

and the gardens, which have given their name to Imperial Square. The Montpellier and Lansdown areas developed by Pearson Thompson, still 'one of the greater glories of the Cheltenham scene' includes Lansdown Terrace, Place and Crescent, built in the years after 1826. The plan of the Pittville Estate published in 1826 'shows two central gardens, on each side of which was a road with terraces, varied with individual villas; two squares . . . and a noble crescent. Beyond this was a third garden - with artificial lakes - sloping upwards to the eminence on which the Pump Room was erected as the culmination of the vista in a superb example of landscape gardening'. Leamington Spa grew particularly between 1825 and 1837, the population being 2,183 in 1821 and 12,864 in 1841. The estate development here included 369 acres owned by Edward Willes: the plan in 1826 emphasised terrace housing with a number of villas in large gardens: 'the plan with its sweeping curves and large areas of parkland, shows unmistakable traces of Nash's work in Regent's Park'. In the early 1830s, Matthew Wise started a planned development covering about 99 acres. On the other hand, at two other towns with a long history as a spa, Buxton and Harrogate, planned development was very small in one case and non-existent in the other. At Buxton, a fine crescent was built between 1780 and 1784, and a square laid out for lodging-houses in the early nineteenth century, but the population was only 1,569 in 1841. Harrogate had a 200-acre common which was legally protected as at Tunbridge Wells, but the layout of its houses lacked any form. Its population grew from 1,195 in 1801 to 3,372 in 1841. Tunbridge Wells was outshone in the scale of its estate development by Bath, Cheltenham and Leamington, but its planned expansion with the Calverley undertaking at the centre was still considerable. When its physical growth is compared with that of the other English inland spas, it appears as a modestly splendid achievement.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> (Ed.) R.P. Beckinsale and J.M. Houston, *Urbanization and its Problems* (Oxford, 1968), 54, 62-3, 70; C.W. Chalklin, *Provincial Towns*, 152; G. Hart, *A History of Cheltenham*, (Leicester, 1965), 176-9; T.H. Lloyd, 'Royal Leamington Spa', in (Eds.) M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, *Middle Class Housing in Britain*, (Newton Abbot, 1977), 136-7; S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, i, (1840 edn.), 405; B. Jennings, *A History of Harrogate and Knaresborough*, (Huddersfield, 1970), 330.

## THE MAJOR KENTISH TOWNS IN THE RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF 1851

NIGEL YATES, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

There has only ever been one attempt to acquire statistics on the nation's religious allegiances, and it was generally regretted by contemporaries. It has over the last thirty years been more appreciated by ecclesiastical and social historians, even though the detailed evidence that it provides has not always been judiciously interpreted.<sup>1</sup> The returns for Kent<sup>2</sup> have been commented on in relation to statistics for the South of England as a whole<sup>3</sup> and those for the rural parts of the county have been used to measure the strength of non-conformity there as opposed to that in some other agricultural communities.<sup>4</sup> There has, however, been no full analysis of the

<sup>1</sup> The best introduction is D.M. Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851', in (Ed.) R. Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, London 1978, 241-86. See also K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xi (1960), 74-86, a pioneering study that needs to be treated with caution; the more balanced D.M. Thompson, 'The 1851 Religious Census: Problems and Possibilities', *Victorian Studies*, xi (1967), 87-97, based on a detailed study of Leicestershire returns; and W.S.F. Pickering, 'The 1851 Religious Census: A Useless Experiment?', *British Journal of Sociology*, xviii (1967), 382-407. The census is set in the wider context of other religious statistics in W.N. Yates, 'Urban Church Attendance and the Use of Statistical Evidence', *Studies in Church History*, xvi (1979), 389-400.

<sup>2</sup> The original returns are in the Public Record Office, HO 129/49-74, but there are microfilm copies of these returns in the County Local History Library, Springfield, Maidstone.

<sup>3</sup> See B.I. Coleman, 'Southern England in the Census of Religious Worship, 1851', *Southern History*, v (1983), 154-88, though this is based entirely on the sometimes inaccurate printed summaries of the returns in *Parliamentary Papers 1852-3*, lxxxix: Census 1851.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century*, Leicester 1972, especially pp. 55-62 and the related tables. Professor Everitt certainly overestimates the strength of dissent in the Kentish towns, and possibly in the rural areas as well, since he bases his analysis solely on the numbers of buildings and sittings, disregarding the figures for attendances which were often strikingly different.



returns for the major urban communities in the county, and this is provided in the present paper.

Non-metropolitan Kent had by the middle of the nineteenth century ten towns with a population in excess of ten thousand. These were the cathedral cities of Canterbury and Rochester, the county town of Maidstone, the dockyard towns of Chatham and Sheerness, and five popular watering-places: Dover, Gravesend, Margate, Ramsgate and Tunbridge Wells. The pattern of religious allegiances in these ten towns partly confirmed the general picture for the county as a whole, whilst at the same time showing in some towns, especially Sheerness, a marked divergence from this general picture. A summary of the returns for each town is given in an appendix to this paper.

Looked at nationally, the religious census of 1851 showed two significant trends. One, that was particularly worrying to the Church of England, was that it confirmed statistically the popular impression that in many parts of England and Wales more people worshipped in dissenting chapels of one sort or another than in their parish churches. The other, which worried all religious leaders, was the clear evidence that absenteeism from religious worship was not just the result of inadequate accommodation but of deliberate choice. In nearly every sizeable community there were more sittings available than were actually being sat in and very few churches or chapels were full at any services. The way in which the statistics were compiled prevents an accurate estimate being made of the number of regular churchgoers, but most commentators, both contemporary and later, have concluded that only about half the population of England and Wales attended any religious service on the census Sunday, 30 March, 1851, though the figure was somewhat higher in Scotland, and this does not allow for possible exaggeration by ministers and others making the returns.

Mid-Victorian Christianity was divided into a large number of sects. Basically, however, there were four major religious groupings in England. The first was the Church of England. The second was what is generally labelled 'Old Dissent'. This consisted of those religious groups that sprang directly from the Reformation itself or the failure of the Church of England to contain its Puritan activists: the Independents or Congregationalists, the various groups of Baptists, the Presbyterians and the Society of Friends. Also included in 'Old Dissent' were those former Independent, Baptist or Presbyterian chapels that had become either Calvinist or Unitarian. The third group, by contrast, is labelled 'New Dissent'. This consisted of those who seceded from the Church of England as a result of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival: the Methodists, fragmented

by schism into several groups by 1851, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The final group consists of those who fall into none of the previous categories: the Roman Catholics, the Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Church, the Latter Day Saints and the Jews, the only non-Christian sect represented in the 1851 census.

Kent, like every other southern English county apart from Cornwall, was a predominantly Anglican county. All forms of dissent were weak, though the 'old' was stronger than the 'new'. Apart from the followers of William Huntington at Cranbrook, no other religious group, even the Roman Catholics, was particularly numerous in any

TABLE I: SITTINGS AND ATTENDANCES BY RELIGIOUS GROUP, 1851

<i>Town</i>		<i>Church of England</i>	<i>Old Dissent</i>	<i>New Dissent</i>	<i>Others</i>
Canterbury	S	65.6	13.2	16.2	5.0
	A	60.5	19.1	18.8	1.6
Chatham	S	52.5	23.5	20.5	3.5
	A	46.5	25.7	23.1	4.7
Dover	S	59.5	26.6	9.5	4.4
	A	64.5	17.5	11.8	6.2
Gravesend	S	45.7	33.3	16.9	4.1
	A	54.6	27.9	15.6	1.9
Maidstone	S	55.5	25.3	17.6	1.6
	A	65.4	18.6	15.6	0.4
Margate	S	46.9	19.7	30.2	3.2
	A	46.7	23.2	29.1	1.0
Ramsgate	S	54.0	23.5	9.0	13.5
	A	52.7	23.7	11.6	12.0
Rochester	S	69.1	16.5	12.8	1.6
	A	69.2	14.0	15.8	1.0
Sheerness	S	43.5	20.6	25.6	10.3
	A	37.6	22.2	26.8	13.4
Tunbridge Wells	S	56.7	23.7	14.8	4.8
	A	55.9	23.1	18.4	2.6



part of the county. In the ten major towns this general picture was confirmed, as shown in Table I, which indicates in percentage terms the number of both sittings<sup>5</sup> and attendances for each of the four religious groups.

The Church of England provided an absolute majority of both sittings and attendances in six out of ten of these towns, though the figures for Tunbridge Wells have had to be estimated since no return exists for one of the town's three Anglican churches. The Church of England was clearly out-numbered by dissenters in Sheerness, and more marginally so in Chatham and Margate. In all three cases the reason for this is clearly the strength of 'new dissent', which in each town accounted for more than a fifth of both sittings and attendances. In both Sheerness and Ramsgate a significant number of people worshipped in churches that belonged to neither the Church of England nor any of the major groups of Protestant dissenters.

#### CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The most strongly Anglican towns in Kent were the two cathedral cities (Canterbury and Rochester), Dover and Maidstone. At Canterbury, with a large number of smallish parish churches, the best Anglican attendances were at the cathedral. At Rochester, however, the cathedral had the smallest of the four Anglican congregations in the city. The poor showing of the Church of England at both Margate and Sheerness may have been partly related to the relatively small number of Anglican sittings in both towns, though it should be noted that not one of these Anglican churches was actually filled to capacity on the census Sunday. What the census figures show clearly is that for both the Church of England and for most non-Anglican bodies as well, much of the additional church accommodation provided since 1800 was aimed at potential rather than actual congregations. In many towns the newer Anglican churches were less well attended than the older parish churches criticised by many contemporaries for their lack of comfort and inferior seating arrangements. The figures also reveal that, where a detailed breakdown is available, the Church of England provided as high a proportion of free to rented sittings as most branches of dissent, as shown in Table II.

In many towns the proportion of free to rented sittings in Anglican places of worship was considerably higher than in non-conformist

<sup>5</sup> The number of sittings includes additional standing room for those places of worship for which this was also given.

#### THE KENTISH TOWNS IN THE RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF 1851

TABLE II: PERCENTAGE OF FREE AND RENTED SITTINGS, 1851

Town	Church of England		Non-Anglican Churches	
	F	R	F	R
Canterbury	35.4	64.6	34.4	65.6
Chatham	51.4	48.6	34.1	65.9
Dover	65.5	34.5	31.3	68.7
Gravesend	66.7	33.3	37.5	62.5
Maidstone	51.3	48.7	24.2	75.8
Margate	56.9	43.1	31.8	68.2
Ramsgate	48.2	51.8	50.4	49.6
Rochester	38.3	61.7	37.4	62.6
Sheerness	55.9	44.1	34.7	65.3
Tunbridge Wells	63.5	36.5	43.9	56.1

ones, many of which were dependent on pew rents to pay for their ministers or the debts on the buildings.<sup>6</sup> The non-Anglican figures for Ramsgate were distorted by the high number of free sittings in the undenominational Broad Street Chapel.

The Anglican clergy had every reason to be pleased with the urban returns for Kent. They showed that they were more than holding their own, despite competition from several non-Anglican bodies, in most of the larger centres of population in the county as well as, and in some cases better than, in the rural areas. The pressure for free seats, so that the poor would not be excluded from Anglican worship, had clearly been successful in Kent. Only in Canterbury and Rochester, where there were no post-medieval Anglican churches, apart from rebuildings, were the number of free sittings substantially lower than those which were appropriated or rented. The census was taken at too early a date to show the full impact of the Evangelical and Tractarian movements on Anglican congregations. Only one church, St. John's at Gravesend, had a regular early celebration of the Holy Communion in 1851, which attracted a congregation of four on 30 March.

#### 'OLD DISSENT'

Of the various divisions of 'old dissent' only the Independents and Baptists were represented in each of the ten largest towns in Kent. Most Baptist congregations in Kent were 'Particular' rather than

<sup>6</sup> This point is considered in greater detail in W.N. Yates, 'The Religious Life of Victorian Leeds', in (Ed.) D. Fraser, *A History of Modern Leeds*, Manchester 1980, 259.



'General'. In addition to these two major religious groups, there were Unitarian congregations in Canterbury, Chatham, Dover and Maidstone and Quaker meetings in Canterbury, Dover, Maidstone, Margate and Rochester. There were Calvinist chapels in Margate and Ramsgate and a small congregation of French Protestants worshipping in the cathedral undercroft at Canterbury. The percentage breakdown of 'old dissent' in each town is given in Table III, showing both sittings and attendances.

TABLE III: PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF 'OLD DISSENT', 1851

Town		<i>Independents</i>	<i>Baptists</i>	<i>Unitarians</i>	<i>Quakers</i>	<i>Others</i>
Canterbury	S	42.6	34.1	13.1	8.2	2.0
	A	55.3	34.5	8.5	0.8	0.9
Chatham	S	50.7	38.4	10.9	—	—
	A	53.9	40.3	5.8	—	—
Dover	S	45.0	32.3	16.7	6.0	—
	A	39.9	46.2	12.9	1.0	—
Gravesend	S	60.3	39.7	—	—	—
	A	52.7	47.3	—	—	—
Maidstone	S	26.4	49.0	15.1	9.5	—
	A	26.8	63.8	7.2	2.2	—
Margate	S	26.4	52.0	—	6.6	15.0
	A	34.1	58.2	—	0.4	7.3
Ramsgate	S	44.0	17.4	—	—	38.6
	A	52.4	13.2	—	—	34.4
Rochester	S	40.3	23.9	—	35.8	—
	A	84.7	5.0	—	10.3	—
Sheerness	S	74.8	25.2	—	—	—
	A	77.6	22.4	—	—	—
Tunbridge Wells	S	71.0	29.0	—	—	—
	A	41.6	58.4	—	—	—

The discrepancies between sittings and attendances for particular religious groups is very marked in several towns, and is probably a commentary on the effectiveness of individual preachers in filling

their chapels. The numerical decline of attendances in chapels that had become Unitarian, and in the membership of the Society of Friends, is also very clearly revealed. At Margate the Calvinists were formerly Independents, whereas at Ramsgate they were formerly Baptists; by adding them to their respective former allegiances one achieves a more even balance between the two main branches of 'old dissent' in these two towns.

## 'NEW DISSENT'

The Wesleyan Methodists had at least one place of worship in each of the ten largest towns in Kent and were the only branch of 'new dissent' in both Dover and Rochester. In the rural areas, however, they had fairly strong competition from both the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians. Neither of these were strong in the towns. The Primitive Methodists had chapels at Canterbury, Chatham, Gravesend, Maidstone, Ramsgate and Sheerness, but the Bible Christians were only represented at Chatham and Sheerness. Both sects tended to appeal to working-class worshippers so their strength in the two dockyard towns is not surprising. In Chatham the Wesleyan Methodist Association, a union formed in 1835 between the Leeds Protestant Methodists and the Warrenites, also had two chapels, another indication of the town's radical leanings as far as non-conformity was concerned. The only real challenge to Wesleyan Methodism as the dominant force within 'new dissent' in the towns, came from the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion, which had flourishing chapels in Canterbury, Maidstone, Margate and Tunbridge Wells. The Connexion was Calvinist in doctrine, but attracted largely middle class support and was the most quasi-Anglican of the major non-conformist bodies. Table IV shows the respective strengths of the various branches of 'new dissent' in those towns in which more than one sect was represented:

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF 'NEW DISSENT', 1851

Town		<i>Wesleyan Methodists</i>	<i>Primitive Methodists</i>	<i>Bible Christians</i>	<i>Wesleyan Association</i>	<i>Countess of Huntingdon</i>
Canterbury	S	58.7	26.7	—	—	14.6
	A	64.5	12.8	—	—	22.7
Chatham	S	48.9	4.0	30.8	16.3	—
	A	63.5	3.4	21.9	11.2	—

Town	Wesleyan Methodists	Primitive Methodists	Bible Christians	Wesleyan Association	Countess of Huntingdon
Gravesend	S 69.4	30.6	-	-	-
	A 77.0	23.0	-	-	-
Maidstone	S 56.9	10.5	-	-	32.6
	A 43.7	5.8	-	-	50.5
Margate	S 66.5	-	-	-	33.5
	A 54.2	-	-	-	45.8
Ramsgate	S 79.9	20.1	-	-	-
	A 80.0	20.0	-	-	-
Sheerness	S 70.3	13.5	16.2	-	-
	A 74.7	14.0	11.3	-	-
Tunbridge Wells	S 60.4	-	-	-	39.6
	A 62.0	-	-	-	38.0

The strength of the more conservative religious groupings within 'new dissent' and the comparable weakness of the more radical ones complement an exactly similar pattern within 'old dissent'. In religious terms Kent was a deeply conservative county in 1851, and this conservatism was, to some extent, even stronger in the towns than it was in the rural areas.

#### OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Apart from in Ramsgate and Sheerness, the numbers of people attending places of worship belonging neither to the Church of England nor to the principal groups of Protestant dissenters, were minimal. There were, however, a total of 23 such places of worship in the major Kentish towns, broken down as follows:

Religious Group	Places of Worship	Sittings	Attendances
Roman Catholics	8	2490	2320
Jews	5	345	345
Undenominational	4	1050	982
Latter Day Saints	2	350	454
Catholic Apostolic	2	288	197
Swedenborgians	1	70	70
Christian Israelites	1	50	16

Roman Catholicism was particularly weak in Kent, partly because there had been relatively little recusancy in the county in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and partly because there had been no large-scale Irish immigration in the 1830s and 1840s. Nevertheless, one of the Roman Catholic churches, St. Augustine's at Ramsgate, was one of the finest new churches in Kent in 1851. It was described in the returns as 'a true Catholic Church with a chancel and rood screen, stalls for the singing clerks, a Lady Chapel and a Chapel of St. Lawrence'. Other Roman Catholic churches were more modest but, with one exception, provided adequate accommodation for the small number of Roman Catholics in the county. At Margate it was noted that the chapel had been 'erected principally for the benefit of the visitors'. Only at Sheerness was comment made to the effect that 'there are many more Catholics here but no chapel accommodation for them'.

#### THE CENSUS RETURNS

The main information given in the census returns was the details of accommodation for worship and the number of worshippers. The forms for the census made provision for ministers and others to return both the actual congregations at each service on Sunday, 30 March, 1851<sup>7</sup> and the average per Sunday over the preceding twelve months. In some cases both sets of figures were given, in other cases only one set. There is no doubt that in some cases the figures were mere guesses, but others were clearly extremely accurate. At Holy Trinity, Gravesend, 'the number of attendants at Church on March 30 was taken by enumeration', and at St. Lawrence, Ramsgate, the incumbent stated 'I have endeavoured to make out my list at Church as correct as possible by having the people counted during divine service'. A few churches commented on discrepancies between their attendances on 30 March and their higher average attendances by blaming the lower attendance on congregational illness or poor weather conditions. A number of churches in the resort towns also pointed out that their congregations were much larger in the summer months. There was, however, a considerable distrust of the methods employed for conducting the census, especially among the Anglican clergy, a number of whose returns are deliberately vague. The incumbent of Christ Church, Ramsgate, thought that people should

<sup>7</sup> Except in the case of the Jews where morning and afternoon figures are for Saturday, 29 March, and evening ones for Friday, 28 March.



have been employed 'to count the public as they left the different places of worship', and that any census based on returns made by the churches themselves was 'wholly valueless'.

Whilst the census returns give a very good picture of the relative strengths of individual religious groupings within a particular community, it is very dangerous to use them to calculate exactly what percentage were churchgoers, since such figures can only be based on an estimate of the proportions of congregations attending once or more than once each Sunday. Where such calculations have been made<sup>8</sup> church attendance in Kent has been estimated at between 43.0 per cent of the population in Hoo and 76.4 per cent in Thanet, with figures of between 50 per cent and 60 per cent in most of the urban communities. Such estimates, however, must be treated with extreme caution. The incumbent of St. Margaret, Rochester, pointed out that 'many families who attend this Church in the morning go to the Cathedral in the afternoon or to evening services in other Churches'. Some urban churches clearly attracted congregations from the surrounding rural areas,<sup>9</sup> a point made by the Rochester Independents and the Providence Baptist Chapel in Maidstone where 'morning and afternoon the congregation are principally from the surrounding villages', whilst 'evening generally made up of the inhabitants of the town'. Indeed transference between religious groups was not unknown, with people worshipping in Anglican churches in the morning and at non-Anglican chapels in the afternoon or evening.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from the returns of the 1851 religious census for the major Kentish towns. The first is that the general level of attendance of these towns was reasonably high, compared with the national average, though not so high as to fill the available accommodation in most places of worship. The second is that the Anglican domination of religious life of mid-Victorian Kent was as considerable in the towns as in other parts of the county. Even where the dissenting groups were numerically fairly strong, it was the more conservative and quasi-Anglican ones that were strongest. Religious radicalism in mid-Victorian Kent was extremely weak virtually everywhere, apart from in Chatham.

<sup>8</sup> See B.I. Coleman, *op. cit.*, 183-4.

<sup>9</sup> This was also the case in the market and resort towns of south-east Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, see W.N. Yates, 'Victorian Church Attendance: The Local Evidence', in (Eds.) J. Webb, W.N. Yates and S.E. Peacock, *Hampshire Studies*, Portsmouth 1981, 226.

APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF THE 1851 RELIGIOUS CENSUS RETURNS FOR THE TEN LARGEST TOWNS IN NON-METROPOLITAN KENT

The returns are summarised according to the following formula:

- (1) Name of Church or Chapel (date of foundation or rebuilding, if known and later than 1600).
- (2) Sittings (S): Total number of sittings (number of free sittings) + standing room, non-Anglican places of worship only.
- (3) Attendances (A): Figures given in most cases for each main service (M = Morning, A = Afternoon, E = Evening). Total number of attendances on 30 March (average attendances, if different) + total number of Sunday Scholars on 30 March (average number, if different).
- (4) Additional remarks, if relevant, have been included as footnotes.

CANTERBURY

*Church of England*

Cathedral <sup>10</sup>	S : not given A : M 500, A 700
All Saints	S : not given A : M 100
Holy Cross <sup>11</sup>	S : 530 (224) A : A 203 + 38
St. Alphege	S : 1400 A : M (100+30), E (400)
St. Andrew <sup>12</sup>	S : 252 (20) A : M 110+ 36

<sup>10</sup> 'The Congregation at the Cathedral is not a fixed Congregation, and cannot be exactly averaged'.

<sup>11</sup> The parishes of Holy Cross and St. Peter were held in plurality, divine service taking place once on Sunday in each Church, 'alternately . . . morning and afternoon'. The average attendances were 300 at Holy Cross and 200 at St. Peter's.

<sup>12</sup> Of the 417 sittings at St. Margaret's it was stated in the return 'all free, but some are appropriated, indeed the great majority are so supposed. The Parish Church has been closed for many months, at present undergoing restoration. Average congregation morning and afternoon when open from 250 to 300'. Morning service on the census Sunday was held at St. Mary Bredman and the afternoon service at St. Andrew's.

N. YATES

St. Dunstan	S : 330 (90) A : M 260 + 88, A 436 + 86
St. George	S : 400 (50) A : M 260 (300) + 65, A 340 (350)
St. Margaret <sup>12</sup>	S : 417 A : M 156 + 21, A 220 + 23
St. Martin	S : 172 (40) A : M 150 + 16, A 100 (120) + 16
St. Mary Bredin	S : 310 (120) A : M 213 + 53, E 237
St. Mary Bredman <sup>12</sup>	S : 220 (none) A : A 95 + 37
St. Mary Magdalene	S : 230 (30) A : A 160 (200) + 71 (60)
St. Mildred	S : not given A : M 100
St. Paul	S : 500 (220) A : M 105 + 120, A 280 + 220, E 300
St. Peter <sup>11</sup>	S : 455 (238) A : M 152 + 36
St. Stephen	S : 356 (298) A : M 110 (125) + 88 (90), A 170 (230) + 89 (95)
<i>'Old Dissent'</i>	
French Protestants	S : 30 (all) A : A 21 (16)
Independents (1696)	S : 650 (100) A : M 400 + 137, A 100, E 600
Unitarian Baptists	S : 200 (50) A : M 64 (62) + 18 (16), A NIL + 18 (16), E 90 (100)
Particular Baptists, King Street (1823)	S : 350 (100) A : M 180 + 100, A 109 + 86, E 210

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Particular Baptists, Zoar (1845)	S : 120 (all) + 50 A : M 47, E 39
Society of Friends	S : 125 A : M9, A9
<i>'New Dissent'</i>	
Wesleyan Methodists (1811)	S : 1100 (180) A : M 418 + 92, A 82, E 828
Primitive Methodists (1839)	S : 500 (100) A : M 62 + 26, A 62 + 31, E 100 (200)
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (1797)	S : 275 (80) A : M 200 + 80, E 220
<i>Others</i>	
Roman Catholics	S : 500 (all) A : M 120
Synagogue (1848)	S : 53 (40) + 20 A : M 30 (35), A 20, E 26 (28)
CHATHAM	
<i>Church of England</i>	
St. Bartholomew	S : 258 (170) A : M 139 (150), E 200
St. Mary	S : 1000 (200) A : M 600, A 200, E 800
St. John (1821)	S : 1650 (1100) A : M 350 + 200, A 200, E 300 (400) + 70
Christ Church (1842)	S : 460 (376) A : M 100 + 75, E 140 + 30
Holy Trinity (1848)	S : 954 (374) A : M 413 (450) + 156, E 425 (600) + 120
Dockyard Chapel (1808)	S : not given A : M (1100 + 80), A (200 + 80)