**Inside London's Railway Termini, c.1870-1939**

Between 1836 and 1899 London's railway termini evolved on multiple sites to the north and south of the city and from 1860 in more central locations closer to the City and the West End.[1] This pattern of distribution, which is relatively unlike that of most European cities, shaped London's urban development and the emergence of distinct railway districts.[2] It also created a need for onward travel between stations and to more central London locations. From the 1840s, concerns over railway-related road congestion led to various mid-century proposals for urban improvement including the creation of a central London railway terminal.[3]  In the 1860s, informed by a rise in suburban travel and spurred on by commercial rivalry between railway companies, efforts were made to alleviate the problem by constructing new termini to the south of the city at Victoria and Charing Cross and close to The City at Ludgate Hill and Cannon Street to bring passengers closer to their final destinations.[4] The Metropolitan Railway, the first underground railway, opened between Bishop's Road (Paddington) and Farringdon Street in 1863. Extensive city and suburban services operated in and around London by the mid-1870s.[5]  The inner circle of the Metropolitan and District Railways, which was created to connect London termini, was completed in 1884. Other than a period of Government control during the First World War, London's major termini were owned and managed by the railway companies throughout the period of enquiry.

The capital's railway termini extended beyond those spaces that were open to passengers and included tracks, signals and the technical apparatus of railway transport, railway company offices and meeting rooms, and spaces designed to service the movement of goods.  While acknowledging that there was not always a clear distinction between those spaces used by passengers and those occupied by freight, or between those used by station workers and by the travelling and non-travelling public, the focus here is on the passenger station.  The article is concerned with the provision, location, regulation and social use of those inside spaces and facilities of the wider station complex – its covered platforms and roadways, kiosks, waiting rooms, booking offices and retail spaces, among others – that were ostensibly open to all,

subject to conformity to railway regulations and prevailing codes of respectable public behaviour, or were accessible only to those with a platform ticket or ticket to travel.

The railway played a central role in the development of industrial Britain, introducing a new experience of space and time, democratising travel, and creating new possibilities for domestic life, work, tourism, leisure and consumption.[6] As Erika Diane Rappaport has indicated, improvements in the speed and cost of public transport helped shape a mass-consuming public and new urban leisure districts within which large department stores became major attractions, such that by the early twentieth century 'the West End had simply become "Town" for southern England'.[7] Equally dependent upon the expansion of public transport were such new education and entertainment environments as the Olympia Exhibition Hall, Alexandra Place, the Royal Aquarium and Summer and Winter Gardens, and the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, all of which were constructed in the final third of the nineteenth century to meet the needs of a growing market for urban leisure.[8] In common with London's railway termini, such spaces often used iron and glass construction, fulfilled multiple functions, and were complex in their spatial arrangements.

Histories of the international development of the railway station have identified certain common approaches to their design and construction, principally with reference to those of Europe and north America.[9] Although an extensive literature on London's railway termini has investigated them from the vantage points of both their architectural and engineering design, notable aspects of their emergence as a significant new form of commercial public building have yet to be explored.[10] In his book *London's Termini* (1969) Alan Jackson observed, of P.C. Hardwick's Great Hall at Euston Station, 'In 1852 a Carrara marble statue of George Stephenson by E.H. Baily was placed at the foot of the staircase. Over the years, clutter accumulated, including slot machines and a number of railway models in large glass cases'.[11] **[Fig. 1]** Jackson's passing reference to 'clutter' helpfully pinpoints one of the difficulties with much of the literature on London's railway termini which is that it has often failed to examine more closely such revealing aspects of their visual, material and spatial culture. 'Clutter' speaks to mess or disorder, to an accretion of objects, to the passing of time, and to processes of occupation and place-making. As such, it can perhaps serve as a useful reference point for

an expanded approach that considers the development of London's terminal stations more fully.

More recent studies have acknowledged the cultural complexity of railway stations. George Revill, for example, has described stations as 'quite porous cultural entities' and as 'inherently contested and many-layered cultural phenomena'[12], while Thomas Bolton has examined the significance of London's major termini in creating new railway districts whose social and economic legacy has yet to be addressed.[13]  As Colin Divall has indicated, it is only in the twenty-first century that historians have begun to consider railway travel as a form of consumption to shed new light on the commercial culture of the railways.[14]  Pointing to the opportunity of closer investigation, Mary Hammond has compared the institutional context of the library to the commercial context of the railway bookstall to show how the railway's modernity was a disruptive force in the creation of a new marketplace for literature.[15]

Mark Pimlott's study, *The Public Interior as Idea and Project*, offers a helpful framework through which to approach London's railway termini. Understanding 'public interiors' as 'those spaces taken to be public, even though they may be privately owned and operated, imposing restrictions upon or determining behaviour, calibrating performance, or shaping relations to authority, others and the world', Pimlott draws attention to the operation of power and agency within them.[16]  Viewing London's railway termini from the inside, this article aims to offer insights into some of the commercial forces and tensions that shaped their development as multi-functioning public sites of transit, leisure and consumption.

**The Routine of Travel**

By the 1860s a common form had been found for London's railway termini. As the *London Evening Standard* reported, on the opening of the Midland Railway's new station at St. Pancras,

> In its arrangements and general features the Midland Station differs little, if at all, from the model now almost universally adopted.  It consists, that is to say, of one huge

open shed, roofed by a single span of glass and iron, and with the extremity abutting on the road, terminating in a gigantic hotel.[17]

Like the winter garden and the department store, London's terminal stations combined modern engineering with historicist architectural design in what Richards and MacKenzie have described as 'a daring and innovative modernity and a heroic and comforting traditionalism'.[18] More than the city-facing hotel, it was the train shed that came to symbolise the railway station, and descriptions of London's termini frequently emphasised their impressive scale, the height and span of their roofs and the weight of materials used to construct them.

Mid-nineteenth century writings evidence the preoccupations of railway travellers when faced with these new environments and the different operating systems of the railway companies. In 1848 *The Spectator* complained of the unpredictability of travel:

> The arrangements at the stations might be improved by the exercise of a little zealous attention and ingenuity…Much confusion is caused by varying arrangements in the departure of passengers, not only at the several stations, but even at the same station at different times. It would be possible to introduce a considerable amount of uniformity, so that one journey by railway might almost suffice to teach the practice for all the rest, and the passenger might only have to observe a set routine for each occasion – paying his ticket, finding his carriage, and taking his seat, almost without thought, by one simple uniform operation.[19]

Arrival at the station was a similarly taxing ordeal, with passengers forced to step down from trains onto narrow pavements choked with luggage and porters, all of which demonstrated 'a want of ingenuity or of care in the planning arrangements'.[20] This call for 'a set routine', with its implication of a desire for an appropriate spatial form for railway travel is reflected in other mid-century writings. The author and journalist Samuel Sidney, for example, called for the railway station plan to support instinctive navigation of the interior, writing, 'A refreshment-room should be the ante-room to the waiting-room, and the two should be so

arranged with reference to the booking-office and *cloak-rooms,* that strangers find their way without asking a dozen questions from busy porters and musing policemen'.[21]

While passengers aspired to a more consistent travel experience, the railway companies faced significant challenges in developing their stations to meet those expectations  Some evidence of success can be found in the case of the new Charing Cross Station in the 1860s, built with an imposing hotel frontage by E.M. Barry. Writing not long after its opening, the publisher G.P. Putnam appreciated the station's 'systematic arrangements', while the journalist W.J. Stillman, in 1883, commented on 'the consummate order' and 'want of bustle and fussiness' that he experienced upon his arrival.[22]

A more cautious approach was taken to the design of the new Victoria Railway Station at Pimlico in the same decade. Its 'light and elegant' roof was completed alongside temporary timber offices, the plan being to replace them with permanent brick-built structures once the needs of the railway companies and the development of 'the traffic' were better understood.[23]  This hesitance in committing to a permanent form for the station's principal building is indicative of the speed with which railway travel was taken up by the public and the problem of predicting future passenger numbers and requirements. It also reflects the complex commercial arrangements at Victoria, where the London, Chatham and Dover Railway and the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway maintained separate termini and accommodated the services of several other companies.[24]

From the 1870s London's termini evolved in line with the changing commercial priorities of the railway companies which began to recognise the opportunity of widespread leisure travel.[25]  Equally important to their development was the expansion of suburban railway services and competition for suburban passengers and routes.  As the American engineer Samuel Rea suggested, in his 1888 study *The Railways Terminating in London*, the city's 'enormous' and 'constantly increasing' suburban traffic was largely the product of the railway companies and 'must pay them handsomely, else they would not be so eager to secure it by expending large sums of money on huge and costly terminal stations, or by offering such superior train facilities to attract it'.[26]

As passenger numbers grew, a distinction emerged between 'holiday lines' with an emphasis on recreational travel and 'heavy lines' at the service of goods traffic and industry. In the 1870s goods traffic was, for example, comparatively small on such 'holiday lines' as the London and Brighton, South Eastern, London, Chatham and Dover, and South Western, where most of the revenue came from passengers.[27] While in the case of such 'heavy lines' as the London and North Western, the Great Northern, the Midland, the Great Western and the North Eastern, both goods traffic and passenger receipts were increasing.[28] The Cheap Trains Act of 1883 stimulated increases in the use of workmen's tickets, which rose from just over 7 million in 1882, to just over 67 million in 1902.[29]  In that connection it is worth noting that the Great Eastern Railway, whose new terminus was completed at Liverpool Street in 1874, served a vast population of working-class commuters.[30] London's termini also served international travellers, Charing Cross and Victoria being the main points of departure for Continental services. Whereas in the mid-1840s just over 40% of all passengers in Britain had travelled First Class, by 1922 almost 98% travelled on third class tickets.[31]  As the rise of motorised road transport began to challenge the railway's dominance, consumer expenditure on railway travel dropped from £72.7 million in 1921 to £53.3 million in 1938, stimulating efforts to attract new passengers.[32]

The commercial focus and identities of the railway companies began to shift In line with the growing opportunity and importance of passenger travel.  The Great Western Railway was, for example, generally acknowledged as a 'heavy line' in the 1870s and 1880s, but by 1907 had begun to advertise as a 'holiday line', promoting an 'exhaustive' range of trips and excursions, publishing a series of travel books and, in 1911, a free magazine *The Holiday Line Herald*.[33] As this article will show, this shift in commercial emphasis shaped new approaches to the arrangement, management, and social use of its terminal station at Paddington.

**Journeying Under Cover: Comfort and Mobility**

Despite the sense of confusion described by many users of London's mid-nineteenth century railway termini, there are also indications that they promoted a sense of wellbeing and were appreciated for affording new and enjoyable opportunities for spectatorship. 'Who for one

instant', asked the *Illustrated London News* in 1844, 'would compare the trouble and extortion of the old coachyard to the comfort of the station? We are snugly under cover, and have leisure to look about us, and make out our own histories of the people around.'[34] This sense of comfort related both to the experience of being inside and protected from the elements and to an associated interiority arising from that condition.

An equivalent comfort can be found in the public winter garden and the department store, both of which created new opportunities for women to participate in the public social and commercial life of the city. Its attraction can also be seen in utopian mid-nineteenth century projects that explored the potential of iron and glass to create a more connected city of multi-level, indoor spaces of transport, commerce and leisure, among them Joseph Paxton's Great Victorian Way (1855) and Owen Jones's Palace of the People (1858). Expressed as a desire for enclosure, it is evident in Isambard Kingdom Brunel's plans for Paddington Station, of which he wrote to Matthew Digby Wyatt, in 1851, 'I am going to design, in a great hurry, and I believe to build, a Station after my own fancy; that is, with engineering roofs, etc. etc. It is at Paddington, in a cutting, and admitting of no exterior, all interior and all roofed in'.[35]

Opportunities to navigate the city under cover evolved with the introduction of underground railway services from the 1860s. At Paddington Station, where two new Metropolitan Railway stations were built on separate sites, covered passenger connections were introduced. The process was gradual. Bishop's Road Metropolitan Railway Station, which opened in 1863, was connected by footbridge in 1878 and Praed Street Metropolitan Railway Station, which opened in 1868, was linked by subway in 1887.[36] The requirements of foot passengers were also considered in relation to station hotels, particularly those without a direct connection to the train shed, as was the case with the Hotel Great Central at Marylebone Station, the Great Western at Paddington, and an annexe to the Charing Cross Hotel (added in 1878). At Marylebone Station a 'wide glazed verandah' allowed guests to move between the hotel and the station under cover, while Paddington Station's Great Western Hotel was linked by covered ways.[37] The Charing Cross Hotel annexe was joined to the main hotel by footbridge. The commercial value of these connections is evident from hotel advertisements that promoted direct access to and from the railway platforms. **[Fig.2]**

Careful attention was given to the design of station entrances and arrival spaces that mediated the transition from the wider space of the city to the station interior.   As well as the roadways that allowed cabs and other vehicles to enter beneath the iron and glass canopy of the train shed, several stations had covered entrances. At St. Pancras Station vehicles entered through an arch into a glass-roofed yard with access to the booking hall.[38]   At Marylebone Station they entered a covered courtyard, within which a terraced footway and a central shrubbed parterre gave 'much the effect of a winter garden or promenade'.[39]

Covered mobility was idealised within the wider context of the marketing of urban leisure and in proposals for seamless international transport. In the 1890s Olympia Exhibition Hall advertised its direct connection with Addison-road station: 'Weather can simply be defied', 'Always summer at Olympia. Comfortably warmed.  All indoors. Covered way from station'.[40] In the same decade, a discussion of the possibilities of 'quick transit' between London and New York proposed using the port of Milford Haven, where a pier adjoining the Great Western Railway's station would permit passengers 'without stepping from under cover' to reach London in less than five hours.[41]  The London and North Western Railway promoted its service to Ireland with a picture postcard showing passengers moving under cover from train to steamship with the message 'Holyhead Station – Easy Transfer, Train and Steamer.' **[Fig.3]** And in the lead up to the First World War the London and South Western Railway advertised its special service to Royal Ascot, which allowed race-goers to travel directly into the Grand Stand under cover from Waterloo Station.[42]   These real and imagined journeys began to propose and situate the capital's stations at the centre of a series of connected, if not yet continuous interiors.

**Decorations and Displays**

From their earliest provisional origins, London's railway termini played a prominent role in civic and political life, as arrival and departure points for royalty, visiting dignitaries and British troops. Stations accommodated important social rituals, such as funeral processions, and were associated with acts of remembrance including the placement of war memorials and the conduct of commemorative services.[43]  Station interiors were frequently decorated as an

act of welcome or departure and the lavish arrangements that accompanied such events were often published in newspapers and popular journals. In the 1870s and 1880s these were usually private events to which access was restricted to ticket holders or privileged spectators.[44] When Queen Victoria opened the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, for example, with the exception of a group of favoured lady spectators Paddington was 'cleared of strangers'.[45] As was the custom on such occasions, the station interior was dressed with carpets, flags and 'beautiful palms and flowers' to mark the arrival of the Shah of Persia in 1889.[46] **[Fig.4]** Floral decorations, which often included exotic plants, evoked the glasshouse in its public and private settings, forging imaginative connections between these spaces. This practice of elite decoration declined in the early twentieth century in line with a gradual reduction in ceremonial use of the station. Taking its place were more popular, public and patriotic forms of decoration such as the red, white and blue 'floral garden' at Paddington Station that marked the coronation of George VI.[47]

In contrast to such collective expressions of national and imperial identity, permanent displays show how the railway companies used their terminal stations to represent their identities and promote their passenger routes. The 'clutter' of glass-cased railway models at Euston Station, to which Alan Jackson referred, can be seen in a London and North Western Railway Company picture postcard of Euston's Great Hall. Dating from around the 1890s, the postcard shows a series of glass display cases containing model ships **[see Fig.1]**. These were almost certainly models of the company's own steamships. Positioned next to a bank of seating, they lent interest to a waiting area while operating as a visual reminder of the company's services to Ireland.

Used by thousands of travellers on a daily basis, the capital's major termini became important sites of collective social memory. The London and South Western Railway was one of several companies to raise funds using railway collecting dogs. Such was the public's affection for the first of them, London Jack, that when he died his body was preserved by the London taxidermist Rowland Ward and displayed in a glass case at Waterloo Station where he continued to raise funds for the Railway Servants' Orphanage.[48] After the First World War, memorials to fallen railway workers were placed at major termini. Often located in busy parts

of the interior, such as the booking office at Liverpool Street, platform one at Paddington Station, and within the fabric of the station in the case of the memorial arch at Waterloo, it seems difficult to imagine their use as sites of private contemplation. Instead, these prominent locations suggest their public importance as visible representations of the national wartime contribution of the railway companies and their employees.[49]

Philanthropic, national, and commercial interests came together in the marketing of Navy Week in the 1930s, an annual fund-raising event held at Portsmouth, Plymouth and Chatham. In 1935, to help make London's citizens 'navy conscious', Waterloo Station held a photographic exhibition of the work of the Fleet and displayed a model of H.M.S. Nelson, while passengers at Victoria Station could admire a model of H.M.S. Otway, one of the latest submarines.[50] In the following year the railway companies collaborated with the Navy Week Committee to promote special rail tickets to northern workers, allowing them to combine a visit to the British fleet 'with a holiday in Devon or Cornwall, or at one of the South or South East Coast resorts'.[51] The example of Navy Week suggests ways in which the railway companies began to mobilise their interiors, creating points of interest for passengers through the introduction of temporary exhibitions with a promotional purpose.

**Regulating the Interior:  Circulation and Social Use**

The railway companies employed a variety of strategies to monitor and manage the use of their terminal stations. Aimed principally at revenue protection, the regulation of commerce and the prevention of annoyances to passengers, these included the provision of gendered and classed facilities, such as waiting rooms, the supervisory activities of railway company workers and the police, and practices of ticket issue, clipping and collection.

In the 1840s and 1850s, the railway companies were anxious to protect passengers from unwanted social contact by restricting access to departure platforms, on which the main station amenities were often located, to travellers and their immediate circle. Early initiatives to separate the travelling and non-travelling public were sometimes unwelcome. In 1842 the Great Western Railway introduced platform tickets.  Passengers disliked the system and it

was soon abandoned to allow station superintendents the discretionary powers to prevent 'mere idlers and those who have no friends to accompany to enter upon the platforms'.[52] Theft from passengers was a major concern. When the Great Hall at Euston Station opened in 1849, the *Daily News* commented on the use of its galleries for surveillance: 'Upon these a director, superintendent, or the chief clerk can stand and see all that is going on below him, while a policeman thus stationed in the grand hall can at once detect the manoeuvres of baggage stealers, a class of larcenists by no means few or *maladroit*'.[53] Those unfamiliar with the city were understood to be at most risk. The Superintendent of Waterloo Station cautioned out of town travellers to beware of thieves 'whose appearance, particularly to country people, was such as to disarm suspicion' and the arrests of 'well-dressed' thieves were regularly reported in the following decade.[54] From the 1870s, in line with wider concerns over the regulation of public leisure, attention turned to the management of Sunday and holiday crowds through, for example, the provision of additional temporary ticket offices to regulate queues. Supplementing the activities of station staff, plain-clothed policemen monitored the station during busy travel periods, such as major race days, when pickpockets were known to be active.[55]

Freedom to occupy and use the station interior was subject to conformity to contemporary codes of respectable public behaviour and railway regulations. Hawkers and drunken persons were regularly ejected, as were railway station 'pests' who annoyed passengers with unwanted appeals to carry parcels or luggage. At several London stations roadways for passenger vehicles extended into the station from the surrounding streets, creating a sense of continuity with the city but also one of spatial ambiguity. **[Fig.5]**. In the 1850s, the 'public' status of London's termini was debated when the railway companies' right to operate a system of privileged access for authorised cabmen was challenged. Arguments were made that although the railway station might be considered a 'public place' or 'place of public resort', it was 'the private property of the company' and 'not in any way made public'.[56]

Those conducting undesirable activities on station premises were often prosecuted for 'trespass' or 'obstruction' and such cases indicate some of the ways in which commercial life in and around London's termini was regulated. In 1889, eight regular Liverpool-street flower-

sellers were summoned for obstructing the entrance to the station with their flower baskets.[57] The Great Eastern Railway Company pressed for convictions, claiming the women caused a nuisance to passengers, and describing how they attempted to evade arrest by moving between the station interior and the surrounding streets to avoid the City and railway police.[58] While casual and unlicensed trades were excluded, certain forms of co-operative non-commercial activity were permitted inside London's terminal stations, including the activities of accredited chaperons to assist and protect unaccompanied young women travelling to London for work.[59] Their presence speaks to the image of London's termini as environments hostile to lone female passengers and to wider concerns over women's use of public space in that decade.[60]

Other methods of control, such as physical barriers, were introduced to manage the movement and flow of passengers through the interior. Although ticket barriers were in place at London termini by the 1870s, some stations, among them Waterloo Station, retained open platforms in the lead up to the First World War and several maintained 'collecting stations' on their routes.[61] This was said to have some advantage in preventing ticketless travellers from slipping through the exit barriers unnoticed under cover of 'the morning rush'.[62] Ticket collection depended on the diligence of railway employees. In July 1910, *The Globe and Traveller* reported on the practice of 'the nod' given by season ticket holders to ticket collectors. This, it claimed, was accepted 'at most stations' as an informal acknowledgement of possession of a valid ticket.[63] In 1917 Thomas Cook offered season ticket holders the service of punching their ticket with a metal eyelet, allowing them to hang it on a ribbon or chain 'like an eyeglass' to ease its rapid production.[64] Wearable season tickets and the performative practice of 'the nod' speak to a desire among commuters for rapid, unimpeded passage through the station interior.

From the 1890s, concerns for efficient movement to relieve platform overcrowding informed the modernisation of several London stations to include 'promenades' or 'circulating' areas. To that end, the wide roof spans of the train shed and the open spaces beneath them, which had allowed the railway companies the flexibility to modify platform and track arrangements, began to be viewed as an aid to passenger flow. Adrian Forty has pointed to the emergence

13

of a circulation metaphor within architectural design after 1850, which satisfied 'a wish to see buildings as enclosed, self-contained systems'.[65]  In contrast to congestion or overcrowding, spatial circulation was understood as a desirable building attribute.[66]  While the development of 'circulating spaces' reflects ideals of efficiency of movement and healthy management, the term 'promenade' has older leisured connotations and suggests an alternative or conflicted understanding of these new spaces at the time of their introduction. By the 1920s the term 'concourse' was generally used, suggesting a place of gathering rather than one of movement and perhaps a different conception of the use of these spaces. Closely related to these internal preoccupations with capacity and passenger flow, questions of congestion, circulation and 'locomotion' figured within wider debates about urban mobility and the health of the city.[67]

Luggage was one of the major obstacles to the efficient movement of passengers. Noting the extensive possessions of travellers out of London on August's 'grouse trains' in the late 1880s one widely syndicated Ladies' Column observed that the nineteenth century had 'created a terrible number of new necessities for everyday existence'.[68]  Similarly, a description of the Easter holiday rush of 1902 described 'a surging human tide, with a vast rocky mountain of luggage, a sort of Beachy Head with jutting promontories and deep caverns in the middle'.[69]  From the late nineteenth century, station improvements aimed to address these difficulties. In the 1890s, when the Great Eastern Terminus at Liverpool Street was enlarged to include a circulating area, lavatories were built below it 'to keep this open space as clear as possible for traffic'.[70]  When Victoria Station was modernised in 1902, the 'circulation space' of 'nearly 3,000 yards square' was envisaged as an open area in which the only 'structures' were to be the railway bookstall and the telegraph office. Neither was this new area to be,

> encumbered by scores of hurrying porters trying to thread their way with luggage-laden trolleys among masses of travellers, for an elaborate system of subways for the conveyance of luggage from one part of the station to another will be one of the most important features of the new terminus.  Thus the public will at all times be able to move freely to and fro about the station...[71]

The alterations at Victoria Station also included the re-design of the roof and the removal of pillars to promote free movement.[72]  Similarly, when Waterloo Station was enlarged, a new roof over the extended portion of the station was 'supported by imposing steel columns, so placed as to offer no impediment whatever to the movement of passengers'.[73]  The pre-1914 Waterloo Station improvements included the introduction of a platform-level cloakroom, connected by electric hoists to a storage space below that allowed the removal of bags at street level.[74]  Like those at Victoria Station, its subways gave direct access to the platforms with the aim of removing luggage from passenger areas.[75]  Also below platform level, away from busier passenger spaces, was a gentleman's court with bathrooms, a hair-dressing saloon and a boot-cleaning room.[76]  Subways were also introduced to support other station services.  At Marylebone Station, for example, a subway connected the hotel kitchens with the refreshment rooms on the platform, avoiding the need to move supplies within the passenger space of the station.[77]  Even so, at certain times of day spaces intended for circulation were given over to other activities. In the 1890s, for example, W.H. Smith sorted its newspapers on trestle tables in the open area between the booking offices and the platforms of the south station at Waterloo.[78]

Another aspect of the regulation of passenger movements can be seen in the gradual shift from personal to impersonal forms of information provision, such as the introduction of mechanised indicators to help travellers locate their departure platform **[Fig.6]**.  In his book on passenger terminals and trains of 1916, John Droege observed that a single indicator at the Charing Cross Station of the South Eastern & Chatham was placed 'immediately above the gate leading from the ticket offices to the train shed' where it was visible to outgoing passengers, while those at Euston Station stood on the floor in four different station locations.[79] Benn & Cronin advertised their large indicators in the *Illustrated London News* in 1924, showing examples of their work for Southern Railway, London Midland and Scottish and London and North Eastern.[80]  By 1926 the firm also had an agreement to place them at stations of the Great Western Railway.[81]  The advertisement shows them placed in various station locations, some close to entrances and others at the head of the tracks where passengers circulated.  Designed to ease wayfinding, these substantial fittings began to create new spaces of congregation within London's terminal stations, undermining the rationalising

intentions that informed their provision. Other advances in passenger management were made in the form of station announcements. In 1925 the London Midland and Scottish Railway tested loud-speaker messages at St. Pancras Station to give passengers information about train times and platform alterations. It found that 'the crowds were easily and quickly controlled' and a railway company official explained that the system was intended for use in the fog or at busy holiday times when trains were not running to their usual schedules.[82]

**Commerce and Consumption**

Circulation is also, as Richard Sennett has observed, a requirement of modern commercial settings such as shopping malls in which movement promotes economic use of the space.[83] While the emergence of the concourse, often in conjunction with the relocation of passenger amenities, reflects a commercial emphasis on the efficient and speedy processing of passengers and their belongings, London's railway termini also supported and promoted leisurely forms of consumption and social use, providing goods and services that extended beyond those associated with the immediate requirements of travel. Such forms of leisured use speak to the different ebbs and flows of London's termini and to the production of a sense of place that, as Tim Edensor has indicated, can be 'depicted, performed and sensed through its ensemble of normative and counter rhythms'.[84]

Mobile news vendors and shoeblacks were among the first trades to occupy them, with fixed retail positions, notably bookstalls, following from the 1840s. Railway refreshment rooms were among the most widespread early amenities and came under scrutiny from social and temperance reformers as sites of temptation to respectable men and women, for whom consuming alcohol in conjunction with travel was socially accepted while public house use was stigmatised. The National Coffee Tavern Association referred to them as 'the most dangerous public-houses travellers could meet with'.[85] London's railway termini also became important centres of communication with services such as late posting facilities, introduced in 1864, attracting a non-travelling public.[86]

Charging for the use of station facilities was a means of regulating their social use and generating income for the railway companies. The management of station conveniences evidences a tension between the regulatory and commercial aims of the railway companies and the expectations of passengers. In 1865 a letter to the *Times* newspaper complained of a shoe-black at Victoria Station collecting payment of a penny from those using the 'cabinets'.[87] In the 1880s, Charing Cross Station had a patent automatic turnstile at the entrance to its lavatories.[88] The turnstile was understood as a form of 'automatic trading' and appears to have been profitable. In the 1890s, when the London and South Western Railway removed its penny-in-the-slot ladies' lavatories after objections from station users, a railway company spokesman claimed that this had been done 'at considerable financial sacrifice' to the company.[89]

The location of passenger facilities informed the ways in which users of the station accessed, occupied, and moved through the interior. The two-sided station, in which arriving and departing passengers and related facilities were separated, was the dominant mid-nineteenth form, while the head-type station, in which the main station building was situated at the head of the tracks, was favoured in the period 1860-1890.[90] Although the two-sided station had the advantage of minimising the movement of people and their belongings within the interior, stations of this type, in which office buildings and public amenities were usually placed parallel to the tracks, were difficult to adapt when new track layouts were required. In contrast, the head-type station offered greater flexibility, allowing for future expansion to either side.[91] For the American engineer Samuel Rea, Paddington Station best demonstrated the great advantage of separating incoming from outgoing traffic to ensure 'the absolute avoidance of the incoming passengers with their baggage, &c., colliding, or interfering with those preparing to depart, as occurs in so many of our large stations'.[92]

Although advantageous from a functional perspective, the location of passenger facilities on the departure side of the two-sided station was, as *The Graphic* indicated in 1891, somewhat inconvenient to arriving passengers:

All the accommodation in the way of refreshment-rooms, waiting rooms, and seats seem to be exclusively provided for the departure side of the station. If passengers are ill or exhausted no refreshment is to be obtained without making the circuit of the terminus'.[93]  **[Figs 7a and 7b]**

Increased leisure travel from the 1870s opened up new commercial opportunities and stimulated an expansion in railway station retailing. In 1879 the *Nantwich Guardian* drew attention to the way in which London tradesmen were moving with the times, commenting,

Railway travellers do not live on books alone; and so the grocers and others, who supply more substantial wants, are gradually creeping in, and pushing their trade. We may expect the confectioner to follow, and the dealer in elegant knick-knackeries suitable for presents. Whilst leaving the fishmongers, the poulterers, the fruiterers, the butchers, and flower girls to the station approaches, the railway companies will probably tempt the jewellers, the cigar dealers and a whole tribe who minister to wants likely to be suggested by their tempting wares, to set up their kiosks within the station's precincts and so cure it of some of the grimy and weary look it now presents.[94]

Beacons of commerce within what were often described as dirty or gloomy interiors, these stalls and kiosks evolved their own identities, derived from their appearance, their products, or the identities of their lessees. While critics saw the railway bookstall and a growing genre of railway literature as a threat to healthy taste and responsible citizenship[95], late nineteenth century writers embraced it as a comforting presence and a symbol of the railway's modernity. As Henry James described, in 1888, the railway bookstall was 'a focus of warmth and light in the vast smoky cavern; it gives the idea that literature is a thing of splendour, of a dazzling essence, of infinite gas-lit red and gold. A glamour hangs over the glittering booth, and a tantalising air of clever new things'.[96]

Alongside bookstalls and refreshment spaces, various automated dispensing machines populated the interiors of London's termini from the 1880s to serve the new leisure traveller, among them machines selling sweets, postcards, matches and other sundries, weight and

height measuring machines, and perfume dispensers.[97]  The capital's stations provided an ideal space and market for these new forms of automated selling. Relatively small, easy to site, and requiring minimal attention – it was customarily the lessee who was responsible for their supply, repair and maintenance - such penny-in-the-slot machines generated revenue for the railway companies, promoted casual forms of consumption and offered fleeting entertainments to waiting passengers.[98] Contemporary photographs show that larger machines were often located on platforms, close to booking offices or waiting rooms, while smaller ones were sometimes attached to the internal columns of the train shed.  In 1901 *The Railway Magazine* observed, 'Even tobacco shops have sprung up on some railway platforms. The platform is to be the free lounge of the future, and we may, after a while, find a small town erected upon it.'[99]  This conception of the platform as a 'free lounge' proposes a sense of comfort and familiarity rooted in a feeling of belonging or being at home.

Other early twentieth century writings allude to a form of pleasurable, masculine station loitering and the affective environment of the railway station.  G.K. Chesterton likened the railway station to the great cathedrals of the past, attributing to it a sense of ritual and ceremony associated with its use as a popular site of the people, writing,

> If you wish to find the past preserved, follow the million feet of the crowd. At the worst the uneducated only wear down old things by sheer walking. But the educated kick them down out of sheer culture. I feel all this profoundly as I wander about the empty railway station, where I have no business of any kind. I have extracted a vast number of chocolates from automatic machines; I have obtained cigarettes, toffee, scent, and other things that I dislike by the same machinery; I have weighed myself, with sublime results; and this sense, not only of the healthiness of popular things, but of their essential antiquity and permanence, is still in possession of my mind.[100]

Echoing Chesterton, J.B. Priestley began his novel *Adam in Moonshine* (1927) with a similar description, coining the expression 'Pancrastination' to describe the experience of loitering at kiosks, buying newspapers and tobacco at St. Pancras.[101] More extensive opportunities for

killing time could be found at the new Waterloo Station.  When a major bank opened a branch there in 1923, the first of its kind, the *Manchester Evening Guardian* reported,

> The opening of the bank will strengthen the claim of the Southern Railway, put forward in one of their house magazines some time ago, that a stranger to London can find practically everything he wants at Waterloo station. There are baths, hairdressers, tobacconists, newsagents, a post office, a grocer's shop, a hosier's and an outfitter's. Waterloo station will soon have a colony of permanent residents.[102]

Although smaller, and significantly less busy than many of the capital's earlier railway termini, the Great Central Railway's station at Marylebone, the last nineteenth century terminal, completed in 1899, reflects many of the approaches to station planning that had evolved over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century as the railway expanded, established termini were modified, and new approaches to the management of passengers were introduced. **[Figs 8a and 8b]** A 'promenade' formed a central element of its design, distinguishing it from the plans of two-sided stations such as Euston (1839), Kings Cross (1852) and Paddington (1855).[103]   As the ground plan shows, the 'promenade' incorporated a bookstall, a fruit stall, a drinking fountain, a gentlemen's lavatory and a café **[Fig.9].**  Other publicly accessible spaces opened onto it, including a post office, refreshment and dining rooms, a parcels office, a booking office, and waiting rooms divided by gender and class of travel. The station interior was described in 1911,

> On entering the station, either through the booking office or by means of the archway for cabs and private carriages, or from the subway connecting with the "Bakerloo" tube, the circulating area at once attracts attention.  It is spacious, 325 ft. by 100 ft., with glazed roofing.  A flower and fruit stall in the centre, the floral decoration on one of the main pillars, the drinking fountain, the glass-cased model of the Orient Steam Navigation Company's twin-screw steam ship Otranto, the café and tea-room, the refreshment and dining rooms, the semi-circular bookstall, and the offices, waiting rooms and cloakrooms surrounding combine to convey a suggestion of pleasantness

not usually associated with so prosaic a building as a railway station in the heart of a great city.[104]

Spacious and connected, with a central area to promote circulation, the interior incorporated a range of spaces and objects: civic provision of a public drinking fountain; a glass-cased model, instructive and promotional; the commerce of the bookstall and flower and fruit stall; a refreshment space; waiting rooms and cloakrooms, all of which were accessible without stepping onto a platform to create an indoor setting something akin to a public square.

The arrangement and social use of London's terminal stations was further informed by new approaches to the development of passenger travel. Hiroki Shin has identified a shift from information-led to inducement-led forms of railway advertising and from collective approaches to in-house arrangements from the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[105] In connection with these changes he has suggested that the focus of the railway companies shifted from 'cost control' to 'market creation'.[106] This change appears most evident in relation to the development of touristic travel. As *The Railway and Travel Monthly* indicated, in 1912, the 'summer tourist business' which had not existed some twenty-five years previously, was a product of 'judicious advertising, creating first the desire in the hearts and minds of the people to take a vacation and then steering them to travel for a consideration in the proper direction.'[107]

Studies of railway marketing in the 1920s and 1930s point to a growing recognition among railway companies of their ability to shape consumer behaviour through their publicity and the development of goods and services to enhance the experience of rail travel.[108] The activities of the Great Western Railway at their terminal station at Paddington offer insights into the ways in which the space of the terminal was brought into service to support the company's commercial aims in this period. Serving a dual functional and marketing role, in 1924 a large illuminated advertisement for seaside towns on the Great Western Railway route was installed to improve the light to a gloomy part of the interior.[109] The example of Paddington's lighting is indicative of more widespread efforts by the railway companies to improve the cleanliness and appeal of their terminal stations. 'Modern comforts' at Waterloo

Station in the same decade, for example, included refreshment facilities with good natural light, electric lighting, and 'an admirable system of fans and air-shafts, which quickly get rid of vitiated air'.[110] Tellingly, the first two suggestions of the winner of a 1922 competition in the *Pall Mall Gazette,* on the theme of how to make London 'the magnet of the world', were 'brighter, cleaner stations, with good warm waiting rooms and good restaurants' and the electrification of railways within twenty miles of London to 'eliminate the present smoke and noise, allowing stations to be kept clean'.[111]

During improvements at Paddington Station from 1930, the 'lawn' (the location of turnplates and track ends on 1854 plans of the station) was brought into use as a new circulating space with an entrance to the underground station, refreshment rooms and an enquiry and reservation office. The development of the 'lawn' began to shift the commercial focus from the departure side of the station to other parts of the interior, opening up new commercial possibilities. In 1933, the 'lawn' was 'converted into a Christmas Fairyland' adorned with 'thousands of yards of gauze, holly, streamers, festoons and lanterns' and a huge Christmas tree 'illuminated with coloured lights and tinsel'. **[Fig.10]**. A 'monster six-sided kiosk' displayed Christmas gifts and the greeting 'A Happy G.W.R. Christmas Holiday' was hung from a girder.[112] This practice of popular, commercialised decoration proved successful and was continued in later years.[113]

Other uses of the interior further suggest ways in which the Great Western Railway fostered a sociable or festive spirit that expressed and supported its identity as a 'holiday line'. In 1939 the open space of the 'lawn' was brought into use for Saturday night summer dances. Accompanied by a band of railwaymen, these weekly dances aimed to 'promote a friendly feeling among passengers' according to one railway company spokesman.[114] Similar examples of the incorporation of more leisure-oriented enhancements can be found at other stations, including a cinema at Victoria Station that screened news, travel, cartoons and educational films and had a small panel to the right of the proscenium to alert passengers to the departure times of the trains.[115]

**Conclusion**

While much has been written about the ways in which the railway transformed everyday life and facilitated metropolitan growth, less has been said about the changing social and commercial environments of London's railway termini. Carroll Meeks used the term 'demomorphic' to describe the enlarged scale on which nineteenth century architects had to work to accommodate vast urban crowds in buildings such as railway stations, markets and exhibition halls, while Mark Pimlott has more recently argued that 'the shed' emerged as a significant public interior typology that 'became a useful tool for the management or containment of complex situations raised by the metropolis'.[116] Looking across London's termini over an extended period has helped to identify some of the most important social and commercial factors that shaped their development as extensive public spaces and suggests an opportunity to reconsider the interiors of individual termini in greater detail in the light of recent research into the changing commercial culture of the railway companies.

From often provisional and tentative origins, London's railway termini evolved as socially and spatially complex sites, embedded in the civic, commercial and philanthropic life of the city. Forming continuous indoor environments, their huge sheds and adjoining passenger spaces evolved to allow diverse forms of social life and commercial activity to flourish within them, while covered linkages such as subways and footbridges extended them and offered new possibilities for longer journeys under cover. Mid-nineteenth century sources suggest that London's railway termini were often experienced as disorderly and disorienting spaces in which passengers struggled to find their way. This confusion speaks both to the novelty of railway travel and to the convoluted plans that arose through the incremental development of early termini, such as London Bridge, which was famously difficult to navigate.

The capital's railway termini were, nonetheless, carefully regulated environments over which the railway companies exerted diverse forms of control, directed at station users and the conduct of trade on railway premises. These included overt and covert forms of surveillance, ejection, the separation of passenger amenities according to gender and class of travel, attempts to exclude the non-travelling public from areas of the station set aside for travellers, the use of physical barriers and charges for station services and, in the case of the two-sided

station, the separation of incoming from outgoing passengers. Examples of arrests for trespass and of restrictive practices surrounding the plying of trade by London cabmen called into question the status of the capital's termini as a public space, while charges for station amenities and attempts to exclude non-travellers from passenger spaces created a conflict between passenger expectations and the regulatory and commercial aims of the railway companies.

From the 1870s a rise in leisure travel facilitated the station's development as a site of trade and consumption. As passenger numbers increased and the railway companies expanded their networks to compete for suburban traffic, problems of capacity, crowding and navigation called for new approaches to the management of passengers and their belongings. Functional requirements and ideals of healthy and free-flowing movement began to inform the ways in which the railway companies designed and modernised their terminal stations, introducing 'promenades' or 'circulating spaces' and removing obstructions from their interiors to reduce congestion and improve comfort. Serving the needs of the rushing commuter and those of the unhurried leisure traveller, the ebbs and flows of the social and commercial life of London's termini were deeply intertwined and were central to their development as vibrant social spaces that afforded different modes and intensities of occupation and experience – reflective, immersive, sociable and transitory.

In the interwar years, the development of exhibitions, popular forms of commercialised decoration and display and new forms of leisured social use are indicative of the ways in which the railway companies began to exploit the potential of their interiors to create enjoyable experiences for passengers, to promote rail travel in the face of increased competition and, in the case of the Great Western Railway, to represent the company's identity as a 'holiday line'. The rationalising intentions behind the introduction of circulating spaces were somewhat undermined in this period by their use as gathering places, information centres and retail settings. By the 1930s their shops, banks, hairdressers, temporary exhibitions, cinemas and dances, among others, had placed them firmly within a wider public arena of commercialised urban leisure and consumption.

## Notes

[1]  Most of the stations under discussion were built before 1870; many of these were subsequently modernised and some were entirely re-built. Completed after 1870 were Liverpool Street (1874), Marylebone (1899), and Waterloo Station (rebuilt 1900-22). Victoria Station was substantially rebuilt in 1908. For a detailed discussion of the factors that informed their location see Alan A. Jackson, *London's Termini* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1969), Chapter 1.

[2]  Thomas Bolton, 'Wrong Side of the Tracks? The Development of London's Railway Terminus Neighbourhoods' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2018).

[3]  On street traffic, the effects of London's railway termini and proposed transport solutions, including plans for a central London railway terminus, see Carlos López Galvis, *Cities, Railways, Modernities: London, Paris, and the Nineteenth Century* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2019), 72-96.

[4]  T.C. Barker and Michael Robbins, *A History of London Transport. Passenger Travel and the Development of the Metropolis*, volume 1 (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1963), 140; John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 264-6.

[5]  Barker and Robbins, *A History of London Transport,* volume 1, 163.

[6]  Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1986); Matthew Beaumont, Michael Freeman, *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space, and the Machine Ensemble* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007); Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space: Mobility, Modernity and Place* (London: Sage, 2002).

[7]  Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure. Women in the Making of London's West End*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 146.

[8]  See Penny Sparke's article in this issue.

[9]  See, for example, Jeffrey Richards and John M. Mackenzie, *The Railway Station. A Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Carroll L.V. Meeks, *The Railway Station. An Architectural History* (London: The Architectural Press, 1957).

[10]  The body of writing on London's termini is extensive. See, for example, Alan A. Jackson, *London's Termini* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1969); Jack Simmons, *St Pancras Station* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968); John Betjeman, *London's Historic Railway Stations* (London: John Murray, 1972); Steven Brindle, *Paddington Station Its History and Architecture* (Swindon, English Heritage, 2004); Simon Bradley, *St Pancras Station* (London: Profile Books, 2007); and John Christopher's series on London stations for Amberley Publishing.

[11]  Jackson, *London's Termini*, 41.

[12]  George Revill, *Railway* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 199.

[13]  Bolton, 'Wrong Side of the Tracks?'

[14]  Colin Divall, 'What Happens if We Think About Railways as a Kind of Consumption? Towards a New Historiography of Transport and Citizenship in Early-Twentieth-Century Britain', Working Papers id 1179, eSocialSciences (2007), https://ideas.repec.org/p/ess/wpaper/id1179.html [accessed 8 October 2018].

[15]  Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing, and the formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006), Chapter 2.

[16]  Mark Pimlott, *The Public Interior as Idea and Project* (Heijningen: Jap Sam Books, 2016), 10.

[17]  'Metropolitan Improvements', *London Evening Standard*, 14 August 1868, 3.

[18]  Richards and MacKenzie, *The Railway Station*, 3.

[19]  'Improved Arrangements at Railway Stations', *The Spectator*, 8 July 1848, 14.

[20]  Ibid.

21    S. Sidney, *Rides on Railways*, London, 1851, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/13271/13271-h/13271-h.htm [accessed 17 August 2018].

22    G.P. Putnam, 'Some Things in London and Paris, 1836-1869', *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, vol.13, no.18, June 1869, 735; W.J. Stillman, 'Characteristics of London', *The Century*, vol.26, no.6, October 1883, 821.

23    'The New Victoria Railway Station at Pimlico', *Illustrated London News*, 4 May 1861, 418.

24    By the 1880s the two stations accommodated services of the London and North Western Railway, the Great Western, the Great Northern, and the Midland Railway.  See S. Rea, *The Railways Terminating in London. Description of the Terminal Stations, and the Underground Railways* (New York: Engineering News Publishing Company, 1888), 35-36.

25    H. Shin, 'The art of advertising railways: organisation and coordination in Britain's railway marketing, 1860–1910', *Business History* 56:2 (17 February 2014), 189.

26    Rea, *The Railways Terminating in London*, 46.

27    'The Abbot's Ripton Disaster', *The Globe*, 5 February 1876, 4.

28    Ibid.

29    S. T. Abernethy, 'Opening up the suburbs: workmen's trains in London, 1860-1914', *Urban History* 42:1 (2015), 76.

30    Rea, *The Railways Terminating in London,* 27.

31    Richards and MacKenzie, *The Railway Station*, 138.

32    M. Daunton, *Wealth and Welfare: An Economic and Social History of Britain 1851-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 139.

33    'The Great Western Railway of England as a Holiday Line', *Sligo Champion*, 19 June 1909, 8; advertisement for the G.W.R as 'The Real Holiday Line', *Cambrian News*, 13 December 1907, 4; advertisement 'G.W.R. = The Holiday Line', *Reading Observer*, 24 July 1909, 7; 'Express Travel at Cheap Fares', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 25 July 1907, 7; 'The Holiday Line Herald', *Acton Gazette*, 1 September 1911, 7.

34    'Speculations on the Railway', *Illustrated London News*, 7 December 1844, 360.

35    J. Christopher, *Brunel's Kingdom: In the Footsteps of Britain's Greatest Engineer* (Stroud: The History Press, 2015), 31.

36    Jackson, *London's Termini*, 311-12.

37    J.F. Gairns, 'Notable Railway Stations, Marylebone: Great Central Railway', *The Railway Magazine*, vol.29, no.172, October 1911, 272; 'The Great Western Hotels', *London Daily News*, 17 March 1898, 6.

38    Jackson, *London's Termini*, 69.

39    'Illustrated Interviews No.22, Mr William Pollitt, General Manager, Great Central Railway', *The Railway Magazine,* April 1899, 299.

40    Advertisement, *The Globe*, 2 February 1894, 4.

41    Austin Corbin, 'Quick Transit between New York and London', *The North American Review*, vol.161, no.468, November 1895, 513-27.

42    Advertisement, *West London Observer*, 14 June 1912, 3.

43    For example, on 11th November 1919 the chairman of the London and North-Western Railway company presided over a memorial service in the great hall at Euston Station 'In Silent Memory', *The Yorkshire Post*, 12 November 1919, 7.

44    'The Shah of Persia', *London Evening Standard*, 21 June 1873, 2.

45    'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition.  Opening by the Queen', *London Evening Standard*, 5 May 1886, 3.

46    'The Shah of Persia.  Arrival of H.M. in London', *Wigton Advertiser*, 6 July 1889, 2.

47    'Paddington Station and the Coronation', *North Devon Journal*, 29 April 1937, 6.

48    'London Jack', *Farringdon Advertiser and Vale of the White Horse Gazette*, 13 April 1901, 2.

49    In connection with such sites of social memory within the underground railways of London and Berlin, Samuel Merrill has indicated how the cities' transport authorities have managed approaches to the past to

minimise impact on their commercial activities and the efficient movement of passengers.  See S. Merrill, *Networked Remembrance: Excavating Buried Memories in the Railways beneath London and Berlin* (Oxford: Peter Lang Limited, 2018), 329.

50  'Navy Week Preliminaries', *Todmorden and District News*, 2 August 1935, 7.

51  'Navy Week Plans.  Special Excursions to the Ports', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 April 1936, 7.

52  The GWR introduced platform tickets when they ended the practice of locking passengers into their railway carriages. 'Railways and Steam Navigation', *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 23 July 1842, 4.

53  'The New Euston Station', *London Daily News*, 28 May 1849, 6.

54  'Caution Railway Travellers', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 6 January 1855, 4; 'Police Intelligence', *Morning Post*, 7 September 1868, 7; 'Railway Thieves at the Waterloo Station', *Middlesex Chronicle*, 24 October 1863, 8.

55  As several newspapers reported, between 70 and 80 arrests for theft were usually made on Derby Day but this was reduced by around half in 1874 when police monitored the barriers at London termini. 'Thieves at the Derby', *Manchester Evening News*, 26 May 1875, 3.

56  'Police Courts.  Lambeth.  The Cab Question', *The Morning Post*, 29 January 1853, 7.

57  'Raid on Flower Girls', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 5 May 1889, 8.

58  Ibid.

59  'Travellers' Aid Society', *Morning Post*, 26 January 1899, 3.

60  Journalist W.T. Stead's reports on prostitution, 'The Maiden Tribute of Babylon', serialised in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in July 1885, are an important context for this activity.  On Stead see J. R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight.  Narratives of Sexual Danger in late Victorian London* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).  On 'safe passage narratives' see L. Chilton, *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 40-65.

61   Alan Jackson dates the introduction of closed platforms at Waterloo to 1910 onwards.  See Jackson, *London's Termini*, 218.

62  Among them, the London and North-Western, the Great Western, and the South-Eastern. 'Return Railway Tickets', *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, 14 July 1903, 12.

63  'The Nod', *The Globe and Traveller*, 13 July 1910, 1.

64  'Chained Season Tickets', *The Globe*, 17 January 1917, 6.

65  A. Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 220.

66  C. López Galvis and D. Zunino Singh, 'The dialectics of circulation and congestion in history', *The Journal of Transport History* 33:2 (December 2012), 253-54.

67  J. Winter, *London's Teeming Streets, 1830-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), Chapter 11; C. López Galvis, *Cities, Railways, Modernities*, 85.

68  See, for example, 'Ladies' Column', *Croydon Chronicle and East Surrey Advertiser*, 18 August 1888, 3.

69  'The Easter Exodus', *The Daily News*, 28 March 1902, 10.

70  'The New Liverpool Street Station.  The Largest in the World',  *The Bristol Mercury*, 29 December 1893, 6; 'The Largest Railway Station in the Kingdom', *The Lowestoft Journal*, 20 January 1894, 3.

71  'An Ideal Victoria Station', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 May 1902, 7.

72  'Alterations at Victoria Station,' *Croydon Guardian and Surrey County Gazette*, 15 August 1908, 3.

73  'The New Waterloo Railway Station.  A Great Public Improvement', *The Railway Magazine*, December 1910, 444.

74  'The New Waterloo Railway Station.  A Great Public Improvement', 443-44.

75  'Waterloo Station Improvements', *The Observer*, 24 March 1907, 3.

76  'The New Waterloo Railway Station.  A Great Public Improvement', 444.

77  'The Great Central Railway', *Banbury Guardian*, 2 February 1899, 7.

78  'Messrs W.H. Smith and Son', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 August 1892, 3.

[79] J. Droege, *Passenger Terminals and Trains* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1916), 225-26.

[80] 'Train Time Indicators', *Illustrated London News*, 19 July 1924, 165.

[81] Agreement between Great Western Railway Company and Benn and Cronin Ltd for train indicators at stations, October 1926, The National Archives, RAIL 252/2103.

[82] 'Loud Speakers as Train Indicators. Experiments at St. Pancras Station', *Market Harborough Advertiser and Midland Mail*, 5 June 1925, 6. As John Droege had previously observed, fog placed significant challenges on the smooth running of London's termini, Droege, *Passenger Terminals and Trains*, 273.

[83] R. Sennett, 'The Civitas of Seeing', *Places* 5:4 (1989), 82.

[84] T. Edensor, ed, *Geographies of Rhythm. Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 4.

[85] 'The National Coffee Tavern Association', *London Evening Standard*, 7 June 1894, 2.

[86] 'Late posting of letters at London railway stations', *London Daily News*, 25 March 1864, 2.

[87] Letter to the Editor. 'Railway Accommodation', *London Evening Standard,* 5 September 1865, 2.

[88] 'Automatic Trading', *Brighton Gazette*, 1 June 1889, 5.

[89] 'Ladies' Lavatories at Railway Stations', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 31 October 1892, 2.

[90] Meeks, *The Railway Station*, 58-60 and 81.

[91] Meeks, *The Railway Station*, 58-60 and 81

[92] Rea, *Railways The Railways Terminating in London*, 16-17.

[93] The Graphic's 'Bystander' column as reported in a wide range of regional newspapers. See, for example, 'Railway Station Comforts', *The Warminster and Westbury Journal*', 25 July 1891, 6.

[94] Untitled editorial, *Nantwich Guardian*, 5 March 1879, 6.

[95] On the railway bookstall and railway literature see, Hammond, *Reading, Publishing, and the formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880-1914*, 51-84.

[96] H. James, 'London' in Henry James, *London Stories and Other Writings*, edited and with an introduction by D. Kynaston (Padstow, Cornwall: Tabb House, 1989), 263.

[97] 'Studies of Life and Character at a Railway Station', *The Graphic*, 13 September 1890, 293.

[98] An agreement of 1889, between the Great Western Railway and Henry Thomas Tallack, for example, allowed the placement of two Stanley's Patent Automatic Height Measuring Machines at Paddington Station at an annual cost of £20 for the two. Agreement between Great Western Railway and Henry Thomas Tallack, dated 1 January 1889. The National Archives, RAIL 252/892.

[99] H S. Tayler, 'Some Joys of Railway Travelling', *The Railway Magazine*, volume (1901), cited in Andrew Dow, ed., *Dow's Dictionary of Railway Quotations* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 228.

[100] G. K. Chesterton, *Tremendous Trifles*, 1909, cited in Richards and MacKenzie, *The Railway Station*, 11-12.

[101] J.B. Priestley, *Adam in Moonshine*, cited in Andrew Dow, ed., *Dow's Dictionary of Railway Quotations*, 214.

[102] 'Railway Station Bank: Waterloo Experiment', *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 December 1923, 5.

[103] 'The Great Central Railway', *Banbury Guardian*, 2 February 1899, 7.

[104] J.F. Gairns, 'Notable Railway Stations', 272.

[105] H. Shin, 'The art of advertising railways': 187-213.

[106] Ibid.

[107] 'A Tribute to Railway Publicity', *The Railway and Travel Monthly*, May 1912, 428.

[108] C. Divall, 'Civilising Velocity: Masculinity and the marketing of Britain's passenger trains, 1921–39', *Journal of Transport History*, 32:2 (2011), 164–91; A. Medcalf, '"We are always learning" Marketing the Great Western Railway, 1921–39', *The Journal of Transport History* 33:2 (December 2012), 186-211.

[109] 'Brighter Railway Stations', *The Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 31 December 1924, 7.

[110] 'Waterloo Station. Modern Comforts for Travellers.', *Bournemouth Guardian*, 5 July 1913, 8.

[111] 'How to Make London Brighter', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 February 1922, 9.

[112] 'Paddington Goes Gay', *Western Daily Press*, 16 December 1933, 5.

[113] In the following year twelve interior columns were transformed into giant Christmas crackers. See, 'Paddington Station Goes Gay', *Western Daily Press and Daily Mirror*, 18 December 1934, 4.

[114] 'Transport Vision', *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 4 May 1937, 5.

[115] Architectural Correspondent, 'Cinema in Victoria Station: For Those Waiting for Trains', *The Observer*, 17 September 1933, 19.

[116] Meeks, *The Railway Station,* 92; Pimlott, *The Public Interior as Idea and Project*, 149.