioned on the 16 February 1839 in the Traffic Minutes. An accident had occurred at Ditton Marsh (Esher) Station, when a ballast waggon had been left too near the rails on the 'bye line'.⁷ In 1841 William was found on the census living in Surbiton in 'the new station'. This would have been the current site of Surbiton Station. William (supposedly aged twenty-nine) was living with his wife Martha aged twenty-five years and his two sons, eighteen month old William and four month old John. There was also a servant aged thirteen years in the household. On 9 May 1845 William Hilditch applied for leave of absence on the following Tuesday and Wednesday, which was allowed and Mr Martin had to arrange the business at his station during the time he was away.⁸ This leave of absence may have been requested



Figure 10.1. Surbiton Station probably taken early 20th century but showing the old station.
Chris Raynor's Collection

because of his wife's funeral, as the 1851 census shows William a widower, Martha Hilditch having died prior to the 1851 census. On the 1851 census William was still living in railway accommodation in the Victoria Road Station, Surbiton. The census shows that he had been born in Tamworth in Warwickshire and that his age at this time was reputed to be forty-four. His two sons were aged eleven and ten years and had been born in Esher and he had a thirty-year-old housekeeper called Rebecca Paling, born in Leicestershire. Also living within the family was Richard Cooper a railway signalman.

In the 1859 Traffic Minutes a memorandum states that Mr Hilditch was to be paid £1 1s for one year if necessary. It appears that William was unwell.⁹ On the 23 February 1860 Mr Scott asked if the 21 shillings per week paid for last year to Mr Hilditch formerly Station Master at Kingston (Surbiton Station) was to be continued. This was referred to the Board with a recommendation to continue the allowance for one year further.¹⁰ On the 1861 census William aged fifty-five, was retired and still living in Victoria Road although probably not in the station. His two sons remained with him, but also in the household was his sister, a widow Mrs Estlin aged fifty-nine years, and her 3 daughters Elizabeth, Harriet and Mary aged twenty-four, twenty-two and sixteen. The 2 eldest girls were governesses and the youngest an apprentice dressmaker. The girls had all been born in Spool in Lancashire. There is no further information relating to William B Hilditch after 1861.

William Henry Hilditch (1841, 1851, 1861), Born 1839 - Died 1905.

Born in Ditton Marsh Station (Esher) in 1839 William Henry Hilditch the son of William B Hilditch was educated at Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Kingston. He joined the railway company's service in May 1856 when he was sixteen years of age on a salary of £50 per annum. In 1861 he was appointed Relieving Agent, and during the next three years he relieved nearly every station then open. He was appointed station master at Woking in 1864. Whilst at Woking on three separate occasions he averted collisions, and was rewarded by the directors. When in 1880 he accepted the position of Superintendent at Waterloo he was presented with a marble clock and purse containing £80 from the passengers who used the Woking station. The 1881 census shows William and his wife Mary Ann living in Battersea with their 4

daughters and 2 sons. However In 1888 he was allowed to occupy the Company House at 196 Lambeth Road rent-free. The duties at Waterloo Station involved great organisational skills. It was said of him that 'his was an old time courtesy, as pleasing as it is rare. Bluff, intrigue, and make-believe were tactics foreign to his character...' He retired on superannuation on the 30th September 1903. In consideration of his long service, he was granted a bonus of one year's salary a sum of £350. He died less than two years later in August 1905.¹¹

In his obituary in the *South Western Gazette* the following has been included:

...it will interest the readers of the *South Western Gazette* to learn how Kingston obtained the early news of the declaration of peace between England and Russia and concerning the Crimean war. The secret has been kept for 50 years. In those days (when William Henry was first with the company) there were very few Post Office or Government wires and the railway wires were practically the only means available for telegraphic dispatches. Young Hilditch was sitting in the office at Surbiton when he observed the momentous dispatch passing over the wire from Southampton to the Foreign Secretary. He took down the message and immediately hurried off to inform the mayor of Kingston in strict confidence. His Worship, fully alive to the importance of the historic event, dispatched the Town Crier to call the people together in the market square, where he also summoned the Corporation and other wise men to attend.

The Mayor then announced the Peace had been proclaimed, whereat a procession was formed, bells were rung, and the populace gave vent to wild and general rejoicings. Many enquiries were made as to where the news originated, but it remained a mystery how the Mayor of Kingston obtained the information before the Government.

Young Hilditch looked on quietly, delighted to know that his secret message had caused so much joy and commotion.¹²

Hilditch, John E. (1841, 1851, 1861),

John E Hilditch joined the L&SWR service when he was fifteen years of age in December 1856. He was employed as a clerk at Kingston (Surbiton) Station on a salary of 10 shillings a week. This was increased to £100 per annum in 1866 when he took charge of Surbiton Station when Mr Spencer was absent. He was appointed relieving agent in 1867. He became agent at Shepperton in December of that year and in 1875 moved to Romsey as agent on a salary of £115. On the 1881 census he was to be found living in the Railway Station House, Romsey Extra, Hampshire with his

wife Lydia, aged thirty-six years, who had been born in Surbiton, 5 sons, 1 daughter and his mother in law Ruth Stone. There was also a servant. When he retired in February 1898 his salary was £145 per annum.

The minutes on the 8 December 1897 read that:

Mr J E Hilditch Station Master at Romsey laid up by illness since 1 October 1897. Application for allowance of salary. Mr Hilditch may be allowed full pay up to the end of the current year.¹³

On the 2 February 1898 a minute noted that Mr Hilditch would be allowed an allowance from the superannuation fund committee a sum of £54. 18s. 0d per annum.¹⁴ John would have been fifty-seven years of age at this time and was therefore receiving his pension prior to his sixtieth birthday but had worked more than forty-one years for the Company.

Lavey George Frederick (1891)

Census detail shows a George F Lavey aged three was found on the 1871 census living in Norbiton. A marriage between George Lavey and Kate Isabel Holdsworth at St. Luke's Church, Kingston was held on 1 August 1892.

A Traffic Minute states that the solicitor was asked for a report following the fatal accident of G. Lavey on 20 April 1893.¹⁵ (The 1880 Employers' Liability Act stated that the Company was liable if the accident was considered to be 'by reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer...')¹⁶ The solicitor considered that in his opinion the Company was not legally liable. It was decided that £20 should be given as a gratuity.¹⁷ The Board of Trade did not consider this case. However a report in *The South Western Gazette*, noted in the dissertation, gives the detail relating to George Lavey's death.¹⁸

Leadbitter John (1871)

John Leadbitter was living in Alpha Road in 1871. He was born in Durham in 1846 and is mentioned in the dissertation as one of the two young men who had been born some distance from the line. He had joined the Company in January 1866, as a clerk in the Registrar's Office at £70 per annum. In 1872 he was transferred to the Transfer Office on a salary of £95 and he remained at this post until his retirement in 1906 by which time he was earning a salary of £190 per annum.



Figure 10.2.
20 Westfield Road, the home of John Wisley
in 1861 and Silas Lush in 1871 and 1891.

The 1881 census shows John unmarried and living as a lodger in 85 Railton Road, Lambeth in Surrey.

Lush Silas (1871 & 1891)

Silas Lush was first found on the 1861 census aged twenty-two years living as a Boarder in 9 George Street (Cottage Grove). On the 1871 census he is shown to have moved to 20 Westfield Road and was married to Ann having 2 children Silas W. aged seven and Martha M aged three. Both Silas and Ann had been born in Gillingham in Dorset. On the 1881 census Ann, not Silus, was the 'Head of the Household' in Westfield Road, calling herself a widow. Living with her were Martha fourteen, and Alice four and three Boarders. Silas has not been found on the 1881 census, nor has his son Silus W. Ann died on the 27 December 1889 and was buried in Bonner Hill cemetery. By 1891 Silus had returned to live in 20 Westfield Road. He is recorded as the 'Head of the Household', a widower and living with his daughters twenty-three year old Martha and sixteen year old Alice.

Silas was the porter who was working with William Bollen shunting when William was killed.¹⁹ In February 1892 a memorandum in the Traffic Minutes notes that Silas 'Horse Driver' Lush, was fined 5 shillings having been blamed for the death of one of the shunting horses at Surbiton Station.²⁰ Silas died on the 1 November 1908 and was buried in the new ground in Bonner Hill Cemetery.²¹

Macaulay Frederic (1861)

Frederic Macaulay in 1861 was living with his uncle, Colonel Hugh Kyd in Fleetland, Claremont Road, Surbiton. Col. Kyd was formerly of the Madras Fusiliers, Frederic married Rebecca Rose, his cousin, (also on the 1861 census living at Fleetwood and the daughter of Col. Kyd), on the 10 January 1863 at St. Marks Church, Surbiton. By 1881 he was living with his wife and 3 servants at 5 Altenburg Gardens, Battersea.

The son of a solicitor Frederic was born on 14 July 1830 at Antrim, in Ireland. He began his official life at the age of eighteen under the auspices of his cousin Hugh Law M.P. who subsequently became Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He entered the L&SWR service in December 1850 as a clerk and by 1880 he had achieved the position of Secretary of the Company, retiring in October 1898 to join the Board of Directors. He



Figure 10.3.

Claremont Road, Surbiton. The house on the left of the picture may have been Fleetland the house where, in 1861, Frederic Macaulay lived with his uncle Colonel Kyd and his cousin Rebecca Rose, who became his wife.



Figure 10.4.

5 Altenburg Gardens, Battersea the home of Frederic Macaulay, and his wife Rebecca Rose. Mr Macaulay joined the L&SWR in December 1850 was Secretary of the company from 1880 retiring in October 1898 to join the Board of Directors.

was associated with many clubs and societies, and was a Freeman of the City of London, a P.M. in Masonry and Knight of the Temple, also of the Masonic Orders of Rome and of the Red Cross of Constantine. It has been suggested that he had some responsibility for the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for the uniformed staff. In 1873 he was presented with a handsome drawing room clock by the Friendly Society and on his 25th wedding anniversary the Company presented him with a solid silver punch bowl and silver ebony stand *en suite*.²² It was said of him that he made a host of friends and by his gentlemanly tact and diplomacy gained the respect and esteem of all with whom he had business or social dealings.²³ Rebecca Rose died on the 6 May 1910.²⁴ Frederic died on the 18 July 1912 the couple appear to have been childless, no offspring being mentioned in the report of his funeral, his chief mourner being his nephew.²⁵

Parsons Thomas (1881 - 1891)

In 1881 Thomas Parsons aged thirty-four years of age was living in Gibbon Road, with his wife Ann who was aged thirty-two. The couple had one child four-month-old Lydia. On the 1881 census Thomas was described as a porter. In 1888 at the time of the collision at Hampton Wick he stated that he had been a signalman for seven years and seven years at Kingston junction. By this time he had 4 children, Lydia would have been seven, Herbert four, Frederick two and there was a baby called Annie. He was partially blamed for the accident at Hampton Wick but the report stated that his evidence was given, 'in a remarkably straightforward and honest manner, and (he) at once admitted that the accident was due to his mistake.'²⁶ Moreover it was considered that the driver and fireman of the light engine involved were careless, the Kingston signalling arrangements were deficient and that the signalman at Hampton Wick might have averted the collision if he had been warned in time.

Describing how he first noted his mistake he said: 'I was looking out of the window, when I saw the engine was on the wrong line. For a second or two I did not know what to do, and the collision occurred almost immediately afterwards. I heard the collision.'²⁷

The Board of Trade report states that 'two passengers who were riding in the leading carriage were killed. and 13... injured, three at least seriously so. The fireman of the train engine was killed on the spot, and the driver of this engine was so badly hurt that

he died shortly afterwards. The driver of the light engine, and the head guard of the passenger train were seriously injured, and the fireman of the light engine was badly shaken.’²⁸ On the 1891 census the family had moved to smaller premises, Phillips Cottages in Canbury. Thomas continued to work for the railway but on the 1891 census he is described as a warehouseman. Details of the accident can be found in Chapter Seven.

Scott Archibald (1861 - 1891)

Archibald Scott was born in Dundee in Scotland on the 30 March 1831. He was found on the 1861 census aged forty years living in Uxbridge Road with a housekeeper, Elizabeth Murray who stayed with him throughout the four census periods. He also had 2 servants and a three-year-old ward Robina Gordon Stewart. By 1871 he had moved to Gordon Villa, South Bank, which was located behind Surbiton Station. He was to remain there throughout the remainder of his life. In 1874 Robina, aged sixteen years died and was buried in Bonner Hill Cemetery. In 1891 Helen Scott his sister, fifteen years his junior, had taken up residence with him. He died in Gordon Villa on the 6 December 1910, with Helen the chief mourner at his funeral, which took place at the Bonner Hill cemetery.

Before Archibald joined the L&SWR in 1852 he had been employed by the Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee and the North British Railway companies. He was General Manager of the L&SWR from 1870 to 1885 and a Director from 1885 to 1902 when he retired. It was said of him that ‘he was of a kindly and sympathetic nature’, that after he left the Directorate he never travelled by train. It was also said of him that he had an insurmountable objection to his portrait being taken. *The South Western Gazette* had refrained from publishing one during his lifetime but published a snapshot, taken by a friend in 1902, after his death.²⁹ However Sam Fay put ‘an ink photo’ of him by Sprague & Co., London, with a copy of his signature at the beginning of his book *A Royal Road*.³⁰

Scotter (Sir) Charles (1891)

Charles Scotter is found on the 1891 census, aged fifty-four years, living in Sandilands, Surbiton Hill Park, with his wife Annie aged fifty-six and his twenty-seven year old daughter Emaline. In the household were 4 servants. Charles was born in Norwich,

his wife and daughter were born in Hull. He had 3 other children not found on the census.

Charles took over as General Manager from Archibald Scott in 1885. He had been Goods Manager of the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincolnshire Railway prior to becoming General Manager of the L&SWR, a job that he continued up to 1897. Probably the most important work he carried out was the acquisition of the Southampton Docks and their updating with 'the most recent machinery and appliances', together with the introduction of the Inman Line, and the White Star and other shipping.

It is suggested that it was his decision to abolish the medical arrangement fees in 1887; it is also considered that he played a part in the organisation of the Non-Contributory Pension Scheme for the uniformed staff in 1890. He is reputed to have bestowed many privileges during his tenure of office, one of these being three days leave of absence with pay to all the men in the permanent way department.³¹ Mrs Scotter died on the 7 January 1894 and on 1 May of that year Charles contributed £500 to provide a dormitory to be called the "Annie Scotter Ward" at the orphanage in Woking. From 1894 onwards until his death he provided the orphanage children with their Christmas dinner. In 1895 Charles was knighted for services to the railway, became a Director from 1897 to 1904, and Chairman from 1904 to 1910. During this time, in 1907, he was created a Baronet by King Edward VII. He died at his residence Rutland House, Kingston, in December 1910, a few days after the death of Archibald Scott, the General Manager whom he had replaced in 1885. He was cremated at Golder's Green crematorium.

Spencer, George (1871 & 1891)

George Spencer was born in 1847 in Stockbridge, Hampshire. Before joining the railway he worked as a stable hand at the Danebury Racing Stables, coming to Kingston during the mid to late 1870s having joined the railway. After lodging with Eliza Denby he married her daughter Caroline at St Peter's Church Norbiton on the 11 December 1880. In 1881 he was living in Elm Grove with his mother in law Eliza, Caroline and two lodgers. By 1891 Eliza had died and the couple had three children John aged nine, Frederick seven, and Jessie aged two. In 1892 Annie was born. He



Figure 10.5.

Probably Woodbines Cottage, Grove Lane home of George and Eliza Thornton and their four children in 1891. Eliza died on the last day of the year aged 31 years of age. Three of the houses in the road have their original 1891 names thus making finding Woodbines Cottage possible.

was the badly injured guard mentioned in the Board of Trade report on the 16 February 1904, when he was helped out of his guard's van by Charles Day. The accident was also mentioned in the Surrey Comet Wednesday 27 January 1904 page 5. However the Comet states that he was only 'seriously shaken and sustained several cuts and bruises'. In fact he did not return to work until August 1904 when he was allowed £10 'out of pocket expenses' by the Traffic Committee.³² George would have been eligible and probably did receive half pay compensation by reason of the Workmen's Compensation Act. George did fully recover, and on retirement received the Non-Contributory Pension, dying on the 31 December 1927.

Thornton, George Thomas (1871 & 1891)

George Thornton was born in Newcastle, Northumberland and had joined the Company in August 1869 at the age of seventeen years as a junior clerk in Passenger Audit. He was mentioned in the dissertation as one of the two young men who had been born some distance from the line. He was paid £30 per annum on entry into the service. On the 1871 census he was living in Alpha Road, Surbiton. On the 1881 census he was living in Battersea with his wife Eliza, who had been born in Kingston, and his daughter Mary who was a week old. In 1891 he had returned to Kingston with his family and was living in Woodbine Cottage in Grove Lane, with his wife Eliza, Mary who was ten, Edith who was six, Francis who was four and four month old George. There was also a sixteen -year-old servant. On the last day of 1891 Eliza died and was buried in Bonner Hill cemetery, she was thirty-one years of age. George was later appointed Chief Pay Clerk and by the time he retired his salary was £300 per annum.

Wiltshire Richard (1871)

Born in Millbrook in Hampshire, Richard Wiltshire was thirty-three years of age and the Kingston Station Master in 1871. Living in the station accommodation with him were the Frys, James, a porter, who described himself as a 'servant', his wife Maria, who described herself as a 'housekeeper', and their three children aged five, two and ten months. The children had all been born in Kingston. There was also a general servant Agnes England aged fourteen also a Kingstonian. By 1881 Richard had become a Railway Superintendent and was living in Canute Road Railway Station, Southampton St. Mary, in Hampshire, with a wife Eliza aged thirty-eight, who had been born in



Figure 10.6.

15 Cleaveland Road, Surbiton, the home of William Willis and his wife Sarah. The couple lived here during 1881 and 1891. William was killed on Surbiton Station in September 1900. In 1891 the couple had four children Ellen aged 9, William 7, Florence 4 and Harry 2.

Birkenhead in Cheshire. His mother in law Emma Hillier, and a boarder were also part of the household.

Willis William (1881, 1891)

William Willis and his wife Sarah are found in Cleaveland Road Surbiton and are found on both the 1881 and 1891 census. They were both born in Hampshire. Although in 1881 they had no children, by 1891 they had four, Ellen aged nine years, William seven, Florence four and Harry who was two. William was killed in 1900. The accident is included in the Board of Trade reports for that year and in the October issue of *The Gazette* it was stated that following his death the coupons for the accident claim had been signed and passed to the Law Accident Insurance Society. The November issue of *The Gazette* published a letter from Mrs Willis including her address 15 Cleaveland Road, Surbiton.

To the Editor 'South Western Gazette'

Sir I have to thank you very much for the promptitude with which the £15 has been paid me in connection with the insurance provided for by my late husband, he being a subscriber to your paper.

I am Sir, yours obediently, S Willis.

The paper also noted that William had always been a very careful man.³³

Wisley John (1861)

John Wisley a railway labourer was born in 1797 in Shropshire. He was possibly the oldest railway 'servant' to be found on the census. In 1861 he was sixty-four years of age and living in 20 Westfield Road, Mary his wife was born in 1803 in Devonshire. Although John was 'Head of his Household; they lived in the same house as a family of five who had a boarder. On the 1871 census 20 Westfield Road was the home of the porter Silus Lush, his wife and two children.

- ¹ William Reed's Examination, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before *The Select Committee on Railways, 1839, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, Vol.X p.53.
- ² Sam Fay, Clerical Staff Character Books, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p. 711.
- ³ Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, p.269.
- ⁴ R.A.Powell 'Introduction', Sam Fay *A Royal Road*, pp. v-viii.
- ⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 March 1871, (200), RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ⁶ Traffic Committee Minutes, 4 May 1871, RAIL 411/241 (TNA).
- ⁷ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees 16 Feb 1839, RAIL 412/3 (TNA).
- ⁸ Traffic and General Purposes and Traffic Police and Goods Committees 9 May 1845, RAIL 412/3 (TNA)
- ⁹ Traffic Committee Minutes, 27 Jan.1859, (896), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ¹⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 23 Feb.1860, (1540), RAIL 411/229 (TNA).
- ¹¹ Wm. H. Hilditch Work Record, RAIL 411/492 (TNA), p. 278.
- ¹² *The South Western Gazette* Sep.1905, ZPER 11/22 (TNA), p.9.
- ¹³ Traffic Committee Minutes, 8 Dec.97, (821), RAIL 411/261 (TNA).
- ¹⁴ Traffic Committee Minutes, 2 Feb.98, (939), RAIL 411/261 (TNA).
- ¹⁵ Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 May 1893, (17) RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ¹⁶ An Act to extend and regulate the Liability of Employers to make Compensation for Personal Injuries suffered by Workmen in their service [7 September 1880] [43 & 44 Vict.] [Chapter 42.] (TNA).
- ¹⁷ Traffic Committee Minutes, 24 May 1893 (46) RAIL 411/259 (TNA).
- ¹⁸ *The South Western Gazette* June 1893 ZPER 11/12, (TNA), p.6.
- ¹⁹ *Surrey Comet*, 2 June 1866, (LHR).
- ²⁰ Traffic Committee Minutes, 17 Feb 1892, (1357), RAIL 411/257 (TNA).
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- ²² *The South Western Gazette*, Feb. 1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA), p.9.
- ²³ *The South Western Gazette* Nov. 1898 ZPER 11/17 (TNA) p.9.
- ²⁴ Macaulays of Red Hall, co. Antrim; Retrieved 1/27.2007 11.14 p.m:
<http://genforum.genealogy.com/macaulay/messages/1129.html>
- ²⁵ *The South Western Gazette* Nov. 1898 ZPER 11/17 (TNA) p.9.
- ²⁶ Report dated 31 Aug. 1888, Accident 6 Aug. 1888, Board of Trade, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), p.65.
- ²⁷ Accident 6 Aug. 1888, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), p.60.
- ²⁸ Accident 6 Aug. 1888, RAIL 1053/77 (TNA), p.57.
- ²⁹ *The South Western Gazette* Jan. 1911 ZPER 11/28 (TNA), p.8.
- ³⁰ Fay, *A Royal Road*
- ³¹ *The South Western Gazette*, Jan. 1892, ZPER 11/11 (TNA).
- ³² Traffic Committee Minutes, 10 Aug.1904, (1061), RAIL 411/265 (TNA).
- ³³ *The South Western Gazette* Oct. 1900, ZPER 11/18 p.5; *The South Western Gazette*, Nov.1900, ZPER 11/18 (TNA), p.4.

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