

THE PATTERN OF COACHING IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORFOLK

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Norfolk is essentially a rural county: large in area, but small in population. It has one major city, Norwich, once the second city of England, and still in the early nineteenth century among the largest in the land, though its relative position declined from seventh in 1801 to sixteenth in 1861.¹ Two other large centres, at the eastern and the western extremities of the county respectively, were still among the greater towns when the century opened. Great Yarmouth saw its position decline from twenty-second to thirty-eighth between 1801 and 1861, though its population somewhat more than doubled in that period. King's Lynn was the forty-first provincial city of England in 1801, just outstripping its near-neighbour, Cambridge, but it was already past its peak in importance. For the rest the towns of Norfolk in the early nineteenth century were small, even by the standards of that age, and for the most part stagnant in population size or even as East Dereham, Harleston, North Walsham and Wymondham, declining in numbers in the 1830s.²

Apart from the sea, trade was mostly local, and the manufactures, excepting the production of various forms of cloth, few. But the relative decline in importance for the national economy of the county did not mean that its local economy was not vigorous, its people enterprising and its communications far reaching. In this paper, we shall look at one aspect of the communications of early nineteenth century Norfolk – the provision of coaches. Other aspects of the pattern of communications, including the carrier's cart, the sail trader and the steam packet boat, which were an integral part of the fabric of the rural society of a maritime county, will be touched upon only briefly. Similarly the railway, though late on the scene, only after 1844, but with a very full network of lines laid down by 1850, will be examined in greater depth because it was the death-knell of the stage coach. As William White wrote in his *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk* of 1845 when discussing Wymondham,³

Mail to London 6 evening, and to Norwich 8 morning. Coaches and carriers to Norwich etc. pass daily; but after the *Norwich and Brandon Railway* is opened, in the summer of 1845, many of the present conveyances will give place to the Railway Trains, which will leave Wymondham Station several times a day for London, Norwich etc.

The era of the stage coach was in fact very short. The end came as each town or village was connected to the railway network of England. A town which received the railway very late was likely to retain coaches in some form long after they had been superseded in neighbouring places with a railway. Thus, Luton, Bedfordshire, without a railway until 1858, retained a variety of coaches in the 1850s, though they had been absent from near-by Hitchin and Dunstable for a decade.⁴ Similarly in Norfolk, the coach remained in use as the only means of covered public transport to Cromer and Holt well after 1850.⁵ The date is significant for by then the railway had reached the other towns of Norfolk except Wells and North Walsham.⁶

If the end of the stage coach era is to be precisely dated by the coming of the railway, the beginning is less easy to define. Coaches were in use throughout the eighteenth century and earlier, both in England and on the continent: there was a London to York coach in the 1690s⁷ and we are all familiar with the travellers' works arising from the Grand Tour.⁸ However, there was no strict pattern of coaching established in the eighteenth century,⁹ although the Royal Mail was carried by coach from at least 1770: two, it will be noted, ran to Norfolk.¹⁰

However, excepting isolated enterprises, these were alone on the road for much of that century and for the first decade of the nineteenth and it is only with the establishment of reliable directories covering the whole country in the 1820s that it is possible to examine in detail the pattern of coaching in any English or Welsh county. Fortuitously this is probably when the main era of coaching began.¹¹ Indeed, the time within which the firm of James Pigot, later Isaac Slater, was active (1822-1854) was almost coincident with the period when coaching was at its height.¹²

This study has principally been written from the directories issued by that firm. They covered Norfolk in 1822, 1830, 1839 and 1850. Suffolk and Cambridgeshire were in the same volume for each of the three last years and a direc-

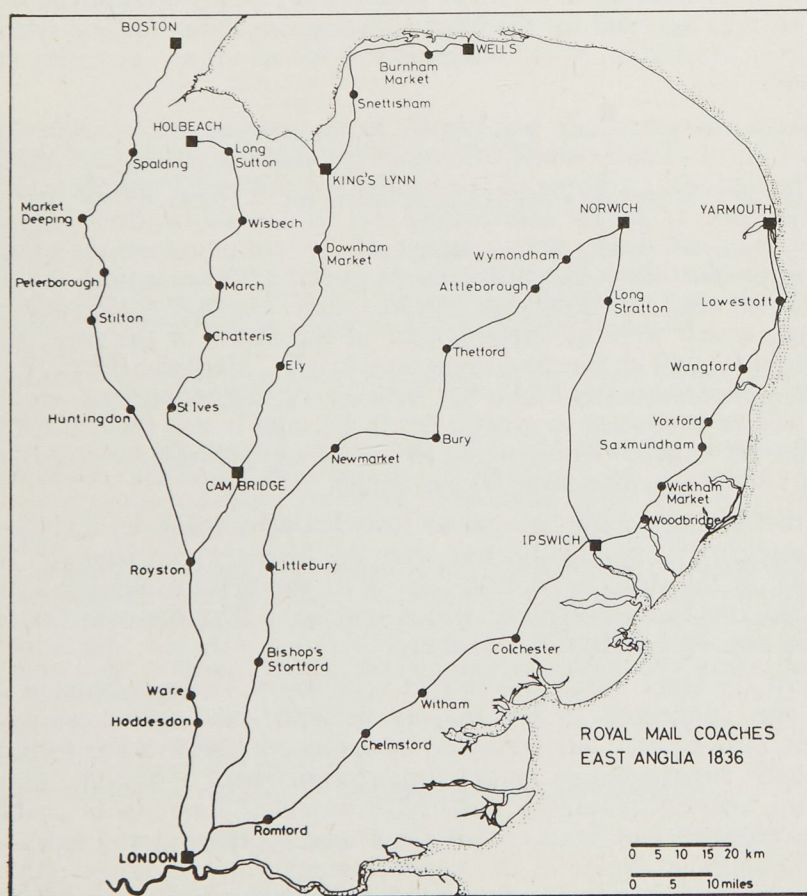


Fig. 1
Royal Mail Coaches to London from East Anglia, 1836.

tory with these two adjacent counties was issued in 1823. Two other directories have also proved valuable. One is that already quoted which was issued by William White in 1845. The other is a directory for East Norfolk issued by E. Hunt and Co. in 1850. These have been listed in an appendix to this paper (p.371, below). Whilst they provide a very good indication of the pattern of coaching routes in a county, a study based on directories alone does have severe limitations.

'Small businesses do not leave papers' is a maxim all historians (and archivists) should bear in mind. Coaching enterprises were frequently based on partnerships between innkeepers (and others) in different towns. By their very nature these are both small scale and unlikely to leave much in the way of records. An example is the Rawlins papers in Bedfordshire County Record Office which include accounts and bills of a Kettering coach, 1808-1815, and a Bedford coach, 1803-1814. Both ran through Bedford and Hitchin to London.¹³ They are not the only surviving muniment of this type: a single account book for a coach at Northampton, 1832-1839, is known.¹⁴

II

Both the Rawlins papers and the Northampton account book illustrate one of the three main groups of coaching routes found in early nineteenth century England: the coach to the regional centre, in their case London.

The pattern of coaching routes in the early nineteenth century had as an underlying basis the *Royal Mail* coaches from various towns to London (fig. 1). These can be compared with the coaches, not mail coaches, which ran between various Norfolk towns and London (fig. 2). In many ways these form a single strand within the plaited rope which is the fabric of a county's coaching pattern. Another strand is the relationship of that county to adjacent and more far-flung counties (fig. 3) and the third cord entwined in the rope is the purely local coaches (fig. 4). The dismemberment of this pattern and its replacement by another, less widespread, pattern on the coming of the steam train in the late 1840s has already been alluded to (above p.355). The resulting pattern (fig. 5) is a great contrast.

In 1770, a traveller compiled a list of coaches from London,¹⁵ which carried the mails, listing two for East Anglia: one to Norwich, the other to Great Yarmouth. The former went through Enfield, Ware, Royston and Cambridge, and on to Newmarket, Bury St. Edmunds and Thetford for Attleborough, Wymondham and Norwich. The distance was 98 miles (157 km). The other was slightly longer in its length, 104 miles (167 km). The route to Yarmouth was through Ipswich, Saxmundham to Beccles. To arrive at Ipswich, the coach plied along the familiar route from London (along the old line of the modern A12) through Romford, Brentwood, Ingatestone, Chelmsford, Witham and Colchester.

That portion of the route was established for mail coach and private enterprise alike, and it will need no further repetition in this study. The contrast comes with the route beyond Ipswich, for Yarmouth, and between Newmarket and London. The *Royal Mail* coach to Yarmouth in 1836 had arrived at an established pattern, recorded in 1822. The route beyond Ipswich was through Woodbridge, Wickham Market, Saxmundham, Yoxford, Wangford, Lowestoft and Gorleston. As a *Royal Mail* route it survived until the railway reached Norwich in 1845.

Norwich until then had two *Royal Mail* coaches. One went along the road to Ipswich – the long, almost straight Turnpike Road of 1769 – and then followed the route of the Yarmouth *Royal Mail* to London. The other plied, as its predecessors had done in 1770, between Norwich and Newmarket via Thetford and

Bury St. Edmunds, but then it went down the modern A11, through Littlebury, Bishop's Stortford, Harlow and Epping before reaching the Belle Savage, Ludgate Hill at 06.44. This too was an established route, noted in 1822. West Norfolk had its own *Royal Mail* coach only in the late 1830s and early 1840s, when a *Royal Mail* coach ran from London via Hoddesdon, Ware, Royston and Cambridge to Ely, Downham Market and King's Lynn, with an early morning extension in 1836 and 1839 to Snettisham, Burnham Market and Wells. Previously, and much earlier for it is recorded as early as 1791, there had been another *Royal Mail* coach to Cambridge, with an extension to St. Ives, Chatteris, March and Wisbech. At the end of the coaching era, this had become a branch mail coach from Cambridge to Holbeach. Another *Royal Mail* also affects the area. This is the Boston *Royal Mail*, somewhat varying in its route, for in 1830 this ran through Cambridge on a journey via Royston and Ware to London and via Huntingdon, Stilton, Peterborough, Market Deeping and Spalding to Boston. It had an extension to Louth and Grimsby, and was so recorded in 1823. By 1836, and again in 1839, the Boston *Royal Mail* had moved to a route from London to Royston, thence to Huntingdon and Peterborough and on to Lincolnshire. Even with *Royal Mail* coaches the geographical pattern was not constant.

It has already been intimated that *Royal Mail* coaches ran at night. In 1839, a *Royal Mail* coach left Norwich, the Star hotel, at 17.00, the Griffin at Wymondham at 18.00, the Cock at Attleborough at 18.45, the White Hart at Thetford at 20.15, before proceeding to the Suffolk Hotel at Bury St. Edmunds at 21.30 and the Half Moon at Newmarket at 23.20. The other left somewhat later, from the Angel Hotel, Norwich, at 19.00 arriving at the Mail Coach Office in Ipswich at 23.30. The *Royal Mail* from Yarmouth had arrived at the latter at the same time, leaving the Coach Office on the Quay at Yarmouth at 17.00. It is an indication of the state of the road that the coach plying the new road between Norwich and Ipswich could cover the 43 miles (67 km) in 4½ hours – an average speed of 9½ miles per hour. The road from Yarmouth to Ipswich, only eleven miles more at 54 miles (86 km), took a full two hours more, an average speed of 8½ miles per hour or a little less. On the other route, the coach covered the 30 miles (48 km) between Norwich and Thetford in 3¼ hours, which is a little over 9 miles per hour. The *Royal Mail* left the Crown at King's Lynn at 19.15 and arrived in Cambridge at 24.00. In 1839, it took 4¾ hours to cover the 45 miles (72 km) via Downham Market and Ely, which because of the good road could be done at an average speed of 9½ miles per hour.

Not all wished to travel at such speed, nor by night. Travel was an adventure, perhaps by economic circumstances confined to a few, but nevertheless, something to be savoured and enjoyed. Partly to cater for this need, partly to ensure that travel was a daytime rather than a night time experience, and partly to diversify an investment, other coaches sprang up between Norfolk towns and London.

These did not always follow the same route. From Norwich to London there were the two basic routes of the *Royal Mail* coaches but also at least two other main routes and some minor variations. In 1830, the *Monarch* coach followed exactly the route of the *Royal Mail* from Norwich to London via Ipswich, but this seems to have been short-lived, for it is not otherwise recorded. It left the Norfolk Hotel at Norwich at 15.45, arrived at the White Hart in Ipswich at 21.30. Somewhat slower than the *Royal Mail*, it attained a speed of 7½ miles per hour on the same, very straight road. This seems to have been the only coach

in direct competition with either of the Norwich *Royal Mail* coaches, being an overnight journey and on the same route. Two coaches followed the *Royal Mail* route to Thetford, because there is no other direct road, but then went on to Newmarket, not calling at Bury St. Edmunds. The *Telegraph* was always a day coach, leaving at 07.00 in 1822, 1830, 1836 and 1839, but at 08.30 in 1845, in each case from the Rampant Horse Inn. Between 1822 and 1830, some slight speeding up occurred. It arrived at the King's Head in Thetford at 10.30 in the former year, but at 10.00 in the latter and again in 1839. This was as fast as the *Royal Mail*. The coach then went through Newmarket and in 1830 is recorded as having gone through Saffron Walden, Epping and Waltham Abbey on its journey to London. A more or less similar route between London and Norwich was plied by an overnight coach, the *Expedition* in 1822 and the *Magnet* from 1830 to 1845. The latter in 1836 went out from London via Epping, Harlow, Bishop's Stortford, and Great Chesterford on its journey to Newmarket, Thetford and Norwich, but in 1839 it passed through Hockerill on its way between Great

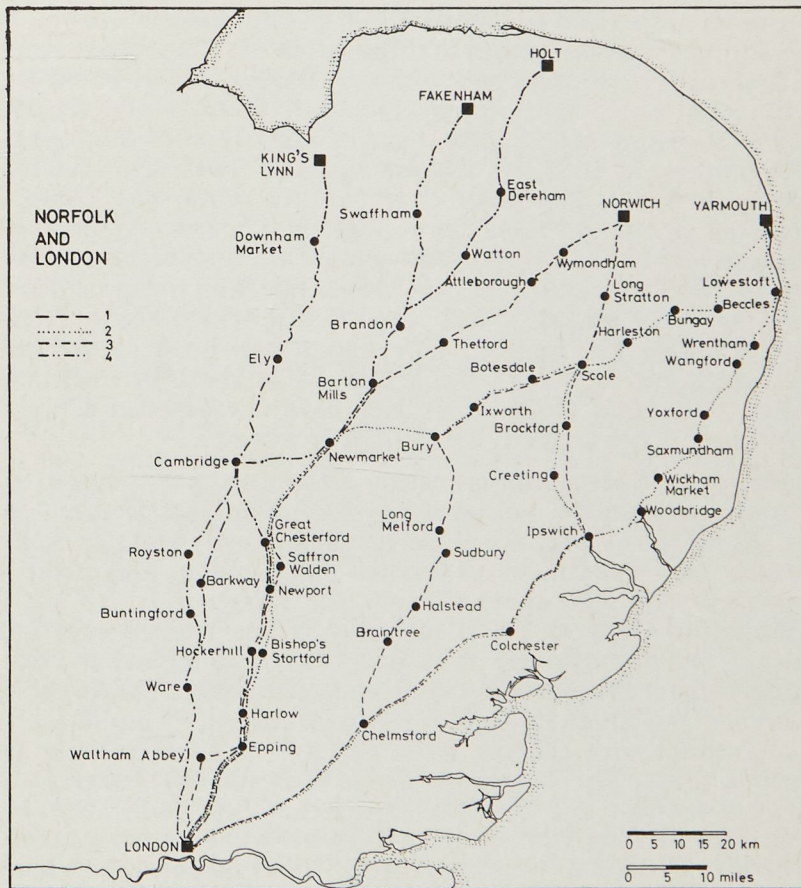


Fig. 2
Coaches between Norfolk Towns and London, other than Royal Mail Coaches.
1 Norwich and London
2 Great Yarmouth and London
3 King's Lynn and London
4 Fakenham Holt and London

Chesterford and Harlow. It too relied on speed. In 1830, the *Magnet* left the Swan in Norwich at 16.30 and arrived at the White Hart in Thetford at 19.30. At the end of the decade, it left Norwich at 18.00 and arrived in Thetford at 20.55.

The other basic route from Norwich to London shows not a single adherence except in its initial and terminal stages to either *Royal Mail* coach route. In 1830 there were three coaches on this route, as there had been in 1822. They were *The Times* which ran from the Angel Inn at 05.45 and the *Phenomena* and the *Day* which ran from the Norfolk Hotel at 06.45 on alternate mornings. The last two had become combined as the *Phenomena* by 1836. Their journey was via Long Stratton, Scole, Botesdale and Ixworth to Bury St. Edmunds, and thence to Long Melford, Sudbury, Bocking, Braintree, Chelmsford and into London. The *Phenomena* at least is listed as actually calling at the King's Head at Diss at 09.30 in 1830, and at the Saracen's Head in 1839, when the coach left Norwich at 06.30. In 1830, the alternate days to the *Phenomena*, a coach from Scole, the *Herald*, called at the King's Head in Diss, at 07.30. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; this coach called at the Greyhound in Bury St. Edmunds at 16.30 on the return journey. It arrived in Diss at 18.00 before going on to the Scole Inn. The London journey was unusual in that the coach did the journey from Scole to London on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, leaving Diss at 07.30 and Bury at 10.00. As has been noted the joint operation of the *Day* and the *Phenomena* found in the 1830 listing had become a single, daily (except Sundays) operation called the *Phenomena* in 1836 and this survived until 1845 when it left the Royal Hotel, Norwich at 09.00. The other coach on the route, *The Times*, originally daily, became an operation based on a single, not a return journey each day, sometime before 1836. Then it left Norwich at 06.30 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. In 1839, this coach left the Angel Hotel on the same days at 06.45. In 1830, and probably earlier, it had supported a branch coach, from Scole to Beccles, via Harleston and Bungay. This would seem to be a successor to the *Times* coach which left the King's Head, Bungay, at 06.00 in 1823 and returned on its journey to Beccles at 19.00. It may have always been a branch coach. The directory entry is not explicit. By 1839, it had ceased.

Beccles, Bungay and Harleston are all on a route from Yarmouth to London. Two main routes are known, with a third which combines features of both the others. The *Royal Mail* was noted as running via Lowestoft, Saxmundham, Wickham Market and Woodbridge to Ipswich and London. This night coach was in competition, directly with another coach, the *Telegraph* which left the Coach Office on Yarmouth Quay at 17.00 each day. These two coaches indicate the intense rivalry of two of the principal coaching firms. E. Sherman and Co. operated the *Telegraph*; William Chaplin and Co. were the owners of the *Royal Mail*. Their intense rivalry on the Shrewsbury Road is well-known,¹⁶ but there was too a country-wide conflict with coaches raced against one another along narrow and often dangerous roads. The Yarmouth *Royal Mail* and the *Telegraph* with their identical timings are just one example of that conflict. Both also illustrate the way in which the coaching service was speeded up in the years between 1820 and 1850. In 1822, both left at 15.00; by 1830, this had been put back to 15.15; in both 1836 and 1839 the Yarmouth departure was at 17.00 and in 1845 the *Royal Mail* left from the Bear Hotel at 18.00. Another coach also plied this route fairly regularly. This went under a number of names, but it was a day-time coach. In 1822, the *Morning Star* left the Bear Hotel at 05.00 but the route is not well recorded. All that is recorded in the Yarmouth list is Ipswich, Colchester, London, but under the first of these, it is noted that the return journey left Ipswich at

14.30 for Yarmouth via Woodbridge, Halesworth, Bungay and Beccles: the route can be traced from a survival in the railway era (fig. 5). By 1830, this coach, now called simply the *Star*, was plying a route from Yarmouth to London via Beccles, Bungay, Harleston, Scole, Brockford, Creeting and Ipswich, before joining its former route. But in 1836 and in 1839 the *Star* had reverted to a route through Lowestoft, Wangford, Saxmundham and Woodbridge to Ipswich. It had too a branch coach in 1839, the *Beccles Star* which joined that from Yarmouth in Wangford. It left Beccles at 07.45, and another coach called the *Star* left the Three Tuns, Bungay, at 07.00 for London via Harleston, Scole, and Ipswich. The last would appear to have been an independent coach.

The other established routes from Yarmouth, that through Bury, did not survive much beyond 1830. Then a coach called the *North Mail* left the Star Hotel, on Yarmouth Quay, at 14.45 for a journey via Beccles, Bungay, Harleston, Scole, Botesdale and Ixworth to Bury before proceeding via Newmarket, Newport, Bishop's Stortford, Harlow and Epping to London. On this route it had competition from coaches operating from Bury St. Edmunds and from Norwich. The other route implied competition from operations in towns along its route. These were basically two distinct coaches. Their names were constant, but the town of commencement changed. Both were day time coaches. In 1830, a coach called the *Shannon* left the Three Tuns and the Angel at Halesworth on alternate days at 05.00. Its route was through Yoxford, Saxmundham, Wickham Market, and Woodbridge to Ipswich and London. In 1839 it left at 05.30 from Halesworth, at 06.00 from Yoxford, at 06.30 from Saxmundham, at 08.30 from Wickham Market and at 09.00 from Woodbridge, leaving Ipswich at 10.00 for the journey to London. In 1836, however, the listing gives the town of origin as Yoxford. The timings suggest that a stop was made in Wickham Market for breakfast. This nicety was often omitted on the more speedy routes. The other regular coach in competition with those from Yarmouth was called the *Old Blue*. In 1830, it began in Saxmundham at 06.15, leaving Wickham Market at 07.30, and Woodbridge at 08.00. The journey from Ipswich to London began at 09.00. In 1823, it had begun in Wickham Market, when the *Shannon* had started in Yoxford, but in 1839 both had variant routes. The *Shannon* ran from Halesworth on the same timings as 1830, with the apparent break of journey in Wickham Market, and this was the town of origin of the *Old Blue*. But in 1845, the *Old Blue* is recorded as leaving the Angel Inn, Yarmouth, at 07.30. Both survived into the railway era as coaches to Ipswich for London.

In west Norfolk, greater stress seems to have been laid on passengers' convenience. It has been noted that King's Lynn only lately received a *Royal Mail* coach. As a town declining in importance, its coaching history is interesting. It had three coaches to London in 1822, but they were all operated on an alternate days basis. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the *Union* left the Duke's Head at 06.30, and on alternate days the *Lord Nelson* left the Globe at the same hour. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays also the *Safety* left the Crown Inn at 16.30. Each used a route through Downham Market, Ely and Cambridge. The route thereafter is not precisely known. In 1830, the first two were still in operation, but their routes after Cambridge diverged. The *Union* went via Melbourn, Royston, Buntingford, Puckeridge, Ware and Hoddesdon, as it did in 1836, but in 1839 this coach, now daily, followed the route through Barkway and Ware. The *Lord Nelson* until it was absorbed by its rival seems to have used the latter route.

Also using the route through Cambridge were the coaches from Holt and Fakenham, the latter for a time starting in Wells-next-Sea. These two were run in concert, but the changing history of the names of the coaches on this joint route is difficult to trace. That from Fakenham began earlier. In 1822, two coaches are recorded plying a return journey on alternate days. The route was the same, through Swaffham, Brandon, Barton Mills, Newmarket, Cambridge, Great Chesterford, Hockerill, Harlow and Epping. The *Patriot* did the southbound journey on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the *Nelson* on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and Sundays. The latter did a return journey on Sunday but otherwise these were coaches using different inns which more or less ran in harness. The *Nelson* left Fakenham at 12.30 and Swaffham at 14.30. Our next available listing is that of 1830 which shows a coach called the *Hero* leaving Fakenham on each day. By then it had been joined by a coach from Holt, the *Norfolk Regulator*. This ran south on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, leaving Holt at 04.45, East Dereham at 07.45, Watton at 09.00, Brandon at 11.00, Newmarket at 13.00, and Cambridge at 14.30. The last was slightly more difficult than usual to trace as the coach is called the *Griffin* at Mildenhall. This could be a genuine misrepresentation, but the route from Cambridge is different. This coach ran via Ware to London; equally the *Griffin* could be a purely temporary coach. In 1836, the *Regulator* left Holt at 05.45 for a route to London which was noted as through Mildenhall, and the route of the *Norfolk Hero* to Fakenham and Wells also took in Mildenhall. In that year northbound journeys for the *Norfolk Hero* were on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, but the *Regulator* to Holt seems to have run daily. By 1839, both took two days for the return journey. The *Norfolk Regulator* left the Feathers Inn, Holt, at 05.45 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and the *Hero*, or *Norfolk Hero*, as it is also known, left Wells at 06.00 and Fakenham at 07.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. From Brandon, these gave a daily service at 10.30. The diversion to Cambridge is interesting as it provides an example of how a route sought to gain the maximum acceptance from its patrons. It would have been simpler to have by-passed Cambridge, but the advantage was retained until the coach ceased, probably soon after the 1845 directory was compiled.

III

The same peculiarity of route can and did affect the cross-country coaches which form an important link in the pattern of coaching in early nineteenth century Norfolk. Seven routes have been distinguished, not all contemporary, (fig. 3): two at least served only to link with the railway and one survived the railway. One was a *Royal Mail* coach route.

The Birmingham to Yarmouth *Royal Mail* was among the network of *Royal Mail* coach routes which did not affect London. It is first recorded in 1836, but had probably been in operation for some years before, though it is not recorded in 1830. In 1839, its route was through Coventry, Nuneaton, Hinckley, Leicester, Melton Mowbray, Grantham, Spalding, Holbeach, Long Sutton, King's Lynn and on to Swaffham, East Dereham, Norwich and Yarmouth. It left the Star Hotel, Yarmouth, at 16.30, and the Norfolk Hotel, Norwich at 19.00. It went through East Dereham at 21.00 and Swaffham at 22.15, before leaving King's Lynn at 24.00. The return timings show the overnight journey also: 01.00 at King's Lynn, 03.00 at Swaffham, 04.30 at East Dereham. However, already the Birmingham *Royal Mail* was in decline. Under the entry for Norwich it is recorded that it arrived in Coventry in time for the afternoon railway trains for Liverpool and

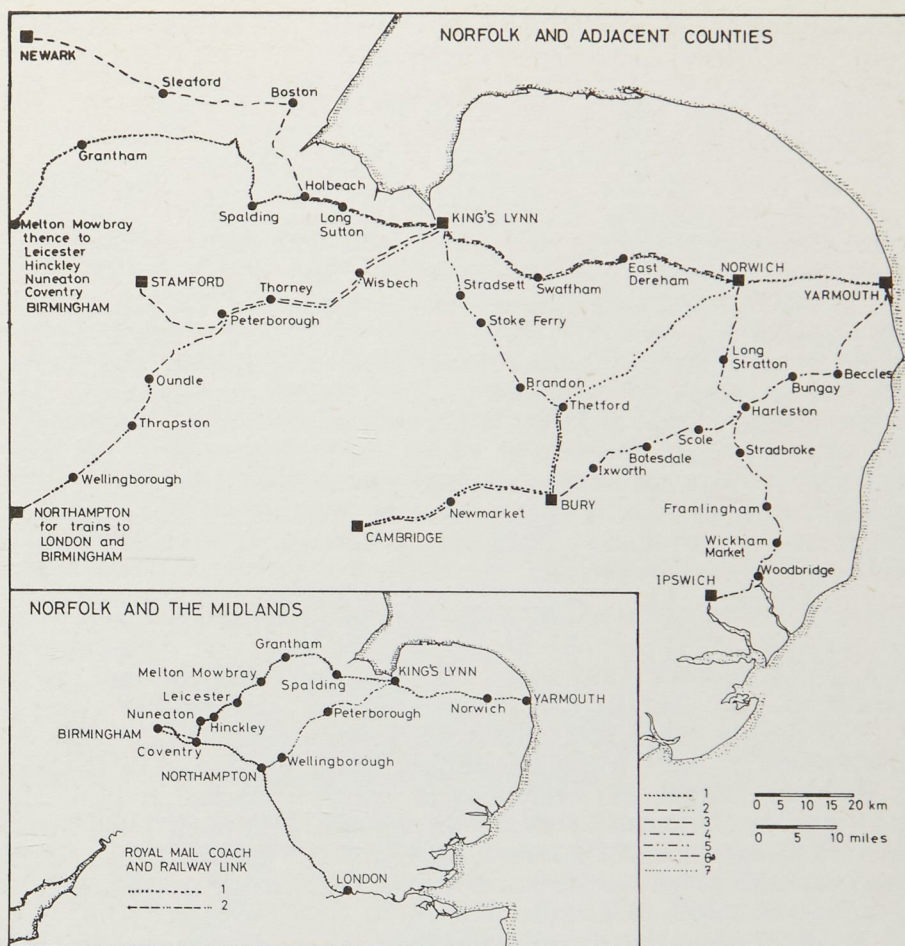


Fig. 3

Norfolk and Adjacent Counties: inset, Norfolk and the Midlands.

- 1 Birmingham to Yarmouth Royal Mail, 1836-1845.
- 2 King's Lynn to Northampton for the trains, 1839-1845
- 3 Norwich to Stamford, 1830-1845, and Norwich to Newark, 1836-1845
- 4 Norwich to Ipswich, via Framlingham, 1830-1850
- 5 King's Lynn to Bury St. Edmunds, 1839-1845
- 6 Great Yarmouth to Bury St. Edmunds and Cambridge, 1830-1845
- 7 Norwich to Cambridge, 1845

Birmingham. It had a branch coach recorded from Grantham to Manchester. In 1845, though William White still called it the *Royal Mail* to Birmingham, the coach only ran from Yarmouth to Leicester, where it met the trains. It still left at 16.30.

There had been an earlier *Royal Mail* from Leicester to Yarmouth, on a rather different route. In 1823, a *Royal Mail* coach from Leicester to Yarmouth is recorded at Peterborough. Its route eastwards was through Thorney, Wisbech, King's Lynn, Swaffham, East Dereham and Norwich. It left Peterborough for Yarmouth at 21.30 and for Leicester at 04.00. The route from Leicester to

Peterborough took the course through Oakham and Melton Mowbray after Stamford, rather than that through Uppingham.¹⁷

Norwich to King's Lynn via East Dereham and Swaffham was the route of a coach called the *Union* that thereafter had two subsequent destinations. In 1830 it ran only to Stamford, leaving Norwich at 06.30, Dereham at 08.00, Swaffham at 10.00 and King's Lynn at 12.00. The return journey in Norfolk left King's Lynn at 14.00, Swaffham at 16.00 and East Dereham at 18.00, probably (though this is not recorded) arriving in Norwich about 19.30. Different timings apply in 1839 and there are two destinations: Newark and Stamford. The coach left Norwich at 06.00 in the summer and 07.00 in the winter. The latter journey was through East Dereham at 09.00, Swaffham at 10.15, and King's Lynn at 12.00. Thereafter it went through Long Sutton, Holbeach, Boston and Sleaford for Newark. The other was now a branch coach to Stamford, also feeding the return journey from King's Lynn at 16.00. The coach survived until 1845, when it left Norwich at 09.00, East Dereham at 10.45 and Swaffham at 12.00. The route takes in Boston, a town not on the most direct route from King's Lynn to Newark. It suggests the organisers of the enterprise were looking for custom and thinking of the convenience of their passengers. An attenuated version of the *Union* survived briefly in the railway era.

Norwich, the point of departure for the *Union* to Stamford and later to Newark, was also the starting place of another coach called the *Union*. This ran to Ipswich and is recorded between 1839 and 1850. The route was constant, away from the main road, and through the villages, and the small market towns of east Suffolk. Nor did the coach make the return journey daily. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in 1839, it left the Suffolk Hotel, Ipswich, at 09.00, for Woodbridge, Wickham Market and Framlingham, which it reached at 11.45. It called at the Magpie in Harleston at 14.00 on a journey through Long Stratton to Norwich. On Tuesdays, and Thursdays, the *Union* left the Star Hotel, Norwich, at 12.00 and the same hotel was the place of a 14.00 departure on Saturdays. On the earlier timing, Harleston was reached at 14.30, Stradbroke at 15.30, and Framlingham at 16.45. The later timing seems to have applied for some time on Saturdays for some little while at least for the coach is recorded as leaving the Crown and Anchor at Framlingham at 18.45 on Saturdays. By 1845 the route had moved to go from Norwich to Framlingham via Bungay and Harleston. The *Union* was now a daily coach in each direction, leaving the Star Hotel, Norwich, at 08.00 except on Sundays. In 1850, the *Union*, still operating daily except on Sundays, left the Star Hotel, Norwich, at 09.30. The Fleece at Bungay was reached at 11.45, and Halesworth at 12.30. The *Union* left the Crown and Anchor at Framlingham at 14.15. Wickham Market was reached at 15.30 and Woodbridge at 16.45. Ipswich was presumably reached about 17.45. The return journey left Ipswich at 12.00, Woodbridge at 13.00 and Wickham Market at 14.00. Framlingham was reached at 15.15 and Halesworth at 16.30. A departure time of 17.00 is recorded for the *Union* at Bungay and an arrival in Norwich at about 19.15 seems likely. This coach had had at least two changes of route in a decade and may have moved on other occasions not recorded.

The pattern of coaching was by no means stable and with the coming of the railway it altered considerably. New coaches came into being to meet the trains. Specifically the *Victoria* left the Globe at King's Lynn on every day bar Sundays at 07.00. It ran to Northampton via Wisbech, Thorney, Peterborough, Oundle, Thrapston and Wellingborough, and it was claimed 'arrives in time for the after-

noon trains to London and Birmingham'. It was still running in 1845. In 1839, there was still perhaps a little surprisingly no direct coach between Cambridge and Norwich. Intending passengers had to change either at Bury St. Edmunds or at Newmarket throughout the 1820s and 1830s. But William White recorded a coach called the *East Anglian* leaving the Norfolk Hotel and the Rampant Horse Inn at 11.30 each morning. As the railway had already reached Cambridge this seems most probably to have been a coach to 'meet the trains'.

If Norwich was without direct coaching connections to Cambridge for many years, Yarmouth was not. In 1830, the *Accommodation* is recorded as leaving Yarmouth on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 06.40 for Beccles, Bungay, Harleston, Scole, Botesdale, Ixworth, Bury St. Edmunds, Newmarket and Cambridge. It was a long journey. Botesdale was reached at 13.00 and Ixworth at 14.00. In 1836, a coach made a daily journey between Yarmouth and Bury St. Edmunds but the timings are not known. In 1839, a coach called the *Hope* left Yarmouth at 06.45 and ran daily in the summer, except on Sundays and on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays only in the winter for Bury St. Edmunds, and Cambridge. The return journey is noted as leaving the Hoop Inn, Cambridge, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 10.00, and the Angel Inn at Bury St. Edmunds at 13.00. Harleston was reached at 17.00, Bungay at 18.00 and Beccles at 19.00. Yarmouth was probably reached at about 20.15. The outwards journey went through Beccles at 08.00, Bungay at 09.00 and Harleston at 10.00. Arrival times in Bury and Cambridge are not noted by the directory, but it is possible to assume that the scheduled arrival times were 16.00 and 19.00 respectively. The *Hope* is noted in 1845, when it left Yarmouth at 08.00 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, but it had a rival, the *Hero* which left on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 11.00. Neither survived the coming of the railway.

Not surviving the coming of the railway also was another coach called the *Hope* which ran between Bury St. Edmunds and King's Lynn in 1839. It left the Globe, King's Lynn, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 16.00, and reached Stoke Ferry at 18.15, Brandon at 19.30 and Thetford at 20.15. Bury was reached probably about 21.30, as the outwards journey on the same mornings left the Suffolk Hotel, Bury St. Edmunds, at 06.00 and Thetford was reached at 07.00. The *Hope* passed through Stoke Ferry at 09.00 and may be thought to have arrived in King's Lynn about 11.15. It was thus possible for a traveller to go from Bury St. Edmunds to King's Lynn and we may imagine a Bury St. Edmunds man, perhaps a coal merchant or a maltster, for both were prominent in the tradesmen of the town, going to King's Lynn to transact a day's business and then returning home on the *Hope*.

IV

This same feeling of the contemporary use is conveyed by the local routes, those which ran within Norfolk, or to Norwich from towns nearby in Suffolk. Both King's Lynn and Yarmouth attracted a few local coaches, but these were never as numerous as those to Norwich. At King's Lynn in 1830, there was only a sociable, *Bailey's Telegraph*, to Barton Mills at 15.45 on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and another sociable to Wisbech each afternoon. Yarmouth in 1823 had an *Accommodation* to North Walsham on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but these were all that enterprise could muster. A market coach ran from Lynn to Fakenham at 16.00 on Tuesdays in 1839 and in 1845 a group of sociables were recorded. There was one to Stamford at 14.00 from the Globe Inn, King's Lynn, and from the same inn at 16.00 the *Hope* left for Bury St. Edmunds on Tuesdays,

Thursdays and Saturdays. This was perhaps little more than a local coach for persons using King's Lynn market on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Wisbech was the destination of an *Omnibus* from the Duke's Head Hotel at 16.00, a *Sociable* from the Green Dragon at the same hour and one in the morning at 09.00 from the Star Inn. Also at 16.00 from the Green Dragon, a *Sociable* left King's Lynn for Heacham, and Snettisham. The inward journey left Snettisham at 09.00 in 1845. King's Lynn, despite its much smaller size than Great Yarmouth, a population of 16039 in 1841 in contrast to 24259, seems to have served as a more vigorous local centre for coaching at the end of the Coaching Age.

For this a number of reasons may be advanced but the local person used not only the stage coach but also the carrier's cart. These took passengers as well as goods. The range from King's Lynn was much greater than that from Great Yarmouth. It indicates that the influence of Norwich over Yarmouth was much greater than its influence over King's Lynn. While Yarmouth is only 20 miles (32 km) from Norwich, King's Lynn is over twice that distance, 44 miles (71 km). The town developed its own pattern of coaches and carrier's carts. To a certain extent, topography influenced this contrast, as did the established trading patterns of the two towns. King's Lynn has the more extensive range of steam packets and sail traders in 1845 and the advantage of agricultural land rather than the great tract of water and marsh, the Broads, as a hinterland. Until the building of the Acle Road in the 1830s, Yarmouth by land was difficult of access.

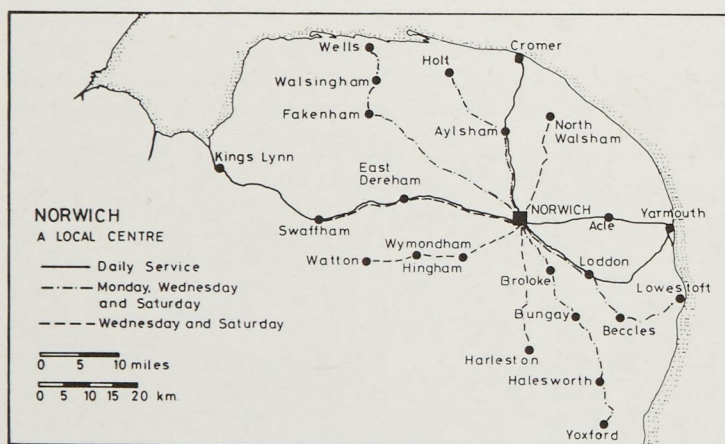


Fig. 4

Norwich: a local centre, showing frequency of the services.

The closeness of Great Yarmouth and Norwich is demonstrated by the paucity of the local coaching services and by their nature. In 1839 there were four daily departures from Norwich to Yarmouth, excluding the Birmingham to Yarmouth *Royal Mail*. Apart from the Norwich to Yarmouth *Royal Mail* at 09.15, there was a *Coach* at 09.30 and another at 17.00 from Norwich to Yarmouth and the *Dart* at 16.45. Yarmouth never developed its own series of coaches. The *Accommodation* to North Walsham, leaving at 13.00 on Wednesdays and Saturdays in 1822, seems to have been short-lived, and a group recorded in 1836 seem equally to have had no lasting memorial. Services operated on Wednesdays and Saturdays between Beccles and Yarmouth, Bungay and Yarmouth – two on this route, one

of which ran on Mondays also – and on weekdays there was the *Hope* to Bury St. Edmunds and another coach to Ipswich, possibly the tentative beginnings of a service found in 1850, and there was a service between Yarmouth and Lowestoft. In 1839, there is only one, of a longer distance, from Great Yarmouth to Bury St. Edmunds.

In contrast, the services of Norwich are those of an established regional capital, a town without a local peer. At the height of the coaching era, Norwich had no fewer than sixteen services to twelve towns, plus the *Union* to Ipswich, whose country route might place it within this category. In 1839, there were services to King's Lynn, Cromer and Great Yarmouth which were daily services (fig. 4). There were *Royal Mail* coaches to Yarmouth and Cromer, leaving at 09.15 and 09.30 respectively, after the London *Royal Mail* coaches had arrived from their overnight journey. On the Yarmouth Road, via Blofield and Acle, the *Royal Mail* was in competition with the *Dart*. In 1830, this left the Norfolk Hotel at 07.45 and 16.45, but only at the latter timing in 1839. The *Comet* in 1830 had left the Rampant Horse at 08.00 for the route via Loddon, Haddiscoe and Southtown. On the road to Cromer, the *Royal Mail* which went via Aylsham, was in competition with the *Magnet* in 1839, a daily coach leaving the Swan at 09.00. Excepting the *Royal Mail* coaches these did not run on Sundays, and the same is true of the *Day* coach to King's Lynn, which left the Royal Hotel and the Norfolk Hotel at 16.00.

Perhaps each of these is a service outside the pattern of local coaches, as each ran every day. More usually local coaches ran on market days only. Norwich market days are Wednesdays and Saturdays and some coaches ran on Mondays also. To Bungay and Halesworth, a coach called the *Eclipse* was in regular operation from 1822 to at least 1850. It had a chequered history. In 1822, it left the Bell Inn at 16.00 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. At the same hour and on the same days, another coach, the *Shannon* left the Star for the same places. By 1830, the *Eclipse* was operating via Brooke and Woodton to Bungay and Halesworth, every day except Sundays in the summer, and on each day except Fridays and Sundays in the winter. It had competition to the ultimate destinations, but the *Times* coach chose a route through Loddon and Beccles. By 1836, the *Eclipse* was on its own again, still running daily and presumably still leaving at 16.00. In 1830, it left the Star at that hour, and despite its reduced frequency in 1839 used the same inn and had the same departure time. In 1839, this coach ran only on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. By 1845, it had been extended to Yoxford, and left half an hour later, at 16.30 but still from the Star Inn. In 1850, it had reverted to the 16.00 departure, but was extended still further to Saxmundham. By now it was back to its Monday, Wednesday and Friday operation.

Another coach which for a time operated on Thursdays as well as Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, was the *Pilot* to Lowestoft via Loddon and Beccles. In 1830 this left the Norfolk Hotel at 15.45 on these days, but in 1822 the *Resolution* had operated on Saturdays only from the Thatched House at 15.00. A return journey on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays is recorded for 1836, and in 1839 there were two coaches on the route. The *Pilot* left the Norfolk Hotel on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays at 17.00, while another coach left the Star on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 16.00. In 1845 the latter survived as a coach leaving at 15.00.

North-west Norfolk, the towns of Holt and Wells, Fakenham and the area around, supported a variety of coaches running on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. In 1839, the *Day* to Holt, via Aylsham, left the Duke's Palace Hotel at 15.00 on Mondays and Wednesdays but at 16.00 on Saturdays. The *Times* of 1830 had left the Norfolk Hotel at 14.45 on each of the three days. The *Friendship* in 1845 did not leave till 16.00. The same hour in the same year was when both the *Princess* and the *Nelson* left for Fakenham. The second went on to Wells, as it had done in 1839, when it left at 16.30, and in 1830, when the departure time was rather earlier, at 15.45.

East Dereham, too, managed a three days a week coach to Norwich, both in 1836 and in 1839. In the latter year the return journey of the *Red Rover* began from the White Swan at 16.00. The town was served also by the through route to King's Lynn and by a coach on Wednesdays and Saturdays to Swaffham, which left the Swan inn at 16.30 on Wednesdays and Saturdays only. By 1845, the town had the *Earl of Leicester* on Saturdays only at 15.00 and the *Self Defence* on three days a week at the same hour. The railway had come by 1850.

At the height of the coaching era, some towns boasted a coach to Norwich on Wednesdays and Saturdays only. Apart from Swaffham, North Walsham, Watton and Harleston each had services like this. The *Red Rover* left at 16.00 for North Walsham in 1839. In 1845, another coach ran on Mondays and Thursdays also, and there were also two omnibus services, less grand than a coach, but still covered, and more dignified than a carrier's cart. The coach to Watton was precisely named, the *Market Coach*. It left at 16.00 in 1839 from the Norfolk Hotel. It left Watton at 07.00 and took five hours for the journey in each direction. The inward journey reached Hingham at 08.00 and the outward journey returned at 20.00. In 1845, two coaches went to Watton. The *Royal George* on Wednesdays and Saturdays left at 17.00 for a route via Hingham, with a branch coach to Shipdham, and the *Royal Blue* ran through Wymondham and Attleborough at 17.30, from Norwich. A coach in 1836 is recorded as making a return journey between Harleston and Norwich, but this seems not to be found in any other year.

The comment is well made: coaching patterns were never stable. They were essentially impermanent, and though a name may survive for two or three decades, its ownership may change, its route may alter and more than once, its frequency and timings may be restructured and it may go out of business very suddenly.

V

Many coaches went out of business very suddenly, with the coming of the railway. The new mode of travel took time to settle down and some years after the initial laying down of the tracks there emerges a better picture of coaching and the railway, rather than at the time of its beginnings. We have already noted the *Victoria* from King's Lynn to Northampton to 'meet the trains' and the suspicion has been expressed concerning the *East Anglian* from Norwich to Cambridge in 1845. The earliest railway was that from Norwich to Yarmouth of 1844, but in 1845 a railway was opened from Norwich to London via Brandon, Ely and Cambridge. Running through Wymondham, Attleborough and Thetford this line effectively killed one set of long distance coaches from London to Norwich and the opening of a line to Norwich via Colchester and Ipswich closed down the other group. Lines were also opened from Bury to Ipswich and from King's Lynn to Norwich, with a branch from Fakenham to East Dereham. Against this background the coaching survivals of 1850 are to be viewed.

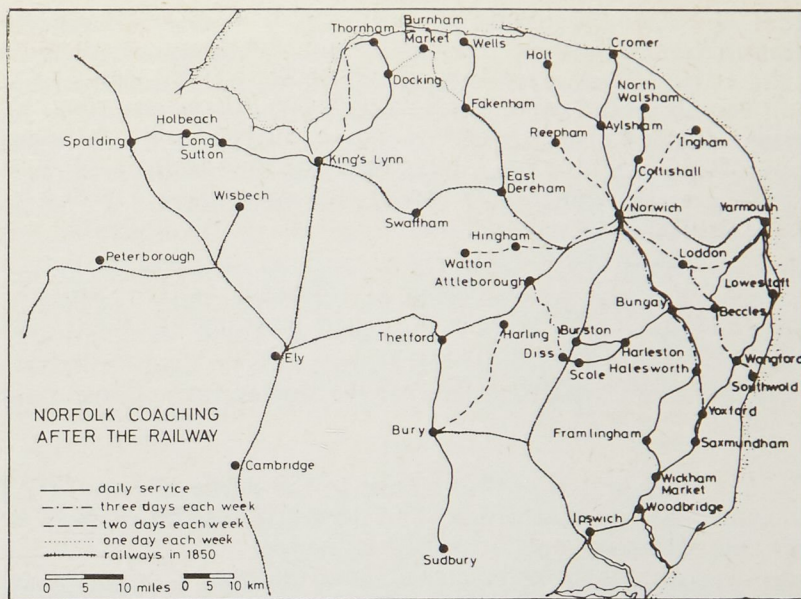


Fig. 5

Coaches in Norfolk after the coming of the Railway, about 1850; showing the frequency of the service.

The survivals fall into two groups: those connected with towns without a railway and those which have connections with a railway town. Cromer maintained the *Ocean* at 08.00 and the *Star* at 13.00 to Norwich and the *Friendship* left Norwich at 17.30 for Holt: each was a daily service. But the service from Holt to London had ceased, as had that from Wells. This town had a coach to Fakenham at 09.00. Also without a railway was Watton. The *George* running on Saturdays only remained, and there were services on Thursdays and Saturdays to Attleborough Railway Station.

In east Suffolk, beyond the Norwich to Ipswich railway line a considerable group of coaches remained. The *Union* via Framlingham still ran daily from Ipswich to Norwich and as feeder services to the railway, there were the *Shannon* from Halesworth at 08.30, the *Retaliator* from Saxmundham at 07.00, the *Old Blue* from Yarmouth at 10.00 and coaches from Woodbridge at 08.15, 11.45 and 15.45. Though adopting a new role, these each retained their previous function of providing a service to Ipswich for the towns of east Suffolk.

Other services were started to railway stations. One called the *Wellington* ran between Beccles and Burston Station and Harleston, already on that route, had more than one coach to Diss. The *Dart* from Yarmouth to Diss ran south-west on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and back on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. A similar service, an omnibus, ran from Diss to Attleborough on alternate days.

The new pattern is reflected also in a coach, the *Favourite Omnibus*, from Thetford to Sudbury, via Bury which seems to have run daily. Additional coaches also ran on this route, from Bury to Sudbury.

In west Norfolk, centred on King's Lynn, two groups of services may be

noted. The *Endeavour* ran to Thornham via Castle Rising, Snettisham and Hunstanton on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 16.00 from King's Lynn. The inward journey is advertised as Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays between 07.00 and 08.00 from Thornham. There was too a daily *Mail Cart* in each direction, with a branch service to Burnham Market. An interesting survival is the *Union*. Once proudly going from Norwich to Newark, it now joined two separate railway systems. The coach left the Globe at 09.00 for Spalding through Long Sutton and Holbeach.

For Norwich in 1850, there were still services to minor places on market days: to Southwold via Beccles at 16.15 from the Star. The *Pilot* had been revived and the *Eclipse* was now extended to Saxmundham. There were various services to Beccles through Loddon. The village had also a coach to Yarmouth, but essentially in the railway age, there was little place for the slower, horse-drawn coach.

VI

It had been a short period of dominance in the mode of travel for those who felt venturesome and could afford it. The poor still walked or rode on the back of a carrier's cart. The stage coach implied affluence.

It brought affluence, and its demise poverty. Woburn and Dunstable had been Bedfordshire towns dependent on the stage coach.¹⁸ It would be interesting to know if there are any Norfolk towns with a similar generation of depression from 1840 to 1870. Scole Inn was built on the coaching trade. The parish of Osmondston, to give its older name, in 1845 had a horse dealer, a blacksmith and two wheelwrights. Each to a certain extent must have been dependent on the coaching trade. Were they, like the ostlers of the inn, a casualty of the demise of coaching? Its position as a cross roads may have given Harleston some dependence on the trade. It did have two coach builders, who presumably were also wheelwrights, and three saddlers. The town of Thetford, at 3934 one of the larger market towns in 1841, had a range of tradesmen dependent on the horse, the cart and the coach for their livelihood. There were four saddlers in 1845, and four wheelwrights, also ten blacksmiths. And it is clear from the Rawlins papers in Bedford that tradesmen like glaziers, carpenters and ironmongers were also affected by the demise of coaching.¹⁹ The decline of standards in inns is well-known. The world now passed them by: many disappeared. At Cambridge, the destruction of so many of the old coaching inns is well-documented.²⁰ It is fair to ask if this happened in Norwich and other Norfolk towns. It might also, given the population stagnation of most Norfolk towns, be legitimate to ask how far coaching at its height was able to halt the onset of their incipient decline. It might also be enquired if towns without coaching services were in any way affected as centres. Harleston declined in numbers between 1831 and 1841, yet it had a range of services, both to larger towns and to London. The quite obvious stagnation of North Walsham, 2617 persons in 1831 and 2655 in 1841, might be influenced by its lack of coaching services. Wymondham declined from 5485 in 1831 to only 5179 ten years later. It was on a major coaching route. The town was a declining market, but its tradesmen included five wheelwrights, three saddlers and eight blacksmiths. In human terms the demise of coaching must have meant a great loss to men such as these.

It is the human scale which needs to be remembered in any writing of history, even one which reduces the subject to a series of maps and an accompanying commentary. If there was no individual Norfolk town totally dependent on the

coaching trade as were those we have quoted elsewhere, there were towns where coaching played an important part in their local economy. Equally in the transport of people, the carriage of mails, and the dissemination of news, coaching was a social force. In this paper, we have laid the pattern by which that social force operated. Our final comments have indicated the rapidity of the decline of that social force, when replaced by a newer, more speedy form of transport, the steam train. They have suggested some lines of enquiry by which Norfolk towns might be examined, in the light of that decline. It might be added that Norfolk towns could equally be examined for the place coaching played in their economy. To this end, to catalogue the routes, to chart their changing pattern and to provide maps of their ways might perhaps be a useful beginning.^{2 1}

February 1975

NOTES ON THE SOURCES

Most of the information given in this paper has been assembled from various early nineteenth century directories and the modern compilation of Alan Bates for 1836. These have not been listed individually in the footnotes.

- 1822-3 Pigot & Co, *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1822-3*, (1822), for Norfolk, Leicester and Shrewsbury.
- 1823-4 Pigot and Co. *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1823-4* (1823), for Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.
- 1830 Pigot and Co, *London and Provincial Commercial Directory and Topography for 1830*, (1830), covers Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.
- 1836 A. Bates, *Directory of Stage Coach Services, 1836* (Newton Abbot, 1969)
- 1839 Pigot & Co, *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography*, (1839), includes Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.
- 1845 W. White, *History Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk . . . 1845*, (Newton Abbot, 1969 reprint as *White's 1845 Norfolk*).
- 1850 Slater's (late Pigot & Co), *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography for 1850* (1850) for Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.
- 1850 E. Hunt & Co, *Directory for East Norfolk* (1850) for the county east of Holt, East Dereham and Attleborough. Also includes north-east Suffolk.

¹Population figure and tables are conveniently provided by W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England*, (1972 edition), 236-241. Census figures for 1841 and 1851 have been taken from the secondary source of directories.

²*White's 1845 Norfolk*, (Newton Abbot reprint, 1969) gives details.

³*White's 1845 Norfolk*, 450; the comment is made of other towns also.

⁴This is apparent from Kelly's *Directory of Bedfordshire . . . for 1854*, and an 1857 sale catalogue gives directions for transport by train and omnibus to Luton. It was necessary to leave at 07.30 from Euston to arrive in Luton by 12.00. Luton Museum, sale catalogue A/5/5/40.

⁵P. Hepworth, *Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk from Old Photographs*, (London, 1972), illustration 51, shows the train at Cromer High Station shortly after its opening in 1877; it is possible the coach survived almost to this date.

⁶See below, pp. 368-370 with fig. 5 for a discussion of the railway and stage coach in Norfolk in 1850.

⁷The accounts of the Neale family of Dean, Bedfordshire, then resident in London mention a coach fare in 1698: Bedfordshire County Record Office, document AD 3273. R. C. and J. M. Anderson, *Quicksilver* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 13-24 and 202-203 note seventeenth century coaches; see also J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post*, (London and Toronto, 1967), 109-132, and S. Margetson, *Journeys by Stages*, (London, 1967), 1-71.

⁸These are conveniently listed C. Hibbett, *The Grand Tour*, (London, 1969), 247-249. A typical example is F. M. Mission, *A New Voyage to Italy*, (London, 1699): I owe this reference initially to the kindness of Miss G. Lloyd-Morgan. Travellers did also use water transport. An account contemporary with Mission is Bedfordshire County Record Office documents HY 949-951, relating to the Netherlands.

⁹Anderson, 1973, 30-44; Margetson, 1967, 34-110; and J. Copeland, *Roads and Their Traffic, 1750-1850*, (Newton Abbot, 1968), 85-108; each provide an account of coaches in the eighteenth century; information given therein has not been duplicated. For the background see E. W. Bovill, *English Country Life, 1780-1830* (Oxford, 1962).

¹⁰The 'accepted date' for the introduction of mail coaches in 1784; see Anderson, 1973, 98-103, for an account of John Palmer; but Ogilby and Morgan's *Book of the Roads*, fifth edition 1770, gives coaches for Norfolk carrying the mails, though they are not formally named Royal Mail coaches. (Bedfordshire County Record Office document X 191).

¹¹The general background is readily available Anderson, 1973; Copeland, 1968; and Margetson, 1967; together with older works such as W. Outram Tristram, *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways* (London, 1893, reprinted Wakefield, 1973) and G. C. Harper, *Stage Coach and Mail in Days of Yore*, (1903). These latter need to be used with the greatest caution. An excellent county survey is C. Noall, *A History of Cornish Mail and Stage Coaches* (Truro, 1963). For illustrations of stage coaches see the works cited and J. Simmons, *Transport* (London, 1962), pl. 69, 75-77.

¹²For an account of James Pigot and Isaac Slater, see J. E. Norton *Guide to Directories* (London, 1950), 43-45; with a list, 45-48.

¹³Bedfordshire County Record Office documents X 37/1-19; utilised D. H. Kennett, 'The Kettering Coach, 1808-1815', *Journal of Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*, forthcoming.

¹⁴In Northamptonshire County Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton.

¹⁵See note 11 above.

¹⁶Tristram, 1973, 335-369; Anderson, 1973, 115-142, with additional details; and Margetson, 1967, 147-156.

¹⁷The two routes from Stamford to Leicester have been mapped, by D. H. Kennett, 'The Geography of Coaching in Early Nineteenth Century Northamptonshire'. *Northants Past & Present* 5 (1974), fig. 4; see also D. H. Kennett, 'Coaching Routes of the Cambridge Region, 1820-1850', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, forthcoming.

¹⁸J. Godber, *History of Bedfordshire, 1066-1888*, (Bedford, 1969), 519.

¹⁹See note 13; see also, when completed, a paper in preparation, D. H. Kennett, 'Horse and Cart in the Economy of a County Town, 1780-1914'.

²⁰F. A. Reeve, *Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge from old photographs*, (London, 1971) has illustrations of many former coaching inns and their yards and details of their demolition dates.

²¹Paper completed 11 February 1975.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study, based mainly on printed sources, might be thought to have no especial thanks. However, it is fitting that I should record my thanks to the staffs of the Department of History and Local Studies of Bedfordshire County Library and Luton Museum whom I have pestered for information herein recorded. Stimulating discussion at the latter has been provided by Mrs. M. Nicholls, Mrs. C. Fleck and Mr. R. K. Hagen. Individual thanks for various points are also recorded in my footnotes.