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**Great Marlow 1835-1891,  
The Impact of the Railways and Industrialisation**

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**Abstract**

In the early 1830s Great Marlow was one of the larger ports on the River Thames which linked London to the Midlands and Bristol via the canal networks at Oxford and the Avon and Kennet canal. The arrival of the Great Western Railway in nearby Maidenhead in 1838 led to a significant reduction in commercial traffic on the Thames and the almost immediate collapse of the stagecoach route between Hatfield and Reading which passed through Great Marlow. This reduction in commercial traffic on the river eventually caused the collapse of the Thames Navigation and created a crisis in the management of the river which led to the setting up of the Thames Conservancy in the 1860s. The primary use of the river gradually changed from commercial transport to leisure. After a prolonged campaign, the local people provided funding to build a branch line, known as the Great Marlow Railway, to the edge of the town in 1873. Apart from brewing and paper making there was very little manufacturing in the town and the craft industries which were practised suffered from increasing mechanisation elsewhere in England. As a result the population of Great Marlow stagnated between 1841 and 1871 and only started to grow again after the construction of the Great Marlow Railway increased leisure visitors and encouraged the building of new homes which attracted more affluent residents. An analysis of census returns for the years 1851 to 1891 identifies how the railways and mechanisation impacted on the geographical origins and social mix of those living in the town and caused changes in employment patterns. The premise of this dissertation is that while industrialisation and the railways led to a boom in much of England their adverse effect on craft industries and other forms of transportation caused the stagnation and relative decline in areas they bypassed. In the case of Great Marlow it was only after the Great Marlow Railway was built that the town began to recover and grow.

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**Personal Statement**

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work and that I have not submitted it, or any part of it, for a degree at The Open University or at any other university or institution. Parts of this dissertation are built on work I submitted for assessment as part of A825.

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## **1 – Introduction**

Marlow is a small town in south Buckinghamshire on the banks of the River Thames with the river forming the border with Berkshire. Figure 1.1 shows a map of the town as it is today while Figure 1.2 shows the town and the surrounding area.

### **Figure 1.1 - Marlow**

Figure 1.1 IMAGE REDACTED

**Figure 1.2 – Marlow and Surrounding Area**

Figure 1.2 IMAGE REDACTED

For most of the nineteenth century Marlow was known as Great Marlow and was the centre of the Civil and Administrative Parish of Great Marlow much of which is shown in Figure 1.2. A feature of the town was the new suspension bridge over the River Thames, designed by the celebrated civil engineer, William Tierney Clark, which was completed in 1832.<sup>1</sup> Next to the bridge there was a substantial new church, All Saints, which was completed in 1835. The bridge and the church are shown in Figure 1.3 and remain the most iconic symbols of the town today.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mike Chrimes, 'Clark, William Tierney (1783–1852)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Marlow Society - Town Tour' <<http://www.marlowsociety.org.uk/town-tour/index.php>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

**Figure 1.3 Marlow Suspension Bridge and All Saints Church**

Figure 1.3 IMAGE REDACTED

Thames Navigation managed the river which was a major commercial artery running from the canals in Oxford and the Kennet and Avon Canal to London, and Great Marlow was a significant port on the river with barges bringing goods to the town and taking local produce to markets in London and beyond. England was in a period of rapid industrial and population growth. Over the next fifty years, however, while the population of England grew rapidly, the population of the civil and administrative parish of Great Marlow grew much more slowly as can be seen in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1 – Population of the Civil and Administrative Parish of Great Marlow<sup>3</sup>**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1831</b>			4,237
<b>1841</b>	2,067	2,413	4,480
<b>1851</b>	2,180	2,305	4,485
<b>1861</b>	2,255	2,406	4,661
<b>1871</b>	2,250	2,451	4,701
<b>1881</b>	2,240	2,523	4,763
<b>1891</b>	2,567	2,716	5,283

This relatively slow population growth was probably due to the impact of the railways on the local economy and mechanisation elsewhere in England which damaged local craft industries. This dissertation will investigate what happened to the social and employment mix in the town and seek to determine the relative influence of railways and mechanisation. Chapter 2 will investigate the impact of the Great Western Railway which passed through nearby Maidenhead in 1838, the building of the Maidenhead to High Wycombe branch line with its euphemistically name ‘Marlow Road’ station at Bourne End in 1854, and the struggle for a branch line to Great Marlow which culminated in the Great Marlow Railway building a line to the town in 1873. Chapter 3 will investigate the impact of the Great Western Railway on the commercial transport on the River Thames, the resulting financial decline of the Thames Navigation, the setting up of the Thames Conservancy in 1866 and the gradually change of use of the river from commercial transport to leisure. Chapter 4 will use census and other data to identify how these changes impacted on the social and employment mix in the town and attempt to determine which effects were local, and due to the railways, and which effects were national, and due to the relative decline of agriculture and increasing mechanisation elsewhere in England.

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 1 for sources

Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley has researched a similar situation in five rural parishes in the Goring Gap which is west of Marlow, further upstream on the Thames and about fifteen miles south of Oxford.<sup>4</sup> Figure 1.4 shows the Goring Gap area and the main villages of Basildon, Goring, Pangbourne, Streatley and Whitchurch which Stewart-Beardsley investigated, while Figure 1.5 shows the geographical relationship between the Goring Gap and Marlow. Although the Goring Gap and Great Marlow are relatively near each other, there were, however, some major differences between them. Firstly, Great Marlow was much more urban than the villages Stewart-Beardsley researched and, secondly, the Great Western Railway passed through the centre of Pangbourne and the outskirts of Goring where stations were built whereas the Great Western Railway station at Maidenhead was over four miles from Great Marlow.

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<sup>4</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley, 'The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2009).

**Figure 1.4 Goring Gap**

Figure 1.4 IMAGE REDACTED

**Figure 1.5 Goring Gap in Relation to Marlow**

Figure 1.5. IMAGE REDACTED

Frank Andrews conducted similar research on the coming of the railways to the towns and villages of East Kent and, among other things, found that proximity to a railway station had a significant influence on the impact of the railway on a town or village.<sup>5</sup>

Both Stewart-Beardsley and Andrews highlight that while there have been many books and articles written about railways most have concentrated on the building of railways and their role in the wider economy rather than on their local social impact.<sup>6</sup> This dissertation will examine that local social impact of the railways on Great Marlow and contrast it with the findings of Stewart-Beardsley and Andrews.

The main primary sources relating to Great Marlow are the records of the Great Marlow Railway, Thames Navigation, census data, parliamentary papers, newspaper articles and directories. The records of the Great Marlow Railway are held in the National Archives (NA), those of the Thames Navigation are held at Berkshire Records Office (BRO) while various other documents are held at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS). Census data is available at a national and parish level from Parliamentary Papers reporting on the census and at a detailed local level in the Census Enumerators Books (CEB). Since the use of the River Thames was a matter of national importance there were various parliamentary committees set up to investigate issues pertaining to the river such as the fallout from declining revenue due to loss of business to the railways and later to worries about overuse for leisure. Issues concerning Great Marlow were well covered in various local newspapers based in the surrounding area of High

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<sup>5</sup> Frank W.G. Andrews, 'The Effect of the Coming of the Railways on the Towns and Villages of East Kent' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.21 and Andrews, p.4.

Wycombe, Oxford, Reading and Windsor, and, occasionally, in national newspapers.

Historic directories provide information regarding local gentry and businesses.

A number of academic articles relate to the importance of transport in the development of the economy. Simon Ville wrote about the impact of various forms of transport.<sup>7</sup> Gerald Crompton focussed more closely on inland waterways.<sup>8</sup> Some craft industries in Great Marlow declined between 1835 and 1891. Buckinghamshire and Great Marlow had been famous for Lace Making as reflected in directories of the day.<sup>9</sup> By 1891 this craft industry had almost disappeared from the town. G.F.R. Spenceley has investigated the mechanisation of the industry in Nottinghamshire and how this impacted on the ability of local craft industry to compete.<sup>10</sup> At the beginning of the period, boot and shoe manufacture was also a significant employer in the town. R.A Church has shown that this industry was mainly conducted by small businesses outsourcing but that technical change was already underway by 1860.<sup>11</sup> Jose Antonio Miranda has shown that after 1860 mechanisation and productivity improvements in the American boot and shoe industry transferred to England and this led to a very substantial reduction in the labour force required.<sup>12</sup> The town was therefore impacted by mechanisation elsewhere in England as well as the local effect of the river and railways. By detailed analysis of

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<sup>7</sup> Simon Ville, 'Transport', in *Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 295–331.

<sup>8</sup> Gerald Crompton, "'The Tortoise and the Economy'" Inland Waterway Navigation in International Economic History', *The Journal of Transport History*, 25.2 (2004), 1–22.

<sup>9</sup> *Pigot's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1830-31* (London: Pigot, 1831), p.85.

<sup>10</sup> G. F. R. Spenceley, 'The English Pillow Lace Industry 1840–80: A Rural Industry in Competition with Machinery', *Business History*, 19.1 (1977), 68–87.

<sup>11</sup> R.A. Church, 'Labour Supply and Innovation 1800-1860: The Boot and Shoe Industry', *Business History*, 12.1 (1970), 25–45.

<sup>12</sup> Jose Antonio Miranda, 'American Machinery and European Footwear: Technology Transfer and International Trade, 1860-1939', *Business History*, 46.2 (2004), 195–218.



the census enumerator's books, this dissertation will seek to identify the impact of these different influences.

## 2 – The Coming of the Railways

Many books have been written about railways but most focus on the railways themselves, the technology of railways or the commercial impact of the railway companies. As both Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley and Frank Andrews highlight however relatively little has been written about the direct social and economic impact of railways.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this chapter is to examine that direct social and economic impact on the people of the town of Great Marlow and contrast this with the wider changes in England as a whole.

Although the influence of the coming of the railways has often been considered largely in economic terms H.J. Dyos, himself a Professor of Local History, made an early plea to amateur historians to consider the direct impact of railways on people stating ‘no other sequence of events in Victorian Britain... touched the lives of both countrymen and townsmen so directly or influenced them in so many unseen ways’.<sup>2</sup> In 1964 B.R. Mitchell investigated the relationship between the coming of railways and economic growth and highlighted the fact that, unlike the United States, railways in England were not pushing into virgin territory but instead were built very much with existing traffic in mind and that, apart from coal, they did not make the impossible possible. As a result the most immediate effect of the railways was, he stated, on passenger traffic rather goods transport so that the impact on stagecoach travel was greater than on water

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<sup>1</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley, ‘The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2009) and Frank W.G. Andrews, ‘The Effect of the Coming of the Railways on the Towns and Villages of East Kent’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> H.J. Dyos, ‘Counting the Cost of Railways’, *The Amateur Historian*, 3.5 (1957), p.191.

transport.<sup>3</sup> More recently John Langston emphasised the impact of the railways on the balance between regional separation and national integration and suggested that the building of railways quickly tilted the balance in favour of the latter and that as a result regional cultures and economies suffered a metropolitan threat.<sup>4</sup>

Ville considered various forms of transport and described what he sees as the ‘pervasive role of the transport industry in modern British history’.<sup>5</sup> He showed that there was rapid growth in the rail network after 1830 and that by 1871 two-thirds of the network had been completed representing 21,558km.<sup>6</sup> He identified that while the original objective of most railway lines had been to transport goods, and indeed railways took over much of this business from waterways and roads, the lower marginal cost of adding carriages to a train meant that a much larger proportion of the population could afford long distance travel than could previously travel by stagecoach. As a result the transportation of both passengers and freight by rail grew rapidly with 322 million passengers and 167 million tons of freight being transported annually by 1870/1.<sup>7</sup>

Taking a regional view, Andrews, in his PhD thesis, examined the effect of the coming of the railways in east Kent and considered developments in various villages which were on and off the railway network.<sup>8</sup> He noted that there was little change in the nature of the villages in general apart from a decline in the building trade and that they kept

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<sup>3</sup> B.R. Mitchell, ‘The Coming of the Railway and United Kingdom Economic Growth’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 24.3 (1964), pp.316–7.

<sup>4</sup> John Langton, ‘The Industrial Revolution and the Regional Geography of England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 9.2 (1984), p.163.

<sup>5</sup> Simon Ville, ‘Transport’, in *Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.296.

<sup>6</sup> Ville, p.305 and Table 11.5.

<sup>7</sup> Ville, pp.306-7 and Table 11.6.

<sup>8</sup> Andrews, Chapter X - *The villages, on and off the railway*, pp.395-443.

their shop and pub. This he conjectured was because walking to the village was cheaper than the cost of travel and that for most people the benefits accruing from visiting a larger town were outweighed by the financial cost required to get there. He observed that in east Kent distance from the nearest railway station influenced both the growth, or otherwise, of an area and also the social mix within the area. Villages more than three miles from the nearest station stagnated or declined and that the further they were from a station the greater was this effect. Conversely, villages with railway stations attracted increasing numbers of private residents who appeared in trade directories. This he conjectured was because they may have found more work in the villages than before but also that they could travel more easily to the bigger towns if necessary.<sup>9</sup>

Closer to Great Marlow, Stewart-Beardsley investigated the changes during the Victorian era in the five villages located in the Goring Gap which lies on the River Thames between Reading and Oxford and is upriver from Great Marlow. She showed that there was considerable opposition to the construction of the railway through the area led by a very vocal and very wealthy minority of well connected landowners many of whom were also keen to protect the economic viability of the existing turnpike roads and the River Thames.<sup>10</sup> In 1840, however, the Great Western Railway did go ahead and it passed through the area where it built stations in two of the villages, Goring and Pangbourne. Nevertheless Stewart-Beardsley was able to show that in the next forty years the population in all five villages declined and she states that there is 'little

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<sup>9</sup> Andrews, p.441.

<sup>10</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.54.

evidence which suggests that the economies of Goring or Pangbourne materially benefitted from having a railway station'.<sup>11</sup>

Looking more specifically as to how railways impacted on Great Marlow it is useful to understand the sequence involved. As early as 1833 the *Berkshire Chronicle* was reporting that there were plans to build a railway from Bristol in the west to London through Reading. They indicated that they anticipated it would carry 'vast quantities of corn and livestock to the London Market' and that it would lead to the 'total annihilation of the coaching and carrying business in its current form'.<sup>12</sup> Almost immediately there was opposition from the Commissioners of the Thames Navigation who managed the River Thames. They argued that while the Thames Navigation was operated for the public good, the railway company would be operated for private profit. They used the town of Henley, six miles upstream from Great Marlow, and in similar circumstances to Great Marlow, to illustrate how the people of a town which lay on the river but was some distance from a station on the new railway would be adversely affected by the impact of the railway on the Thames Navigation.<sup>13</sup> In spite of this opposition the railway was built and the line reached Maidenhead in June 1838. *The Times*, which reported the event, stated that the line would eventually go to Bristol and that from Bristol there would be onward travel to the United States. It also put great emphasis on the level of luxury in the 'extra first class' cabins.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.238.

<sup>12</sup> 'First Information about Bristol, Bath, Reading and London Rail Road', *Berkshire Chronicle* (Reading, 10 August 1833), p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> 'Commissioners of the Thames Navigation versus the Bath and Bristol Railway Company', *Berkshire Chronicle* (Reading, 7 December 1833), p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> 'Opening of the Great Western Railway', *The Times* (London, 2 June 1838), p. 6.

As the *Berkshire Chronicle* had predicted, and as Mitchell identified elsewhere in England, the effect of the railway on coaching was swift and the impact on the livelihood of individuals could be devastating. Edward Sherman's evidence to the Select Committee investigating the impact of railways on coaching suggested that while there were some 'timid' people who preferred to travel by coach rather than rail that they were 'very few'.<sup>15</sup> In *Pigot's Directory* of 1830-31, Frederick Wyatt, who had been born in Great Marlow and was thirty-five at the time, was a well-established businessman who ran a daily coaching service to and from London from an office in the High Street.<sup>16</sup> By September of 1838, shortly after the Great Western station at Maidenhead opened, he was selling by auction twelve coaching horses because he was 'relinquishing running the service'.<sup>17</sup> In the 1841 census Wyatt, who was described as a "coach master", was still living in the High Street with his wife and three children.<sup>18</sup> He then moved away from Marlow and by 1872 the *Bucks Herald* reported that having lost his business due to the railway; he had gone to London to work as a taxi driver. This had earned him an inadequate living and now in his mid-seventies he was in poor health so that they were providing his address in London indicating that 'contributions forwarded by postage stamp...will be most gratefully acknowledged'.<sup>19</sup> The coming of the railway to Maidenhead and the consequent impact on coaching had a severe impact on at least one family in Great Marlow.

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<sup>15</sup> *Select Committee on Effect of Formation of Railroads on Turnpike Roads and Trusts. Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index*, 1839, Paper Number 295, p.9.

<sup>16</sup> *Pigot's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1830-31* (London: Pigot, 1831), p.87.

<sup>17</sup> 'To Be Sold at Auction', *Windsor and Eton Express* (Windsor, 29 September 1838), p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> CEB 1841, Great Marlow, District 1, Sheet 12

<sup>19</sup> 'Marlow - A Case for Sympathy', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 6 January 1872), p. 4.

Stewart-Beardsley has shown that in the Goring Gap the impact of the railways on coaching was similarly devastating and that coaching stopped within months of the railways arrival. She also shows, however, that while the turnpike trusts lost the coaching traffic some were able to continue as routes for carriers.<sup>20</sup> In Great Marlow there were two relevant turnpikes. One was very local and ran approximately eight miles from Great Marlow to Stokenchurch while the other was the longer distance turnpike from Hatfield in Hertfordshire to Reading in Berkshire which passed through the town. Details of the tolls collected on each are given in Appendix 2. Tolls taken on the local Great Marlow to Stokenchurch turnpike peaked in 1841 and went into steady decline until it was taken over by the County Council in 1851. Tolls taken on the Hatfield to Reading turnpike peaked in 1840 at just under £3,000, remained in a range around £2,000 until 1872 before dropping prior to it finally closing as a turnpike in 1881. Although coaching stopped abruptly the impact on carriers was less dramatic and local carriers still operated to London until at least 1864.<sup>21</sup>

By the 1840s the advantages of railways were becoming clear to many and in July 1846 an Act was approved setting up the Great Western and Wycombe Railway Company to build a branch line from Maidenhead to High Wycombe.<sup>22</sup> This led to optimism that Great Marlow, which lay approximately three and a half miles by road from the nearest station on the proposed route would soon have its own railway branch.<sup>23</sup> After some

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<sup>20</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, Chapter 4. The Impact of the railway on the turnpike road, the River Thames and tourism, pp 85-123.

<sup>21</sup> *Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd., 1864), p.475.

<sup>22</sup> 'Great Western & Wycombe Railway - Letter from W.H. Wilson, Secretary', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 10 October 1846), p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> 'Marlow - Great Western and Wycombe Railway', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 11 September 1847), p. 2.

delay the line to Wycombe finally opened on 31 July 1854.<sup>24</sup> At Bourne End, the nearest point to Great Marlow, there was located an optimistically named ‘Marlow Road Station’. As Andrews noted in east Kent and Stewart-Beardsley in the Goring Gap the proximity to a railway station made Bourne End more attractive to private residents and there was an immediate rush by landowners to benefit. Within two weeks of the Wycombe Railway opening there was advertised in the *Bucks Herald* seven plots of land of ‘rather more than an Acre in each’ which would make ‘desirable sites for the erection of genteel residences, and from the near approach of the Marlow Road Station on the Wycombe Railway, bringing the journey within one hour and a half of the Metropolis’.<sup>25</sup>

The Wycombe Railway Company quickly came up with a plan to build a branch line from ‘Marlow Road’ to St. Peter’s Street near the centre of Great Marlow and gave notice of its intention to apply for an Act of Parliament to enable them to do so.<sup>26</sup>

Although Paul Karau and Chris Turner suggest otherwise, *The Globe* reports they did indeed do so in 1856 indicating that they had £33,000 in hand and that Brunel had estimated that the cost to build the line to Marlow would be £25,000.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless the Marlow Branch was dropped which Karau and Turner suggest was due to ‘a conviction that the inhabitants thought it adverse to the interests of Marlow’.<sup>28</sup> It seems more than likely, however, that some local landowners objected to the railway passing through their land since this is known to have happened on later occasions and is consistent with

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<sup>24</sup> ‘High Wycombe - Opening of the Railway’, *Bucks Chronicle* (High Wycombe, 5 August 1854), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Valuable Freehold Land’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 12 August 1854), p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Wycombe Railway Company (Branch Railway to Marlow)’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 10 November 1855), p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Railway Bills before Parliament - Wycombe Railway’, *The Globe* (London, 16 April 1856), p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Karau and Chris Turner, *The Marlow Branch* (Didcot: Wild Swan Publications, 1987), p.2.



what Stewart-Beardsley reported further upriver.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, for some, proximity to a railway station was not necessarily considered advantageous. Mr and Mrs Hall in their guidebook of the Thames in 1859 wrote that Great Marlow was ‘a quiet town, and has the recommendation of not being very close to a railroad’.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, the case for a railway line to Great Marlow continued to be made. Putting it in the context of railway lines being built to other small towns the *Reading Mercury* argued in November 1863, ‘surely the time has fully come that our leading towns-people began to bestir themselves, and see if the same cannot be extended to Marlow’.<sup>31</sup> At a meeting in Great Marlow on 19 December 1864, chaired by one of the borough’s two MPs, Colonel Knox, and attended by the other, his cousin Colonel Williams, the case was made for a Marlow Branch. It was stated that it would be ‘most beneficial, and improve the town’.<sup>32</sup> The *Bucks Herald* went on to report that the meeting unanimously agreed that a committee should be formed, that a share list was opened and that within a few hours £10,000 was raised. A year later the *Reading Mercury* reported that the Great Western Railway would be introducing the Marlow Railway Bill to parliament and that while objections from other areas had been withdrawn they ‘hoped that the same consideration will be shown by the owners of property at the Marlow end of the line’.<sup>33</sup> There was, however, opposition from local landowners and in January 1866 the *Bucks Herald* reported that the bill had been withdrawn because of the ‘threatened opposition

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<sup>29</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.54.

<sup>30</sup> Mr. and Mrs S.C. Hall, *The Book of the Thames from Its Rise to Its Fall* (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co., 1859), p.195.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Great Marlow - Railway Communication’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 28 November 1863), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Great Marlow - Railway Meeting’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 31 December 1864), p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Great Marlow - Railway Accommodation’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 25 November 1865), p. 5.

of Mr. Way'.<sup>34</sup> Again, in November 1867, the *Reading Mercury* complained that 'Mr. Ellames (through whose property it would pass), will offer the most active opposition'.<sup>35</sup>

In spite of this the Great Marlow Railway Company had been formed and the board of directors had held their first meeting on 27 August 1867.<sup>36</sup> The Wethered brewing family led the effort to raise the funds and in the Subscribers Agreement of 16 December 1867 they committed to provide £2,000 of the £18,000 capital the company was expected to require.<sup>37</sup> As well as three members of the Wethered family subscribers included individuals as diverse as leading members of the local community such as Sir William Clayton of Harleyford House, James Carson of Spinfield House and Colonel George Higginson; the Church of England vicar John Cree and the Roman Catholic canon Bernard Smith; and ordinary trades people such as Mrs Elizabeth McLean, ironmonger, Owen Wright, baker, George Neighbour, butcher and James Tilbury of the *George and Dragon* inn. Although the Great Marlow Railway Company had yet to agree a price with him as to the value of his land Mr. Ellames withdrew his objections to the proposed line and on 13 July 1868 The Great Marlow Railway Act was given Royal Assent.<sup>38</sup> On 17 October 1868 the directors, in an attempt to raise further funds, issued a Prospectus stating that there would be 1,800 shares in the company of £10 each and that eighty-two people had already subscribed 645 shares.<sup>39</sup> There followed protracted negotiations with Mr Ellames about the value of his land as reported in

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<sup>34</sup> 'Great Marlow - Withdrawal of Railway Scheme', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 27 January 1866), p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> 'Marlow - Railway Meeting at the Crown Hotel', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 2 November 1867), p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> RAIL 230/1, 'Great Marlow Railway Company - Directors' and General Meetings: Minutes', 1867, NA

<sup>37</sup> RAIL 230/4, 'Great Marlow Railway Company - Subscribers' Agreement', 1867, NA.

<sup>38</sup> 'House of Lords - Monday - Royal Assent', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 18 July 1868), p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> RAIL 1075/126, 'Great Marlow Railway Company - Prospectus', 1868, NA.

Directors Meetings and Half Year Company reports on 25 June 1870, 27 September 1870 and 24 March 1871 which were finally resolved by 15 August 1871.<sup>40</sup> At the Half Yearly Meeting of Shareholders on 26 September 1871, however, the Directors reported that the cost of land was ‘so far in excess of the original estimate that considerable difficulty arises’.<sup>41</sup> They also reported that they were struggling to collect on calls for funds which were overdue and they had appealed to the Great Western Railway for assistance. Nevertheless by the Half Yearly meeting on 31 March 1873 they were reporting that work had started and that in spite of bad weather and floods they were making good progress.<sup>42</sup> The line was formally opened to passenger traffic on 27 June 1873.<sup>43</sup> Although it had been three and a half miles by road to the nearest station on the Maidenhead to Wycombe line by taking a straight route to a green field site on the east side of Great Marlow through Little Marlow Manor owned by Mr. Ellames, the new line was only a little over two and a half miles long and largely flat. The construction was quite simple and carried out in a few months, as had been agreed at a Directors’ Meeting on 5 November 1872, by a construction company founded and managed by a local man, Edwin Clark.<sup>44</sup> Clark was an established Civil Engineer with a distinguished career who had been born in the town and lived his later life in Great Marlow.<sup>45</sup>

When complete the railway came to the eastern edge of town as shown in Figure 2.1.

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<sup>40</sup> ‘Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’, p.55, pp.61-63, pp.70-71, pp.77-78.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’, pp 81-83.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’, pp. 116-118.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Marlow Railway’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 28 June 1873), p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’, pp 112-113.

<sup>45</sup> Tony Evans, ‘A Confusion of Engineers’, *The Marlow Historian*, 7 (2013), 36–41.

**Figure 2.1 – Marlow in 1875**

Figure 2.1. IMAGE REDACTED

Although some local landowners had initially objected to the idea of a railway line to Great Marlow many influential locals as well as trades people eventually supported the Great Marlow Railway Company. In this sense the situation was quite different from the arrival of the Great Western Railway in the Goring Gap. The building of the Great Marlow Railway line, when it came, was driven by local interests. Very soon the locals were congratulating themselves on what they saw as the success of the railway. The *Bucks Herald* reported that at a banquet in the Town Hall on 10 February 1874 the Chairman, Colonel Wethered, stated that the railway was ‘opening up a new era of prosperity’, ‘mills have been reopened’, ‘new trade has been established’, ‘labour is well employed’ and ‘new houses of a better class are springing up’.<sup>46</sup> In that first flush of enthusiasm there were even reports that the Messrs Wright, the owners of the paper mill, ‘resolved to lay down a tramway from their mills to the Marlow Railway’.<sup>47</sup> Maps from the 1880s, however, suggest that the tramway was never built. The branch proved to be popular with many in the town so that in 1874 ‘Gentry and Inhabitants of the Town’ petitioned the company for later trains to run between Great Marlow and

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<sup>46</sup> ‘Great Marlow - Banquet at the Town Hall’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 14 February 1874), p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Great Marlow - The Railway’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 6 September 1873), p. 5.

Paddington during the summer months suggesting that these would ‘conduce much to the Trade of the Town and the Railway Company’.<sup>48</sup> By 1875 special trains were being arranged both for ‘gentlemen from London’ and to join up at Bourne End with excursion trains to Portsmouth.<sup>49</sup>

In spite of a generally poor economic situation in England for most of the 1870s, traffic in the early years of the Great Marlow Railway grew steadily, as shown in Table 2.1 which has been derived from data that the directors of the Great Marlow Railway provided at the Half Yearly Shareholders Meetings of the company, the records of which are held in the National Archives.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> RAIL 230/26, ‘Great Marlow Railway Company - Petition from Various Inhabitants of Great Marlow Requesting a Later Train from Paddington to Great Marlow’, 1874, NA.

<sup>49</sup> RAIL 230/1, ‘Great Marlow Railway Company - Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’, Meeting on 2 July 1875, pp. 186-188.

<sup>50</sup> RAIL 230/1, ‘Great Marlow Railway Company - Directors’ and General Meetings: Minutes’. For details see Appendix 3.

**Table 2.1 – Traffic on Great Marlow Railway**

<b>Year ending 30 June</b>	<b>Passengers</b>	<b>Fares</b>	<b>Freight and Parcels</b>	<b>Total Income</b>
1874	78,259	£1,268	£1,097	£2,365
1875	78,645	£1,241	£1,289	£2,530
1876	81,184	£1,279	£1,285	£2,564
1877	86,265	£1,340	£1,465	£2,805
1878	88,001	£1,380	£1,469	£2,849
1879	87,492	£1,371	£1,687	£3,058
1880	92,716	£1,447	£1,655	£3,102
1881	95,396	£1,485	£1,629	£3,114
1882	101,118	£1,578	£1,665	£3,243
1883	104,184	£1,612	£1,536	£3,148
1884	115,031	£1,758	£1,531	£3,289
1885	115,636	£1,733	£1,601	£3,334

Initially freight transport grew at around 9 per cent per annum so that it had increased 50 per cent by 1879. After that it levelled off. Passenger traffic grew more slowly but apart from 1879, against a background of a wider slowdown in the economy, the numbers using the railway grew each year and over the period it grew at an average rate of around 3 per cent per annum so that by 1885 it too had grown around 50 percent from the first year. After a few years of operation the company declared dividends. While returns were modest, Karau and Turner, with some justification, comment ‘the railway was a success, particularly when compared to similar independent lines’.<sup>51</sup>

Of course, not everyone was so happy to see a significant increase in visitors to Great Marlow or to the Thames more generally. In 1884 the Select Committee on Thames

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<sup>51</sup> Karau and Turner, p.21.

River Preservation took evidence from Mr Birkett, solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society. He highlighted the large increase in railway passenger numbers between May and August travelling to various stations, including Great Marlow, so that the river had become 'practically the playground of London'.<sup>52</sup> Speaking more specifically of Great Marlow, Sir Gilbert Clayton East, who owned property on the Berkshire side of the river, complained that the opening of the Great Marlow Railway had brought to the river, after a few years, an abusive 'class of savages' who 'came down from London by railway'.<sup>53</sup>

In terms of direct employment, as a small branch line with one station, the Great Marlow Railway and the Great Western Railway, who provided the train and staff, brought relatively few jobs to the town. In the 1881 census ten people can readily be identified as direct employees of the railway companies. Only Thomas Harris, a 22 year old Railway Engine Driver, and Joseph Plumbridge, a 16 year old Assistant at the Goods Office, had been born in Great Marlow. The others came from London, Dorset, Gloucestershire and the nearby village of Ibstone. Several lived in the terraced houses in Victoria Road which were built near the station after the arrival of the railway and all lived within a short walk to the station. The only other person who earned a living directly from the railway, as a cartage agent, was Abraham Creswell, who was born in the town. He had been appointed as a Carting Agent on 8 February 1879 but was

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<sup>52</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Thames River Preservation*, 1884, Paper Number 321, p.125.

<sup>53</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Thames River Preservation*, pp.205-6.

terminated on 16 April 1881, shortly after the census was taken, for failing to fulfil his contract.<sup>54</sup>

This small number of direct employees of the railway companies contrasts with the much larger number of people which Andrews identified as direct employees of the railway companies in England more widely. He showed that in 1881 there were almost ten men employed by the railways per mile of track and 1.77% of all men employed worked on the railways.<sup>55</sup> The significantly smaller number of direct railway employees in Great Marlow can be explained by the fact the locomotive and rolling stock were provided and serviced by the Great Western Railway. This small number of direct employees had relatively little impact on the employment of town's people. The other activity which can be directly attributed to the coming of the railway was the opening of the Railway Hotel next to the station. On the night of the 1881 census six people are recorded as staying there. Sarah Porter, a widow from Norfolk, Licensed Victualler, her son, a manager at a coal merchant, two servants and a visitor. None were born locally so again there would not have been a direct impact on the employment of town's people.

Of course locals are likely to have gained indirect employment helping build the hotel and the homes of some of the railway workers. They would also have provided goods and services to them and local people may well have worked in the hotel even if they did not reside there. A more detailed analysis of changing employment patterns in the town is the main topic of Chapter 4.

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<sup>54</sup> RAIL 230/27, 'Agreement Appointing Abraham Cresswell as Cartage Agent at Great Marlow Station and Notice Dated 16 Apr 1881 Dismissing Mr Cresswell from Agreement for Having Failed to Perform Duties and Render or Pay Accounts to GMR.', 1881, NA

<sup>55</sup> Frank W.G. Andrews, 'Employment on the Railways in East Kent, 1841–1914', *The Journal of Transport History*, 21.1 (2000), p.55, Table 1.



### 3 – The Changing Use of the River Thames

Writing about the industrialisation of England, Simon Ville has described transport as making a ‘pioneering contribution to behavioural and structural elements of economic change’.<sup>1</sup> For many centuries the River Thames had been used as a means of commercial transport as it wound its way from Oxford through Reading, Henley, Great Marlow, Maidenhead and Windsor to London and the sea. In the early eighteenth century Daniel Defoe described the importance of the River Thames as ‘with very little interruption, [it] reaches to, and includes, the city of London east, and the city of Oxford west; the river....enriching by its navigation, both the land and the people, on every side’.<sup>2</sup> Great Marlow was a major port on the river which Defoe described as ‘a town of great embarkation on the Thames’.<sup>3</sup> Although Defoe was writing in the first half of the eighteenth century the importance of the river grew further. As Ville explains, during the course of the eighteenth century navigational improvements on rivers, such as cuts across winding bends, and the deepening of shallow areas further improved their efficiency.<sup>4</sup>

The opening of the Oxford Canal in 1790 again increased the river’s importance as it now became part of a direct waterway route from the Midlands, via Oxford, and hence Great Marlow, to London along which goods such as grain, timber and coal could flow.<sup>5</sup> Matters relating to the Thames were regularly raised in Parliament and in 1793

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Ville, ‘Transport’, in *Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.296.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through The Island of Great Britain*, 9th edn, IV vols (Dublin: D. Chamberlaine, J. Williams, T. Walker, G. Burnet, L. Flinn, J. Beatty, W. Hallhead & L. White, 1779), II, p.63.

<sup>3</sup> Defoe, II, p.54.

<sup>4</sup> Ville, p.299.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Coal Warf at Oxford’, *Oxford Journal* (Oxford, 27 February 1790), p. 4.

there was a detailed report into the state of trade, receipts and expenditures on the Thames and Isis rivers. This report stated that ‘the River Thames, ever of itself an important object, has of late arisen to a greater degree of consequence, by its communication with the interior parts of the island from the junction of various canals’.<sup>6</sup> Appendix 15 of that report showed that in the year to December 1792, 52,456 tons passed upriver through Great Marlow, with 8,540 tons stopping there, and that in the town there were six barge masters. In terms of river trade this made Great Marlow the second most significant town on the Thames above Maidenhead, after Reading. The role of the Thames was further enhanced by the Kennet and Avon Canal which was built in 1810 and which linked Bristol to the Thames.<sup>7</sup> As a result of the improvements to the river and the building of the canals, the inland waterway routes to London from both the midlands and Bristol passed through Great Marlow as shown in Figure 3.1.

**Figure 3.1 – Waterway Network**

Figure 3.1 IMAGE REDACTED

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<sup>6</sup> *Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Progress Made towards the Amendment and Improvement of the Navigation of the Thames and Isis*, 1793, p.248.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Kennet & Avon Canal | Canal & River Trust’ <<https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/enjoy-the-waterways/canal-and-river-network/kennet-and-avon-canal>> [accessed 21 September 2018].

Gerald Crompton makes similar points to Ville regarding the importance of inland waterways, including rivers, to industrialisation.<sup>8</sup> While both identify the fact that because of the locks and the need to transfer material to land shipment for local delivery, using inland waterways did not significantly improve the speed of transport, they highlight that for heavier goods, such as coal, there was a significant cost reduction relative to road transport with Ville suggesting a reduction of 50 to 70 per cent and Compton suggesting that the reduction was ‘at least half’.<sup>9</sup> Since the provision of timber was important to Great Marlow this also impacted on its profitability. Figure 3.2 shows timber being loaded on to a barge near the bridge.

**Figure 3.2 – Timber Being Loaded on a Barge in Great Marlow<sup>10</sup>**

Figure 3.2 IMAGE REDACTED

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<sup>8</sup> Gerald Crompton, “The Tortoise and the Economy” Inland Waterway Navigation in International Economic History’, *The Journal of Transport History*, 25.2 (2004), p.2.

<sup>9</sup> Ville, p.301 and Compton, p.3.

<sup>10</sup> With thanks to Michael Eagleton

The importance of the River Thames and other inland waterways was, however, dramatically reduced by the coming of the railways. In Great Marlow this meant the Great Western Railway which passed from London through Maidenhead in 1838.<sup>11</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley has investigated the impact of the coming of the Great Western Railway on five rural parishes in the Goring Gap, further upriver and closer to Oxford, than Great Marlow.<sup>12</sup> She has contrasted the villages which had stations with those that the railway passed by and looked at how the social and employment mix changed. She also considered the change of use of the River Thames in that area. Her conclusion was that while considerable benefits came to that area because of the railways, the railways in themselves did not bring any great change to the social structure and employment in the Goring Gap area. Rather she concluded that it was the attitude of local landowners and farmers which were of most significance to the changes which took place.<sup>13</sup> Although it was also next to the river, Great Marlow was in many ways different from these villages in the Goring Gap since it had a larger population than the total of the five villages and was much more urban. It was also some distance from the nearest station on the Great Western Railway and therefore derived limited benefit from the railways until the building of a local branch line in 1873. Instead it suffered from the failure of the Thames Navigation and the loss of through coaches. Simon Wenham has investigated a somewhat different aspect of the history of the river and traced the businesses which the Salter brothers founded in Oxford in 1858 and

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<sup>11</sup> 'Opening of the Great Western Railway', *The Times* (London, 2 June 1838), p. 6.

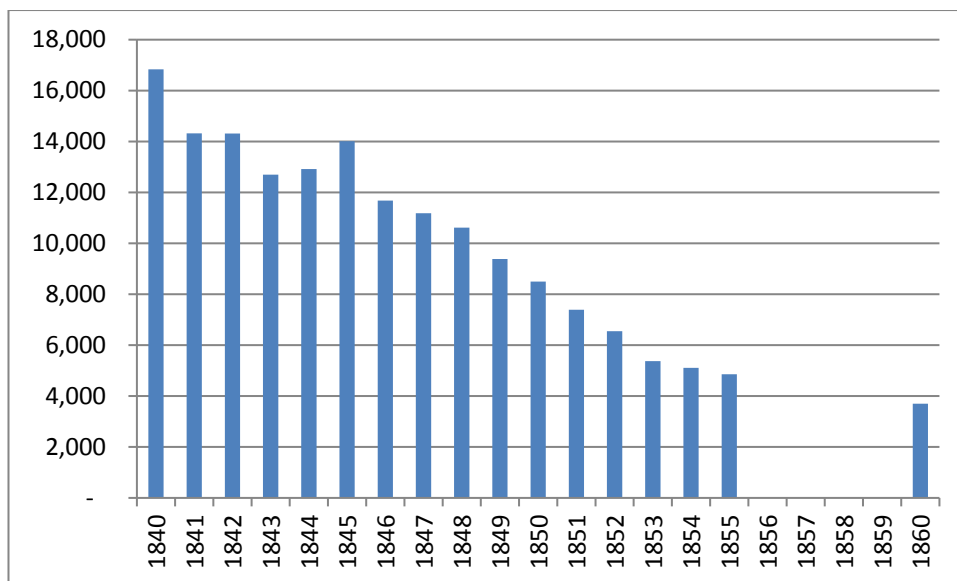
<sup>12</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley, 'The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.242.

continued to be owned by the family.<sup>14</sup> These businesses focussed on the use of the Thames for leisure, beginning with building boats for rowing, then expanding into building and operating small leisure craft and eventually steamers which went from Oxford to Kingston with various stops on route, including Great Marlow. Salter Brothers also co-operated with the Great Western Railway to provide circular tours, with the Great Western taking passengers in one direction and a Salter steamer the other.

As shown in Figure 3.3, the coming of the Great Western Railway in 1838 had a major impact on the tolls collected from commercial traffic on the river over the decades which followed.<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 3.3 Tolls Collected by Thames Navigation**



As early as 1845 the Commissioners of the Thames Navigation were starting to react. New works on the river were, effectively, brought to a halt with only small additional

<sup>14</sup> Simon M. Wenham, 'Oxford, the Thames and Leisure: A History of Salter Bros, 1858-2010' (unpublished DPhil, Oxford University, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 4 for details

work being done in 1846.<sup>16</sup> In 1845 they called an extraordinary general meeting and proposed to cut toll fees by twenty per cent.<sup>17</sup> By 1854 toll fees collected had dropped to less than one third the level in 1840 and along with them the payments to Bond Holders.<sup>18</sup> The Commissioners decided to take drastic action. A hand written document shows the revised levels of wages implemented for lock keepers and ferrymen where they were reduced by more than half from £1,118 8s to £549 12s.<sup>19</sup> Thomas Coster, who was responsible for Temple Lock immediately upriver from Great Marlow, had his salary reduced from £46 16s to £35 2s while Joseph Coster, who was responsible for the lock in Great Marlow, had previously been paid £36 but in future only received tolls collected from leisure boats and the use of the house at the lock. In return he had to attend to the safety of the locks and pass boats through it. As well as reducing the wages of the lock keepers and ferrymen some Thames Navigation staff were dismissed as part of the attempt to cut costs.<sup>20</sup> As a result total salaries were reduced from £2,032 in 1853 to £1,214 in 1855.<sup>21</sup> Tolls collected continued to fall and by 1860 both the money paid to Bond Holders and spent on repairs had fallen further.<sup>22</sup>

By July 1863 'A Commissioner' was writing to the editor of *Reading Mercury* stating that at a meeting of commissioners in Great Marlow it had become obvious that the Thames Navigation was, in effect, bankrupt.<sup>23</sup> Within two years, on 22 March 1865,

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix 4

<sup>17</sup> 'Thames Navigation - Extraordinary General Meeting', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 22 February 1845), p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 4

<sup>19</sup> D/EX1457/1/152/1-4, 'Schedule of Proposed Alterations in Duties and Salaries of Pound Lock Keepers and Ferrymen Employed by the Thames Navigation Commission.', 1854, BRO

<sup>20</sup> 'The Thames Navigation', *Windsor and Eton Express* (Windsor, 25 February 1854), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix 4

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix 4

<sup>23</sup> 'The Thames Navigation - Letter to the Editor by 'A Commissioner'', *Reading Mercury*, 4 July 1863, p. 6.

there was a Special Meeting of Reading Town Council to discuss the state of the Thames Navigation. At that meeting, Alderman Blandy stated that, because of the limited income of Thames Navigation, in February of 1865 the commissioners had reluctantly told the surveyor to discharge all his men. As a result, the river was likely to fall into disrepair. Alderman Blandy made the case for the government to tackle the issue of old lock owners who still drew tolls even though their locks were no longer in use, to provide funds to put the river into a more efficient state, and reduce tolls so that steam barges, which had no need for a towpath, would use the river. He stated that this would avoid the Great Western Railway gaining a monopoly in Reading and would be particularly useful to towns such as Great Marlow which were out of the immediate reach of the railway. He also reported that the previous summer an approach had been made to Milner Gibson, President of the Board of Trade, in an attempt to get funding from government but that had not produced a successful outcome. He proposed that Reading Town Council should petition parliament on the matter and this was approved unanimously.<sup>24</sup>

Later that year parliament began taking the issue seriously. Firstly, there was a Report by Commissioners set up to investigate pollution of the river and then a Select Committee was set up with a view to passing a new Thames Navigation Bill. In the preparation of their report the Commissioners visited Great Marlow on 5 January 1866 and took ten pages of evidence from eleven individuals including three current or retired MPs, three local and river officials, a mill owner, a farmer and a boat builder.<sup>25</sup> Thomas

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<sup>24</sup> 'The Thames Navigation - Special Meeting of the Reading Town Council', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 25 March 1865), p.6.

<sup>25</sup> *Report of the Commissioners Enquiring into the Best Means of Preventing the Pollution of Rivers (The Thames)*, 1866, Paper Number 14153-1, pp.241-250.

Rolls, who had lived all of his life in Great Marlow and was 85, commented that the commercial traffic on the river had been greatly reduced due to the railways but that the number of boats, presumably leisure boats, on the river had ‘wonderfully increased’. James Haynes, in the report misspelt as Hayne, who had also lived all of his life in Great Marlow and who built and let boats agreed that pleasure boating had increased ‘to a considerable extent’. In his evidence to the Select Committee on 4 June 1866, Thomas Graham, the General Clerk of the Upper Navigation Commissioners reported that by 1864 commercial traffic and the resulting tolls collected on the river above Staines had been reduced to ‘£3,057 6s 8d’.<sup>26</sup> In his evidence given on 5 June, James Castle, the Surveyor of the Upper Navigation, stated that ‘great poverty exists at the present time in the neighbourhood of Great Marlow’.<sup>27</sup> This he attributed to the fact that the paper mill at nearby Temple was closed though, as the newspaper report of the Reading Town Council Meeting indicates, it must also have been partly due to the fact that costs in Great Marlow were adversely impacted by the limited traffic on the river and the town’s distance from the railway station. As an illustration of these additional costs in Great Marlow, at a meeting in the town on 19 December 1864 chaired by Colonel Knox, one of the town’s MPs, it was claimed that if a railway branch was built a saving of 5s or 6s per ton could be made on coal.<sup>28</sup> This would have represented a saving of around twenty-five percent given that at the time the price of coal in Reading ranged from 17s to 24s.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> ‘Minutes of Evidence Taken by the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation Bill’, 1866, Paper Number 391, pp.7-8.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Minutes of Evidence Taken by the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation Bill’, p.31.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Great Marlow - Railway Meeting’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 31 December 1864), p.7.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Present Prices of Coal’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 3 December 1864), p.7.



Leisure on the Thames near Great Marlow took several forms. The earliest to become established was angling. The long history of angling in the town is highlighted by the fact that the most prestigious hotel in the town, although it lies on the Berkshire side of the river, *The Compleat Angler*, was so named in 1659 after the famous book written by Izaak Walton while he stayed there.<sup>30</sup> Illustrating the relevance of angling to the town, when William Tyler offered a cottage to let in Marlow in 1829 he described it as ‘a delightful summer residence for retirement or the amusement of angling’.<sup>31</sup> Likewise *Pigot’s Directory* of 1831 advises that ‘Marlow is the resort, during the fishing season, of numbers who take delight in the quiet amusement’.<sup>32</sup> Stewart-Beardsley has similarly identified that in the 1830s fishing played a small but important role in the economy of Pangbourne further upriver and advises that this interest in angling on the Thames was further stimulated by the publication of *New Map of the River Thames* by Henry Taunt in 1871.<sup>33</sup> The importance of angling continued to grow and in *Kelly’s Directory* of 1883 two local inns in Great Marlow, the *George and Dragon* and *Greyhound Commercial Inn*, were described as ‘much frequented’ by anglers while Great Marlow was described as ‘a favourite resort of all lovers of angling’.<sup>34</sup>

Another leisure activity which local businessmen attempted to use to stimulate business in Great Marlow was holding a regatta. The nearby town of Henley had been holding a regatta since 1839 and from 1851 it had royal patronage.<sup>35</sup> By 1853 Great Marlow was

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<sup>30</sup> ‘*The Compleat Angler*’, *Domesday*

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120210105009/http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/domesday/dblock/GB-484000-186000/page/5> [accessed 14 November 2018].

<sup>31</sup> ‘To Be Let, a Convenient Cottage’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 25 May 1829), p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Pigot’s Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1830-31*, p.85.

<sup>33</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.115.

<sup>34</sup> *Kelly’s Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883* (London: Kelly’s Directories Ltd., 1883), p.355.

<sup>35</sup> ‘History | Henley Royal Regatta’ <<https://www.hrr.co.uk/history>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

holding its own regatta.<sup>36</sup> Tony Evans has written a detailed history of the Marlow Regatta where he provides an illustration of a poster for the 1855 regatta.<sup>37</sup> The *Reading Mercury* reporting on the 1855 regatta suggests that it drew a large crowd and stating that the regatta would add to the attractive scenery and make Great Marlow a more attractive resort for Londoners in the summer.<sup>38</sup> In spite of efforts to keep the regatta going during the 1860s it seems that it was 1870 before the Marlow Regatta became a regular feature of the sporting calendar and was being held either a few days before, or a few days after, the Henley Regatta and attracting national attention.<sup>39</sup> By 1885 it was attracting some of the best racing crews and being reported in the London press such as the *Morning Post*.<sup>40</sup> As well as competitors taking part in the regatta it seems likely that it would have attracted additional visitors to the town as spectators and this is reflected in the increased passenger numbers on the Great Marlow Railway shown in Table 2.1.

Leisure craft had an even more significant business impact on the town since they directly provided work and attracted visitors for more of the year. The most substantial craft was *The Star of the Thames* launched in Marlow on 11 April 1864. Carrying around two hundred guests, such was the importance of the launch that the day was observed as a holiday for miles around, crowds thronged the banks of the river, local dignitaries were present and one of the local MPs, Colonel Knox, presided at the event.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> 'Great Marlow', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 26 August 1854), p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Tony Evans, 'Marlow Regatta', *The Marlow Historian*, 3 (2003), 29–33.

<sup>38</sup> 'Great Marlow Regatta', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 18 August 1855), p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> 'Sporting Diary for Next Week', *The Sporting Life* (London, 25 June 1870), p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> 'Marlow Regatta', *Morning Post* (London, 6 July 1885), p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> 'Launch of a Pleasure Boat', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 16 April 1864), p. 4.

Smaller craft which could be hired by visitors were particularly important. As James Haynes had indicated to the Report by the Commissioners, pleasure boating had increased considerably by 1866 and the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation took evidence from James Castle, the Surveyor of the Upper Navigation, that there were fifty eight pleasure boats moored at Great Marlow, forty eight for hire and ten privately owned.<sup>42</sup> The popularity of boating on the Thames is summed up by an article in *The City Press* which dedicates one and a half columns to the story of a trip up the Thames to Great Marlow in 1871 describing August as ‘the time for a day’s holiday up the Thames’.<sup>43</sup> Boat building and the provision of boats for hire grew considerably in the second half of the nineteenth century as did the number of people employed in the industry. In the 1854 *Post Office Directory* James Haynes was described as a carpenter.<sup>44</sup> By the 1864 *Post Office Directory* he was described as a ‘boat builder’.<sup>45</sup> As reported earlier he gave evidence to the Select Committee considering the new Thames Navigation Bill in 1866. A photograph of his yard is shown as Figure 3.4.

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<sup>42</sup> ‘Minutes of Evidence Taken by the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation Bill’, p.345.

<sup>43</sup> ‘A Day up the Thames’, *The City Press* (London, 2 September 1871), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Post Office Directory of Berkshire Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire; with Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire* (London: Kelly and Co., 1854), p.118.

<sup>45</sup> *Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire* (London: Kelly’s Directories Ltd., 1864), p.476.

**Figure 3.4 – James Hayes Boatyard in the 1870s<sup>46</sup>**

Figure 3.4 IMAGE REDACTED

The Marlow Branch of the Great Western Railway finally opened in June 1873 and quickly made an impact.<sup>47</sup> By February 1874 the *Bucks Herald* dedicated two full columns to the report of a banquet at the town hall attended by over one hundred people including the MP, Thomas Wethered, and many other local dignitaries and businessmen. The article began with a glowing report claiming that ‘Marlow is said to be advancing by leaps and bounds’ and that ‘the railway brings hosts of visitors’.<sup>48</sup> By 1884 the number of visitors to the upper Thames had reached a level which was considered to be potentially so problematic that a Select Committee was set up to examine the evidence of their impact on the river and the local environment. In their report the Select Committee indicate that commercial traffic on the river had dwindled to be almost insignificant but that, by means of the railways, the population of London

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<sup>46</sup> With thanks to Michael Eagleton

<sup>47</sup> ‘Marlow Railway’, *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 28 June 1873), p.5.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Banquet at the Town Hall’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 14 February 1874), p.5.

were using the upper reaches of the river for recreation to an extent where legislation was required to preserve the character of the river.<sup>49</sup> The scale of this recreational use is illustrated in Appendix 6 of their report where it is recorded that in 1883 the number of people travelling to the Great Western stations on the upper Thames, including Great Marlow, was 19,362 between January and April but that this increased to 63,885 between May and August.<sup>50</sup>

James Haynes died on 19 May 1879.<sup>51</sup> Robert Shaw, who had been a fisherman living in Bisham, near Great Marlow but on the Berkshire side of the river, in the 1871 census, moved to Great Marlow and by the 1881 census both he and his 23 year old son, Richard, were boat builders living in Great Marlow in the location previously occupied by James Haynes.<sup>52</sup> In *Kelly's Directory* of 1883 Robert Shaw's entry states 'Pleasure Boat Builder and Boats of All Kinds Let on Hire'.<sup>53</sup> By August 1887 an article in the *Reading Mercury* makes reference to the fact that he has built a new boatyard.<sup>54</sup> Figure 3.5 shows a photograph of this boatyard in 1890. By the 1891 census Robert Shaw was clearly building up the business. As well as his son Richard, his sons William Thomas, then 30, Albert, then 24, and Edward, then 23, had joined the business.<sup>55</sup> In addition several other experienced boat builders had moved into the town, Edward Reid, 41, originally from Oxford, Edward Cox, 26, originally from Eton, James George Chew,

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<sup>49</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Thames River Preservation*, 1884, Paper Number 321, p.iii.

<sup>50</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Thames River Preservation*, p.439.

<sup>51</sup> 'Deaths', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 24 May 1879), p.8.

<sup>52</sup> CEB, 1871, Berkshire, Bisham, District 9, sheet 1 and CEB, 1881, Great Marlow, District 1, sheet 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire*, 1883, p.358.

<sup>54</sup> 'A Disputed Landing Place', *Reading Mercury* (Reading, 6 August 1887), p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> CEB, 1891, Great Marlow, District 2, sheet 23 and District 1, sheet 1.

44, originally from Barking in Essex and Henry Redknap, 58, originally from Richmond.<sup>56</sup>

**Figure 3.5 – Shaw’s Boatyard in 1890<sup>57</sup>**

Figure 3.5 IMAGE REDACTED

It is clear that the coming of the railways had dramatically changed the use of the River Thames from being a means of transporting goods into the focus of a new leisure industry. This had a direct impact on some of those working on the river. In 1831, *Pigot’s Directory* listed two businesses described as warfingers in Great Marlow, Thomas Gibbons and John Rolls and Sons.<sup>58</sup> By the 1883 *Kelly’s Directory* no businesses are described as warfingers were listed for Great Marlow.<sup>59</sup> This change is

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<sup>56</sup> CEB, 1891, Great Marlow, District 1, sheet 21, District 2, sheets 23 and 30, and District 4 sheet 9.

<sup>57</sup> With thanks to Michael Eagleton

<sup>58</sup> *Pigot’s Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1830-31*, p.86.

<sup>59</sup> *Kelly’s Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883*, pp.354-9.

reflected in the number of Bargemen, Warfingers, Warf Labourer and Coal

Merchants/Porters reported in the census as shown in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 – Bargemen, Warfingers, Warf Labourers and Coal Merchants/Porters reported in Census<sup>60</sup>**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Bargeman</b>	15	9	9	3	0
<b>Warfinger</b>	2	12	0	0	0
<b>Warf Labourer</b>	0	8	0	0	0
<b>Coal Merchant/Porter</b>	19	5	7	6	12
<b>Total</b>	36	34	16	9	12
<b>Working on the River</b>	36	34	16	3	0

It should be noted that in the different census returns the same individual might well be recorded using two or more of these descriptions. By the time of the 1881 census Coal Merchants/Porters would have operated from the Great Marlow Railway station and therefore would no longer have been working on the river. Some caution is required. A few of those described as Bargeman were probably passing through Great Marlow on the night of the census and indeed two of those described as Bargeman in the 1851 census were unknown in the town and refused to give their names or location of birth.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless the vast majority of those men were born in Great Marlow so the decline in their numbers does represent a real loss of work available

Conversely, as mentioned above, there was an increase in the numbers building and operating boats as shown in Table 3.2.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> See Appendix 6 for details

<sup>61</sup> CEB, 1851, Great Marlow, District 1b, Sheet 17

<sup>62</sup> See Appendix 6 for details

**Table 3.2 – Builders of Boats or Barges**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Boat/barge Builder</b>	2	1	2	2	9

One of the two boat/barge builders listed in the 1851 census was a barge builder, George Simpson who was originally from Pangbourne and had moved away by the 1861 census.<sup>63</sup> As mentioned above, a number of the boat builders working in the town in 1891 were skilled men who had come to Great Marlow already trained in boat building.

While the inns and hotels in Great Marlow lost some business when the long distance coaching business stopped, the use of the river for leisure activities and the coming of the railway seem to have stimulated travel to, and temporary residence in, Great Marlow. The *Fisherman's Retreat*, mentioned above, described itself as 'close to the river Thames, replete with every accommodation for boating and fishing parties'.<sup>64</sup>

While the three inns or hotels listed in Pigot's 1831 directory, *Compleat Angler*, *Crown* and *Greyhound* continued in operation, by 1864 the *George and Dragon* was also operational and by 1883 there was a further two hotels, the *Fisherman's Retreat* and the *Railway Hotel*.<sup>65</sup> As Wenham indicates, in 1881 John Salter, as part of the marketing for his own business, published *The River Thames: From Its Source to Wandsworth*,

<sup>63</sup> CEB, 1851, Great Marlow, District 1e, Sheet 14

<sup>64</sup> *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883*, pp.357-358.

<sup>65</sup> *Pigot's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1830-31*, p.86, *Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd., 1864), pp.475-6 and *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883*, pp.357-8.



subsequently known as, *Salter's Guide to the Thames*, which continued for fifty-seven editions and which, among other things, listed hotels on the Thames.<sup>66</sup>

Taken as a whole, as illustrated by Tables 3.1 and 3.2, less people were directly employed on the river as the use changed from commercial transport to leisure. It is probable however, that these new jobs were more skilled and therefore better paid. As will be seen in Chapter 4, the opening of a local branch line stimulated the increase in the leisure industry and the money brought in by tourists aided the growth of other businesses in the town such as hotels and inn keepers.

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<sup>66</sup> Wenham, p.192.

#### **4 – Changing Employment and Social Mix**

Employment patterns in Great Marlow changed considerably between 1835 and 1891 as they did in England as a whole. Determining which of these changes in Great Marlow were as a result of national trends and which were due to the coming of the railways and the changing use of the River Thames is more challenging. The approach taken in this chapter is to firstly define the geographical area of Great Marlow and then carry out a detailed analysis of occupations within the town contrasting that with other studies and national trends in an attempt to differentiate between the various effects. Direct employment on the railways and the river are dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

As in the Introduction, for census purposes, up to and including 1891, Great Marlow was an administrative and civil level parish unit. The Population Tables in the Census Reports in the Parliamentary Papers reflect this definition. Included within these numbers, however, is part of the Church of England Parish of Holy Trinity Lane End and the village of Lane End plus the hamlet of Moor Common. This tends to give a distorted impression of Great Marlow for several reasons. Firstly, Lane End and Moor Common lie some four miles away from the town of Great Marlow and, in the wooded Chiltern Hills, rather than in the Thames Valley. This directly influenced work patterns. Secondly, Lane End was, approximately, equidistant from the towns of Great Marlow and High Wycombe so the village lay partly in the Great Marlow administrative district and partly in the West Wycombe administrative district. The boundary between the two may have shifted over time and certainly families and individuals appeared in some

census years within Great Marlow administrative and civil parish and in others in West Wycombe administrative and civil parish thereby potentially distorting both population and employment patterns. Thirdly, given that Lane End was only three miles distant from West Wycombe railway station, which was already open in 1862, the coming of the railway to Great Marlow in 1873 would have had little impact on Lane End.<sup>1</sup>

In order to remove this potentially distorting effect, for the purposes of this dissertation, Great Marlow is defined as being All Saints Parish, Great Marlow so that the derived population and growth data is as shown in Table 4.1.<sup>2</sup> Also shown is the percentage population growth for England and Wales as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 4.1 – Population of All Saints Parish, Great Marlow**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Increase</b>	<b>Great Marlow % Increase</b>	<b>England and Wales % Increase</b>
<b>1841</b>	1,894	2,219	4,113			
<b>1851</b>	1,198	2,124	4,122	9	0.2	12.9
<b>1861</b>	2,005	2,147	4,202	89	2.2	11.9
<b>1871</b>	2,016	2,224	4,240	38	0.9	13.2
<b>1881</b>	2,144	2,328	4,372	132	3.1	14.4
<b>1891</b>	2,315	2,476	4,791	419	9.6	11.7

This modified data makes it clear that, against a background of rapid population growth in England as a whole, population growth in the town of Great Marlow was minimal between 1841 and 1871 and that the population only began to increase coincident with the coming of the Great Marlow Railway.

<sup>1</sup> *Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd., 1864), p.469 and 'A Very Desirable Estate', *South Bucks Free Press* (High Wycombe, 21 June 1862), p.1.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 5 for details

<sup>3</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1891 Volume IV. General Report*, 1893, Paper Number C.7222, p.4.

Looking at the social impact of the Great Marlow Railway it can be seen from Figures 4.1 and 4.2 that between 1875 and 1897 there was a significant number of houses built in Glade Road, Beaumont Rise, Victoria Road and Station Road in the area described as Marlow Fields around the railway station.

**Figure 4.1 – Area around Marlow Station in 1875**

Figure 4.1 IMAGE REDACTED

**Figure 4.2 – Area around Marlow Station in 1897**

Figure 4.2 IMAGE REDACTED

The housing in Glade Road and Beaumont Rise had an impact on the social mix and the geographical origins of those living in the town. Many of the houses were occupied by relatively affluent families who had come from outside the town. Table 4.2 contrasts the

geographical origins of residents of these two streets in 1891 with the findings of the MARTEN group for the town as a whole in 1851.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 4.2 Geographical Origins of Residents of Glade Road and Beaumont Rise**

	<b>Great Marlow</b>	<b>Buckinghamshire</b>	<b>Berkshire</b>	<b>Oxfordshire</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>MARTEN data for Great Marlow in 1851</b>	62%	13%	7%	4%	14%
<b>Glade Road and Beaumont Rise in 1891</b>	34%	5%	13%	8%	40%

A related, and significant, change in the period after the opening of the Great Marlow Railway was the increase in numbers of those ‘living on own means’. Table 4.3 presents the numbers shown in the census returns.

**Table 4.3 – Number of People in Census Return ‘Living on Own Means’**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Male</b>	7	6	9	6	29
<b>Female</b>	27	28	24	28	78
<b>Total</b>	34	34	33	34	107

Although the change appears dramatic some caution is required. In the 1891 census the term ‘living on own means’ was introduced.<sup>5</sup> Prior to that there were various terms such as ‘annuitant’, ‘fund holder’, ‘proprietor of houses’ and ‘proprietor of estates’. The large increase in 1891 almost certainly exaggerates the scale of the actual change. Some, such as the 76 year old widow of a painter Eliza Mead of Chapel Street, who was living with her daughter Jane and son-in-law, General Labourer, James Rixon, were presumably of

<sup>4</sup> *Great Marlow, Parish and People in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Jean M Cook (Marlow: Marten, 1991), p.11 and CEB 1891, Great Marlow, District 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1891 Volume IV. General Report*, Paper Number C.7222, p.138.

quite modest means.<sup>6</sup> In an earlier census she would almost certainly left her 'Profession or Occupation' blank. Others were either single or widowed people of modest means who lived in lodgings like Georgina Clayton, a 55 year old from Uxbridge in Middlesex.<sup>7</sup> In *Kelly's Directory* of 1883, however, there were sixteen Private Residents, out of a total of ninety-two in the town, living in the newly built villas in Grove Road and Beaumont Rise.<sup>8</sup> The 1891 census therefore shows a genuine increase in more affluent residents in the town. Among them were the family of Raleigh Chichester, from Ireland, who had a cook, parlour maid, nursery maid and nurse; James Hammerton and his wife, from Surrey, who had a domestic servant; and a single woman, Caroline Patrickson, from Islington in London, who had a companion, domestic servant and a groom/gardener.<sup>9</sup>

This increase in the more affluent residents of the town led directly to an increase in the number of female servants, laundresses and charwomen as shown in Table 4.4.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 4.4 – Female Servants, Laundresses and Charwomen**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Female Servants</b>	204	197	221	249	291
<b>Laundress</b>	39	60	48	57	64
<b>Charwoman</b>	5	10	10	9	13
<b>Total</b>	248	267	279	315	368

The impact of these new residents was, however, less significant when it came to male servants. Most of the new residents were affluent enough to have female servants but

<sup>6</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow, District 3, Sheet 16

<sup>7</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow, District 2, Sheet 12

<sup>8</sup> *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd., 1883), p.356.

<sup>9</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow, District 2.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 6 for details.

were not at a level of affluence which afforded indoor male servants. Instead they employed gardeners. Table 4.5 shows their numbers.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 4.5 – Male Servants and Gardeners**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Male Servants</b>	54	65	44	72	53
<b>Gardeners</b>	47	50	55	60	80
<b>Total</b>	101	115	99	132	133

It is worth noting that since relatively few families in the town employed male servants the absence of one or two such families, or, conversely, wealthy guests visiting on the night of the census could have a noticeable impact on the number of male servants appearing in the census return. This may account for the variable nature of the size of this group. The number of gardeners should also be treated with some caution. While most were very clearly domestic servants a few worked as market gardeners.

At a national level the numbers employed in the building trade grew substantially between 1871 and 1891.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, Stewart-Beardsley found that during the period 1841 to 1901 in the Goring Gap ‘the building trades flourished’.<sup>13</sup> Given the number of new houses built around the station it is not surprising that a similar effect was seen in Great Marlow between 1871 and 1891. As today, many in this industry had multiple skills such as ‘painter and glazier’ so it is necessary to group them together as in Table 4.6 to see a clear picture.

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Return of Number of Males and Females in England and Wales at Censuses in 1871, 1881 and 1891, under Occupational Headings*, 1895, Paper Number 468, p.14.

<sup>13</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley, ‘The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2009), p.203.

**Table 4.6 – Numbers Employed in the Building Trade**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Carpenter and Joiner</b>	42	46	48	45	53
<b>Bricklayer</b>	42	32	33	46	53
<b>Painter, Decorator and Glazier</b>	12	11	11	22	25
<b>Plumber</b>	4	4	8	5	6
<b>Builder</b>	3	4	6	11	16
<b>Plaster</b>	1	1	3	1	0
<b>Gas Fitter</b>	0	0	1	1	5
<b>Total</b>	104	98	110	131	158

In the years 1851 to 1871 the average was 104. After the arrival of the Great Marlow Railway the numbers increased significantly. Although there was increased employment in the building trade throughout England and Wales the need for this increase in Great Marlow is clearly a local effect caused by the arrival of the railway and the building of houses around the station.

Identifying the causes of other employment trends over the period is more challenging. In some cases mechanisation elsewhere in England reduced the number of people working in an industry like Lace Making or Boot and Shoe Manufacture. In others, increasing affluence, and therefore demand, led to an increase in the number of people working in Furniture and Chair Manufacturing. In order to understand how these trends impacted on the town of Great Marlow and to better assess which were caused by national and which by local effects a detailed analysis was conducted of employment in the 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 census.<sup>14</sup> The results of this analysis are used below. The census of 1841 is excluded since there was minimal population change between 1841 and 1851 and also it provided less employment information, particularly among women, and therefore might distort the analysis. The census of 1891 is included

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<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 6 for details.



since there was a considerable increase in population during the 1880s which suggests that after a time lag the Great Marlow Railway had an impact on the social and employment mix in the town.

Publicans, beer sellers and lodging-house keepers provided for locals, passing trade and for some people re-locating to the town. As such they can be considered to be a reflection of how busy the town was. Although the coming of the Great Western Railway to Maidenhead in 1838 eliminated the coaching trade and reduced the commercial traffic on the River Thames, as discussed in Chapter 3, trade directories suggest that there was no significant impact on the number of hotels or lodging houses in the town. After the coming of the Great Marlow Railway in 1873, however, they increased. The number of people employed as publicans, beer sellers and in lodging houses are as shown in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7 – Publicans, Beer Sellers and Lodging-house Keepers**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Publicans etc.</b>	28	39	34	44	56

While the numbers employed grew by 21 per cent between 1851 and 1871 the rate of growth increased to 65 per cent between 1871 and 1891 suggesting that the local impact of the coming of the Great Marlow Railway was significant.

For other groups it is less obvious whether or not they would have been impacted by the coming of the railway. Since there is employment information for a much larger proportion of men and they worked in more diverse occupations it is logical to begin with that group. Although Great Marlow was mainly urban the largest group of male

employees in the 1851 census were those described as Agricultural Labourers, Farm Workers, Shepherds and Plough Boys. In total they represented 349 men and boys. By 1891 this had reduced to 159 men and boys, as shown by Table 4.8, which suggests a significant decline. In parallel there appears to be a significant increase in the number of men and boys described as General Labourer or sometimes just Labourer. The problem of the definition of Agricultural Labourer was, however, recognised by those analysing the census and in the report on the 1871 census it was commented that while there were ‘explicit instructions on the subject....it is not improbable that many agricultural labourers returned themselves simply as labourers’.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 4.8 – Number of Males Employed in Agriculture and Labouring as per Census**

<b>Year</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Employed in Agriculture</b>	349	195	241	184	159
<b>General Labourers</b>	36	138	118	167	186
<b>Total</b>	385	333	359	351	345

This apparent decrease in those employed in agriculture may, therefore, be misleading. From 1851 to 1881 the census recorded the numbers of men and boys employed by each farmer. This data is shown in Table 4.9.

**Table 4.9 – Numbers of Men and Boys Employed by Farmers as per Census**

<b>Year</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>
<b>Employed by Farmers</b>	137	162	165	208

The 1881 census data is skewed by the fact that John Langley indicated that he employed 50 men and 8 boys on a 230 acre farm.<sup>16</sup> More commonly a farm of this size would have required about 10 men. If we adjust for this then the number of men and

<sup>15</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1871 Volume IV. (General Report)*, 1873, Paper Number C.872-I, pp.xliv-xlv.

<sup>16</sup> CEB 1881, Great Marlow, District 4, Sheet 18.

boys employed by farmers in 1881 would have been very similar to that in 1861 and 1871. The explicit instructions mentioned above might also explain the apparent increase in Agricultural Labourers reported by Great Marlow in the 1871 census when returns by farmers themselves suggested little change. This data suggests that a similar number of men and boys had full-time employment in agriculture over the period and that a pool of around 150 to 200 men and boys in the town were casual labour who worked on farms or wherever they found an opportunity. It is difficult to discern any clear local pattern over the period but it seems likely that the level of casual agricultural labour employed in Great Marlow declined in line with the national trend.

Another industry where there was a significant change in employment over the period was chair and furniture manufacture. Nearby High Wycombe was an important centre for chair and furniture manufacture from the eighteenth century through until very recently.<sup>17</sup> Until the 1870s, however, Great Marlow had much smaller and more specialised businesses with cabinet makers and upholsterers. One such business, founded by the Mealing family, has been detailed by Janet Smith.<sup>18</sup> From 1873 this industry expanded significantly when the Buckinghamshire Chair Company was founded in Saint Peter Street, Great Marlow. The numbers employed in the furniture businesses are shown in Table 4.10.

**Table 4.10 – Workers in the Manufacture of Furniture**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Workers in the Manufacture of Furniture</b>	15	17	14	54	69

<sup>17</sup> 'Furniture Making in Wycombe' <<https://www.wycombe.gov.uk/pages/Sports-leisure-and-tourism/Tourism/Furniture-making-in-Wycombe.aspx>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

<sup>18</sup> Janet Smith, 'A High Street Furniture Business', *The Marlow Historian*, 4 (2005), 10–18.

Since the timing of the founding of the Buckinghamshire Chair Company is closely coincident with the arrival of the railway it is tempting to see cause and effect. This may not, however, be the case. Speaking in November 1872, Mr. Wethered, the MP for the town, who indicated that he was also a shareholder in the company and supported its formation, referred to a potential strike of chair makers in High Wycombe stating ‘I cannot see why, if a strike happens to take place in High Wycombe, we should not take advantage of the opportunity to obtain good workmen for Marlow’.<sup>19</sup> The 1891 census bears this out. Around two thirds of those making chairs were from outside Great Marlow with most coming from High Wycombe, Lane End or nearby.<sup>20</sup> It seems most likely that having seen a business opportunity in a growing market the founders of the company decided to exploit that opportunity. The presence of the railway would, no doubt, have helped with the distribution of their product but was probably not, by itself, the major reason for the foundation and growth of the company.

Another major employer in the town was the breweries. The number of men who worked in the brewing industry is shown in Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11 – Number of Men Working in the Brewing Industry**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Male Employees</b>	42	43	47	46	52

While there was a small increase in the number of male employees in 1891 relative to prior years it is probable that this was due to the expanding range of products made by the largest brewery, Wethereds. Whereas in earlier census returns the Wethered family

<sup>19</sup> ‘Great Marlow’, *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 23 November 1872), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow

were described as brewers and farmers, in the 1891 census Francis Wethered also included ‘aerated water manufacturer’ among his occupations.<sup>21</sup>

*Pigots Directory* of 1844 states that in Great Marlow, ‘manufactures consist of paper and lace to a considerable extent’.<sup>22</sup> By 1851 William Wright and Son was the main paper maker in the town. In the census returns from 1851 to 1881 they reported employee numbers as shown in Table 4.12. This contrasts, however, with the numbers giving their occupation as working in the paper mill, or, in the case of some of women, working as ‘rag sorter’, an occupation associated with the main raw material for paper making, as shown in Table 4.13.

**Table 4.12 – Employees of William Wright and Son as Reported in Census**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>
<b>Male</b>	20	20	19	18
<b>Female</b>	24	8	9	7
<b>Total</b>	44	28	28	25

**Table 4.13 – Number Working in Paper Making, including ‘Rag Sorter’**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Male</b>	33	29	13	28	23
<b>Female</b>	36	53	4	14	23
<b>Total</b>	69	82	17	42	46

The paper making industry was under considerable overseas competitive pressure during the 1860s to the extent that there was a Select Committee to investigate the situation.<sup>23</sup> This may account for some of the change in numbers employed. The numbers presented by William Wright and by the individuals themselves in 1871 are,

<sup>21</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow, District 1, Sheet 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Pigot & Co.’s Directory of Berks, Bucks ... , 1844* (London: I Slater, 1844), p.19.

<sup>23</sup> *Select Committee to Inquire into Duties or Prohibitions in Foreign Countries on Export of Rags Used in Manufacture of Paper*, 1861, 467, 150.

nevertheless, very difficult to reconcile. Subsequently a paper mill at Temple, about one mile upstream from Great Marlow, which had been closed for some time, re-opened in the autumn of 1873 and this may accounted for some of the increase in those working in the paper making industry in 1881 and 1891.<sup>24</sup>

As mentioned above, lace making was an important source of employment in the town and it continued to be so in 1851 although by then the median age of women making lace was 49.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently the numbers employed showed a steady decline as shown in Table 4.14.

**Table 4.14 – Women Employed in Lace Making**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Women Employed in Lace Making</b>	84	58	39	11	4

Most of the Lace Makers were either widows, or the wives or daughters of Labourers who supplemented the family income by making lace. Elaine Freedgood has identified that lace making was revitalised by the wedding of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert in 1844 where the Queen wore lace.<sup>26</sup> Even then, while some lace was handmade much of it was machine made. Spenceley looked at competition in the lace making industry in the third quarter of the nineteenth century between the mechanised industry in Nottinghamshire and rural lace making. He suggests that in spite of mechanisation, in 1851 lace making may still have been the largest industry in which raw materials were given out to workers and finished goods returned with 10,487 women employed making

<sup>24</sup> 'Temple Mills', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 2 August 1873), p.8.

<sup>25</sup> CEB 1851, Great Marlow.

<sup>26</sup> Elaine Freedgood, "Fine Fingers": Victorian Handmade Lace and Utopian Consumption', *Victorian Studies*, 45.4 (2003), p. 626.

lace in Buckinghamshire.<sup>27</sup> By the 1890s, however, he states that the handmade industry ‘had clearly lost its struggle against laces made by machine’.<sup>28</sup> This national change is reflected locally and by 1891 only four Lace Makers remained in Great Marlow.

In the 1851 census returns the second largest group of female workers in Great Marlow were described as ‘satin stitch worker’. This industry typically employed people from the same economic background as lace making but required less training and the median age of Satin Stitch Workers was 20.<sup>29</sup> In later census returns the term ‘Satin Stitch Worker’ almost disappeared. By tracking a few individuals from 1851 to 1861 it became clear that in the subsequent census returns most used the more general term ‘Embroidery’ while some became a ‘Needlewoman’. The combined numbers for this group are shown in Table 4.15.

**Table 4.15 – Satin Stitch Worker, Embroidery and Needlewoman**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Satin Stitch Worker</b>	137	4	1	0	0
<b>Embroidery</b>	6	78	51	32	18
<b>Total of Satin Stitch Worker and Embroidery</b>	143	82	52	32	18
<b>Needlewoman</b>	41	67	67	64	72
<b>Combined Total</b>	184	149	119	96	90

While the numbers employed in Satin Stitch Work and Embroidery declined, those describing themselves as ‘Needlewoman’ maintained a fairly consistent level after

<sup>27</sup> G. F. R. Spenceley, ‘The English Pillow Lace Industry 1840–80: A Rural Industry in Competition with Machinery’, *Business History*, 19.1 (1977), pp. 68-9.

<sup>28</sup> Spenceley, p.82.

<sup>29</sup> CEB 1851, Great Marlow

1861. The 1891 census returns are annotated to suggest that many of these women were in fact making shirts.<sup>30</sup>

The only other industry which employed a substantial number of people in 1851 was the manufacture of boots and shoes. This was not unusual and Andrews has shown that even in the relatively rural Kent in 1841 almost 3 per cent of workers were employed making boots and shoes.<sup>31</sup> Likewise Stewart-Beardsley has shown that in 1841 in the small parish of Goring eleven men were similarly employed.<sup>32</sup> The 1851 census shows that three men employed significant numbers of people making boots and shoes, Steadman Camden employed nine men, Richard Carr, eight men and two boys, and William Deasey, three men. By the 1861 census, although it shows an increase in employment, no one is shown as employing any men. After that the numbers employed declined as per Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16 – Number of Males Employed in Boot/Shoe Manufacture**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Males Employed</b>	83	116	72	47	48

Directories reflect a similar pattern to the census. In 1854 sixteen boot and shoe makers are listed in Great Marlow.<sup>33</sup> By 1883 this had reduced to six while Mrs. Joseph Badger was described as a ‘boot and shoe dealer’.<sup>34</sup> This suggests a move away from local boot and shoe manufacture to more mechanised and centralised manufacture. This fits with trends which were occurring in England as a whole. Church explains that while the

<sup>30</sup> CEB 1891, Great Marlow

<sup>31</sup> Frank W.G. Andrews, ‘The Effect of the Coming of the Railways on the Towns and Villages of East Kent’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1993), p.36.

<sup>32</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.175.

<sup>33</sup> *Musson and Craven’s Commercial Directory of Buckinghamshire & Windsor, 1853* (Nottingham: Musson and Craven, 1853), p.84.

<sup>34</sup> *Kelly’s Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1883*, p.357.



wholesale manufacturing of boots and shoes was well underway by 1851 the vast majority of employees were outworkers with only 6 per cent of the 17,665 master manufacturers employing more than ten men.<sup>35</sup> Although the combination of population growth and increasing affluence would have increased demand, as Jose Antonio Miranda has shown, due to mechanisation, by 1900 the man hours required to manufacture a pair of shoes was 11 per cent of that required in 1850.<sup>36</sup> The local reduction of employment in boot and shoe manufacture reflected changes which were national rather than local.

The largest remaining group of people in Great Marlow were the various shopkeepers such as Butchers, Fishmongers, Grocers, Bakers, Confectioners, Drapers, Ironmongers and General Dealers as shown in Table 4.17.

**Table 4.17 – Various Shopkeepers**

	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Butcher</b>	19	16	22	20	24
<b>Fishmonger</b>	4	2	3	3	7
<b>Grocer</b>	18	21	27	32	35
<b>Baker</b>	25	24	28	32	28
<b>Confectioner</b>	2	0	2	1	8
<b>Drapers</b>	12	17	13	21	23
<b>Ironmongers</b>	2	4	5	4	8
<b>General Dealer</b>	0	6	7	13	11
<b>Total</b>	82	90	107	126	144

It is difficult to discern any particular pattern other than a gradual overall increase and normal fluctuations in business levels. The exception is Confectioners whose numbers

<sup>35</sup> R.A. Church, 'Labour Supply and Innovation 1800-1860: The Boot and Shoe Industry', *Business History*, 12.1 (1970), pp. 25-26.

<sup>36</sup> Jose Antonio Miranda, 'American Machinery and European Footwear: Technology Transfer and International Trade, 1860-1939', *Business History*, 46.2 (2004), p.197.

are likely to have increased in 1891 as a result of more affluent local residents and increased visitor numbers due to the opening of the railway branch.

The Great Marlow Railway clearly stimulated the building of houses around the station and attracted a group of more affluent residents. This in turn increased the numbers employed in the building trade and as female servants. The railway also increased the number of visitors and hence the demand for lodgings and public houses. Other employment trends were more influenced by national trends including the shift from agriculture, industrialisation, changes in fashion and increasing affluence.

## 5 – Conclusions

The population of the town of Great Marlow stagnated between 1841 and 1871 when it was over three miles from the nearest railway station. Great Marlow experienced the ending of coaching services, the decline of the turnpike trusts and the failure of the Thames Navigation after the coming of the Great Western Railway to Maidenhead in 1838. The first people to suffer were Frederick Wyatt and his family when his long distance coaching business collapsed within months of the opening of the railway. Over the decades which followed commercial transport on the River Thames declined. Employees of the Thames Navigation saw their pay cut in 1854 while repair work on the river was reduced to a minimum and the income received by bond holders fell. The number of Bargemen, Warfingers and Coal Porters working on the river also declined significantly. By 1866 the Thames Navigation was, in effect, bankrupt and was replaced by the Thames Conservancy.

The gentry and tradespeople of Great Marlow recognised that the lack of a station had adversely impacted on the town and came together to found the Great Marlow Railway and overcome opposition from local landowners. Gentlemen, clergymen, solicitors, doctors, brewers, paper makers, farmers, chemists, drapers, grocers, butchers, bakers, ironmongers, inn keepers, builders and confectioners, all took shares in the Great Marlow Railway and thereby contributed towards the cost of building the railway branch line.<sup>1</sup> The new railway company required suitable expertise and as a result its initial employees were mainly incomers to the town. The new branch line led to an increase in building around the station, including a number of villas. This stimulated the

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<sup>1</sup> RAIL 230/4, 'Great Marlow Railway Company - Subscribers' Agreement', 1867, NA.

building trade and brought a significant number of affluent, but not very rich, families into the town. This extended the geographical origins of the residents as well as increasing the employment of female servants and gardeners. There was a steady increase in rail passenger numbers many of whom visited to enjoy leisure pursuits on the river which in turn stimulated a growing business in the building and rental of leisure boats. At first this business was conducted by James Haynes but it grew much more rapidly in the 1880s with the Shaw family. As with the railway, expertise was required and, along with several members of the Shaw family, a number of boat builders came to live in the town. Likewise the founding of the Buckinghamshire Chair Company in 1873 created new jobs and attracted skilled workers from nearby High Wycombe and Lane End. The growth in population and visitors also supported an increase in the number of tradespeople, shopkeepers and lodging house keepers. Although the railway branch only brought a small number of direct jobs it indirectly stimulated the local economy and by 1891 the local population growth rate was similar to England as a whole.

This experience in Great Marlow is consistent with the findings by Andrews that in East Kent ‘the lack of a station was likely to produce stagnation, or more likely a population decline, and that it was likely to be worse the further the parish was from a station’.<sup>2</sup> It also replicates what Stewart-Beardsley found in the Goring Gap. She concluded that while the Thames Navigation and the owners of old locks and mills ‘must shoulder some of the responsibility for the failure of the river as a viable route, the bottom line

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<sup>2</sup> Frank W.G. Andrews, ‘The Effect of the Coming of the Railways on the Towns and Villages of East Kent’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1993), p.516.

was that it simply could not compete with the railway'.<sup>3</sup> Likewise she found that the railways 'fatally wounded the coaching services and the turnpike trusts'.<sup>4</sup> In Great Marlow while long distance coaching disappeared quickly the Hatfield to Reading turnpike trust did manage to continue, albeit at a lower level, until the early 1880s, and was one of the last in England to close. Unlike the Goring Gap, however, the influence of local landowners was limited. It was the townspeople of Great Marlow, led by the Wethered family, who decided that there should be a railway branch line to the town.

The influence of national changes was also significant. While the numbers employed full time in agriculture appear to have been reasonably consistent over the period there was, after allowing for inconsistencies in the reporting of agricultural labourers in census returns, a reduction in the level of casual labour employed by farmers. At the beginning of the period, like most towns, Great Marlow had a substantial number of people employed in making boots and shoes. The mechanisation of the manufacture of boots and shoes reduced the numbers employed considerably. Likewise craft industries such as lace making and embroidery, which employed a large proportion of women at the beginning of the period, were largely replaced by mechanisation elsewhere so that by 1891 the number of women employed in activities other than being servants, laundress or charwoman was significantly reduced in absolute as well as percentage terms.

The three largest employers in town over the period were Wethered brewery, Wright Brothers paper mill and the Buckinghamshire Chair Company. Wethered had been

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<sup>3</sup> Rosemary Stewart-Beardsley, 'The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2009), p.238.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart-Beardsley, p.238.

established since the eighteenth century and grew steadily largely unaffected by either local or national influences. Although Wright Brothers claimed to employ consistent numbers of people from 1851 to 1881 the numbers of those stating in the census that they worked in paper making varied considerably and it seems likely that national and international intervention by governments had a significant adverse impact on the industry in the 1860s.<sup>5</sup> The founding of the Buckinghamshire Chair Company in 1873 and the resulting significant increase in those employed the furniture industry between then and 1891 was coincident with the building of the Great Marlow Railway. It seems probable, however, that the owners were opportunistically taking advantage of a growing demand for furniture, and a potential strike in nearby High Wycombe to recruit skilled workers, rather than getting significant benefit from the railway.<sup>6</sup>

In population terms Great Marlow stagnated as a result of the Great Western Railway coming to Maidenhead and the resulting decline in the Thames Navigation. The people suffered from the mechanisation which occurred elsewhere in England. It was only with the building of the Great Marlow Railway, the resulting inflow of skilled workers and relatively affluent families, and the build-up of the leisure industry on the Thames that it began to grow at a rate consistent with England as a whole.

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<sup>5</sup> *Select Committee to Inquire into Duties or Prohibitions in Foreign Countries on Export of Rags Used in Manufacture of Paper*, Paper Number 467.

<sup>6</sup> 'Great Marlow', *Bucks Herald* (High Wycombe, 23 November 1872). p.7.

## Appendix 1 – Population of Great Marlow Civil and Administrative Parish

**Table A1.1 – population of Great Marlow Civil and Administrative Parish**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
1831			4,237
1841	2,067	2,413	4,480
1851	2,180	2,305	4,485
1861	2,255	2,406	4,661
1871	2,250	2,451	4,701
1881	2,240	2,523	4,763
1891	2,567	2,716	5,283

This table was derived from Parliamentary Papers recording the 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 census data. For 1891 the data was provided by the website A Vision of Britain through Time, Great Marlow CP/AP and verified by the 1891 Census Enumeration Books held on the Ancestry website.

It is necessary to take care when looking at the census data using a website such as Vision of Britain. During this period there were three distinct areas known as Great Marlow. There was the registration sub-district of Great Marlow, which included the small villages of Fingest and Turville which lie several miles from the town, with combined populations of around 800 people. These can easily be separated by examining the published census data since they each had their own parish. There was the Civil and Administrative Parish of Great Marlow, which is represented by the population numbers in Table A1.1. Finally there is the town of Great Marlow where the population data can only be derived by a detailed analysis of the census enumerators books which removes those areas of Great Marlow Civil and Administrative Parish outside the town such as the small villages of Lane End and Moor Common which are several miles from the town as shown in Appendix 5.

The 1831 census data was taken from the Population Tables in the 1851 census report which listed census data back to 1801.<sup>1</sup> The 1841 census data was taken from the report on the 1841 census.<sup>2</sup> The 1851 census data was taken from the Population Tables in the 1861 census report which used the 1851 data for comparison purposes.<sup>3</sup> The 1861 census data was taken from the Population Tables in the 1861 census report.<sup>4</sup> The 1871 census data was taken from the Population Tables in the 1871 census report.<sup>5</sup> The 1881 census data was taken from the Population Tables in the 1881 census report.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Population Tables, 1851, Part I. Number of Inhabitants in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841 and 1851. Volume I. Report, England and Wales, I-VII; Area and Population*, 1852, Paper 1631, p.22.

<sup>2</sup> *Abstract Return Pursuant to Act for Taking Account of Population of Great Britain (Enumeration Abstract, 1841)*, 1843, Paper Number 496, p.17.

<sup>3</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1861: Population Tables. Volume I. Number and Distribution of People, and Index to Names of Places in England and Wales*, 1862, Paper Number 3056, p.299.

<sup>4</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1861: Population Tables. Volume I. Number and Distribution of People, and Index to Names of Places in England and Wales*, Paper Number 3056, p.299.

<sup>5</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1871 Volume I. Area, Houses and Inhabitants (Counties)*, 1872, Paper Number C.676, p.125.

<sup>6</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1881 Volume II. Area, Houses and Population (Registration Counties)*, 1883, Paper Number C.3563, p.131.



**Appendix 2 – Tolls Collected on Turnpikes Through Great Marlow**

There were two turnpikes effective in Great Marlow. The first was a local turnpike running between Great Marlow and Stokenchurch, about 8 miles away. The second was a long distance turnpike running between Hatfield in Hertfordshire and Reading in Berkshire. This appendix tabulates the tolls collected each year from 1837, before the first railway in the area, until their closure as turnpikes. The data is taken from the annual reports of the Income and Expenditure of the Several Turnpike Trusts available through UK Parliamentary Papers website.

**Table A2.1 – Tolls Collected on Great Marlow to Stokenchurch Turnpike**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tolls collected in UK £</b>
1837	106
1838	108
1839	109
1840	see note 1 - 79
1841	see note 1 - 151
1842	102
1843	86
1844	97
1845	83
1846	51
1847	72
1848	49
1849	57
1850	68
1851	see note 2 - 43

Note 1 – it seems likely that there were some tolls uncollected in 1840 and that these arrears were collected in 1841. While not explicitly noted in records on this occasion the 1836 toll fees did show a collection of arrears so it was not unusual for this turnpike at this time.

Note 2 – The turnpike trust ceased to operate as a turnpike in 1851 so that the data for 1851 was a part year finishing on 1 November 1851. After this time the road became the responsibility of the County Council and still operates as such today.

**Table A2.2 – Tolls Collected on Hatfield to Reading Turnpike**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tolls collected in UK £</b>
1837	2,148
1838	2,560
1839	2,651
1840	2,950
1841	2,758
1842	2,172
1843	2,441
1844	2,252
1845	2,463
1846	1,973
1847	1,754
1848	2,107
1849	1,926
1850	2,425
1851	2,050
1852	1,995
1853	2,224
1854	2,500

1855	1,833
1856	2,318
1857	2,580
1858	2,144
1859	1,873
1860	2,131
1861	1,943
1862	1,869
1863	2,036
1864	2,016
1865	2,011
1866	1,885
1867	2,118
1868	2,085
1869	1,977
1870	1,975
1871	2,023
1872	1,917
1873	1,613
1874	1,526
1875	1,731
1876	1,654
1877	1,625

1878	see note 3
1879	see note 3 - 2,320
1880	2,188
1881	2,090
1882	see note 4 - 1,030

Note 3 – the ‘year-end’ was changed from 31 December to 31 March so fees shown as collected in 1879 were for the period 1 January 1878 to 31 March 1879.

Note 4 – the Local Government Act, which regulated roads, expired on 7 November 1881 so fees shown as collected in 1882 were for the period 1 April 1881 to 7 November 1881.

### Appendix 3 – Traffic on Great Marlow Railway

**Table A3.1 – Traffic on Great Marlow Railway**

<b>Year ending 30 June</b>	<b>Passengers</b>	<b>Fares</b>	<b>Freight and Parcels</b>	<b>Total Income</b>
1874	78,259	£1,268	£1,097	£2,365
1875	78,645	£1,241	£1,289	£2,530
1876	81,184	£1,279	£1,285	£2,564
1877	86,265	£1,340	£1,465	£2,805
1878	88,001	£1,380	£1,469	£2,849
1879	87,492	£1,371	£1,687	£3,058
1880	92,716	£1,447	£1,655	£3,102
1881	95,396	£1,485	£1,629	£3,114
1882	101,118	£1,578	£1,665	£3,243
1883	104,184	£1,612	£1,536	£3,148
1884	115,031	£1,758	£1,531	£3,289
1885	115,636	£1,733	£1,601	£3,334

This table was derived from the reports at the Half Yearly Meeting of the Shareholders of the Great Marlow Railway Company held on 27 March 1874, 29 September 1874, 6 April 1875, 30 September 1875, 24 March 1876, 26 September 1876, 27 March 1877, 25 September 1877, 5 March 1878, 24 September 1878, 27 March 1879, 25 September 1879, 23 March 1880, 21 September 1880, 17 March 1881, 16 September 1881, 14 March 1882, 12 September 1882, 29 March 1883, 27 September 1883, 24 March 1884, 19 September 1884, 2 March 1885 and 21 September 1885.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> RAIL 230/1, 'Great Marlow Railway Company - Directors' and General Meetings: Minutes', 1867, National Archive, pp.153-155, pp. 163-168, pp. 182-185, pp. 190-192, pp. 197-200, pp. 205-207, pp. 212-214, pp. 217-219, pp. 226-230, pp. 234-238, pp. 241-243, pp. 246-249, pp. 252-254, pp. 256-260, pp. 263-265, pp. 270-273, pp. 275-279, pp. 282-286, pp. 288-290, pp. 292-295, pp. 301-308, pp. 310-315, pp. 317-320 and pp. 322-325.

**Appendix 4 – Financial Performance of Thames Navigation****Table A4.1 – Financial Performance of Thames Navigation 1840 – 1855 and 1860**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tolls</b>	<b>Bond Holders</b>	<b>Salaries</b>	<b>Repairs</b>	<b>New Works</b>	<b>Other Expenses</b>	<b>Total Disbursement</b>
<b>1840</b>	16,832	5,200	1,130	5,740	427	5,274	17,771
<b>1841</b>	14,323	4,700	1,047	4,181	64	3,758	13,750
<b>1842</b>	14,316	4,900	2,290	3,372	-	3,862	14,424
<b>1843</b>	12,698	4,700	2,263	3,040	177	3,014	13,194
<b>1844</b>	12,918	4,500	2,266	3,671	1,320	1,463	13,220
<b>1845</b>	14,012	4,600	2,304	4,102	-	3,463	14,469
<b>1846</b>	11,677	4,600	2,286	2,980	52	1,104	11,022
<b>1847</b>	11,184	4,600	2,275	2,516	-	2,217	11,608
<b>1848</b>	10,614	4,600	2,272	2,274	-	2,886	12,032
<b>1849</b>	9,382	4,200	2,259	2,371	-	6,957	15,787
<b>1850</b>	8,499	4,200	2,246	2,201	-	1,132	9,779
<b>1851</b>	7,390	3,320	2,204	1,817	-	1,244	8,585
<b>1852</b>	6,550	3,320	2,193	1,574	-	1,002	8,089
<b>1853</b>	5,372	2,769	2,032	1,555	-	847	7,203
<b>1854</b>	5,107	1,730	1,383	935	-	476	4,524
<b>1855</b>	4,857	1,730	1,214	1,020	-	805	4,769
<b>1860</b>	3,698	860	1,200	1,160	-	517	3,737

The data in this table was derived from the records of the Thames Navigation held at Berkshire Records Office.<sup>1</sup> The years 1856 to 1859 appear to be missing from the record. The trends are, however, clear.

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<sup>1</sup> D/EX1457/1/142, 'Annual Statements of Accounts of the Thames Navigation, 1840-1855.', 1856, Berkshire Records Office and D/EX1457/1/141, 'Annual Statement of Accounts of the Thames Navigation, 1860', 1861, Berkshire Records Office.



## Appendix 5 – Population of the Town of Great Marlow

**Table A5.1 – Population of Great Marlow Civil and Administrative Parish**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
1831			4,237
1841	2,067	2,413	4,480
1851	2,180	2,305	4,485
1861	2,255	2,406	4,661
1871	2,250	2,451	4,701
1881	2,240	2,523	4,763
1891	2,567	2,716	5,283

As described Appendix 1, Table A5.1 represents the population of Great Marlow Civil and Administrative Parish as reported in the Parliamentary census data over the period.

**Table A5.2 – Population of Lane End Holy Trinity Parish**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
1841	173	194	367
1851	182	181	363
1861	250	259	459
1871	234	227	461
1881	196	195	391
1891	252	240	492

The data in Table A5.2 was derived from the Census Enumerators Books (CEB) held on the Ancestry website. County is Buckinghamshire, Civil Parish is Great Marlow. For 1841 the entirety of Enumeration District 6 is Lane End Holy Trinity Parish plus part of sheet 7 of District 7. For 1851 the Enumeration District is 1f beginning at entry 18 on sheet 6 and continuing to the end of District 1f at entry 85 on sheet 24. For 1861 the Enumeration District is 6 beginning at entry 17 on sheet 5 and continuing to entry 108 on sheet 24. For 1871 the Enumeration District is 6 beginning at entry 24 on sheet 5 and continuing to entry 114 on sheet 24. For 1881 the Enumeration District is 6 beginning at entry 26 on sheet 6 and continuing to entry 117 on sheet 22. For 1891 the Enumeration

District is 6 beginning at entry 1 on sheet 1 and continuing to entry 112 on sheet 16 plus entries 102 and 103 on sheet 21.

Removing the population of Lane End Holy Trinity Parish leaves the population of All Saints Parish, Great Marlow which better represents the town. This is presented below as Table A5.3.

**Table A5.3 – population of Great Marlow All Saints Parish**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
1841	1,894	2,219	4,113
1851	1,998	2,124	4,122
1861	2,005	2,147	4,202
1871	2,016	2,224	4,240
1881	2,144	2,328	4,372
1891	2,315	2,476	4,791

## Appendix 6 – Employment in Great Marlow 1851 to 1891

The data in this Appendix was derived from the enumerator's books for the census years 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 for Great Marlow All Saints Parish as defined in Appendix 5 and held on the Ancestry website. Since some roles appeared very infrequently, those which appeared less than five times in total have been brought together under the description 'Others'. The tables are sorted based on the prevalence of that employment in 1851.

**Table A6.1 Total Employment by Occupation 1851 to 1891**

<b>Employment</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Farm Worker</b>	351	201	241	194	174
<b>Servant</b>	258	262	265	321	344
<b>Satin stitch</b>	137	4	1	0	0
<b>Boot/Shoe maker</b>	88	133	78	52	51
<b>Lace Maker</b>	84	60	39	11	4
<b>Paper making</b>	69	82	17	42	46
<b>Gardener/groundsman</b>	49	50	55	60	82
<b>Dressmaker</b>	48	51	39	48	49
<b>Seamstress</b>	44	11	14	11	8
<b>Carpenter and Joiner</b>	42	46	48	45	53
<b>Brewery</b>	42	43	48	46	52
<b>Bricklayer</b>	42	32	33	46	53
<b>Needlewoman</b>	41	67	67	64	72
<b>Laundress</b>	39	60	48	57	64
<b>Labourer</b>	37	138	118	169	186
<b>Errand boy/girl</b>	29	12	9	12	17
<b>Publican/Inn/Beer Seller/Lodging</b>	28	39	34	44	56
<b>Teacher/Governess</b>	26	27	42	37	30
<b>Baker</b>	25	24	28	32	28
<b>Tailor</b>	25	23	15	13	10
<b>Smith - general, white or black</b>	21	27	24	29	26
<b>Butcher</b>	19	16	22	20	24
<b>Fruiterer</b>	19	14	7	5	3
<b>Coal merchant/porter</b>	19	5	7	7	12
<b>Grocer (inc Wine Merchant)</b>	18	21	27	32	35
<b>Farmer</b>	18	16	20	21	17
<b>Furniture/Chair maker</b>	15	17	14	54	69
<b>Bargeman</b>	15	9	9	3	0
<b>Draper</b>	12	17	13	21	23

<b>Painter, Decorator and Glazier</b>	12	11	11	22	25
<b>Medicine (inc dentist and nurse)</b>	10	7	8	8	6
<b>Traveller</b>	9	0	0	0	0
<b>Wheelwright</b>	8	8	13	9	8
<b>Vicar/curate/priest/minister</b>	8	7	11	7	7
<b>Skewer maker</b>	8	5	7	4	0
<b>Sawing wood</b>	7	13	12	8	14
<b>Brick maker</b>	7	8	5	6	7
<b>Saddle/harness maker</b>	7	3	6	5	7
<b>Embroidery</b>	6	83	52	34	19
<b>Carter/waggoner</b>	6	6	3	6	4
<b>Ropemaker</b>	6	4	6	2	1
<b>Milliner</b>	5	13	7	7	8
<b>Charwoman</b>	5	10	10	9	13
<b>Government/Council Employee</b>	5	10	10	8	14
<b>Law</b>	5	5	7	8	7
<b>Fisherman</b>	5	4	9	9	8
<b>Chemist</b>	5	2	5	3	7
<b>Miller</b>	4	10	3	4	7
<b>Chimney sweep</b>	4	6	3	2	4
<b>Mail (inc telegraph)</b>	4	4	9	11	16
<b>Plumber</b>	4	4	8	5	6
<b>Fishmonger</b>	4	2	3	3	7
<b>Straw bonnet maker</b>	4	1	1	0	0
<b>Hawker</b>	3	6	7	3	3
<b>Builder</b>	3	4	6	11	16
<b>Vet</b>	3	3	2	2	1
<b>Surveyor (inc clerk)</b>	3	2	5	2	4
<b>Basket maker</b>	3	2	3	2	2
<b>Carrier</b>	3	2	3	1	3
<b>Stone mason</b>	3	1	3	5	1
<b>Hairdresser</b>	3	1	1	3	2
<b>Brazier</b>	3	0	0	1	1
<b>Warfinger</b>	2	12	0	0	0
<b>Cap maker</b>	2	6	0	0	0
<b>Musician</b>	2	5	4	6	4
<b>Gas works</b>	2	5	2	3	4
<b>Ironmonger</b>	2	4	5	4	8
<b>Woodman</b>	2	4	3	2	0
<b>Millwright</b>	2	3	3	2	1
<b>Hurdle maker</b>	2	3	3	0	0
<b>Marine store dealer</b>	2	2	0	0	2
<b>Boat/barge builder</b>	2	1	2	2	9
<b>China Dealer</b>	2	1	1	1	1
<b>Shop keeper</b>	2	1	0	1	1
<b>Confectioner</b>	2	0	2	1	8

<b>Stationer and Bookseller</b>	1	5	1	5	7
<b>Lock keeper/Waterman/Thames</b>					
<b>Conservancy</b>	1	3	3	5	9
<b>Watchmaker and Jeweller</b>	1	3	2	4	6
<b>Corn merchant</b>	1	3	1	2	3
<b>Tin plate worker</b>	1	3	1	2	3
<b>Printer</b>	1	2	3	3	4
<b>Cooper</b>	1	2	2	3	2
<b>Plasterer</b>	1	1	3	1	0
<b>Engine driver</b>	1	1	2	2	3
<b>Wood turner</b>	1	1	1	2	0
<b>Clerk</b>	1	0	3	6	8
<b>General dealer</b>	0	6	7	13	11
<b>Factory worker</b>	0	4	5	0	0
<b>Police</b>	0	2	4	4	4
<b>Engineer</b>	0	2	0	2	3
<b>House agent</b>	0	1	1	3	2
<b>Photographer</b>	0	1	1	3	1
<b>Banking</b>	0	1	0	2	2
<b>Milkman</b>	0	1	0	1	6
<b>Furrier</b>	0	0	17	7	20
<b>Greengrocer</b>	0	0	4	6	12
<b>Poulterer</b>	0	0	4	2	4
<b>Coach builder</b>	0	0	3	6	10
<b>Valuer of Furniture</b>	0	0	3	2	5
<b>Railway</b>	0	0	1	11	13
<b>Broker and clothier</b>	0	0	1	3	2
<b>Gas fitter</b>	0	0	1	1	5
<b>Insurance agent</b>	0	0	0	2	4
<b>Others</b>	25	23	9	32	26
<b>Total</b>	1,897	1,866	1,729	1,863	2,031

Table A6.2 Male Employment by Occupation 1851 to 1891

<b>Employment</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Farm Worker</b>	349	195	241	184	159
<b>Boot/Shoe maker</b>	83	116	72	47	48
<b>Servant</b>	54	65	44	72	53
<b>Gardener/groundsman</b>	47	50	55	60	80
<b>Carpenter and Joiner</b>	42	46	48	45	53
<b>Brewery</b>	42	43	47	46	52
<b>Bricklayer</b>	42	32	33	46	53
<b>Labourer</b>	36	138	118	167	186
<b>Paper making</b>	33	29	13	28	23

<b>Errand boy</b>	29	11	9	12	17
<b>Tailor</b>	25	22	15	13	9
<b>Baker</b>	25	21	26	27	27
<b>Publican/Inn/Beer Seller/Lodging</b>	23	30	25	32	37
<b>Smith - general, white or black</b>	21	27	24	27	26
<b>Fruiterer</b>	19	13	7	5	3
<b>Coal merchant/porter</b>	19	5	7	6	12
<b>Butcher</b>	18	14	22	17	23
<b>Farmer</b>	17	16	20	19	16
<b>Grocer (inc Wine Merchant)</b>	16	20	24	24	33
<b>Bargeman</b>	15	9	9	3	0
<b>Draper</b>	12	17	12	17	17
<b>Painter, Decorator and Glazier</b>	12	11	11	22	25
<b>Furniture/Chair maker</b>	11	12	9	39	61
<b>Wheelwright</b>	8	8	13	9	8
<b>Vicar/curate/priest/minister</b>	8	7	11	7	7
<b>Skewer maker</b>	8	5	7	4	0
<b>Sawing wood</b>	7	13	12	8	14
<b>Brick maker</b>	7	8	5	6	7
<b>Saddle/harness maker</b>	7	3	6	5	7
<b>Carter/waggoner</b>	6	6	3	6	4
<b>Ropemaker</b>	6	4	6	2	1
<b>Traveller</b>	6	0	0	0	0
<b>Government/Council Employee</b>	5	10	10	8	13
<b>Law</b>	5	5	7	8	7
<b>Fisherman</b>	5	4	9	9	8
<b>Medicine (inc dentist and nurse)</b>	5	4	1	6	4
<b>Chemist</b>	5	2	5	3	7
<b>Miller</b>	4	9	3	4	7
<b>Chimney sweep</b>	4	6	3	2	4
<b>Mail (inc telegraph)</b>	4	4	9	10	15
<b>Plumber</b>	4	4	8	5	6
<b>Fishmonger</b>	4	1	3	3	6
<b>Builder</b>	3	4	6	11	16
<b>Vet</b>	3	3	2	2	1
<b>Surveyor (inc clerk)</b>	3	2	5	2	4
<b>Basket maker</b>	3	2	3	2	2
<b>Carrier</b>	3	2	2	1	3
<b>Stone mason</b>	3	1	3	5	1
<b>Hairdresser</b>	3	1	1	2	2
<b>Brazier</b>	3	0	0	1	1
<b>Warfinger</b>	2	12	0	0	0
<b>Gas works</b>	2	5	2	3	4
<b>Teacher</b>	2	4	7	8	10
<b>Woodman</b>	2	4	3	2	0
<b>Hawker</b>	2	3	6	3	3

<b>Ironmonger</b>	2	3	4	3	5
<b>Musician</b>	2	3	3	3	2
<b>Millwright</b>	2	3	3	2	1
<b>Hurdle maker</b>	2	3	3	0	0
<b>Marine store dealer</b>	2	2	0	0	2
<b>Boat/barge builder</b>	2	1	2	2	9
<b>China Dealer</b>	2	1	1	1	1
<b>Lock keeper/Waterman/Thames Conservancy</b>	1	3	3	5	9
<b>Watchmaker and Jeweller</b>	1	3	2	4	6
<b>Tin plate worker/Tin man</b>	1	3	1	2	3
<b>Corn merchant</b>	1	3	0	2	3
<b>Printer</b>	1	2	3	3	4
<b>Cooper</b>	1	2	2	3	2
<b>Plasterer</b>	1	1	3	1	0
<b>Engine driver</b>	1	1	2	2	3
<b>Wood turner</b>	1	1	1	2	0
<b>Watchman</b>	1	1	0	3	0
<b>Clerk</b>	1	0	3	6	8
<b>Confectioner</b>	1	0	1	0	6
<b>General dealer</b>	0	6	7	12	11
<b>Embroidery</b>	0	5	1	2	1
<b>Stationer and bookseller</b>	0	4	1	5	5
<b>Police</b>	0	2	4	4	4
<b>Engineer</b>	0	2	0	2	3
<b>House agent</b>	0	1	1	3	2
<b>Banking</b>	0	1	0	2	2
<b>Milkman</b>	0	1	0	1	6
<b>Furrier</b>	0	0	10	3	7
<b>Greengrocer</b>	0	0	4	3	10
<b>Poulterer</b>	0	0	4	2	4
<b>Coach builder</b>	0	0	3	6	10
<b>Valuer of furniture</b>	0	0	3	2	5
<b>Railway</b>	0	0	1	11	13
<b>Broker and clothier</b>	0	0	1	2	2
<b>Gas fitter</b>	0	0	1	1	5
<b>Insurance agent</b>	0	0	0	2	4
<b>Others</b>	22	22	10	28	22
<b>Total</b>	1,180	1,168	1,140	1,240	1,367

**Table A6.3 Female Employment by Occupation 1851 to 1891**

<b>Employment</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>
<b>Servant</b>	204	197	221	249	291
<b>Satin stitch</b>	137	4	1	0	0
<b>Lace Maker</b>	84	58	39	11	4
<b>Dressmaker</b>	48	51	39	48	49
<b>Seamstress</b>	44	11	14	11	8
<b>Needlewoman</b>	41	67	67	64	72
<b>Laundress</b>	39	60	48	57	64
<b>Paper making</b>	36	53	4	14	23
<b>Teacher/Governess</b>	24	23	35	29	20
<b>Embroidery</b>	6	78	51	32	18
<b>Boot/Shoe maker</b>	5	17	6	5	3
<b>Milliner</b>	5	13	7	7	8
<b>Charwoman</b>	5	10	10	9	13
<b>Publican/Inn/Beer Seller/Lodging Keeper</b>	5	9	9	12	19
<b>Nurse</b>	5	3	7	2	2
<b>Furniture/Chair maker</b>	4	5	5	15	8
<b>Straw bonnet maker</b>	4	1	1	0	0
<b>Farm Worker</b>	2	6	0	10	15
<b>Cap maker</b>	2	6	0	0	0
<b>Grocer (inc. Wine Merchant)</b>	2	1	3	8	2
<b>Hawker</b>	1	3	1	0	0
<b>Butcher</b>	1	2	0	3	1
<b>Confectioner</b>	1	0	1	1	2
<b>Factory worker</b>	0	4	5	0	0
<b>Baker</b>	0	3	2	5	1
<b>Musician</b>	0	2	1	3	2
<b>Ironmonger</b>	0	1	1	1	3
<b>Furrier</b>	0	0	7	4	13
<b>Draper</b>	0	0	1	4	6
<b>Greengrocer</b>	0	0	0	3	2
<b>Other</b>	12	12	3	19	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>589</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>665</b>

Some caution is necessary. While every attempt was made to ensure the accuracy of this information, a significant number of people quoted two, or sometimes more, occupations. In these cases the first named occupation was used unless it was so unusual so as to make it more meaningful to use the second named occupation. Also some individuals were presented as having very specific or unusual occupations. These were normally included in 'Others'. There were also years when very specific occupations



were given such as in 1851 where many women were described as ‘Satin Stitch Worker’. In subsequent years some of these same women were described under ‘Embroidery’ while others were described as ‘Needlewoman’. It is only by combining some of these groups we can see a pattern when the information is analysed. Labourers who reported labouring in a specific industry, such as ‘bricklayer’s labourer’ or ‘brewers labourer’, have been included within that industry since it was more likely they had a regular job in that industry, rather than them being included with ‘general labourer’ which was more likely to represent casual labour. Finally the handwriting in some enumerator’s books was occasionally unclear so there may be few transcription errors. The shape of the data and its appropriateness for analysis should, however, be correct.

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