Milestones & Waymarkers

The Journal of the Milestone Society

Volume Twelve 2020

Wayside Markers in Eastern Fife

ISSN 1479-5167

MILESTONES & WAYMARKERS

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Volume Twelve - 2020

The Milestone Society—Registered Charity No 1105688. **ISSN 1479-5167**

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WANTED

EDITOR

Milestones & Waymarkers is the Society's journal which appears on an occasional, typically annual, basis. John V Nicholls has been editing *Milestones & Waymarkers* since issue 4 in 2011 (initially jointly with Carol Haines and David Viner) but he is now unable to continue. The Society is therefore looking for someone to take his place so that the publication can survive. Although some technical skill with preparing documents would be a definite advantage, the real need is for the Editor to work with the Editorial Panel to gather articles from the members and from outside the Society and to assemble and edit those articles which are worthy of publication. If you are willing to help, please contact a member of the Editorial Panel: Carol Haines (ch_miles@yahoo.com), Mike Hallett (mwh@milestonesociety.co.uk), John V Nicholls (jv@milestonesociety.co.uk), Richard Raynsford (newsletter@milestonesociety.co.uk) or David Viner (dv@milestonesociety.co.uk).

Cover Picture:

FF_WMFF211 on the A915 at Kilconquhar shown on a map of the area (Map 1).
See *Wayside markers in Eastern Fife* on page 36.

The Plymouth to Exeter Road improvements of the 1820s

Tim Jenkinson

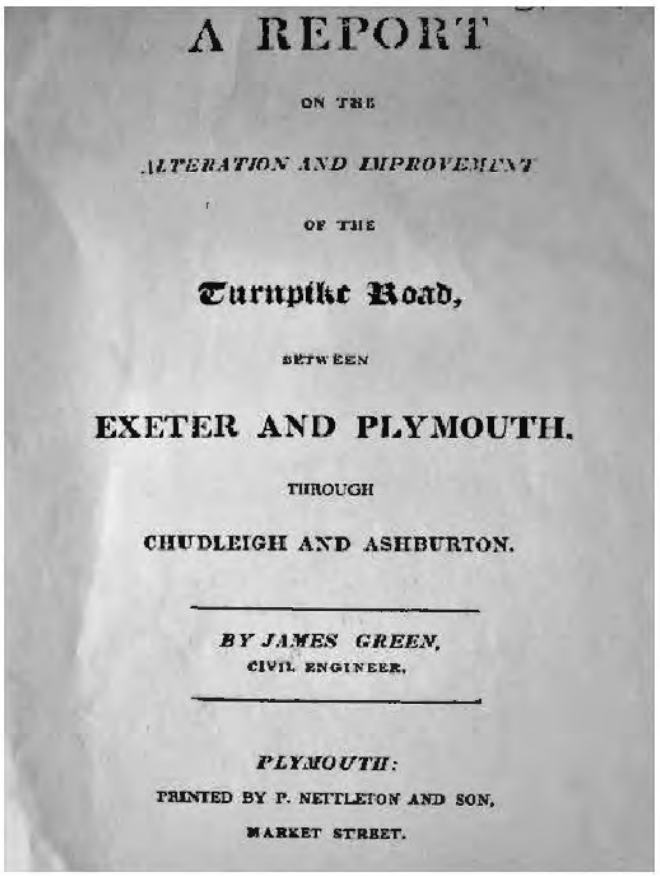
One of the most significant road improvement schemes in Devon in the 19th Century was undertaken in the 1820s along parts of the 42-mile route between the then town of Plymouth and the chief city of Exeter. Prior to this time, travellers had suffered the inconvenience of considerable hills and narrow passage through towns and villages that included a difficult ridge section of some ten miles from Bittaford to Ashburton and a tortuous five mile stretch of steep hills and descents over Haldon Hill nearing Exeter. The growth of Plymouth's population and its increasing importance as a naval base necessitated considerable improvements to certain troublesome sections. As a result the Trustees of the three turnpikes that managed the route (Plymouth Eastern, Ashburton and Exeter) commissioned Civil Engineer James Green to survey the entire length of the road and make recommendations for widening and improving sections of it along with an estimate of costs. A report on his findings was published on 30 June 1819.

With the advent of motor travel in the 20th Century the road here was to become part of the original A38, until it was superseded itself by a dual carriageway build in the 1970s. As we approach the bicentennial anniversary of the origins of these vital road improvements it seems appropriate to review Green's initial recommendations and compare them to what we see today at the start of the 21st Century.

The commemorative plaque to James Green at the former Elmfield House - now a pub named The Imperial.

James Green

James Green was born into a Quaker family in Birmingham in 1781 and was in the early years of employment teamed with mentor John Rennie to work on the canals, drain bogs and fens and on various engineering projects in both England and Ireland. He seems to have come to Devon in around 1806 whilst working with Rennie on a survey of the River Dart at Totnes (George 1986). Following a successful project to construct an embankment to enclose 175 acres of land for Lord Boringdon of Saltram, Green was contracted in 1808 to build a replacement bridge at Fenny Bridges to the west of Honiton in East Devon, an important route which carried the London to Plymouth road over the River Otter, now part of the old A30. On 4 October of that same year he was appointed County Surveyor of Bridges in Devon on a salary of £300 per annum (Exeter Memories 2016). After that, he went on to repair and rebuild numerous bridges across the county and as a result became a much-respected engineer. In 1810 he built and subsequently lived in Elmfield House in Exeter with his wife Ruth where his two sons Thomas and Joseph were born. Elmfield House later became a hotel and is nowadays a Wetherspoons pub known as the Imperial. A plaque that commemorates his contribution can be seen on the wall by the door.


A REPORT

ON THE

ALTERATION AND IMPROVEMENT

OF THE

Turnpike Road,

BETWEEN

EXETER AND PLYMOUTH,

THROUGH

CHUDLEIGH AND ASHBURTON.

BY JAMES GREEN,
CIVIL ENGINEER.

PLYMOUTH:
PRINTED BY P. NETTLETON AND SON,
MARKET STREET.

The front page of James Green's report.

However, as the county started to cut back on its work on bridges, Green branched out into other areas including the design of new county gaols. His work also extended into road design and the Plymouth to Exeter route was one of his first ventures. Green begins his report of 1819 with the following albeit somewhat lengthy paragraph which nonetheless sums up the challenges ahead:

'Gentlemen, Pursuant to your directions, I have completed a

survey of the whole of the present line of road from Plymouth to Exeter, and I have now the honour to submit to you a plan and section thereof, together with the plans and sections of such lines of improvement, as appear to me most desirable and important; the great object of which is, either to avoid altogether the hills, by which travelling on this line of road is so peculiarly impeded, or so to lessen their ascents and declivities, as to give that degree of safety and expedition to travellers on this road, which is so essentially necessary on so important line of communication, as that between the metropolis and one of the grand naval arsenals of the kingdom' .

Indeed faced with the complexities and difficulties of improving the existing route it seems that Green contemplated an entirely new line of road but later dismissed this as 'impracticable' because of the cost; in his own words he qualifies his decision *'I have, therefore confined my attention to the improvements which now can be made without so great a sacrifice of money as the adoption of an entire new road, which, if completed would by no means excel what the present road may be made as to warrant the expenditure of such a sum of money'.*

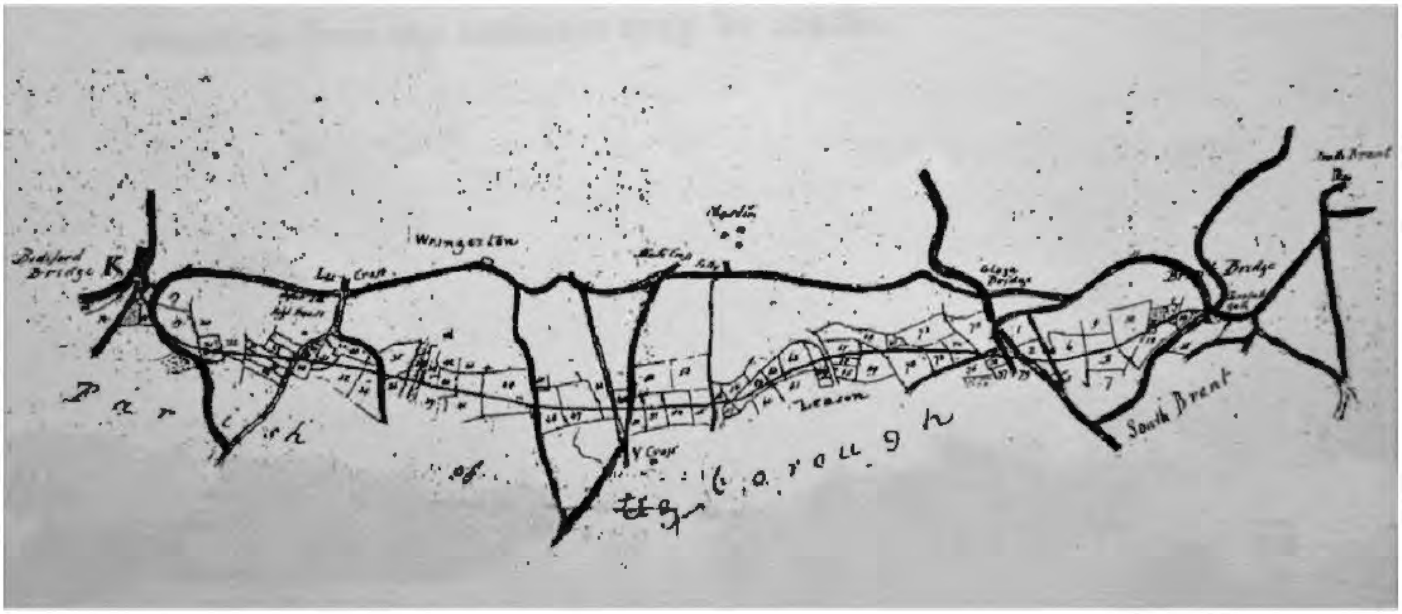
Plymouth Eastern Division

Green's first recommendations for this Trust come in the then town of Plympton some 5 miles out of Plymouth. With each improvement stated both the distance and cost are quoted. He considers that there is a dangerous turn over Plympton St Mary bridge and that the stream running alongside the road here causes great inconvenience to travellers *'and many times in the year overflows it to the extent of 4 or 5 feet deep'.* His new line which he considers as more direct, measures 4 furlongs, 7 chains and 30 links and is shorter than the old one. However the cost is estimated as £1622 *'which for so short a distance is a considerable sum, but the land through which it would pass is valuable and hardening for the road is procured only at great expense'* .

Green makes comments in his report about the various hills along the route and the first he mentions is the one leading from the end of the village of Ridgeway at Plympton out to Yempstone Brook. He recommends a new route here, one that is more direct to remove the hill altogether. The distance is quoted as 1 mile, 8 chains and 60 links at a cost of £2281 but then Green seems to reject it himself having *'some doubt as to the prudence of adopting it, at such an expense'* and that he is *'rather inclined to recommend the expenditure of a few hundred pounds in improving the old road'.* A Grade II Listed cast iron milepost marking a distance of five miles to/from Plymouth still stands to this day in Ridgeway at SX 548 560.

The extracts from Green's report provide fascinating insights into the thinking through of the proposed changes and the ever present constraint of costs on the level and extent of the improvements that can be achieved. Green's next cause for concern is a bend in the old road at Smithalee (present day Smithaleigh) that he describes as *'very sudden, and the road narrow and dangerous'.* He proposes a new cut as a great improvement saving one full chain at the cost of no more than £247 but it will be necessary *'to take down and replace a linhay belonging to Smithalee Farm, but as the old road may be attached to the farm premises, no injury whatever will be done to the proprietor'.*

He recommends some road widening between Smithalee and Lee Mill Bridge, mentioning a Smith's shop on the west end of the bridge that is long gone. The Bridge itself (SX 600 557) has two boundary stones upon it marking the parishes of Plympton St Mary and Ermington but the inscriptions have been obliterated. Green explains that the road from here then passing through Cadleigh *'is extremely hilly, crooked and narrow and as a very considerable sum would be required to effect any great improvement in the way of widening the old road (without amending in any degree the hills) I have proposed a new line'* the length of which is quoted as 1 mile, 5 furlongs and 8 chains and 64 links at a cost of £3406. Today this section is known as Cornwood Road and the road through Cadleigh remains as narrow as ever.



Map of the Bittaford Bridge to Brent Bridge improvement. Its age has reduced quality of reproduction.

Green continues into what was then the village of Ivybridge where he describes the road as *'very circuitous and narrow and the sides are so much occupied by buildings as not to admit of much improvement'*. He proposes a new route from the Roger's Arms Inn at the west end of the village out to near the turnpike gate at Cole Lane (SX 645 563) eastward of the village. However, this line was never built as traffic continued to pass through the heart of the village for many years to come. The quoted cost of £2642 and the need to build a new bridge over the River Erme may have been the deciding factors. Indeed, motor cars continued to pass up the main Fore Street until relatively recently with the eventual completion of a relief road, the Marjorie Kelly Way, as late as June 1994.

Green recommends that the road from Ivybridge eastward into the village of Bittaford through Filham requires some widening and a little straightening as in many places it was no more than 14 feet wide, but it is from here that the greatest change was needed. The hill from Bittaford Bridge that now passes under the railway viaduct was a notorious route that Green describes as *'so well known and has so long formed an object of the serious attention of the Trustees that I need not here enter into any description of it. Various modes of raising or getting rid of this hill have been, from time to time, under consideration, but as it will be found on inspection of the longitudinal sections, that the whole length of road from this place to Brent Bridge is nothing but a succession of serious ascents and descents'*.

This pre-turnpike road remains to this day passing through the village of Wrangaton and twisting and turning on its descent to the aforementioned Brent Bridge in South Brent. In order to combat the problem Green proposed a new line from what he called the west side of Bideford (Bittaford) Valley straight to Brent Bridge with a moderate and easy descent. Here it would unite with the Ashburton turnpike. The new line was quoted at a length of 2 miles, 5 furlongs, 5 chains and 60 links and at a cost of £7581. (See Bittaford Bridge to Brent Bridge map above.) Given the overwhelming argument for the improvement of this section the Plymouth Trustees seem to have opted for Green's suggestion at the expense of the build of a new road at Ivybridge. Green's road is today a fairly straight route and takes the traveller from the heart of Bittaford village along what is a section of the old A38 to join the dual carriageway at Wrangaton Cross which was completed in the 1970s and incorporated Green's road as far as Carew. With that the Plymouth Eastern section of the route is completed, and Green provides a full costing list at the end of his report that places the total expense to Trust for all proposed work on this 15 mile section at £15, 203 2s 0d.

The road from Ivybridge to Wrangaton Cross retains three cast iron mileposts at the 11, 13 and 14 mile point from Plymouth, and at Brent Bridge which formed the terminus of both the Ashburton and Plymouth Eastern Turnpike Trusts there is a limestone marker showing a distance of 7 miles from Ashburton, and opposite the bridge an old toll-house survives (SX 698 595). Other Plymouth tollgates along this road operated at Crabtree (demolished at SX 515 564), Ivybridge (demolished in 1930) and Bittaford (still extant at SX 665 568), the latter two little more than a mile apart (Jenkinson and Taylor 2009).

Ashburton Division

Although Martin Ebdon (2014) states that the Ashburton Turnpike Trust merged with the Totnes North End Trust in 1809, Green's report compiled ten years later makes no reference to the latter nor the apparent name change to the Ashburton and Totnes Consolidated Turnpike Trust (Lowe 1988). Strangely neither of the aforementioned authors refer to Green's report and recommendations despite describing parts of the route.

From the surveyor's perspective the route from Brent Bridge to Dean Prior was equally problematic for after leaving the village of South Brent the then existing road continued as a difficult route for horse drawn vehicles. Two hundred years later this hilly passage can still be followed but is nowadays easily negotiated by motors with just a few narrow sections to overcome. Green describes it thus *'the present road is so hilly, and in general so narrow and incommodious and there is withal so little capability of partially amending these hills, that I have considered it best to trace out an entire new line of road from Brent Bridge to Dean Bourn Bridge'*.

The hills of Dean Clapper and what Green refers to as Brent Harberton Ford are singled out as '*excessively steep'* and *'formidable'*. To this day an ancient clapper bridge that once forded the river Harbourne can still be seen in the hamlet of the appropriately named Harbourneford. As a result of these concerns the new line of road would run from Brent Bridge to Poulston (Palstone) and on to Stidston to cross the road from Harberton Cross to Totnes near Marleigh (Marley) lodge (present day A385) and on to Whiteaxton to the village of Dean through the low grounds of Dean Court to join the current turnpike road near to Dean Bourn Bridge. Whilst this proposal was eminently sensible and necessary to avoid the older and much hillier route it seems that the new road was not completed until after 1835 (Ebdon 2014). Indeed, Green's estimate of the cost of the build as £9935 might have been a little prohibitive in the decision to proceed.

Tollgates with houses were eventually set at Stidston Cross (SX 716 604) and Dean Bourn (Burn) Bridge at SX 732 650 (Jenkinson and Taylor 2009). Green also recommends the widening of this bridge on the higher side by about six feet. Another widening project from 1937 is recorded on a plaque fixed into the north parapet possibly necessitating the demolition of the toll-house here at the same time.

The section from what is today Marley Head to Dean Prior now mostly forms the A38 dual carriageway which was completed in the 1970s. Milestones survive near to Palstone at SX 708 602 (this being a Plymouth to Totnes marker with others set along the A385 into the town), and a limestone marker showing VI miles from Ashburton has been salvaged from near the turn to Rattery and is now positioned beside the south bound carriageway of the A38 at SX 725 617 approximately half a mile to the east of Marley Head. Another limestone marker stood near Stidston Cross at the seven mile point but has not been found in recent times.

Green describes the road from Dean Bourn Bridge to the town of Buckfastleigh as *'sound and good but in many places not more than 14 feet wide'*. He recommends widening the whole length and makes a further assessment that *'the entrance to the town of Buckfastleigh is very much obstructed by some cottages which project into the road and ought to be removed'*. He describes the passage through the town as 'narrow' but recognises that because of housing either side that it cannot be widened '*but some improvement is in progress in the arrangement of the footways'*. He has further concerns over the road leading down to Dart Bridge recommending that it should be widened and the hill lowered.

Today the passage through Buckfastleigh from Plymouth Road remains narrow and operates as a one-way system going down Fore Street to avoid congestion but this is currently under review as it has inadvertently caused the town to lose trade. Although seemingly not part of Green's 1819 recommendations a new section of road now leaves from the lower end of Plymouth Road and by-passes the town to the south to re-join what is now Station Road near to Elliott Plain, effectively diverting traffic away from the town centre. As a result, the town has suffered

Buckfastleigh Dart Bridge

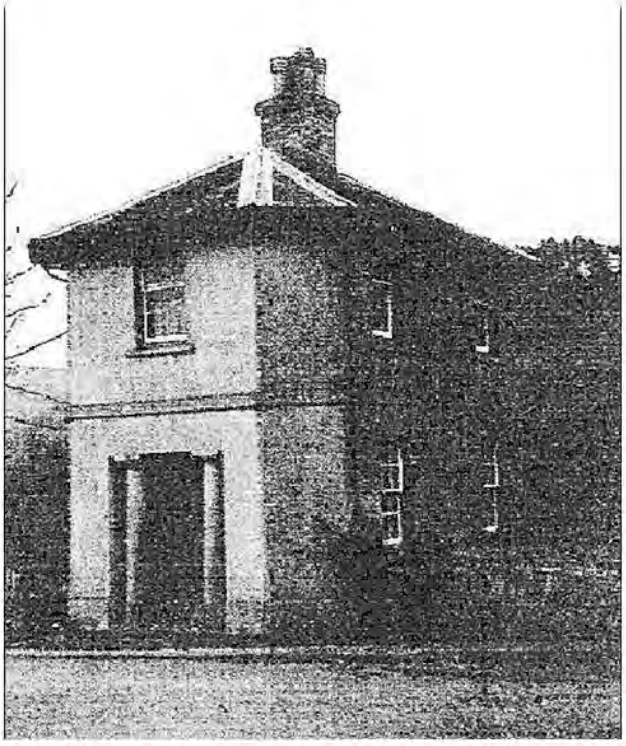
from a lack of footfall in recent years as there is now no need to visit. It is unclear when this section of road was completed as Ebdon (2014) makes no mention of it so it would seem to have been a relatively recent solution to the narrowness of the town centre route.

Returning to Dart Bridge, Green suggests that *'a most desirable and beneficial improvement would be made on the west side by easing the very sudden turn from the east of the bridge. To do this effectively, about ten feet of Mr Holditche's house should be taken down and the road on the higher side between this house and the bridge should be widened to a give a proper sweep over the bridge'*. He recommends the widening of the bridge doubling its present width *'by arches turned on each side thereof, springing from the outwaters of the present piers'*.

Today there is a small plaque inserted in the upstream parapet of the bridge that records the widening event of 1827 with the names of J Green Esq Archt and J Brown Builder inscribed. A later reconstruction and widening project of 1929 is recorded beneath.

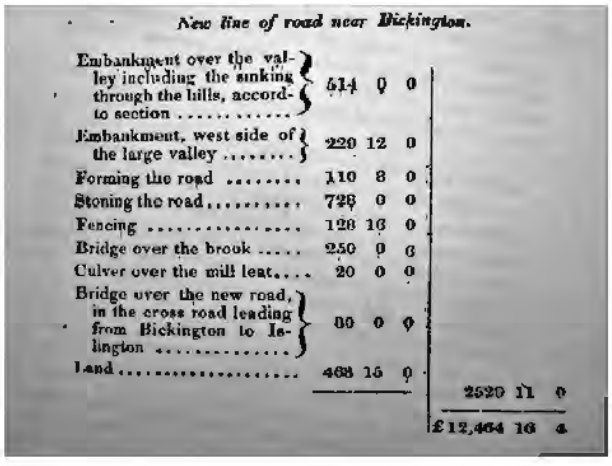
One of the small County Bridge stones engraved with a large 'C' survives in the wall on Dartbridge Road at SX 744 666. A toll-house once operated on the north east side of the bridge here and survived until 1972 before road widening and redirection of the route to Totnes over the A38 dual carriageway necessitated its demolition (Jenkinson and Taylor 2009).

All of the milestones between Dean Prior Church and Dart Bridge seem to have been lost as none have been found in recent years. The next surviving one is Grade II listed at the two mile point from Ashburton above Dart Bridge at SX 745 672; this and the next in sequence near to Gages Mill (SX 746 687) are both badly worn and now virtually indecipherable. Green advises that a deviation from the existing road between the bridge and Ashburton would not be advisable but that there is *'great room for improvement in the old road, some parts of it being not more than 13 feet wide and the hedges on each side so high as nearly to exclude the sun'*. Today this section of road is in relatively good condition.



The toll-house at Dart Bridge, demolished In 1972.
Photo: G W Copeland

The route into Ashburton leads up Western Road and is quite hilly and narrow in parts. Near the town it meets the Old Totnes Road that at its lower end is subsumed by slip roads on to and off the dual carriageway. The centre of Ashburton at the Bull Ring remains to this day quite compact and difficult to negotiate at busy times, but Green makes little reference of the need for any changes at this point, so the town centre appears very much the same as it was in the 19th Century. Like Buckfastleigh it was by passed altogether by the build of the A38 in the mid-1970s and similar to that town, it too has suffered from a loss of trade in recent years which has seen the closure of two



New line of road near Bickington.

Embankment over the valley including the sinking through the hills, according to section	514	0	0
Embankment, west side of the large valley	229	12	0
Forming the road	110	8	0
Stoning the road	728	0	0
Fencing	128	16	0
Bridge over the brook	250	0	6
Culver over the mill leat	20	0	0
Bridge over the new road, in the cross road leading from Bickington to Islington	80	0	0
Land	468	15	0
	2520	11	0
	£12,464	16	4

James Green's Expense sheet (new road at Bickington)

public houses at the top of Eastern Road, both now converted into flats.

Indeed, Green's reluctance to comment on the town is borne out by how quickly he moves through it in his report, with just a fleeting mention '*From Ashburton to the turnpike gate the road is in general very good but requires to be widened*'. The turnpike gate he refers to is that at Goodstone (SX 786 720) a remarkable survivor that is precariously sandwiched between the slip road from Bickington (A383) and the dual carriageway itself. Two milestones at the one and two mile point out of Ashburton were thankfully salvaged by Devon County Council during the build of this section of road in the 1970s but were unfortunately returned to incorrect positions each now occupying the other's place. Had the Milestone Society been active at that time this mistake might not have happened.

Green expresses concern over the next section of road where he explains '*From the turnpike gate to Bickington Bridge the descent of the hill is very rapid being some parts more than 4 inches to the yard and withal excessively crooked and dangerous*'. This must be the section that runs past a large house known as Traveller's Rest. This name features in a Turnpike Act of 1836 for the Newton Bushel Turnpike Trust (Ebdon 2014) along a section of the aforementioned A383 road. The bridge that Green mentions retains to this day two County Bridge stones but the ascent from here to Bickington Church is described as 'excessively steep' as indeed it is. As a result, Green proposed a new line of road to the east at a distance of 1 mile 1 furlong and 45 links *'to remove the inconvenience and danger of passing this part of the road'*. The incline along this new road which was to become part of the old A38 was less severe and a new bridge was built over the River Lemon where at its north end the three-mile stone from Ashburton was positioned and still stands (SX 794 726). The cost of the work is stated at £2529.

From here the road to Benedicts Bridge is described as '*good, but requires, in some places, to be widened and that some of the high parts should be lowered*'. Two mile-markers at the four and five-mile point from Ashburton survive at the roadside the former at SX 806 735 is Grade II listed but badly damaged on its left side. Prior to the build of the dual carriageway the old road ran down the hill opposite the present day Welcome Stranger public house to Shute Farm and on to Blackpool School where it carried on to the old Benedicts Bridge. Most of this section was lost in the building works of the A38 necessitating the construction of a new road from the pub down to the school via a flyover bridge. The old Benedicts Bridge survives on what is now a short section of redundant road and a new stronger bridge was constructed nearby to carry travellers over the Liverton Brook on a straighter route. From here the road passes through what used to be a hamlet

Above: The Exeter end of Trust stone still remains below Haldon Gate.

Left: The end of Ashburton and Totnes Trust milestone at Chudleigh Bridge.

known as Cold East but now known as an extension of the village of Liverton and then through a junction known as Exeter Cross on to what is now Drumbridges roundabout at the junction of the A382 coming from Newton Abbot to Moretonhampstead.

Much of what Green describes in this area such as Little and Great Jew's Bridge on the passage to Chudleigh Knighton was drastically altered or lost altogether during the dual carriageway build. However, a milestone at six miles from Ashburton was saved and is now positioned alongside the A38 at SX 831754. Unfortunately, there is presently no trace of the next marker in sequence. As Green ventured into the village of Chudleigh Knighton he noted the bridge there had been recently widened *'but the road through the village is narrow. A great improvement may be made here by removing the porch of the Anchor Inn which projects into the road full 6 feet'*.

It seems that this request was made and indeed the old pub then survived at this site until it suffered a roof fire in early 2015 and was later demolished. It seems that until the dual carriageway built in the 1970s, there was still a problematic passage past the pub with a succession of heavy good vehicles filing through. Continuing his report Green refers to the turnpike gate near Pitt and this much altered house still survives at SX 849 777 and is known as Tollgate Cottage. It was the first collection point for the Ashburton and Totnes Trust coming from the Exeter direction (Jenkinson and Taylor 2009). A Trust Terminus stone still stands at nearby Chudleigh Bridge over the River Teign (SX 857 785) and this marks a distance of eight miles from Ashburton. It is also inscribed with the Parish name of Hennock. From here on the responsibility for the road passed to the Exeter Turnpike Trust.

Exeter Division

Prior to the road improvements of the 1820s the passage to Exeter from Chudleigh involved a convoluted near nine-mile route across the mighty whaleback of Haldon Hill along what is now known as Old Exeter Street and up over Heathfieldlake Hill to Milestone Cross and beyond. Green is particularly scathing about the road here describing it as '*proverbially bad, being nothing less than a succession of very steep hills for very nearly the whole distance'*. The old road over Haldon Hill is still passable and traverses Haldon Forest where it descends through part of the village of Dunchideock near to where an Exeter End of Trust stone is still set below Haldon Gate at SX 875 871. From here the old road continues for another four miles or so out towards the village of Ide and down into the city. The stretch from the terminus stone to Ide retains three rather worn milestones. Prior to this, the road had passed into the city down through the village of Shillingford St George (SX 904 879).

In order to overcome the problems of the older road Green proposed the widening of an existing road '*commencing at the east end of the town of Chudleigh where it departs from the present old road through Culver Street and follows the directions of an old road from Chudleigh to Cramer'*. Around 1822 a new road was cut from Chudleigh Bridge past the Rock into Fore Street by passing what is now known as Oldway. A milestone marking 10 miles from the city still stands on a section of that new road at SX 864 790, salvaged from a hedge by the owner of a nearby house, along with other surviving stones along the road, it received Grade II listed status in September 2017.

Acting on Green's instructions builders then embarked on improving the minor road that is now New Exeter Street passing to the north east of the town beyond Culver Lane and into Hockmore's Lane at Cramer. The start of both the old and new roads are seen to diverge at the War Memorial in the town centre at SX 868 796.

Forgetting the old road altogether, Green's vision was to build an entire new line of road from Cramer *'which gradually attains the summit of Haldon a few chains to the north west of the race stand'*. Having surmounted the Hill the road would then descend the eastern side to join the Newton and Totnes road near the five-mile stone from Exeter. This stone still survives at a place now known as Haldon Thatch (SX 908 846). Green estimates the cost of the work here as £6120 and the distance is quoted as 4 miles 3 furlongs 7 chains. The construction of this road would become one of Green's finest engineering achievements.

Toll-houses were eventually built by the Turnpike Trust at Beggar's Bush (SX 892 794), Thorns Bar (SX 899 805) and on Haldon Hill at SX 908 842 with a stop gate positioned near the race course at SX 897 832. The toll-house on Haldon Hill above the 5 mile stone dates from 1842 and is the only building

Above: Haldon Hill toll-house.

Below: Alphington toll-house. *Photo: Dick Passmore Improved version.*

to survive here. Now Grade II Listed, it retains pointed arched windows and has a large enclosed porch (Jenkinson and Taylor 2009 p89). Another two-storey toll-house operated nearer the city in Alphington Street at SX 916 916.

At some point in the 1820s a new company was formed as the Plymouth and Exeter Road Turnpike Trust (PERTT) which according to Lowe (1992) had its responsibilities taken over by the Exeter Trust in the 1840s. Writing recently Martin Ebdon (2014 p61) links PERTT (he omits the 'Road' part), to an Act of Parliament of 1820 (1 Geo IV c. xxi) but then fails to explain what its responsibilities were and gives no details on the distance that was under the Trust's jurisdiction. Instead he gives a disclaimer that *'No length given due to the peculiar status of this trust'*.

The author seems unaware that some 30 years earlier John Kanefsky (1984 p23) had already provided this information albeit unsourced, when describing the following: *'The Plymouth and Exeter Road Trust was a separate trust, formed to build the new road from the Torquay road to the Plymouth road, which before then went via Shillingford St George a narrow and steep road'*. There is indeed an old route still passing through this aforementioned village and with two surviving milestones. Contrary to Ebdon's claim Kanefsky indicates that the PERTT had just 5 miles of responsibility (p33) presumably at the Exeter end and when combined with Lowe's (1992) account we learn that this 'new' Trust was wound up just 20 years after its inception.

From the 5-milestone at Haldon Thatch, Green's new route would descend into the village of Kennford and then on to Peamore before passing through Alphington and into the city along an existing road. Three tall Grade II Listed milestones showing distances to London on their bases survive at SX 915 860, SX 919 889 and SX 916 904 respectively. The distance in its entirety from Chudleigh Bridge to the Guildhall at Exeter by this route is quoted by Green as 10 miles, 6 furlongs, 9 chains and 55 links which according to the engineer *'exceeds the length of the present road by 2 furlongs, 7 chains and 40 links'. This increase of distance is however much more counterbalanced by the ease with which the road may be travelled and I think it will appear on due investigation that the public will derive great and substantial benefit from this alteration'*.

His task completed Green concludes his report with a breakdown of costs for each Turnpike Trust what he refers to as a *'General Recapitulation of Expence'* as follows:

PLYMOUTH TRUST: £15,293, 2 s, 0d

ASHBURTON TRUST: £12, 464, 16s, 4d

EXETER TRUST: £6121, 8s, 4d

TOTAL: £33,879, 6s, 8d.

He signs off with the following:

'I am GENTLEMEN Your most obedient humble Servant, JAMES GREEN'

Exeter, 30th June 1819.

Kennford milestone -180 miles to London and 4 to Exeter. On the former A38 at SX 915860,

It seems that over the next sixteen years or so most of Green's proposals were implemented by the Trustees under the passing of various Acts of Parliament such as 1 Geo IV cxxi (1820) and 5&6 Will IV c.xxxv (1835) resulting in a much improved passage for travellers between the two destinations.

Over a century later the road went on to be classified as the main A38 in the county. Plymouth was granted city status in 1923 and as motor travel became more popular gradually parts of the new road became seriously congested especially the sections running through the town centres of Buckfastleigh, Ashburton and Chudleigh, eventually necessitating the dual carriageway build that we use today in the 21st Century.

An extract from the *Herald Express* dated 29 April 1971 indicates the need for change at that time: *'Work will start shortly on a 4-mile dual carriageway by pass of Chudleigh and Chudleigh Knighton on the A38-Exeter-Plymouth Road. The Department of the Environment has accepted the £3,409,117 tender of Holland and Hannen and Cubitts (Civil Engineering) Ltd for the work'* (The Chudleigh Book 2009 page 314).

The work on this section of the dual carriageway was part of a much bigger project for that decade to widen and improve the route that some 150 years earlier James Green had assessed and made recommendations to do exactly the same for horse drawn traffic. The comparison of costs at the different times is particularly illuminating. Ironically the work around Chudleigh in the early 1970s meant the loss of their ancient and historic water supply that is rather poignantly recorded on several plaques in the town at various points where wells once stood.

They read 'DIPPING PLACE OF POTWATER/ANCIENT TOWN WATER SUPPLY/PROVIDED BY BISHOP LACEY CIRCA AD 1430/ CUT OFF BY NEW BY-PASS AD 1973'. Such is progress.

We learn from George (1986) that in 1824 James Green joined the Institution of Civil Engineers with a certain Thomas Telford as its first President and in the 1830s Green continued his canal work in Somerset but also successfully widened Barnstaple Bridge in North Devon in 1834. After suffering considerable financial difficulties Green was declared bankrupt on 9 March 1837, (Exeter Memories 2016) and subsequently moved to a smaller house in Alphington. In 1840 he was given 12 months' notice as County Surveyor as he was deemed to be spending too much time outside of the county, but after completing projects in South Wales and Bristol Green decided to retire to London in 1843. Over the ensuing years he suffered ill health and died from a heart attack on 13 February 1849 aged 68 years in Westminster in what historian W Buckingham (1885) refers to as '*reduced circumstances'*. He was buried at Bunhill Fields Cemetery in City Road London in a Quaker service sometime thereafter.

Regardless of his unfortunate experiences in later life we are nonetheless indebted to James Green's work on the roads and bridges of Devon in the first half of the 19th Century and most particularly the important improvements he initiated on the route between Plymouth and Exeter some two hundred years ago.

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Crossing Bodmin Moor

Ian Thompson

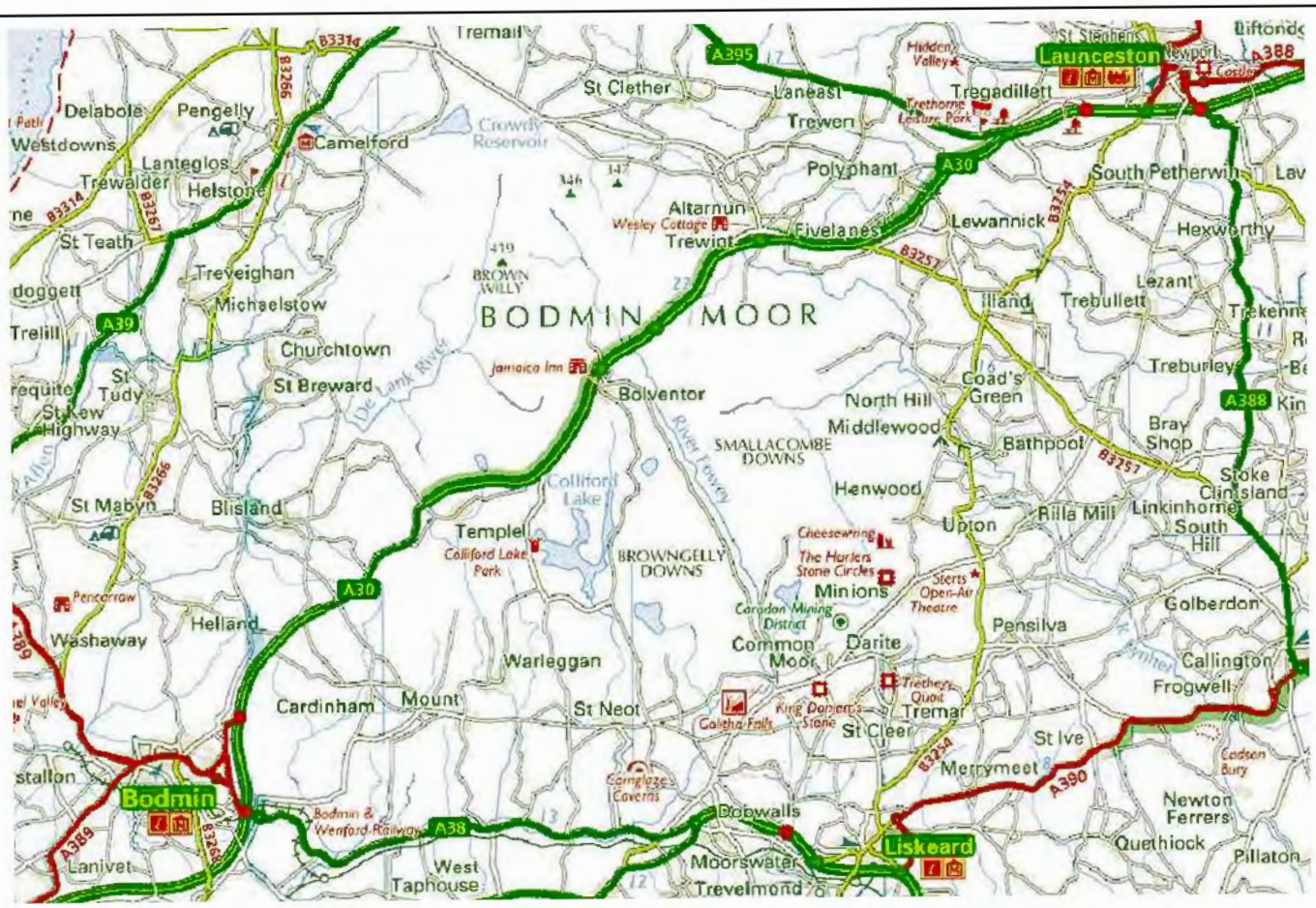

Figure 1: Crossing Bodmin Moor at 70mph - dual carriageway all the way from Launceston to Bodmin since 2017

The A30 spine road of Cornwall runs across the high moorland of Bodmin Moor from Launceston on the Devon border to Bodmin in the heart of Cornwall. This has always been a road of some sort, though its development as a carriage road was slow. The line of the route has changed little down the centuries, as the history of its waymarkers shows.

Launceston to Bodmin, quickly

The summer of 2017 saw the completion of the last stretch of dual carriageway on the A30 trunk road across Bodmin Moor in Cornwall. For years there had been a bottleneck for summer holiday traffic between Temple Cross and Higher Carblake farm in the centre of the moor, where vehicles were brought to a halt as they shuffled from two lanes to one, queueing sometimes for an hour, simply because of the amount of traffic. Now there is no need to slow down at all. Traffic will flow freely from its entry to the county near Launceston, speeding across the moorland and past Bodmin town to a new bottleneck further west.

The Turnpike Road

In June 1795, an unnamed diarist in a horse drawn carriage crossed Bodmin Moor with no great problems, using the turnpike roads of the Launceston and the Bodmin Trusts. He stayed at the White Hart in Launceston, crossed the moor to the White Hart in Bodmin and travelled as far as Indian Queens in one day. The following extract describes the journey. Note that in 1795, a labourer's wage was one shilling per day. The single house at Five Lanes and at the Indian Queen means a single public house. For mountains read big hills.

Thursday June 11th 1795:

'The White Hart (Launceston) - a good Inn, and they charge for beds one shilling per night.

Fryday June 12th – Launceston to Five Lanes.

Eight miles of good road over several mountains – quite barren, nothing but heath. Views of distant mountains right and left. The road sparkles when the sun shines, it seems to be all spar. Five Lanes has a single house, only a makeshift, but good stabling.

Five Lanes to Bodmin – 13 miles of good road over several mountains which are quite barren, with scarce a tree or hedge. Some of these mountains are covered with large blocks of huge stones, and the tops of these mountains show a state of ruin being all loose blocks of huge stones. For about 9 miles the country changes to a beautiful scene to this town.

The White Hart (Bodmin) – a good inn.

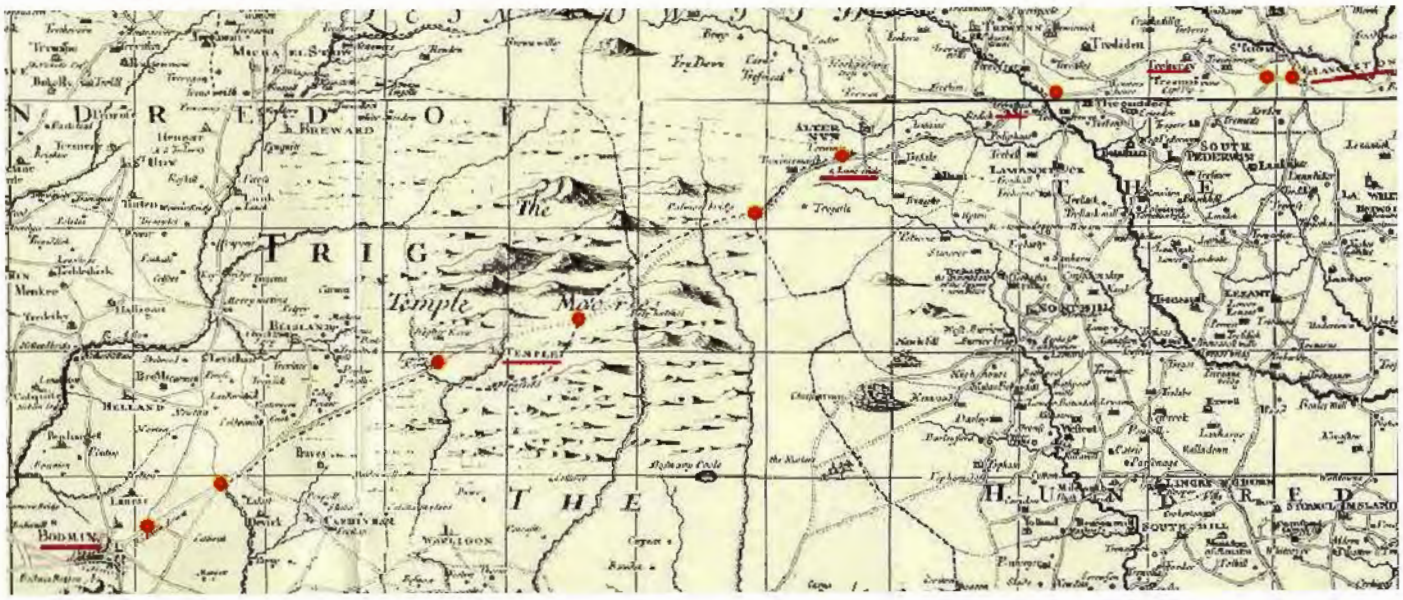

Figure 2: Extract from Joel Gascoyne's 1699 map with wayside crosses added as coloured dots

Bodmin to the Indian Queen – 11 miles of most excellent road mostly upon a level. All moorland, not a tree to be seen on this road. A number of tin mines and a view of St George's Channel. May in bloom from London to here.

The Indian Queen, a single house, keeping post chaises but only a make-shift in an emergency.' [1]

Our traveller in 1795 covered 32 miles in a day, which would take less than half an hour at seventy miles per hour today. He describes the road in early summer as good or excellent. He is enjoying the delight of rapid travel in the turnpike age, bowling along with an occasional glance out of the window at the road, sparkling in the June sun, and the rolling moorland hills.

Travelling more slowly - The Medieval Road

There was a road of some sort across the moor long before the turnpike road was built. Let us go in the reverse direction along this same route and see what we can find that would be familiar to a traveller in the late medieval period.

Start at the White Hart, Bodmin. The website of the current landlord says: 'The White Hart Inn is the oldest pub in Bodmin, built in 1520. We can guarantee you will arrive as a stranger and leave as a friend. With just ten rooms, the White Hart is a cosy inn with a local Cornish pub feel, that offers great local food and beers.' Still a good inn, then! In 1520, when the White Hart Inn was new, Bodmin was an important town with the largest population in Cornwall. The Franciscan Friary dominated the centre of the town, but it was also a busy commercial centre.

Figure 3: Cross at SX078675
Castle Street, Bodmin

The church of St Petroc had been rebuilt fifty years before and was the largest in the county, retaining its impressive 150ft Norman spire. Routes to and from Bodmin radiated in all directions, marked by wayside crosses [Figure 2].

The first of these medieval crosses on the road between Bodmin and Launceston is at the top of Castle Street hill (SX 078 675)[2] [Figure 3]. The next, at Callywith Cross (SX 085 679) marks the boundary of Bodmin Parish.[3] Medieval fields[4] lined the road as far as Peverell's Cross (SX 125 722)[5]. Beyond here, the Knights Templar had built a causeway[6] across the marshy heart of the moor to their preceptory[7] at Temple (SX 145 732), which in 1520 would have been run as a hostel for travellers by the Knights Hospitallers, following the suppression of the Templars in 1314. A further causeway took the traveller east of Temple, crossing the Warleggan River by a medieval bridge or possibly a paved ford[8] at Temple Bridge (SX 158 737). The existing bridge was built by the Bodmin Turnpike Trust in the 18th century. Most travellers in 1520 would have been on foot, so a break at Temple, six miles from Bodmin, would have been welcome.

The next waymark is Fourhole Cross (SX 171 749) which looks rather the worse for wear today [Figure 4]. It was recorded in this condition in 1780[9] the damage being caused by the local militia, who 'saluted it with a volley of bullets'.[10] Palmers Bridge (SX 192 776) was first recorded in 1407. The bridge had five clapper openings, but was destroyed by a flood on 4 October 1880.[11] Vincents Cross (SX 208 793) is a 14th century Latin cross with four unequal arms.[12] All the other crosses on this route have circular 'wheel' heads. However, Trewint Cross (SX 220 806) has only a rectangular base remaining today[13] and marks the end of the more open moor. From now on there would be some enclosed fields and other signs of human habitation, but it would still be a long day to walk to Launceston.

Next to Trewint is Five Lanes or 'Five Lane Ends'. Which way to go? The roads that meet here are ancient, but there is no surviving wayside cross. Perhaps the route was obvious or there was always someone in a cottage here to ask. By 1795 there would have been a guidestone or guidepost, as we shall learn shortly, but what guided the medieval traveller is not known.

Figure 4: The Four-Hole Cross in 1824 by F W Stockdale

The traveller in 1520 and the diarist of 1795 would both have used the road over Trerithick Bridge (SX 243 819), not on the line of the modern A30. The current Trerithick Bridge was built about 1830 by the Bodmin Turnpike Trust, but stands on much older feet.[14] The bridge at Hicks Mill, called Polyphant Bridge (SX 266 823) is partly 17th century,[15] though much was rebuilt after a flood in 1847. Did the medieval Polyphant quarry supply stone for a bridge or was there just a ford here? The next landmark is definitely medieval – Holyway Cross (SX 272 823), a wheel headed cross of unusual design.[16] Kennards (or Kenners) House (SX 288 831) is the site of another medieval quarry,[17] though the name is probably 17th century. The settlement at Trebursye (SX 306 839) is first mentioned in 1199[18] so our traveller would have found a small community here.

At Tresmarrow the 1520 road turned off past Pennygillim Cross (SX 320 839). The cross is no longer in place, but it is mentioned in a Launceston Borough charter of 1555.[19] St John's Chapel (SX 327 841) in Chapel (pronounced to rhyme with maple) was built beside the ford in the deep valley, on land given in 1414.[20] Here the traveller could give thanks for the completion of an arduous journey. Above the chapel in Chapel, climbing towards Launceston Castle, is the last medieval cross site (SX 327 841) marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1884 as 'stone cross remains of'.[21] It had gone by 1973.

The White Hart in Launceston may not have been there in 1520. The front was rebuilt in Launceston red brick in 1767 and the interior refurbished.[22] However, most White Hart inns would claim their origin in the banner of Richard II who ruled England from 1377 to 1399. If the traveller of 1520 did not have the White Hart to offer him a bed for a shilling, he could try Launceston Priory (SX 328 850) described as the wealthiest monastic house in Cornwall. Travel in the late medieval period would have been on foot or on horseback, with goods carried on pack animals. Wheels didn't really come to Cornwall until the turnpikes. For walkers and riders marking the way was more important than the smoothness of the road.

The crosses mentioned are generally not within sight of each other. It must be assumed that the traveller was able to follow a trodden path, though not a made-up road. There is no evidence of cairns of stones or other waymarkers of medieval date. We can speculate that there may have been other wayside crosses along this route, since very many Cornish crosses were moved in the later 19th century for 'safe keeping', either to the nearest churchyard or to the grounds of a neighbouring stately home.

Trying to Speed the Journey, before the Turnpike Road

The Franciscan friary in Bodmin, the Hospitallers preceptory at Temple and the Augustinian priory at Launceston were all swept aside and sold off by Henry VIII within a few years of our imaginary 1520 journey. Travel became less popular for a while, but by the 18th century there was growing pressure for road improvements, with an ever-growing number of wheeled vehicles demanding better roads.

Figure 5: Unique pentagonal guidestone from Five Lanes, now scheduled at Trebartha Hall

In 1697, by Act of Parliament, local magistrates were authorised to instruct highway surveyors to put up a direction stone or post 'for the better convenience of travelling in such Parts of the Kingdome which are remote from Townes and where several Highways meet.' Only two direction stones or posts on our route can be linked to this Act. One, a rectangular granite pillar with a large triangular capstone, stands at a junction (SX 253 822) between Polyphant Bridge and Trerithick Bridge, where the medieval road to Camelford turns off. It is a scheduled monument.[23] The second once stood at the five-way junction at Five Lanes, but is now in the grounds of Trebartha Hall, North Hill, where it is grouped with three medieval wayside crosses to form a single scheduled monument.[24] The medieval crosses were collected by the owner of Trebartha Hall in the years before the 1914-18 Great War. At a date between 1971 and 1979, the crosses and the pentagonal guidestone were brought together at the site of the ice house in the grounds of Trebartha Hall, where they remain, surrounded by a fence of iron railings [Figure 5].

In 1742, guide posts were erected on the high moor between Trewint and Temple. These were large, free-stone granite posts, at quarter mile intervals. They were uncarved blocks of stone found loose on the moor, not quarried. None have been identified on the ground today, but they are clearly shown on Thomas Martyn's map of Cornwall, published in 1748 [Figure 6]. A report was published in the *Sherborne Mercury* in August 1742:

'Whereas Temple Moor, between Launceston and Bodmyn, hath been justly represented (as) an intricate and hazardous Road, this is to give Notice to all Gentlemen and Travellers, that the said Moors are in no manner uncertain, there being large Moorstone Posts set up at every Quarter of a Mile, so that no Passenger can possibly miss his way. Note, the Moor Road saves at least Seven Miles in travelling between Launceston and Bodmyn (compared with the route via Camelford – the 'Judges' Road'), and hath always been the Carriers Road.'[25]

Despite the newspaper's assertion that now 'no Passenger can possibly miss his way', in September 1743 the experienced traveller John Wesley was lost 'on the first great pathless moor beyond Launceston'. He admits that this was after sunset and that he had started the day's journey in Exeter, forty miles to the east of

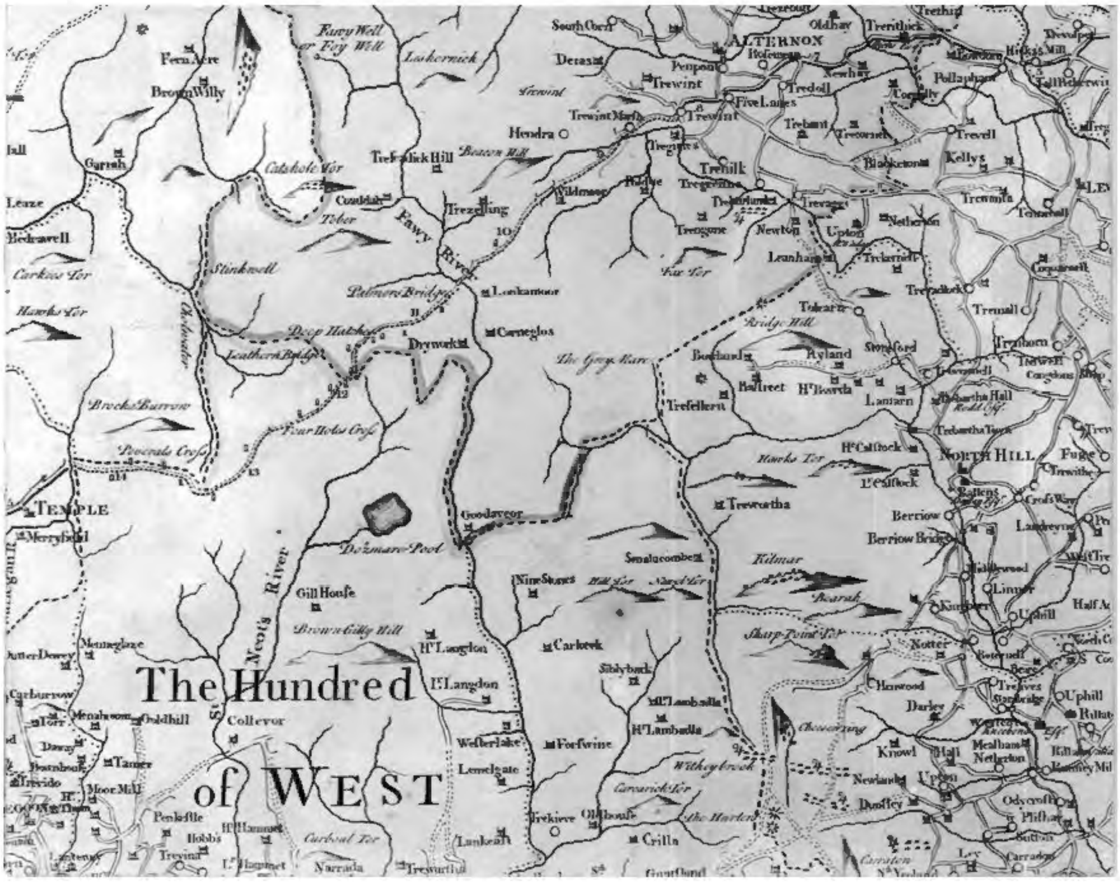

Figure 6: Extract from Thomas Martyn's 1784 2nd edition map showing guide posts which were set up in 1742. These are also shown on 1st edition of the map dated 1748

Figure 7: John Wesley Statue, New Room Chapel, Bristol

Launceston, so perhaps he was tired! He found his direction by hearing the curfew bell in Bodmin.[26] A statue of John Wesley is to be found in Bristol [Figure 7].

In 1754, the landlord of the White Hart in Bodmin, John Lewis, set up, at his own expense, 'Mile Stones for twenty-two Miles over the large Moors that lay between Launceston and Bodmin'.[27] Unlike the previous guidestones of twelve years before, these covered the whole journey between Bodmin and Launceston. Again, no trace of these early waymarkers has been found today. Note that milestones preceded road improvements.

On 2 August 1756, a paper advertised 'subscriptions for making a good Wheel Road over the moor from Bodmyn to Launceston, and for creating Mile Stones from Truro to Launceston, for which a contract is already made, provided money sufficient to carry the same into execution can be raised; and if not, the money to be returned to the subscribers.'[28] The existing road was described as 'a mere halter road', that is a bridle path, not fit for wheeled traffic. There was a list of 22 subscribers, contributing twenty-three and a half guineas and six shillings, which was evidently not enough to bring the project to fruition.

The Turnpikes Arrive

Times were changing and the momentum for change was growing, even in the far west of England. On Tuesday 17 June 1760, the newly formed Launceston Turnpike Trust held its first meeting. The Trustees had no wish to improve the road over Bodmin Moor, but turned their route towards Camelford at Kenners

(Kennards) House (SX 287 830) to link there with the new Haleworthy Turnpike Trust's road from St Columb, Wadebridge and Camelford.

They surveyed a new route out of Launceston via Pennygillam Pool, avoiding the sharp descent to Chapel. On 23 July 1760, they ordered a toll house to be erected 'where the Tollgate & Box now stands at Chapple (pronounced like maple).'[29] The octagonal ended, slate hung house in Westgate Street, Launceston is Chapple Toll House (SX 328 842).[30] On 4 July 1765 the Trustees ordered a 'contract for making and erecting Mile Stones on the eastern and western roads and the same to be started as soon as conveniently may be.'[31] Launceston Turnpike Trust milestones survive on the route from Chapple Toll House to Kennards House, but these are later, replacement milestones erected around 1850. They lie on the original line of the road and all three milestones have been by-passed by the modern A30 dual carriageway [Figure 8].

Figure 8: Launceston Trust milestone c.1850 SX320837 on line of old road near cemetery

In 1769, Bodmin finally got its Turnpike Act[32] and the road used by our anonymous diarist was built across the moor. Bodmin Trust milestones carry a single letter 'B' and a number for distance. Several of these survive, though not the full set. The 1 mile stone (SX 082 673) is a modern replica made in 2013 to replace the original which was lost when the Asda superstore was built in 2000. The 2 mile stone by Racecourse Farm (SX 089 688) was moved here in 1829, when the climb out of Bodmin was re-aligned to avoid the steep gradient of Castle Hill [Figure 9]. The 3 mile stone (SX 098 701) was made new in 1829 to a more modern, triangular design [Figure 10]. The original 4 mile stone (SX 112 709) should now be back beside the new stretch of dual carriageway (August 2017) having been taken into safe keeping by the contractors during road construction. It has its own crash barrier, just east of the garage at Higher Carblake. The 9 mile stone (SX 172 750) stands close to the battered Four Hole Cross, moved a little to share a crash barrier. The 13 mile stone (SX 212 600) is the last of the Bodmin Trust milestones to survive. The milestones further east were erected in 1890 by the Launceston Highway Board to the same design as the Launceston Turnpike Trust milestones.

In 1795 our traveller would have paid his toll at Chapple Toll-house in Launceston and trotted along gentle gradients on a firm stoned surface, paid for by money raised by Launceston Turnpike's Trustees. At Kennard's House he would have joined the Bodmin Turnpike's road,

Figure 9 far left: Bodmin Trust milestone, moved 1829, SX 089 688, Race-course Farm, Cardinham

Figure 10: At SX 098 701 A30 eastbound carriageway. Bodmin Trust milestone, new in 1829

pausing to pay at Palmer's Bridge Toll-house (the toll-house and adjacent milestone were lost during late 20th century road improvements.[33]) Jamaica Inn and the London Inn could have offered him refreshment, but we know from his diary that he pressed on to Bodmin and the White Hart. Elsewhere in his account of a journey from London to Land's End he encountered poor roads and hard going, but in June 1795 he sailed across Bodmin Moor.

Conclusion

The marking of the way across Bodmin Moor has a long history. Despite the pressure on our modern road system, signs of earlier travellers remain to be found, if you have the time to pause and look.

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[4] HER MCO41470 Racecourse Downs, MCO41473 Lemar Farm, MCO52112 Trethorne Farm

[5] HER MCO5657 Peverells Cross 'A wheel headed granite boundary cross standing in situ beside the A30 Bodmin to Launceston road'

[6] HER MCO22272 Temple Causey

[7] HER MCO22280 Temple Preceptory 'A preceptory of the Knights Templar at Temple.'

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Travelling around Huddersfield 1880 - 1920

Jan Scrine

The coming of the railways from the 1840s changed the shape of long distance travel; stage coaches and wagons were slow and cumbersome. However, in the West Riding, the close proximity of the prosperous commercial centres meant that road transport continued to be a viable option for goods – the double handling necessitated by rail journeys made those less economic: the goods had to be taken by wagon to the rail head, unloaded onto the train, shipped, then unloaded off the train onto a wagon for delivery. Haulage businesses and carriers such as the Hansons of Milnsbridge thrived. Rail passengers also required road transport to take them to the train station, either personal or public; the major London termini are all situated in built up locations and the congestion around them was notorious.

For those who did not keep at least a pony and trap or a riding horse, local public transport was provided by four-wheeled hackney coaches and later by two-wheeled cabs (from 'cabriolet', with a folding hood) drawn by a single horse. The lighter four-wheeled 'growler' was introduced shortly after the Hansom cab (completely remodelled by John Chapman) came into use in the mid 1830s. By 1840, there were around a dozen hackneymen in Leeds, for example; one John Germaine operated cabs, hackney coaches and omnibuses as well as running a beerhouse. The growlers were used for heavier work, transporting station luggage and as coachbuilder G N Hooper wrote in the 1880s, 'Tommy Atkins and his friends from Aldershot or Mary Jane and her boxes to her new place in a distant suburb'[1]. Initially the trade was unregulated; indoor servants were obliged to leave their employment on marriage and one of the Metropolitan Commissioners commented 'a gentleman's servant saves up two or £300 and fancies he can do better with a coach than any other man: the workhouses are filled with hackney coachmen's wives and children at this moment'[2] .

By 1880, Manchester had 100 hansoms and 361 four-wheelers; in May 1868, the Minutes of the Huddersfield Hackney Coach and Lodging House Committee record that the Committee had made the annual inspection of Hackney Carriages and had granted 30 renewed licences. In May 1890, the Huddersfield Watch Hackney Coach Sub-Committee and Chief Constable carried out the annual inspection, now covering 48 Cabs, 33 Hansoms, 42 Waggonettes and one Omnibus, finding that generally the 121 vehicles 'were in satisfactory condition with a few exceptions'[3]. In 1891, the Committee observed that 'It is against the practice (rules) of the Committee to grant licences for wagonettes to persons resident outside the borough (Meltham and Linthwaite)'.

A 'To and From' milestone, a cab fare stage

The cab fares were measured from the Market Cross, although in March 1890 the Fartown, Deighton and Bradley Sub-Committee proposed that cab distances should be measured from the station instead of the Market Cross. The same Sub Committee had reported 'the necessity of revising the table of distances in connection with the hire of cabs in the Borough, more especially with reference to the Fartown District'. The Committee resolved that 'the Borough Surveyor should revise the cab distances for the whole Borough' and this was duly carried out, as reflected in the little red pocket Borough of Huddersfield Year Book. The Cab Fares page showed charges were levelled on distances for a minimum 1 mile and for every succeeding half mile (or by quarter hours).

Huddersfield is unique in having triangular stone markers at half mile intervals on the roads within the township, stating the distances to and from the Market Cross – these were the cab fare stages, although in the 1890 Year Book, all the datum points mentioned are chapels, toll bars, houses or junctions which suggests that the 'To & From' stones were not in situ in 1890. On the Bradford Road, the fare stage at 'a mark on the wall 11 yards N of Mr Dewhirst's entrance gates' was reviewed by the Borough Surveyor and moved a few yards northwards, against the shoeing forge (on the corner of modern Ashbrow Road – the bus fare stage is still known as The Smithy today); the distance from the Market Cross was 1½

miles and the fare was 1s 3d for a two-wheeled cab, 1/6 for a four wheeler. The furthest distance recorded in the Year Book was to Thongsbridge Toll Bar, 5 miles 396 yards; no fare was specified.

Around the same time, there was a request for additional cabs on the stands at the railway station; such work was often 'privileged' ie the cabmen paid a fee to the station. By 1894, the Light and Watch Committee was considering the Regulation of Traffic by the Railway Station; it was resolved that 'arc electric lights should replace the two gas lamps by the Peel statue' and that horses were to face east.

A glance at the census returns for 1871 and 1881 reveals that many men were employed as coachmen or cab drivers with the occasional teamer; someone has pencilled 'groom' alongside many of these entries, perhaps an attempt at a generic enumeration. However, there is no indication whether the coachmen were in domestic, commercial or public service. Ostlers (also 'grooms') would have been required at all the inns, theatres and other meeting places to take care of visitors' horses or stagecoach horses.

One local family that became closely connected with the coaching, cab and livery trades in the 1880s was the Darwins. Thomas Darwin was born in Holmfirth in 1853, one of the six sons of James, a weaver who moved to Huddersfield around 1855 and was working as a Woollen Sorter. Most of the Fartown neighbours were employed in the woollen trades, including Thomas' older brother George H, although brother Frederick was a 'labourer on roads'. Aged 18 at 1871 census, Thomas was employed as a butcher, living with his parents in Bradford Road. By 1881, Thomas was listed as a Master Butcher, living with the Bowtrey family at 121 Halifax Old Road; in October that year he married Elizabeth Ann Roberts of South Crosland at the Parish Church, Holmfirth.

Tram in Viaduct Street by Rippon Bros.
Courtesy Kirklees Image Archive, www.kirkleesimages.org.uk

With the granting of the operational licence in 1882, Huddersfield became the first municipality in Great Britain to construct and operate their own tramway system – such systems as existed elsewhere were privately run. The first ten miles of Huddersfield Tramways track were laid down in 1882 and a steam engine drawing a car was given the first trial run on Chapel Hill in November that year; it was planned that the Paddock route would be operated by cable but this was abandoned. The first regular service was between the Red Lion Hotel, Lockwood and the Royal Hotel at Fartown (Toll) Bar, commencing in January 1883. In the first year of operation, the Corporation had six steam locomotives and the revenue was £1277. The fare from Lockwood to Fartown Bar was 2d inside, 1d on the top deck; the inside fare to the interim fare stage at Hebble Bridge (near the junction of Hillhouse Road with Bradford Road) was 1d. However, it was deemed too dangerous to operate steam trams in King Street, so from 1885 – 1888, the Moldgreen trams were pulled by horse traction[4]. Similar consideration must have been given to the Fartown section because in the Huddersfield Town Council Minutes of 22 August 1885, the sub-committee had decided that the Fartown Tram was to be run with horses; although they would undertake to confer with Mr Longbottom about his proposal in future, they accepted the tender of Mr Thomas Darwin of Fartown to work the route with horses. It was further decided that as soon as practicable the cars should be every quarter of an hour on that route.

That this actually operated is corroborated by a letter in an undated newspaper cutting[5] from Mr James H Earnshaw of 18 Springwood Street, stating 'The first horse tram to run in Huddersfield began to run to Moldgreen from September 1885 to March 1888. A few months after, two horse trams were run on the Fartown section, horsed by Mr Thomas Darwin and continued to November 1886. I was the tram driver on the Fartown section for the last three months of their running and William Cromack was the other driver'.

By 1897, the Corporation had a rolling stock of 26 steam locomotives and 26 double deck bogey cars; the revenue was £30,193. Conversion to an electric track system was begun in 1899 and completed in 1902.

Was it marriage that caused the young entrepreneur to branch out from butchery? Slater's 1887 Huddersfield Directory lists him as a coach proprietor and cab owner, working from 158 Bradford Road North, the Miners Arms Beerhouse (now the Railway Inn) near Fartown Bar, then run by his mother Ann. Two dozen cab owners are listed, including older brother George H, who is also a postmaster at 27 Wasps Nest Road, and William Cromack.

By the 1891 edition of Slater's, Thomas is building a successful business as a Livery Stable Keeper and coach/cab proprietor; his brothers are in associated roles, George H is a jobmaster (hiring out livery) as well as a postmaster, Frederick is a cab driver (though the census listed him as a Corporation yardman), John is a cab driver in Cross Grove Street, William is a teamer (a driver of a team of horses used for hauling) at 18A Upper Aspley and Thomas F (son of George H) is a cab driver living at Norman Road, Birkby.

Thomas' livery stables continue to prosper, in extensive premises on Flint Street called Fartown Mews, proudly engraved on his letterhead. He is often mentioned in the *Chronicle*, including for winning a four-wheel competition or taking groups of ladies or children on pleasant outings – the children taken to Sunny Vale Gardens in 1893 were each presented with five tickets including for the boats, swings and automata. In the same year, the *Chronicle* notes, he provided stabling for the June Exhibition, the Grandest Programme of the Season: 'All the horses for this Night will be specially selected from the most WILD AND VICIOUS HORSES in this vicinity.' In 1894, he treated the yard stablemen and coachbuilders in his employ to a capital dinner at the Miners Arms, then run by his (less reputable) brother James. Note the reference to 'coachbuilders' rather than 'coachmen' so presumably he had an in-house maintenance team.

Around this time, another revolution in transport was noisily beginning. The Germans (Daimler and Benz) had been producing motor cars since the 1880s although the French dominated the production of cars in Europe until 1933, when Britain took over[6]. British-built Daimlers (under licence) began in 1896, the same year that the Locomotives on Highways Act removed the strict rules on UK speed limits. The RAC was founded in 1897 and the Yorkshire Automobile Club in 1900, one of the strongest in the provinces by 1905, with 600 members[7].

Advert for Rolls-Royce 'Landaulet'

The Rippon Brothers of Viaduct Street were coachbuilders; they did not actually claim descent from the eponymous coach builder to Elizabeth 1st, nor did they deny it. However, they did adhere to the very highest standards and they began coachbuilding bodies on various Continental automobile chassis, including Spyker; in 1906 they began a partnership with Rolls Royce, building bespoke bodywork to customers' orders. The early horseless carriages often resembled their antecedents, with the driver exposed at the front, as the coachman had been on the box.

The early adopters were often wealthy young men with an engineering bent, essential because the vehicles were most unreliable, needing repairs by the roadside and frequent changes of tyres or wheels as a result of punctures. However, as the vehicles became more reliable in the early 1900s and tyre technology improved, they were bought by private families to supplement the carriage. The driving skills required were not those of the horseman, more of the 'stoker', some vehicles being propelled by steam, hence the term 'Chauffeur'. The wealthy often imported a French or German driver with their cars. Older coachmen found it difficult to adapt and 'Home, James' by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu contains some amusing and insightful anecdotes. A young groom or male house-servant might be delegated to learn how to operate and maintain the thing; there was no standard layout of the controls. A provider such as Rippons might give elementary instruction but after that, they were on their own, or at the mercy of one of the repair 'garages' that sprang up, providing servicing as well as storage. Domestic accommodations for cars were known as 'car houses'[8].

The career of the live-in young coachman employed in his declining years by Henry Dewhurst at Fartown Lodge provides an example. The 1901 census lists 26 year old Arthur Cockayne, who hailed from Swanwick, Belper, on the Derbyshire/Nottinghamshire borders. Live-in domestic staff were not permitted to be married, but this did not apply to outdoor staff such as coachmen, for whom separate accommodation could be provided. Recruitment was either by recommendation or through advertisements in magazines or newspapers, both local and national; by the 1890s, most large towns had one or more servant registries[9] - the *Huddersfield Chronicle* carried advertisements by the Lincoln Registry at Springwood Street, for 'Servants for Town and Country'. Servants frequently travelled long distances for work – employers often preferred staff with no local connections and therefore less likelihood of gossip in the neighbourhood.

After Henry Dewhurst died 'of senile decay' in 1902, Arthur Cockayne married Margaret Allen from

Durham at Huddersfield in December 1904 and went on to take advantage of that new development, the automobile. He moved to Middleton in Leeds where his daughter Beatrice Rosetta was born, then to York; by the 1911 census, aged 35, he was employed as a chauffeur, living in Walton Road, Wetherby. The chauffeur was a professional, falling outside the customary servant hierarchy, as had the governess; he was often in close contact with the mistress of the house and scandalous indiscretions occasionally resulted.

Little formal instruction was available and driving licences were not implemented until 1910. In that year, doctor's son Stanley Roberts realised that motoring was going to be big business and set up his own driving school, naming it The British School of Motoring, now known simply as BSM. Previously an engineer's apprentice with Thomas Sopwith, Roberts was a motoring fanatic and persuaded his parents to rent out their garage at 65 Peckham Rye to his fledgling business and to house his prized possession, a Dutch-built Spyker. Offering a 'Popular Course of Mechanism and Driving', Roberts' first pupil was a former coachman, whom he trained to become a chauffeur; the business expanded nationwide.

Thomas Darwin also kept abreast of the new developments in the twentieth century as owner-drivers enthusiastically embraced the automobile, catering for both those who drove and those who did not. He is generally listed as a cab proprietor in the trades directories, but also as a funeral director; his 1906 letter-head notes that he offers the 'New Silent Tyred Funeral Cars'. The history of hauliers Joseph Hanson & Sons of Milnsbridge records that 'In 1920, Thomas Darwens, wedding and funeral car hire, was acquired. Some 8 years later the old cars were replaced with Rolls Royces and the limousine service continued for 50 years.'

Thomas became a major shareholder in the Yorkshire Motor Car Co, of Elland Road, Brighouse, calling in his debenture in 1922 and later was appointed a receiver for the business. His own operations were now managed by his nephews James Henry Heaton Darwin and Norman Darwin, sons of George H, the jobmaster & postmaster; Norman ran the site at Flint Street trading as Fartown Garage, also funeral directors, supplying motor hearses, landaulettes, horse carriages &c, while James H H, his family and his younger brother John Edward were operating out of Fartown Lodge Mews, the former home of Arthur Cockayne the coachman, described as Fartown Lodge Garage in the Halifax & Huddersfield District Trades Directory[10].

Thomas' draft will in 1926 bequeathed 'all stock in trade, horses, carriages, harness and other effects … as a Carriage Proprietor' to his nephew James H H, and 'the motor hearse and cars as a Garage Proprietor in Flint Street' to his nephew Norman. Thomas died in 1938, the year that Norman is listed as a Director of the newly incorporated Silver Wheels (Hire) Ltd. James H H had an ironic end at the age of 57; in 1930 his daughter wrote to Thomas in great distress from Vancouver, reporting that he had been knocked down by a car and killed[11].

The Darwins' connection with the coachman's house continued until the 1950s; in the early 1930s, it was bought by another cab proprietor, Walter Vosper Holder Halstead, whose sister Beatrice then married James HH's son Stanley; they all lived together in the coachman's house and continued to run old-fashioned cars as taxis, perhaps those sold off by Hansons. After Walter's death in 1953, Beatrice and Stanley moved out, and the property was bought by another member of the motor trade, Olaf Olsen the Volvo dealer. He had completed his coachwork apprenticeship at Rippon Bros and apparently had painted the coachlines on two of the Rolls Royces supplied to Beaulieu, presumably to be driven by Lord Montague's chauffeurs, although the Volvo was fast gaining a reputation for outstanding reliability, too!

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Every milestone has a history - doesn't it?

Keith Lawrence

A milestone, milepost or a guidepost is an artefact manufactured by man – as such each has a history. However the history has to be mined from the surviving sources and a narrative constructed that fits in with what we agree are historical facts. While a simple history could give us the potential dates of manufacture, siting, appearance and changes in positioning and design over time, what else can be added? Too often the turnpike trust period provides us with little in the way of more substantial material, especially the interaction of the local population and travellers with the milestones and guideposts. Does this become more common as the milestones and guideposts pass through the hands of the post-turnpike authorities charged with the maintenance and repair of the roads? After all these items of road furniture were not of their making, more of an inheritance and they may even have been unwelcome. This article will review the development of the background to the legal ownership of the milestone after the 'Turnpike Age' and also look at the period from 1870 through to 1900 to try and build up a more considered history of milestones, mileposts and guideposts in the early post-turnpike age. While the article centres on Cheshire it is an attempt to provide a potential tool to examine other counties by providing a roadmap of data sources. Just keeping up with the discovery, conservation and protection of these artefacts may seem a full-time job for a volunteer organization but we need a tale to tell. Why are they an important part of the heritage landscape?

The 1835 Highway Act set the scene for the future responsibility for the maintenance and repair of the turnpiked roads and their accumulated road furniture, when the turnpike trusts passed into history. The Act set up the possibility of a larger unit than the parish taking on the responsibility for the roads. Groups of parishes could approach the Justices of the Peace to allow the formation of Highway Boards. Alternatively the Justices could initiate this union themselves. However formed, the Highway Boards could appoint a district surveyor at a salary and raise funds via a highway rate. Some parishes proved large enough to remain the sole agency responsible for the highway. For example the parish of Wybunbury in Cheshire covered some 18,400 acres and contained 16 townships with a population in 1851 of nearly 4,500.

The Act does set out the Highway Board surveyor's responsibility in respect of Direction Posts.

'And it be further enacted, That the surveyor of every parish, other than a parish the whole or part of which is within three miles of the General Post Office in the city of London, shall with the consent of the inhabitants of any parish at a special sessions for the highways, cause (where there are no such stones or posts) to be erected or fixed in the most convenient place where two or more ways meet, a stone or post, with inscriptions thereon in large legible letters, not less than one inch in height and of a proper and proportionate width, containing the name of the next market town, village, or other place to which the said highways respectively lead, as well as stones or posts to mark the boundaries of the highway, containing the name of the parish wherein situated. ..... keep repair of such stones, or blocks already erected or fixed, or which may hereafter be erected or fixed.'

As a result of the 1835 Highways Act we thus have:-

Highway Parishes

Highway Boards.

Both organisations produced minutes covering their activities. The Highway Parishes continue to be reported in the Parish Minute Books or the Town Books and the Highway Boards were reported separately. The activities of both can also be followed in the minutes of the Highway Quarter Sessions and newspaper reports.

The uniting of Parishes, leading to an increase in the size of the administrative area, was with the aim of spreading the cost of road maintenance over as many people as possible. Even the parishes that did not have a major road running through, and previously were only charged with the upkeep of minor back roads, now potentially took on responsibility for the major highways. This was again addressed in the 1862 and 1864 Highway Acts where it was more clearly stated and a more specific mechanism outlined. The Justices were instructed to form Highway Districts by constituting Highway Boards and provisionally grouping Parishes for an initial six months before the final confirmation of the arrangement. The orders for both provisional and final arrangements were published in the *London Gazette* and two local newspapers.

With the breakthrough of the railways onto the goods and passenger transport scene it was evident by the late 1840s that Turnpike Trusts would have a limited life. Saddled with capital debt from their inception, poor financial controls and little Governmental supervision a creeping wave of chronic debt started to

overwhelm them. From 1840 the 'Home Department' undertook a series of reviews of trusts throughout England laying out the history and the detailed financial condition of the Trust. Along with the 'Annual review of the Income and Expenditure of the Trusts' introduced in 1837 it became evident the Turnpike Trusts were an increasingly inefficient administrative tool. The renewal period of twenty-five years was obviously untenable. This was addressed in the 'The Annual Turnpike Continuance Act' of 1863 which gave the power to limit the length of the renewal of a Turnpike Act and to apply restrictions to the spending power of the Trusts. This Act was used to discontinue underperforming Trusts and the power to maintain and indeed improve the roads was passed to the local Highway Boards and Highway Parishes. Lists of the Trusts reviewed and deturnpiked were published each year through until 1885 when the last Act provided for the discontinuation of all remaining Turnpike Trusts in England and Wales by 1 November 1886. The Trusts were gone but the milestones, mileposts and guideposts on the old turnpike roads remained under new ownership.

As the Turnpike Trusts withered and died there was an increasing length of major road being taken over by the Highway Boards and Highway Parishes. With the loss of the toll income they raised increasingly large local highway rates to maintain the road. The income from the users of the road, especially long-distance travellers, was lost and all costs now had to be borne by the local population, although from a much wider area. In 1876 the central Government recognised this increased financial burden and introduced a 'Grant in Aid' amounting to £200,000 (equivalent to over £10 million in modern currency). This was followed up in the 1878 'Highway and Locomotive Act' allowing the local Justices to contribute from the County Fund up to one half of the costs of the maintenance of roads deturnpiked after 1870.

This pattern of change only related to the areas of the country covered by Parishes. Large areas of the developing conurbations remained 'unparished' during this period which left no responsible authority to take over the turnpikes. The Public Health Act of 1875 was used to establish Urban Districts to take responsibility for, for example, sewers – they provided a convenient administrative division to place roads, which were rapidly becoming the main streets of major towns and cities.

All changed in the 1888 Local Government Act when the new County Councils were tasked with the entire maintenance of the 'main roads' in the county – most usually these were the major deturnpiked roads. The County Councils were also to provide some funding to the District Councils for the maintenance of locally important secondary roads.

Leading up to the Millennium (1900 not 2000) we find the administration of roads in a rather confused state. The administration was shared between:-

County Council
District Councils
Town Councils
Urban Sanitary Boards
Highway Boards &
Highway Parishes

Each of these administrative organisations had its own committee structure, surveyor and workforce and their own attitude to milestones, mileposts and guideposts. With each of the administrative organisations came their own set of minutes to be chased down. Much of this confusion did not get resolved until the 1920s.

What do we find in Cheshire?

From an in-depth examination of the early Highway Parish and Highway Boards in Cheshire there is no evidence of the erection of any Direction Post by these tools of local government consequent to the 1835 Highways Act. Nor do the three Cheshire-wide Newspapers – *Chester Chronicle*, *Cheshire Observer* or the *Chester Courant* – refer to local Highway Boards in this period.

There is reference material from the end of the turnpike era which would lead to a possibility that many milestones became neglected and would have entered new ownership in a dilapidated state. The Whitchurch & Tarporley Trust struggled financially throughout most of its existence. The House of Commons Committee, examining under the Turnpike Acts Continuance Act 1873, imposed severe restrictions on the Trust. It was resolved that no toll money was to be spent on the repair of the road,

no interest payments were allowed and the total salaries to be limited to £10 per annum. The maintenance of milestones was not in the remit of the trust. An even more extreme financial collapse was felt by the Middlewich to Congleton Turnpike Trust. Matters had become so bad that two of the trustees, Messrs Tipping and Shackerley, offered to become the surveyors of the Holmes Chapel to Congleton section of the road. This move was indicative of the poor financial state of the Trust. The financial situation had become so bad that the value of the securities had become depreciated; however much of this problem dated back to 1835 when 'Statute Labour' or the financial duty associated with it had been removed. It had brought £90 a year in to the Trust, a major portion of the income. The 1840 Report on the State of the Turnpike Roads in England and Wales reported that the Middlewich to Congleton Turnpike was in a '*very bad repair, but not under indictment'*. The tolls were not let for a number of years leading up to 1841 and it became increasingly evident that the parish (township) Surveyors of Highways were being used to maintain the road. In January 1841 an allowance of £20 was given from the 'Turnpike Road Fund' to each township for material to be *'laid upon the road'*. This situation of using Trustees and Parish Surveyors of the Highway to maintain the road lasted until December 1841. There was a brief flurry of activity but it was quickly back to relying on the parishes and the Trust died quietly in 1866 having neglected the infrastructure for over twenty years. More neglected milestones. These were not the only Cheshire trusts in financial problems: the Hinderton to Birkenhead, Macclesfield and Buxton and the Runcorn and Northwich trusts were, if anything, in even deeper trouble. The milestones passing in to the hands of the new owners were unlikely to be in good condition. There were some urban based turnpike trusts with a substantial income to the end; the milestones probably fared better under their management.

However there is surviving material from a slightly later period. We will be able to look at attitudes to these relics of the Turnpike Age in a local poem by one of the stones longing for the return of a lost past; in the politicians tasked with maintaining this legacy and the 'man who bought milestones'.

Cheshire has long been fortunate with the erudition of the local milestones. Please note this poem published anonymously about an unknown stone – research has failed to reveal its identity. Even so we can still recognise a heartfelt loss of its glorious youth and the torture of its current life.

The Lament of the Old Milestone

I stand by the silent way,
  forgotten and all alone,
And in sorrow I think of the day
  I beheld when a young milestone,
I sigh for the good old days
  For the coaching days of yore;
They are gone from their native clime,
  They are gone to return no more.

It is Oh! For the cheery days
  When the sound of the mail-guard's horn
Came floating upon the haze,
  That shrouded the birth of morn
When the wagoner weary with toil,
  And his horse came lumb'ring along,
Would look in my face with a smile,
  And carol his thanks in a song.

When the snows and frosts were about,
  And the old year was ready to die,
How the urchins to see me would shout,
  As their holiday coaches rolled by.
When the New Year's dominion I knew,
  I have wished some seclusion to find,
For the boy's faces gloomier grew,
  As I marked home left further behind.

They are gone, they are fled from the road,
The day-coach the fast going mail;
The wagoners gone with his load,
And the boys give their shouts to the rail,
When I ponder on what I once saw,
The downfall I feel of my race;
And I hear it's forbidden by law
To talk about distance and space.

If the peace I would claim as my right
I could have, I would never complain,
But I wake in the dead of the night
At the scream of that horrible train,
Such screaming and puffing and all,
A philosopher's patience would craze,
Oh! Build us some college or hall,
Where the Milestones may finish their days.

Eventually published in May 1856 this clarion call from the only known spokesman of his race is painful to read. We can only hope this milestone survived the two World Wars to witness the increasing return of traffic to the roads and the decimation of the railways by the Beeching axe. Perhaps an updated version of this poem could have some rather smug lines about the demise of the many branch lines. Indeed, if he had witnessed the work of the Milestone Society first hand, he may have some kind words to the founders and the many activists that may well have made his old age more liveable. It must be reassuring for the 'Old Milestone' knowing he now has a champion.

In 1858, soon after this poem we find an interesting, but possibly racist comment, from a Cheshire-based visitor to Anglesey on why we need guideposts. He described the island of Anglesey as having a perfect labyrinth of highways, byways and crossways; and between the absence of fingerposts and milestones it led to him easily getting lost and being forced to ask the way from the locals. 'The case is especially desperate if the traveller happens to be an Englishman, or ignorant of Welsh. If he asks one of the doltish-looking men or one of the sugar-loaf capped women for information, he is answered with a 'dim sas'nag,' or he is tortured by an exhibition of a most brutal murder of the Queen's English, in the illogical attempt to show the way.' What better reason for guideposts than to protect you from having to talk to the natives. It was matched in 1887 during the building of the Manchester Ship Canal where a request for a guidepost was based on the fact that the correspondent had had to speak to no fewer than 65 men in his garden in a single afternoon. There were over 2,000 strangers coming in to the Wirral to work and some were negroes. The reply from the Highway Board was perhaps instructive. No guidepost, better have a man stuck at the end of the road to show the way, he can shield you from the working men.

Milestones were definitely still seen as landmarks with, for instance, the Chester Beagles meeting at the 2nd Milestone on the Parkgate Road at 11.00am on 8 December 1877. However by 4 March 1893 the meeting place had moved to the third Milestone on the Parkgate Road. Also they figured as the start and finish post for a trotting race on the Chester Turnpike Road, near Hinderton, between a Mr Edwards's celebrated mare and Mr Pemberton Smith's old horse Charlie (20 years old) in June 1873. After much betting the race started punctually at 5.00 pm with the old horse winning by 60 yards. The same section of road was also proposed for a cycle race by the West Cheshire Bicycle Club (Tranmere) in August 1882; it was rejected for a more hilly route which led to a serious accident to one of the cyclists.

While it was difficult to find much information on the Highway Boards after the 1835 Act it became much easier after the 1862 and 1864 Highway Acts. A search of the *London Gazette* archive for Highway Boards between 1 January 1862 and 31 December 1887 brought up 1405 hits. A total of twenty eight of these hits referred to Cheshire Highway Boards. Follow-up of these hits provides the name of the local Highway Boards each of which is a statutory body therefore there was a reasonable chance of the minutes still existing at the County Records Office. Many of the hits were the Highway Boards being associated with Audit Districts (founded under the 1879 District Auditors Act), which also produce minutes and specific reports on the functioning of the Highway Boards and how they spent their allocated funds. The listing of boards from

reviewing the *London Gazette* will not be complete as existing Highway Boards and the highways of South Wales, the Isle of Wight and the metropolis of London were excluded, as well as all roads still maintained by Turnpike Trusts (Local Acts).

The activity of these Boards can be followed either in their minutes or by local newspaper reports. In 1868 the Wirral Highway Board minutes show the Reverend E. Hampson requesting if the Board had the powers to order finger posts at 'turnings on the road where they may be required'. The legal background to the question was covered at length but it is the Surveyor's interjection that is most instructive. 'Soon after the formation of the Board this question was mooted and I made a calculation and found that the expense of providing finger-posts throughout the district would be £300. The expense was thought so large that the matter was allowed to drop.' As it was again after his comments. We seem to have two contrasting ideas – we need guideposts so we do not have to talk to strangers but we do not need guideposts as the locals know where they are going so they are not worth the taxpayers' expense. The difference in attitude seems to be between the visitor and the local. As late as 1884 the Wirral Highway Board was still having requests for finger-posts, in this case near Hooton Station because of the frequent requests for information since the milestones in the neighbourhood required painting as the directions were obliterated. Again the cost of supplying finger posts for the whole district is quoted at £300 and therefore no action was taken. 'Mr Charmley objected to such an expenditure of ratepayers' money and thought if the gentleman wished a finger-post he ought to erect it at his own cost.' The two themes of neglected milestones and not wanting to spend taxpayers' money on direction posts pulled together in one story. This was not the first time the condition of the milestones had been raised with the Wirral Board. Some three years previously the condition and placing of a number of milestones around Greasby had been raised in committee and no action had been taken. It wasn't until February 1884 as a result of a 'Memorial' – the equivalent of a petition – from the Vicar, churchwardens and nearly every ratepayer in Greasby and Frankby, that the stones were re-surveyed and repainted. The cost was 15s 0d per stone and even then some Highway Board members asked whether the board was 'compelled to do it'. The vote in the committee was six for and six against the proposal. The Surveyor's attitude was also less than enthusiastic for this work and it was only after the Clerk to the Highway Board pointed out that the cost was trivial that we get the Chairman closing the item with the quote:- 'Then I'll give the people the milestones and vote in favour of it.'

The Wirral Highways Board appeared to have been the centre for queries about direction indicators, probably because of the increasing number of rich individuals escaping Liverpool to live in the relatively rural Wirral peninsula. They demanded fast, well maintained roads for the daily commute to Liverpool on the Mersey Ferries. Equally there were visitors from Liverpool with the middle classes undertaking day excursions to the coastal resorts of the Wirral and cyclists also taking the steam ferries to give access to the network of country lanes. The area was increasingly accessible to the denizens of Liverpool looking for exclusive housing and leisure activities. Add to this the workers that flooded in to the south of this region during the building of the Manchester Ship Canal and the enlargement of Ellesmere Port and we have a veritable invasion of strangers.

We should not judge all Highway Boards by the behaviour of the Wirral Board. In a debate, during the sitting of the Tarporley Highway Board (December 1886), on fingerposts, the West Eddisbury Highway Board was held up as a shining example of what could be achieved. The surveyor, a Mr Linnell 'had got every finger -post and milestone in the district repainted and lettered.' The Tarporley committee considered this to be a very important matter that 'might confer a boon on their fellow traveller.' This whole issue was put forward to be discussed at the next meeting. However by the January 1887 meeting of the Tarporley Board, during a vote on re-lettering the milestones, the Chairman stated that the time was 'inopportune on account of the finances'. The motion was allowed to stand over and there is no evidence it was re-introduced at a later date. Meanwhile back in West Eddisbury the surveyor had been asked to report if it was desirable to erect any further fingerposts in the district. His estimate was a further 51 new guide-posts at an expense of £100. Then the arguments began:- 'Only 20 new posts would be sufficient'.... 'where there is a house within 50 yards of the end of the road there is no necessity for a fingerpost.' The motion for further guide-posts was held over to be reviewed by the Chairman, Vice-chairman and the Surveyor. The motion does not re-appear on the agenda. Apparently the West Eddisbury Highways Board considered you can have just too much of a good thing.

With the arrival of the Cheshire County Council came the Main Roads Committee – first meeting held at the Crewe Arms Hotel, Crewe on 22 March 1889. The Crewe Arms Hotel was used for County Council Committee Meetings until a move to Chester Castle in 1892. The initial meetings were taken up by submissions from Highway Boards, Town Corporations, Local Boards (usually Sanitary Boards) and in one

case the Beamheath Trustees – an enclosed area of the heath near Nantwich held for the benefit of the town, over which the Nantwich to Congleton Turnpike road crossed. They presented a series of roads to be taken over as Main Roads and put forward locally significant secondary roads for financial support by the County Council. Even when agreed the funding to the Boards and Corporations was forwarded to the Financial Committee for confirmation and payment. The County Bridges, water and gas pipe laying along with telegraph poles and wires dominated the minutes until 4 July 1889 when permission was given for a new boundary stone on the main road in West Kirby to define a new Ecclesiastical Parish. The other rôle taken on quite early by a sub-committee of the Main Roads Committee was building standards for the roads:

Roads in Urban Highway Districts: The Carriage or Road way shall be paved with a hard sett having impervious joints, or with Macadam of approved quality of not less than four inches in depth when set, in either case to be laid on stable foundations, and shall have suitable drains with gullies for carrying off the surface water. The footways shall be properly curbed and paved with either flags, concrete, tiles, gravel or otherwise directed by the committee.

Roads in Rural Districts: The Carriageway or Roadway shall have, where necessary, suitable drains with gullies for carrying off surface water and shall be laid with six inches of approved Macadam on a foundation equal to six inches of rubble. That where there are footpaths they shall have twelve inches by three inches curb stones and gravelled or cindered paths with gullies and drains as may be necessary to carry off the surface water, or as may be otherwise determined by the Committee.

The County was divided into four highway districts by the County Surveyor:-

No 1 District	
Wirral Highway Board	55 miles
West Broxton Highway Board	22 miles
West Eddisbury Highway Board	32 miles
Part East Eddisbury Highway Board	12 miles
TOTAL	121 miles

No 2 District	
East Broxton Highway Board	40 miles
Nantwich Highway Board	23 miles
Audlem Highway Board	38 miles
Part East Eddisbury Highway Board	13 miles
TOTAL	114 miles

No 3 District	
East Bucklow Highway Board	35 miles
Northwich Highway Board	56 miles
Daresbury Highway Board	12 miles
TOTAL	103 miles

No 4 District	
Stockport & Hyde Highway Board	34 miles
Prestbury Highway Board	62 miles
TOTAL	96 miles

This table provides a reference point as to which Highway Boards were in existence before the creation of the County Council and the potential sources of information as each board produced its own minutes.

The question of fingerposts and milestones occasionally raised its head in committee, as on 3 May 1890. Mr Becket in moving the adoption of the report of the Main Roads Committee made some personal remarks on the subject. 'Every point where a district road branched off the main road, or where main roads crossed or divided, there the finger post should be fixed to guide the traveller. I have personally inspected one-third of the mileage of the county and have found on the old coach roads excellent milestones entirely defaced, and iron posts going to ruin by rust and neglect. The former ought to be re-dressed and re-cut where needed, and the latter cleaned, painted, and the lettering picked out. It is a point worth considering whether milestones should be fixed to all main roads.' It is in this speech that we see the first hints of the uniform Cheshire milepost that was soon to become ubiquitous robbing Cheshire of the diversity of design found in other counties. It was resolved at that Special Meeting of the Main Roads and Bridges Committee that the County surveyor should make a return of Finger Posts required on all main roads, and submit an estimate for the repair and painting of the milestones and that the Council be asked to give a specific grant for that purpose. The report was presented in October 1890.

> 'THE FOLLOWING REPORT of the County Surveyor, as to the number of Finger-posts required on Main Roads, and also as to the repairs to the Mile-stones on such roads, was read:-
>
> I beg to report that I have gone carefully into the question of Finger-posts required on the Main Roads in the County, and I find, as shown on the statement, about not less than 170 Finger-posts will be wanted. These are made up as follows:

No. 1 District 74 Posts
No. 2 District 60 Posts
No. 3 District 3 Posts
No. 4 District 33 Posts

Total 170 Posts

Besides this there will be old posts to be repaired and painted.

With regard to Mile-posts, 70 new Mile-posts will be required on roads which are posted, 210 will require painting and 100 will require repairing.

The cost of these is appended to the statement made with No. 10 on the Agenda, the total amount of approximate estimate being £620.

I have obtained tenders for Mile-posts in cast-iron, with cast-iron arms and the letters cast on, also for the same posts with enamelled iron arms, also for posts in wood.

If the committee decides upon the design and material of which they shall be made, I will produce proper working drawings, and obtain tenders by advertisement.

STANHOPE BULL, County Surveyor'

Consideration of the report was deferred until the next financial year. In June 1891 we had the result of the report with the tender by Messrs R.T. Smith & Co for supplying Cast Iron Finger Posts at the sum of £1. 16s. 6d., including delivery by train, being accepted. It is likely that the tender was won by Robert Thursfield Smith of Talbot Street, Whitchurch, Shropshire; certainly by 1879 his foundry had direct access to the railway but he stopped running the company in 1891 – this must have been one of his last contracts. Also the County Surveyor was authorised to have the milestones on the main roads renewed, repaired and painted wherever necessary with a maximum spend of £100.

It was the finger post that provided the most common reports both in the Highway Board minutes and local newspapers. The *Expensive Lark'* reported in January 1891 when three drinkers at the Bear Inn, Tattenhall village thought it great fun to pull up the fingerpost in Bolesworth Road and lay it across the road – in plain sight of the local constable. It cost 2s. to repair the damage but the subsequent fine was 28s. 6d each. Damage to finger posts was also reported from Tarvin in 1895, with them becoming a target for stone throwing, along with telegraph wires and passers-by. Indeed by 1897 the finger post in the centre of the village was described as being in a disgraceful condition at a Parish Council meeting. These reports from Tarvin are a surprise as in August 1895 there was a comment in the local press presenting quite a different picture. 'The public of Cheshire owe a debt of gratitude for the manner in which they have restored dilapidated and illegible finger-posts at the principal crossroads. They would confer another boon on the travelling section of the community by renovating the milestones, which in many cases have sunk into ditches or out of sight all together.' These comments reflect the situation reported nearly five years previously by Mr Becket. Finger posts good – Milestones bad. However there were still complaints about the finger posts. A report in the *Cheshire Observer* (4 June 1892) of the meeting of the Southern District of the Wirral Highway Board raises an issue about the colouring of finger posts. 'The County Council has done well to erect finger posts on the main roads, but pedestrians would be glad if the letters were painted white, and not the same dark colour as the rest of the posts. At present after nightfall difficulty is experienced in distinguishing the letters.' This certainly raises questions about the way we are currently renovating finger posts but there is surely enough photographic evidence that at some point the black and white scheme was introduced – but when?

It is not as if new milestones were not going to be favoured in Cheshire; the first of the ubiquitous Cheshire County mileposts were erected in 1896. The Main Roads Committee decided all main roads should be refurbished with milestones 'under a consistent system of measurement.' The mileposts were to bear figures 'in such a way that the distance to a town may be seen readily by a traveller whether he is approaching or leaving a town.' The milestone is to have 'angular faces of the approved pattern.' Unfortunately there appears little detail on the design chosen, contracted manufacturer or costs. In 1895 the yearly expenditure on main roads had been reviewed.

1892 £61,000
1893 £64,000
1894 £67,000
1895 £73,000

The rise in costs during 1895 was explained, by the Chairman of the Finance Committee, in the February Cheshire County Council meeting as being 'on account of the County Council now discharging the entire cost of maintenance of the main road.' At the May 1896 meeting of the Council it was stated that 'the cost of the important item of main roads will be less than last year by nearly £3,000.' The mileposts are not mentioned as a specific item, while there is a detailed breakdown of the expenditure on county and hundred bridges and main roads in both urban and rural highway districts. However it was reported that the Council was now spending £88 per mile on main roads having risen from £54. This put Cheshire's spending 'second to Lancashire and the counties around London.' Could the cost of the mileposts be hidden in this overall charge? By August 1897 the work of installing the mileposts was reported in the *Cheshire Observer* to be 'showing steady progress.' However there was soon a complaint from Tarporley that there was a mistake in the new mileages of half a mile and that the lettering was so small that 'people on horse-back could no longer read them.' The mistaken mileage had been raised because a local runner had backed himself to run between two stones in a set time – he lost because the distance was not correct. Well that was his excuse – later supported by the Highway Board surveyor.

The older milestones were not being entirely neglected as in October 1897 those around Neston and Parkgate were re-painted and lettered; this area of Cheshire did not receive the new mileposts until 1898. There was also continued interest in finger posts. At the Cheshire County Council Meeting in November 1897 the County surveyor (Mr H. F. Bull) commented that he believed 'more finger-posts were required throughout the district, and the mileage should be marked on those arms which point to outlying places not marked on milestones. This comment could lead to an earlier possible dating of finger posts if arms and nearby stones carry similar information. It was at this meeting that there was a proposal to retain as many tollhouses as possible to house the lengthsmen looking after the roads. Although it was admitted that 'they were good enough for the old turnpike men, but perhaps they may not be good enough for modern ideas (Laughter).'

Some villages in Cheshire still remained hidden from view as 'drowsy little nooks lying off the beaten track, not only of the County Council with its ... finger posts, but behind, as it would seem, the hindmost of the bye-roads.' This was a description of Hargrave on the occasion of the 1897 parish festival. The same fate was wished upon Whitby when a finger post was declined by the Highways Board of the Wirral Rural Council (June 1897). The Whitby Parish Council had requested a post at the junction of the roads leading to Chester, Ellesmere Port, Birkenhead, Stoak and Stannage – it was declined 'with civility'. This was accepted by the parish council as the 'residents could manage without one, but in the interest of visitors one should be fixed.' Whitby Parish did eventually get their finger-post in November 1897 much to the possible delight of the visitors. Pressure from the Cyclists' Touring Club and the Cheshire County Council on the same committee in October of the same year led to more success, with new finger-posts being erected on the Chester to West Kirby road, although the success may have been due to the County Council offering to pay half.

With the replacement of many of the turnpike trust milestones with the Cheshire County Council milepost, what fate awaited the old stones? We can be certain where seven of the stones were taken as they were rescued by the headmaster of a local school. Mr. Algernon George Grenfell of Mostyn House School, Parkgate bought a series of stones that had previously been on the current A540, including the Chester 4 mile stone, in between SJ 369 713 and SJ 294 796. They had in his words 'been discarded by County Council officials' and he set them up in his recreation grounds at Parkgate. Mr Grenfell wrote an article for the school magazine, *The Griffin*, explaining why he bought the stones. An extract from the article was reproduced in the *Cheshire Observer* of 18 February 1899. As this is probably the only testimony of anyone who had purchased redundant milestones in the nineteenth century I have included an extensive extract. It contains an interesting mixture of local historic references which cover the period from the founding of the Chester and Neston Trust in 1787 – it was later extended in 1833 to reach Woodside Ferry over the Mersey.

A Cheshire County Council milepost

'Think of the changes these old stones have seen; think of

the many human joys and tragedies and businesses in which they must have played their silent part. How often they must have woken up to a moment of joyous pride as the mail coach flashed and thundered past; how often answered the smile of welcome flung to them by the thirsty guard; by the prosperous trader with his bag of gold from London town; by the eager schoolboy hurrying back with his trunk and his peashooter for the Christmas holidays; by the dark-browed Jacobite conspirator passing to and fro on the business of his king – across the water; by the impatient lover, scarce recovered from his three days' tossing aboard the Dublin packet, which has just landed him on the quay at Parkgate on his way to visit his lass in Chester city. Handel with the virgin heaven-born melodies of the 'Messiah' still echoing strangely in his brain, with a scowl on his face as he meets the Nor'-west gale full in the teeth and speculates on the mood of the Channel, and for all we know – with a great cold sausage and a flask of schnapps in the pocket of his surtout; William of Orange, with all his bright suite, riding sternly on to embark for the doubtful battlefield of Boyne Water; Emma, the future Lady Hamilton, hawking fish with her little cart and her yet undiscovered wondrous beauty – dreaming of nothing less than the Admirals of the Fleet and Palaces on the Mediterranean - all these and many a thousand more or less famous, but equally living, warm-blooded men and women, must have looked for and counted gladly these old stones. How many times have they sheltered – I hope with sympathy – the crouching poacher, who felt no call to meet and greet the wearer of those heavy boots whose tramp is drawing nigh; how often blushed to watch the sneaking foot-pad lurking in ambush for his unconscious and defenceless prey. How they must have smiled at the gambols of the rabbits and the wiles of the weasels in the flush of the dewy dawn in June. How they must have tingled with mischief and excitement as they watched in the light of the rising moon the gallant gentleman of the road, sitting with easy unconcern his well-trained thoroughbred and gracefully taking pinches of Rappee with the thumb and forefinger of his pistol hand to pass the time until the approaching wheels shall rumble in the distance and summon him to business. Can't you see him there, in the shadow of the oak tree at the corner, in his long blue riding coat, with the silver buttons, his dainty frills, and his broad-peaked hat? Little he cares for the blunderbuss in the boot, or the braggart ensign who is charming the 'laa-dies' and other timorous inside passengers with vivid accounts of his exploits on 'Coll'dge Green, me dear gurrl.' The sight of Gentleman Jim's black silk mask and his little friend in the holster there, with the ring of his perfectly polite voice will be quite enough for all of them. How they will curse the local justices for sluggard fools as they sit their long faces and lightened purses round the steaming punch-bowl in the Chester tavern at midnight, while mine host with well-feigned horror protests that he never heard tell of such a thing in all his born days. Many a time in the morning sun and noontide heat have those oldstones called a halt to the traveller, who has but his own two legs to carry him to the king's highway. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona* and Dick Whittington are not even yet extinct. Quick fancy paints the fresh cheeked country lad, footing it from home to become a proper prentice boy, with his mother's kiss still warm on his lips and all his worldly goods slung in the knotted handkerchief on the ashplant over his brave little shoulder, he will remember, I warrant, when he is an alderman, perhaps with the Mayoral chain of gold around his broad neck and the title before his name, all complete, how he sat him down on the half-way stone and drummed his little heels thereon, whistling *coram latrine*, secure and happy in his poverty. Ah me! If some of us could only tramp again the miles we found so long and weary; if only we could see ahead once more the milestones we rejoiced to leave behind ... Verily he spake a bitter truth who sang 'The half is more than the whole.' And how the pedlar, in days when commercial rooms were not and country maidens had no shrieking announcements of 'remnant sales' plastered the gable of the barn or thrust beneath the kitchen door – how we must have blessed the stones as he leaned against them to ease his shoulders of his heavy pack, heavy at times, I fear with silk and laces which had paid no tithe to Farmer George at Parkgate Custom House. Brave, strong old sandstone! You are hard enough outside, thanks to the stress of a century's storm and sunshine, to last out more pretentious marble or granite, and to laugh at the silly pride of fools with the laugh of him who laughs the last. Your deep-cut lettering shall still be true and fair when the vile iron that has supplanted you has rusted into foul red slime. But your heart is soft within you, and that is the secret of your give and take. You remind me of men whom I love and value all the more for the crust of proud reserve which does not show to every casual comer the tender heart within. And so I know you have sorrowed with those who assuredly have wept by your side – whose tears, perhaps, even as they fell hotly on your seamed and wrinkled face, you did your leving best to dry. For they do not all laugh and sing who tread the highway of the king. Do you, old 'Chester 4 Miles,' remember that afternoon long, long ago – when that poor old mother who could not hope to walk on foot the eight long miles

to Parkgate Quay and had no reason to ride so far, limped painfully, in breathless haste, across the field from her little white cottage by the fir copse, and waited by your side to see the soldiers pass on their homeward way, after King James had been so gloriously brought low? How fast her heart is beating as the drums and fifes draw near, how eagerly, with her old thin hand shading her still keen eyes she scans the laughing, singing ranks as they stride by marching at ease noisily, dustily, manful and strong. She does not hear their laughter or their choruses; she does not heed their kindly chaff; her eyes are all for her gallant lad – he will never be aught but a lad for his mother – and her ears are straining to catch his shout of welcome. Where is he? Why is he marching in the rear? What? They have all passed; stragglers, and wagons, and hangers on – all passed and gone; and he not there at all – her lad – her own and only lad – who will never see the old Cheshire home again, but is lying on his face far away on the green turf of an Ulster hillside, with a Papist bullet through his curly head. Yes, they have all swung by; the dust is settling down again on the ruts and the cobblestones; the evening stillness is broken only by the cooing of the pigeons in the firs and the sobs of a poor old broken heart that has snapped beneath this last most cruel blow, and recks little enough, my God! of the Prince's glorious victory. Sermons in stones? Ah! That we could see what you old friends, have seen; that we could learn to find for our own selves some good in everything. But laughed you have, old stones, as well as mourned; sometimes I reckon, rather at those who were far from laughing than with those who were moved to mirth. That day – when was it? – when the first creaking 'dandy-horse' came along, with the young buck in his green cutaway coat and high white choker, straddling across it, tip-toeing ludicrously your good old road, lately hacked up and surfaced with broken stones, after the fashion of that tedious Scotch fellow! How proud he was of his lightening speed of seven good miles an hour; how funny he looked; how very sore he must have been when the waiter helped him to struggle free of his mechanism at the door of the Mostyn Arms Hotel, while the girls on the flags of the Parkgate promenade in front, who should have been enormously impressed, giggled faintly as he stepped across to greet them. And then a bit later, that first high bicycle! How its boyish rider sighed with relief and gratitude to Providence that had brought him so far on his way without a broken neck, as he glanced swiftly down at your anxious face! I expect you laughed again, with the rest of the world, when the dwarf-like 'safety' first shot by – growing each year more strangely hideous in your eyes, although more perfect, as its tyres developed into their full-blown pneumatic rotundity. Bah! How you hated the mangled shreds of murdered English which jarred on your old-world ears, with its one poverty-stricken and disgusting epithet for all things God has made – to whose beauty Birkenhead and the Devil have blind the eyes of those who scorch out for a Sunday 'club run'. Be patient, though, old stones; and be pitiful and hopeful too. It is something that those young fellows are enticed to leave the reeking tide of Mersey, the dull brick shambles of Woodside, the tram-lines, the draughty, cobbled wastes, the postered pavements, the froway pot-houses, and the belching rubbish destructor – pride of Lower Tranmere – Wirral hedgerows. I fear you have smiled too (though it was wrong of you – and you won't tell, will you?), at the man who leaned his machine upon your kindly shoulder while he pretended to examine his fair companion's tyre for a puncture which he knew was never there, just, the wretch, to help her mount again and snatch ... Ah! You did hear it, did you? Her mother's eye may light upon this page.'

So ends my journey through legal texts, committee minutes, memos, poems and newspaper articles. We see milestones being neglected as the turnpike era faded away, the continued neglect under new ownership, until the replacement of stone by iron mileposts to signal the corporate pride of the Cheshire County Council. The rise of the finger-post as the milestones lay neglected as reflected by the only poet of the milestone race. The local politicians discussing the need for direction guides on the roads – West Eddisbury considering them an essential, while the Wirral would not spend £300 and even when pressured in to providing improved guidance by a memorial just asked of the clerk – 'do we really have to'. Most of all the attitudes of visitor and local; the visitor lost and not wanting to talk to the locals or finding a less than welcome reply. The locals knowing where they were going, so not needing improved directions, but preferring not to have to give directions. The motor car has put us in a box that separated us from the environment we pass through and satellite navigation has made us even less reliant asking the way and maps. In the past we relied on direction posts and milestones before maps became generally available and even then there were travellers who could not afford them. When these failed us we had to rely on 'asking the way' - personal contact seemed then and now a threatening idea. Lastly, the man who bought milestones summed up his fascination with the stones as having been a constant fixture adjacent to a road flowing with people making events making history. That history was absorbed by the stones and in a way he had saved and repositioned that local history on his school playing fields.

Presentation of the Terry Keegan Memorial Award 2019

In 2019 Alan Reade presented Anna Jacka with the Terry Keegan Memorial Award.

Anna writes:

I grew up in Warwickshire and went to school in Stratford-upon-Avon, so I have been surrounded by historic buildings from an early age. As a child, I spent a lot of time outdoors as my family had a smallholding, and I also enjoyed trips to National Trust properties with my mother. I studied History at the University of Cambridge, specialising in the Early Modern period in Britain and Europe.

On leaving university, my love of literature led me to pursue a career in the Publishing sector. I worked for both Oxford and Cambridge University Press, but found that the role of an editor in academic publishing involved little input into the content of the journals produced. I therefore decided to put my History degree to use by applying for jobs in the Heritage sector.

In January 2015, I started work as Business Support Co-ordinator for the Gardens & Landscape team within English Heritage. I have now worked in this role for nearly 5 years, and I have seen the organisation develop in its new incarnation as a charity. I have supported the Historic and Botanic Gardens Training Programme, an ongoing scheme to place aspiring gardeners in prestigious gardens around the country. I have also been involved in a number of exciting projects across our garden sites, including Mount Grace Priory and Walmer Castle.

In October 2018, with the support of my team, I started a part-time MA in the Conservation of the Historic Environment with Birmingham City University. I am now in my second year, and am expanding my theoretical and practical knowledge all the time. I have spent time job shadowing colleagues in Properties Curator roles within English Heritage, and hope to begin applying for these kind of jobs as the course draws to a close.

2019 marked the seventh presentation of the Terry Keegan Memorial Award.

In addition to holding the award for a year the winner also received a certificate, a cheque for £100, a copy of *Milestones* (by Mervyn Benford) and a selection of Milestone Society publications and postcards.

Ploughs and road ploughs in the eighteenth century

Ian Thompson

Ian Thompson presented a report on his research into parish road maintenance in the late eighteenth century to the Milestone Society meeting in Bristol in March 2017. The primary source material for this research was the collection of Parish Highway Surveyors' or Waywardens' Account books held by the Cornwall Record Office in Truro. There were more questions than answers thrown up by the books. One particular question arose from the reference to a plough, sometimes spelt plow, in nine of the twelve Parish Highway Surveyors' Accounts books studied. Why would a Highway Surveyor want to hire a plough to repair a road in the 1770s?

There seems to be very little published history on parish road maintenance, but *The Story of the King's Highway* by Beatrice & Sidney Webb (1963) quotes Albert Pell's comments from 1887, referring to an enormous plough which ploughed up the roads each year to make them fit for use!

The exact wording quoted by Beatrice Webb is given in *Reminiscences of Albert Pell* edited by T.Mackay and published in 1908:

'People now living may have seen, decaying under the walls of a parish church, the enormous plough, girt and stayed with iron, which, as spring approached, was annually furbished up and brought to the village street. For this, the owners or their tenants, acting in concert, made up a joint team of six or eight powerful horses, and proceeded to the restoration of their highways, by ploughing them up, casting the furrows towards the centre, and then harrowing them down to a fairly level surface for the summer traffic. They have lived to see the same highways first and for years mended with weak and rotten sand and gravel and finally hardened and made waterproof with granite transported fifty miles or more for the purpose.'

Jan Scrine found a reference to a road plough in *Coaching Days in the Midlands* 1997) by Brian Haughton. Here no reference source is given, though the wording used suggests that Brian Haughton is quoting from Albert Pell's comments from 1887:

'Some villages also kept the 'road plough' drawn by eight or more horses. Every spring it was used to restore the parish roads by ploughing them and throwing the furrows towards the centre. The furrows were then flattened by harrowing and the roads presumed ready for the summer traffic.'

Phil Urch found an early reference to ploughes in *Somerset Roads – The Legacy of the Turnpikes* (1985) Somerset Archaeological Society, where a ploughe was said to refer to 'a sort of cart'. The quote is from a petition of 1624 in the Somerset Record Office (SRO, COS 52/15):

'To the Rt. Worll. The Justices of Peace assembled

'The Humble Peticon of Barthemew Castle & Thomas Illary, 12 January 1624

'Whereas there is a great beaten way in the p.ish of Wookey, commonly called Castle Lane, growen now soe fownderous that neither strangers nor borderers can passe on horse or foote to Church, market or els where, nor Waynes, without endangering them selves or their cattle.

'May itt please yor. Worpp.s to order that all ye p.ishioners of Wookey aforesaid wch have ploughes shall carrie six loads of stones a-peece to ye sd. Lane between the third day of May next and the thirteeth day of June then next ensuing, upon warnings given by the Waywardens in the p.ish Church of Wookey aforesd., the Sabbath or holyday before they carry, & such as have ploughes shall be there, or sende a man, to laye them conveniently under such penaltie, both for the Delinquents & alsoe the Waywardens w.ch shall not truly p.sent them att the next Gen. Sessions, to be held in Wells, as shall seeme best to yor. Discrecons.

'Soe shall wee & ye whole Country have good cause to pray for yor. p.sperities.'

Somerset Roads goes on to quote Webb quoting Albert Pell (1887) and the enormous plough, but then goes on to note that 'the earliest specialist tool was the road scraper, demonstrated in France by Sir James McAdam in 1835' which was pulled across the road to remove wet slurry from the surface.

In *Travellers in Eighteenth Century England* (1951), Rosamund Bayne-Powell mentioned road ploughs in use in the eighteenth century, but gives no reference source for her statement:

'In the spring, the road-ploughs went out and scraped away the winter's accumulation of mud and stones.'

Scraping away the winter's accumulation of mud and stones is not the same as ploughing up the highway. Rosamund Bayne-Powell's road plough sounds more like Sir James McAdam's road scraper, but that was first demonstrated in 1835 and she is writing about the eighteenth century, which is confusing.

Are there perhaps three types of plough, or should we say three different uses of the word plough? There is

the enormous plough girt and stayed with iron requiring six or eight powerful horses to plough up the road in spring. There is the road scraper demonstrated in France in 1835, but called a road-plough by Rosamund Bayne-Powell. There is the Somerset ploughe of 1624 which was a sort of cart for carrying stones.

Which of these ploughs was referred to in the Cornwall Highway Surveyors' Accounts books? In the nine Account books there are 62 references to ploughs between 1767 and 1816. Sometimes two ploughs were hired in the same year. In 1807 Cornelly parish highway surveyors hired six ploughs from six different, named individuals. It seems most unlikely that a tiny rural parish like Cornelly would have six 'enormous ploughs girt and stayed with iron' to plough up its roads.

Derek Turner contributed to the discussion with a story of his travels in Alaska where the only road to his destination was a non-tarmac road. Derek was debating what to do, since his insurance did not cover non-tarmac roads, when he was told by a local that he would have 'no problem' with his motorhome on the dirt road ahead, because 'the road had just been plowed.' In American English a road plow is a road scraper. There are several intriguing horse-drawn 'road plows' in some American rural life museums. Their design shows that they scraped the surface with an angled blade, a bit like a snow plough, and did not turn a furrow like a field plough.

In the spring 2018 edition of the journal of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, Penny Watts-Russell published an article called *On the Margin of the Tide – the Road to Penzance*. The citizens of Penzance refused to have a turnpike road, because they had no need of one. The turnpike from Helston stopped at Marazion at the eastern end of Mounts Bay and traffic proceeded from there across the firm sand of the foreshore to Penzance.

Penny quoted from a letter written by William Borlase in 1761, from a bound volume of his letters in the Morab Library, Penzance, where he described the alarming effect of a tsunami on the sands of Mounts Bay, possibly linked to an earthquake in Portugal. And he refers to a plough!

'About 11.00am, Mrs Borlase and I taking our usual exercise on the Sands were alarmed with the news of a great agitation of the tide. Not half an hour before we came to the spot a plough as we call our large heavy carts drawn by oxen and horses was all of a sudden surrounded by the sea, the horses up to their middle, the driver in danger of being drown'd, and when the spectators had given both over for lost, the Sea (this flux must have risen 6ft perpendicular) retir'd with the same precipitation and left them all safe on firm sand.' The plough owned by William Tregennin was laden with tin going to Penzance coinage. It was neither ploughing nor scraping the sand of Mounts Bay. This Cornish plough was definitely a large heavy cart.

In the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, published in 1928, A K Hamilton Jenkins wrote of his study of 'Cornish History in Mine Plans & Cost Books'. He found that 'many curious and obsolete words occur in the old cost books: 'plow' for a wheeled cart, 'seem' for a pack horse load, 'merl' for a link of chain.'

Oliver Padel found among the many definitions of 'plough' in the full Oxford English Dictionary that a plough was 'a team of draught beasts harnessed to a wagon' and that this usage of the word was 'chiefly in the south-western dialect'.

He went on to quote from the *Glossary of words in use in Cornwall* (1880) by Courtney and Gouch that a plough was 'a wheel-carriage pulled by oxen', and in the *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) a plough was 'a wagon and horses, a cart'.

From this evidence it would seem most probable that the ploughs mentioned in the Cornish Highway Surveyors' Accounts books were wheeled wagons pulled by a team of horses, used to carry loads of stone from a local source to the road to be repaired.

If this solves the riddle of the Cornish Highway Surveyors' Account books, and we accept that the road scraper version of the plough was a later nineteenth century invention, what is the truth about the road plough described by Pell?

Albert Pell farmed in North Northamptonshire and South Leicestershire in the later 19th century. He writes of the enormous plough in 1887 as a distant memory, superseded by more modern methods using clean imported stone.

Perhaps the heavy soil in the Midlands, becoming waterlogged and rutted in winter use, did benefit from being ploughed up and allowed to dry out before the summer baked it hard.

Is there somewhere decaying under the walls of a parish church or tucked away in a rural life museum, an enormous plough, girt and stayed with iron?

Wayside markers in Eastern Fife

Elizabeth and Michael Spencer

Introduction

Wayside markers are cast-iron plaques all of the same basic design, giving directions to settlements and farms in the vicinity, often with distances as well. As might be expected for distances measured 200 years ago with tools calibrated in Imperial measures, distance indications where they exist are given in miles and fractions of miles, and all metric equivalents given here are approximations. It is not to be supposed that the distances indicated were anything more than approximations themselves, not being expressed more precisely than to the nearest quarter-mile or even half-mile; so their conversion into metric figures expressed to the nearest few metres would offer a spurious precision that cannot be justified. Half a kilometre is as close as can be expected.

The General Turnpike Act of 1773, as amended in 1831 (1 & 2 Will IV c. 43), required turnpike trustees to erect milestones along the course of their roads showing the distance remaining to major places served. The additional establishment of wayside markers, not forming part of the regular set of milestones erected along the roads and not always showing indications of distance, seems to have been an initiative of the trustees of the St Andrews District of the Fife Turnpikes alone—certainly they are not known to have been erected anywhere else, and indeed no adequate explanation for their existence even in the limited area of the St Andrews District appears to be forthcoming.

The St Andrews District comprised all the parishes in the extreme east of Fife, as far west as the western boundaries of Largo, Cameron, Kemback, Leuchars and Forgan—that is to say, roughly east of a line from Leven to Newport. The complete list of all the parishes in the District, and indeed in the three other Districts in Fife, appears in Section XIX of the Fife Turnpike Act of 1829 (10 Geo IV c. 84), which is abstracted in Pagan (1845: 25). Markers are placed at selected road junctions, almost all at the junctions of turnpikes or of turnpikes with lesser roads. Map 1 shows the general position of the District within the county of Fife, in its relationship to the east coast of Scotland, and Map 2 shows the positions of all the known markers, together with an indication of the landward boundary of the District.

Wayside markers are more complex than milestones, giving directions to many more places, varying (in the pre-1900 examples) from 18 to 36. They all comprise two rectangular panels, arranged at a slight angle on plan. Panels are normally 11in (280mm) or 14in (355mm) wide, and heights vary according to the numbers of names to be shown. The unit is stiffened by a third panel joining the upper edges of the rectangular panels, sloping back so that it appears as a triangle in both elevation and plan, best shown in Image 1. All three panels are cast as a single piece. It seems likely that a fourth, horizontal, panel fills the space at the bottom of the unit, so that the whole thing can be held rigidly in place by an infill of masonry or concrete.

One might suggest that while milestones supply the wholesale, long-distance, directions to the carrier, wayside markers handle the retail, local, trade. Most names are local

Map 1(cover): Position of the St Andrews District.
Map 2: Roads and Markers in the St Andrews District

farmsteads, but some are villages or towns. Altogether 379 names are shown on the panels, of which only 221 are actually different: allowing for duplications and alternative spellings, these amount to 35 different population centres, 175 farmsteads and four local roads. In a few cases names have changed since the markers were erected, and some seem never to have had any currency at all: these are probably mistakes on the part of the moulder or of those giving him his instructions. Historical notes on the alterations to the names on the markers, where necessary for clarification, are taken from the remarkable volumes of Taylor (2008-10) detailed in the References section. Nearly all names can be found on the modern Explorer map (Ordnance Survey 2007), which we use as our reference—the St Andrews District is covered by Sheets 370 and 371, but some more distant places shown on the markers are beyond the borders of those sheets. All other maps referred to in this paper are out of copyright and can be seen, happily without charge, on the website of the National Library of Scotland: maps.nls.uk, arranged by publisher and scale.

Image 1 : Marker 1.1. Foggieleys

Names in any given panel do not normally follow one another along neat single routes. In the end it seemed useful to prepare a series of sketch-maps (Maps 3 to 11) to show the places indicated on each marker. These show the most direct route from the marker to the place, not necessarily using a turnpike road. In fact, the maps do not distinguish between roads and farm tracks. The area covered by some markers is so large that very distant places cannot be comfortably mapped.

Markers are shown on Ordnance Survey maps, at the two-and-a-half-inch scale and larger, by the abbreviation GP, Guide Post. It is not clear how many such indications on the map may have referred to wayside markers and how many to something else. The original number of such markers erected has not been recorded, and the present paper can only describe those that are now to be seen.

The Ordnance Survey showed all regular milestones, too; and our reference here is the New Series of the six-inch map of Fife (Ordnance Survey 1895-6). It is noticeable that many of the roads designated as turnpikes under the various relevant Acts of Parliament are not shown to have been provided with milestones. We treat such roads with some reserve, and we refer to them where necessary as 'unstoned' roads. Notice that even though milestones could be considered, following the 1773 requirement, as in some sense 'belonging' to the turnpikes, there would have been no value in removing them at the end of the turnpike era, partly because they remained correct and useful, and partly because they weighed about half a ton each. Lack of milestones on any given road on the maps of about the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, may be taken to indicate that they never existed.

Having said that, we notice that the maps of Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler (SGF 1828), published well into the turnpike era but before the first editions of the Ordnance Survey, indicate the presence of milestones at a lot of places where the Survey is silent. These nicely-engraved maps at a scale of about one inch to the mile were certainly state-of-the-art at the time of their publication. They show milestones simply by placing a number alongside the road at the position of the milestone, not always having regard to the correct side of the road. The number shows the mileage from a major centre on the road. The Ordnance Survey introduced this convention onto the Second Edition of their own one-inch maps, published from about 1890 (not otherwise referred to in this paper). The identifying numbers and positions were not always the same as those used by SGF, possibly because of intervening changes in the perceived importance of roads as through routes. Differences in position might be as much as half a mile; and where a milestone currently exists and can therefore act as a check on the rival indications, it is noticeable that the Ordnance Survey is always correct. Because of these discrepancies, we do not treat SGF as authoritative and we continue to rely on the Ordnance Survey to tell us where milestones did or did not exist, and hence to provide an indication of the importance

of the road.

Stephen (1967) seems to have been the first to provide any details of wayside markers. He states (p. 183) that there are ten such markers, though elsewhere and in his detailed lists he states eleven. Alex Darwood (2004), in an article considering also what we might call 'statutory' milestones, admits to only nine. We have discovered another five, one of which is of modern origin, erected in 2008. On the other hand, we have been unable to find the single example of Stephen's Type L, even though he gives a National Grid reference for it, and the Provisional Edition of Sheet NO42 of the 1:25,000 map (Ordnance Survey 1956) marks a 'GP' at that point; we must presume it is now lost. We don't of course know what method Stephen used to discover the markers, but we do observe that driving a car is not the best way; we must have driven past marker 1.1, which is set well back from the road, about a dozen times before we noticed it.

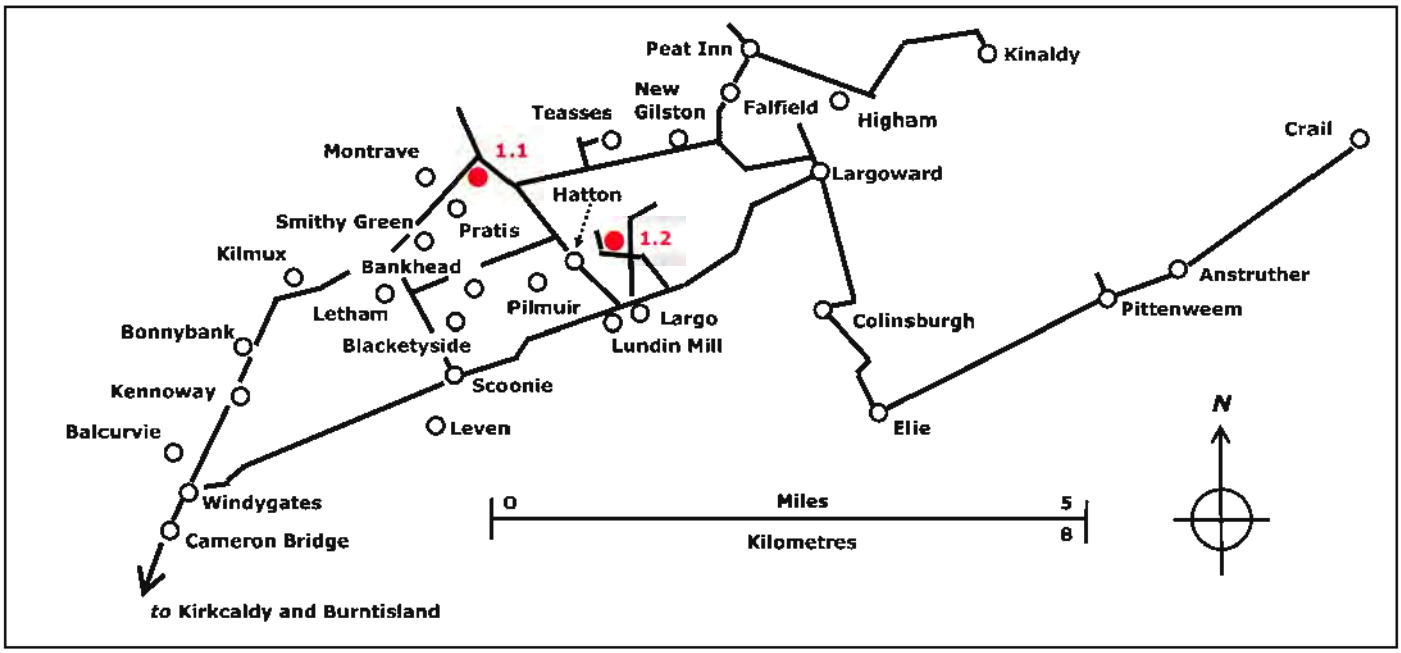
Stephen divides his remaining markers into three types, and we have added another four, at least one of which did not exist when he wrote. All seven show a fairly close family relationship, even though the differences between them are enough to require sub-division of Stephen's Type K. We recognise a total of fifteen markers, which can be conveniently taken in five groups: two on the west edge of the District (the Western Roads); five from Largo to Arncroach (the Colinsburgh Road); three between Crail and St Andrews (the Kingsbarns Road); three from Stravithie to Higham Toll (the Lathockar Road); and two in North Fife. Table I shows where they are sited, with their National Grid references and with links to the Milestone Society's database, and Table II gives details to distinguish between the types and sub-types (the tables appear at the end of the paper).

There seems to be no indication of the dates when the markers were cast, apart from No. 2.5, which is very modern and still within living memory; but it might be noticed that Stravithie is shown with a mileage on No. 4.2, while it is shown without a mileage under its older name Wakefield on No. 3.2. We might tentatively conclude, therefore, that the addition of mileages to the markers was a later idea. Mileages are shown on markers of Types K, L and M. In a few cases internal evidence leads to some indication of possible dates: for example, two of the markers include railway stations among the places indicated, which must date them to later than 1875, about the time when turnpike roads were being abolished. Does this imply that these particular antiques are fake?

We now describe and illustrate the fifteen known markers in turn. We make an anti-clockwise perambulation of the St Andrews District, starting with a group of two on the western edge, both situated in Largo Parish.

Group 1: The Western roads

1.1 Foggieleys (FF_WMFF209; NO 3866 0698). Very appropriately, the first marker we meet (Image 1, Map 3) stands precisely on the boundary of the District, on the turnpike from Cupar to Cameron Bridge, and



Map 3 (for 1.1, Image 1)

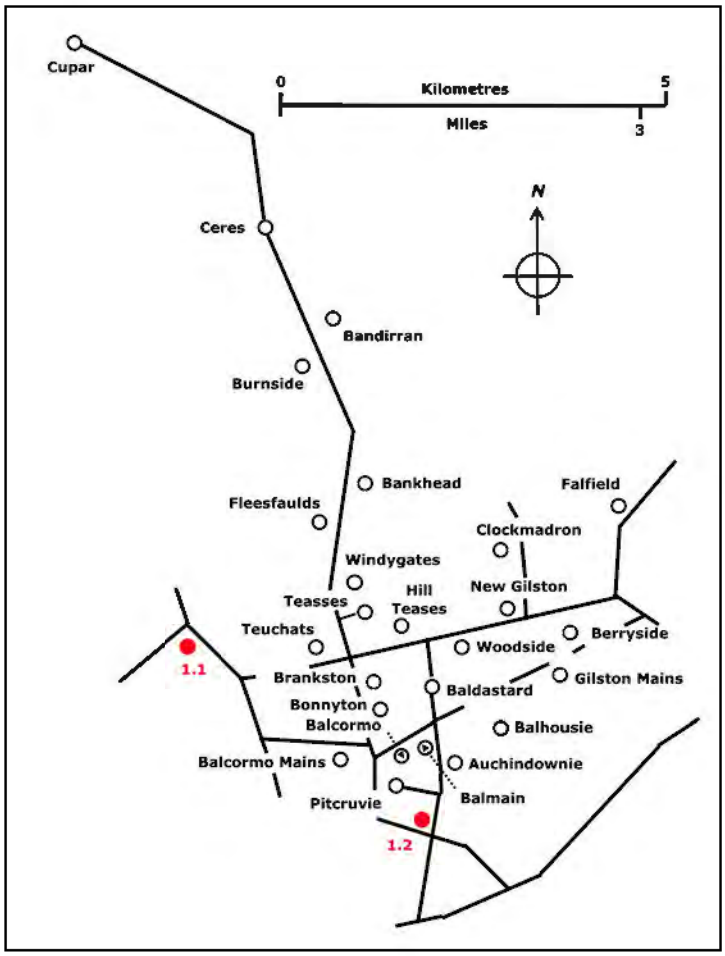
is arranged to be read by traffic moving from Cupar into the District along the unstoned road to Peat Inn, designated in the Act of 1807 but never milestoned. It may be noticed here that wayside markers differ fundamentally from milestones in that they are essentially unidirectional—there is never any indication of the way back. The marker is supported by a neat masonry plinth. Its panels are 32 inches by 13½ (810mm by 340mm), with 16 names in each panel, and it is a K-type marker in all respects except that it is all-white, with neither mileage nor L/R indications (see the notes to Table II). We have called this Type K2. In common with all other K-type markers, its letters are 15mm high, with 22mm initials.

Places named cover a very wide area, from Kinaldy about 9½ miles (15km) away in the north, to Crail about 17 miles (27km) to the east and Burntisland perhaps 16 miles (25km) distant in the south-west. Burntisland had little more than local importance before it became the major ferry port for the Forth crossing in 1824, so perhaps this gives an earliest date for the casting of this marker. All names are in the form as given on the modern map. 'Burntisland' is the name at the foot of the right-hand panel, unfortunately almost illegible in Image 1.

We called this marker 'Foggieleys' after the nearby strip of woodland named on the six-inch map of 1896.

1.2 Pitcruvie (FF_WMFF204 NO 4170 0432). The second marker in the Group (Image 2, Map 4) lies at a crossing of unclassified roads, one of which was authorised to charge tolls in the Act of 1807, and on which a tollbar was erected (Silver 1987: map p.98), but which remained unstoned. The marker is fundamentally a Type J, but it has remarkably large panels for the type: 35½ inches by 14½ inches (900mm by 370mm). It will be seen, particularly in Group 2, that the panels in J-type markers are usually only about 24 inches high. The marker has J-type letters, 20mm high with 30mm initials, but in contradistinction to other J-type

Image 2 (above): Marker 1.2 - Pitcruvie.



Map 4 (for 1.2, Image 2)

markers, the names of the larger settlements Ceres and Cupar are not shown in larger letters throughout. There are 14 names in the left panel and 11 in the right, and a fair bit of empty space below. These various differences are we feel enough to distinguish this from the other J-type markers and to call it a J1. The open back has no kind of support, but a layer of concrete at a low level seems to be the sole stiffener.

This marker stands just beyond the top of the long hill leading away from the harbour at the mouth of the Largo Burn, being arranged to be read from the south. Bonnyton and Windygates are nearby farms, and

should not be confused with their namesakes further afield. 'Fleesfaulds' is now Fleecefaulds. Bandirran is followed by 'R', as it should be, but the letter has not been 'inked in.' 'The Falfields' might refer to any of a number of farms, including South Falfield, Falfield Bank, Northtown of Falfield, and the place we choose to show on our plan, simply called Falfield. Other names are unchanged in the modern era.

Group 2. The Colinsburgh road

This is a group of five markers, all of which, except the last, lie along what was the A921, from the junction with the A915 at Upper Largo, to Newton of Balcormo (now the A917, B942 and B9171). All are placed so as to be read by eastbound traffic moving away from Leven and the Kirkcaldy Turnpike District.

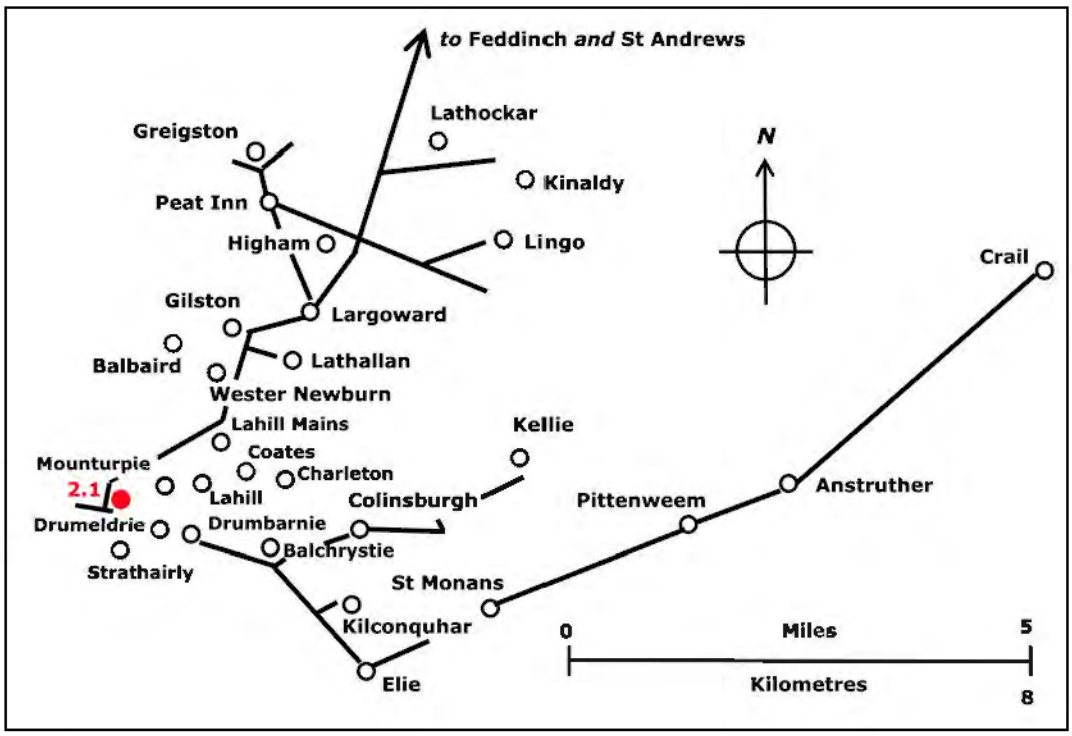
No regularly-spaced milestones were ever erected along that part of the A921 that is now the B9171, the Pittenweem and Anstruther by-pass to reach Crail. The B9171 is said by Silver (1987: maps pp 80, 98) to have been managed by a Turnpike Trust in 1850 and to have had a toll-bar, perhaps at Newton of Balcormo, but no milestones are plotted along it on maps of 1895 or later. Nevertheless the building closest to Marker 2.4 is even today called 'Toll Cottage.' Silver remains silent about the road north from Newton (see the discussion of No. 2.5, below).

2.1 At Upper Largo (FF_WMFF216, NO 4257 0350), in Largo Parish, stands the sole marker of Type M (Images 3, 4, Map 5), superficially of Stephen's Type K but with detail differences, of which the chief is that the panels are at right angles, fixed at the corner of a house. The upper triangular panel for stiffening is cut in two, each part lying in the same vertical plane as the main panel below, and the whole rigidity of the marker derives from the inherent stiffness of the panels and their fixings. This marker is at the junction of what were the A921 (now the A917) and the A915, both turnpike roads fully equipped with milestones, designated in Acts of 1790 and 1829 respectively. There is no need, however, to suppose that the marker was not made before 1829: many markers (for example No. 1.2) are at junctions of roads not all of which were designated as turnpikes at any time.

Images 3, 4: Marker 2.1 at Upper Largo

The panels are each 34 by 14 inches (865 by 355mm) and each shows 15 names, in K-type lettering 15mm high with 25mm initials. No distances are given to the nearest place on each panel, Mounturpie (modern Monturpie) and Strathairly, which are each considerably less than a mile (1.5km) away; though the eye of faith can pick out '½' at the end of the 'Mounturpie' line, without black paint. All other names are as shown on the modern map. Distances are not necessarily cumulative: for example one does not go through Greigston to get to Higham.

The quoted distance to Lathockar leads to some difficulty in finding its real position (see further under the discussion of marker 4.2).



Map 5 (for 2.1, Images 3, 4)

2.2 At Balchrystie (FF_WMFF206, NO 4609 0296), Newburn Parish, we have what Stephen calls a Type J (Image 5, Map 6). This is 2ft 2in (660mm) high from the stony base, and the panels are 2ft (610mm) by 1ft 2in (355mm), considerably shorter than those of No. 1.2. Lettering is 20mm high, with 30mm initials. This marker exhibits a special characteristic of the J-type: names of larger villages are distinguished from smaller farms by being shown in large letters throughout. There is no indication of the manufacturer.

The marker is set in the angle of what are now the B942 to the left (designated in 1790) and the A917 to the right (designated in 1851 but unstoned), and is so placed as to be read when approaching from the west. It is supported by a small plinth, partly masonry and partly brickwork; the latter may indicate some level of repairs. Mileages are not given, but using today's roads and tracks they range from Colinsburgh 1 mile (1.5km) to Gibliston 3½ miles (5.5km) in the left panel, and from Muircambus ¾ mile (1km) to Ardross 4½ miles (7km) in the right.

Image 5: Marker 2.2

'Carnie' is now given as 'Cairnie; 'St Fort' as 'St Ford.'

The names in the bottom four rows are almost hidden by long grass. Using a solidus / to separate the names in the left and right panels, these rows are:

Pitcorthie House L / Grange R

Balmakin L / EARLSFERRY

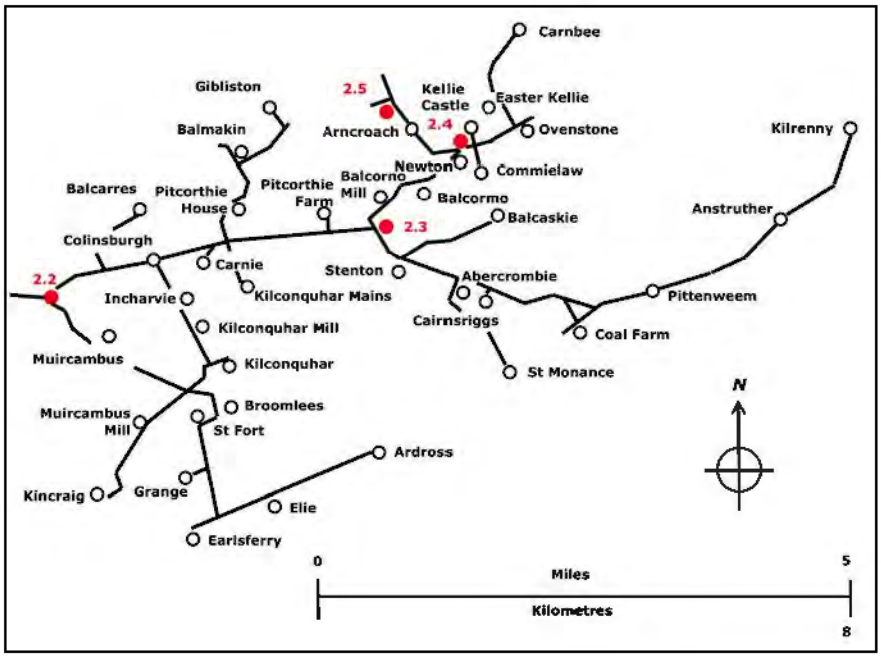
Gibliston L / ELIE

Pitcorthie Farm L / Ardross

We use capital letters to repeat the marker's emphasis on village-names.

Because it comes after Gibliston but on what is apparently a new route, and is shown to lie on the left of the road, the name Pitcorthie Farm must refer to Easter Pitcorthie, and is shown at that place on the sketch-map.

2.3 B9171 junction (FF_WMFF207, NO 5085 0365). At the end of the long straight east from Colinsburgh and Balcarres Mill Bridge, at the junction with the present B9171, in an unpopulated part of St Monans



Map 6 (for 2.2, Image 5, and 2.3, Image 6)

Parish, stands the type-example of Stephen's Type J, shown in his Plate 21d, and here as Image 6 (also Map 6). Although it has two fewer names than No 2.2, its panels and its lettering are the same size. It stands against the stone wall that borders the road, and is viewed when approaching from the west.

Again, one has to revert to the modern map to determine that the mileages range from half a mile (1km) to Balcormo Mill, up to 2¾ miles (4.5km) to Carnbee, and from half a mile (1km) to Stenton to 5½ miles (9km) to Kilrenny, in the left and right panels respectively. Balcormo Mill is mistakenly shown on the marker as 'Balcorno.' Balcormo and its Mill are different entities from the Balcormo and its Mains shown on Marker 1.2.

Notice the older spelling 'St Monance' in place of 'St Monans,' which is more traditional and more correct and is used on marker 2.2. It's not long since the Admiralty started using 'St Monans' exclusively in its charts and lists. Nevertheless the two forms have run side by side since about 1600. 'Cairnsriggs' seems to be an error for 'Cairnbriggs', now a ruin about 400 yards SE of Abercrombie farm.

Image 6: Marker 2.3. B9171 junction

2.4 Newton (FF_WMFF212, NO 5188 0475). At the road junction at Newton of Balcormo, in Carnbee Parish, stands Stephen's type-example of Type K, illustrated in his Plate 22b and here as Image 7 (Map 7, shown below under Marker 2.5). This is a much bigger job than the Type J, being 3ft 6in (1065mm) high with panels 3ft 3in (990mm) by 1ft 9in (535mm), each showing 18 names instead of the nine or ten on the J-types. Lettering is 15mm high with 22mm initials, the same as in the Type K1 markers of Group 4 and generally smaller than in Types I and J. The marker is fixed to a heavy masonry plinth proud of the wall bounding the road and is arranged to be viewed from the south-west.

This marker is of the same design as those on the Lathockar Road, but the corners are tricked out with black instead of being left white. The big, black pointing fists are diagnostic of Type K. The names and stated mileages in the bottom five rows are almost hidden by long grass. Using a solidus / to separate the names in the left and right panels, and with equivalent kilometres rounded to the nearest 500m in brackets, these rows are:

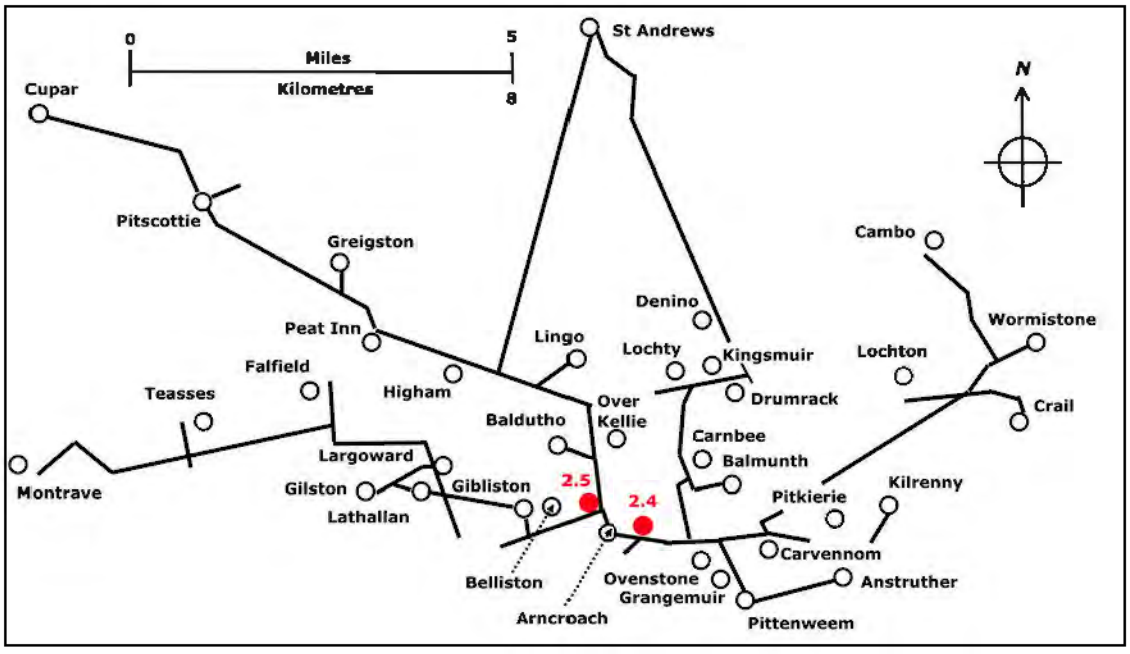
Peat Inn 5½ (9) / Lochton 5½ (9)
Greigston 6½ (10.5) / Wormistone 6½ (10.5)
Pitscottie 9½ (15) / Cambo 7½ (12)
Cupar 12½ (20) / Crail 6½ (10.5)
St Andrews 10 (16) / St Andrews 10 (16)

It is interesting to see that the mileage to St. Andrews is the same, whether going west-about or east-about. It is also interesting to find this marker, clearly of the same age as the other K-types, standing at a road junction

Image 7: Marker 2.4

on none of the three roads radiating from which are there any regularly-spaced milestones. In fact the milestones along the main east-going road through Colinsburgh, numbered to and from Crail, pursue a line through Pittenweem and Anstruther and do not use this route.

The names 'Denino' and 'Carvennom' are nowadays spelt 'Dunino' and 'Carvenom' respectively. The form with the double-n does not seem to be historically attested (Taylor 2009: 151). The name 'Balmunth' seems always to have been spelled with 'o' (Taylor 2009: 144-5), and is so spelled on marker 4.2. The name 'Montrave' (which also appears on markers 1.1 and 2.5) is of interest in being derived by the toponymist Watson (1926: 402-3) from two hypothetical words in the Pictish language to mean good farm—see also the discussion in Taylor (2008: 522). Pictish has always been described as a language about which essentially nothing was known, but modern scholarship, as exemplified not least by Dr Taylor, is beginning to bring at least a vocabulary out of the shadows.



Map 7 (for 2.4, Image 7, and 2.5, Images 8 and 9)

The distances shown in the area immediately north-west of Gibliston (see map 7) are not perfectly clear. In the turnpike era there was a good route, shown on SGF, from Gibliston to Lathallan House, just about two miles long, as indicated on the marker. This is the route shown on the map. From there to Gilston House, however, was only about half a mile; but a long detour through Largoward would make all the distances come out right. In modern times, Lathallan House is in ruins, and the track from Gibliston is largely a footpath only.

2.5 Arncroach (FF_WMFF215, NO 5111 0555). Finally in this Group, still in Carnbee Parish, we find a modern marker (Images 8 and 9, Map 7) just north of Arncroach, at the road junction for Gibliston and Balmakin, both listed on the left panel of Marker 2.2. This is not on the road to Crail, but on a route through Arncroach to Lochty, parallel to the road through Carnbee discussed below. It is superficially very like the markers of Type K, but both the panels lie in the same plane, and there is a rounded rather than triangular

Images 8 (left) and 9 (right): Marker 2.5.

top. The panels, 16 inches (400mm) wide and only the same amount high, have only five rows of names. Lettering is 20mm high, with 33mm initials, the largest on any marker. The whole hollow box, 4 inches deep at the top and reaching 4 feet 7 inches (1400mm) above the ground, stands on a circular pillar just over 3ft 3in (1000mm) high, mounted on a circular base of granite setts. These measurements seem to show the pernicious Napoleonic influence of metrication, not really appropriate to the replication of an artefact made about two hundred years ago. We describe this marker as Type L, the sole example of its kind.

The marker is arranged to be seen from the south, and the set of names in the right-hand panel are reached by continuing up the north-bound road away from Arncroach. All the names shown are also shown on Marker 2.4, which is only about half a mile away. One might expect that distances to all the names common to both markers would differ by the same amount, but in fact while nearly all differ by half a mile, one differs by a quarter of a mile and one by three-quarters. This may be taken as a practical indication that the stated mileages are mere approximations, and that the conclusions drawn in the first paragraph of this paper are tenable.

This marker was cast by Dawson Downie Lamont of Glenrothes, Fife, in 2008 (pers. comm.), as a replacement for an earlier similar marker that, it is suggested locally, was stolen, and its presence at this point, nowhere near a turnpike, seems inexplicable, though the 1:25,000 map of 1956 shows a Guide Post at the same place.

There is in fact some ground for confusion here. On the one hand, Silver (1987: 185) lists a turnpike (Road No. 46), designated by the Act of 1807 to run from Pittenweem harbour through Nether Carnbee to a junction with the turnpike from Anstruther to St Andrews (Road No. 45) that was designated in the same Act. Nether Carnbee offers no difficulty: although not named on the modern map, it is shown under that name on the First Edition of the six-inch map (Ordnance Survey 1855), though on later maps it is always called Ovenstone Cottage. This name in turn is no longer used, though the cottage has become an outhouse in the grounds of a later building, Ovenstone House. This stands at a road junction between Silver's Road No. 46 and the modern B9171. Very recently this junction has received signs giving its name as 'Ovenstone.' In modern times the continuation of the road from Pittenweem is a very minor road leading through Carnbee village to a junction at Lochty Farm with the Crail - Cupar turnpike. On the 1855 map is shown a narrow track striking north from Carnbee church to meet that turnpike at Lochty Smithy, about seven hundred yards (650m) east of Lochty.

It is possible on the 1855 map to trace a track offering a further extension of this line from the Smithy, running generally north-easterly to meet the St Andrews road at what used to be the Kingsmuir Inn (now a private house called Bellrock View). This is the route indicated in Silver (1987: map p. 73). The route from Carnbee to the Inn is still clear on the One-Inch Popular map of 1945, though most of it has gone from the edition of 1957 (Ordnance Survey 1945, 1957 respectively); on the modern Explorer map (Ordnance Survey

2007), the missing part is indicated merely by field-boundaries. No milestones are mapped at any scale anywhere along this route, from Pittenweem to the Kingsmuir Inn.

On the other hand, although Silver makes no suggestion that the road north from Arncroach on which Marker No 2.5 stands was ever designated as a turnpike, the Second Edition of the six-inch map, published in 1896 (Ordnance Survey 1895-6), shows a milestone exactly at the point now occupied by the marker. Unfortunately the mapped details of this stone show distances to Cupar and St Andrews, so there is no indication of the destinations to the south (just like the marker itself); and moreover no other stone is shown along this road, even though it is more than a mile to the next road junction to the north. This milestone does not appear on any other map, earlier or later, and nor do any others that might be in the same sequence. Nor do the maps offer any ground to suggest the existence of a track from the junction of this road with the Crail turnpike to give access to the Anstruther road.

We feel justified, then, in describing marker No 2.5 (and even the milestone that it replaced, at however long an interval) as 'inexplicable.'

Group 3. The Kingsbarns road

We give this name to the turnpike from Crail to St. Andrews, designated in the Act of 1807 and called by Silver (1987) Road No 42, because that village is the chief settlement along its route.

3.1 Crail (FF_WMFF202, NO 6080 0820). Just north of Crail, in the angle between the B940 and the A917, we observe a free-standing marker of Type I (Images 10 to 12, Map 8), set to be read from the south. Its open back (Image 11) exposes the triangular bracket that holds it up, and also lets one see the horizontal bar with a bolt-hole that must be employed in the support of the other marker of this type, No. 3.2. The marker's two panels are each 2 feet 10 inches (865mm) by 11 inches (280mm). The triangular stiffening panel at the top is not cast at an angle as in other Types, but lies horizontally. There are twelve names in each panel, arranged in centralised justification without mileages, with lettering uniformly 20mm high. The word CRAIL appears in larger, 30mm, letters across the top of the two panels together.

The flat top of the marker (Image 12), painted white, shows the name of the ironfounder who cast the plate, Robert Douglas Engineer Cupar. This business was founded in 1846 or 1847 and moved to Kirkcaldy in 1855: this gives a range of dates for the casting of the marker. Stephen's information (p. 183) has been copied onto the Internet under douglashistory.co.uk without acknowledgment of Stephen's publisher, and copyright is claimed for it there.

The extreme distances to the indicated places might have been shown as Lochton 1½ miles (2.5km), Cupar 18 miles (29km), in the left panel; and Wormiston ¾ mile (1km), St Andrews 9 miles (14.5km), in the right.

Denino has more usually been called Dunino, and is so now. It was called Denino in the early part of the eighteenth century, just about the time of the Turnpike Acts. Polduff farm was renamed Winchester in the mid-twentieth century by the then owner, in memory of the Winchester family who had owned the site since

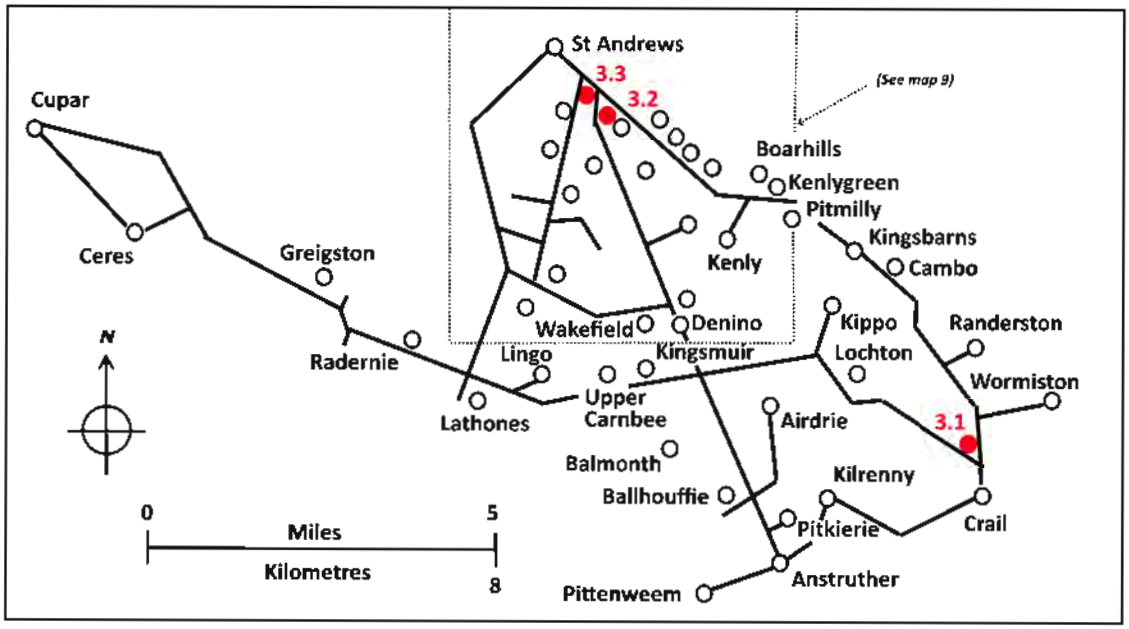
Images 10 (left), 11 (centre) and 12 (right); Marker 3.1. Crail

'at least the seventeenth century' (Taylor 2009: 541). On the 21st-century Ordnance Survey maps, it is renamed again as Balmashie.

The name Upper Carnbee does not seem to be used by the Ordnance Survey: its most recent mapping may be that of Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler (1828), where it appears at the place subsequently known as Lochty. It is also used on the map of Fife by Ainslie (1775), which Taylor (2009: 19) describes as a 'key source,' where it is applied to a small group of farm buildings in a field to the south of Lochty and now demolished. We therefore locate this name at what is now called 'Lochty.' For Radernie, a widely-scattered township, we use the farm Loanhead, half-way between Higham Toll and Peat Inn.

3.2 Brownhills (FF_WMFF201, NO 5242 1524). The other known marker of Type I is south of St Andrews, in the angle of the modern A917 and B9131 (Image 13, Map 8). It is identical in manufacture to No 3.1, except for having a black top, but it is built into a wall for support and it replaces 'CRAIL' across the top with 'ST ANDREWS'. It is arranged to be read by traffic leaving St. Andrews. Its left-hand panel retraces almost exactly the route depicted on the right-hand panel of No 3.1. The same remarks as above apply to Denino and Polduff.

Spinnstown appears to be a mistake for Spinkstown, the original name for what is now called Kinkell Farm (Taylor 2009: 533-4). As Taylor says, there is another building called Spinkstown Farm House, shown but not named on the modern 1:25,000 Explorer map, but here most unusually Taylor slips up and provides an incorrect grid reference. It should be (to six figures) NO 540 143. Wakefield is the old name for Stravithie House (Taylor 2009: 255). Both the names Spinkstown and Wakefield were changed in the mid-nineteenth century. Balhouffie, the usual form of the name, seems never to have had the double-l (Taylor 2009: 142). Extreme distances might have been shown as 1 mile (1.5km) to both Spinkstown and Kingask, and 8 miles (13km) to Crail, in the left panel; and half a mile (1km) to Balmungo, 9¼ miles (15km) to Pittenweem in the right.



Map 8 (for 3.1, Images 10 to 12 Crail, 3.2, Image 13 Brownhills and 3.3 Image 14 Gannochy).
(For details closer to St Andrews, see map 9)

3.3 Gannochy (FF_WMFF208, NO 5167 1591). A very hybrid marker (Image 14, Maps 8 and 9) stands at the junction of the main road from St Andrews to Crail with the minor road leading to Kinaldy, arranged to be viewed from the north. It has most of the characteristics of Type N (Marker 5.2), but it has the black edging and (in one panel) the L/R indicators of Type J, in the other panel no indicators, as in Type K2. We consider this to be sufficiently distinct to require the designation Type O. The panels are 14 x 31 inches, and the letters are 9mm high, with 11mm initials, the smallest on any marker.

Names in the left-hand panel are an amalgam of some of the names on markers 3.1 and 3.2. Spinnstown on 3.2 is given its newer name of Kingask; Wakefield is given its older name of Stravithie. 'Pitnilly' is a mistake for 'Pitmilly.' Mountville is now called Mountvale. The same remarks as above apply to Denino and Polduff.

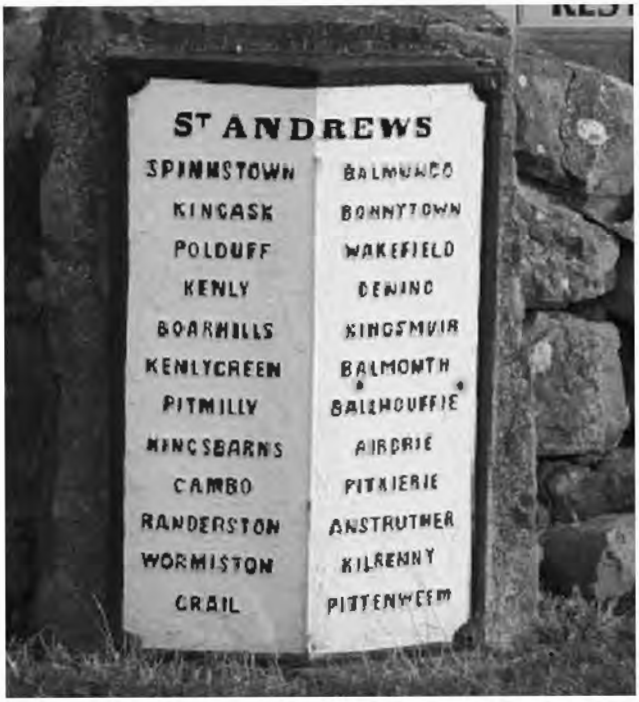


Image 13: Marker 3.2 Brownhills

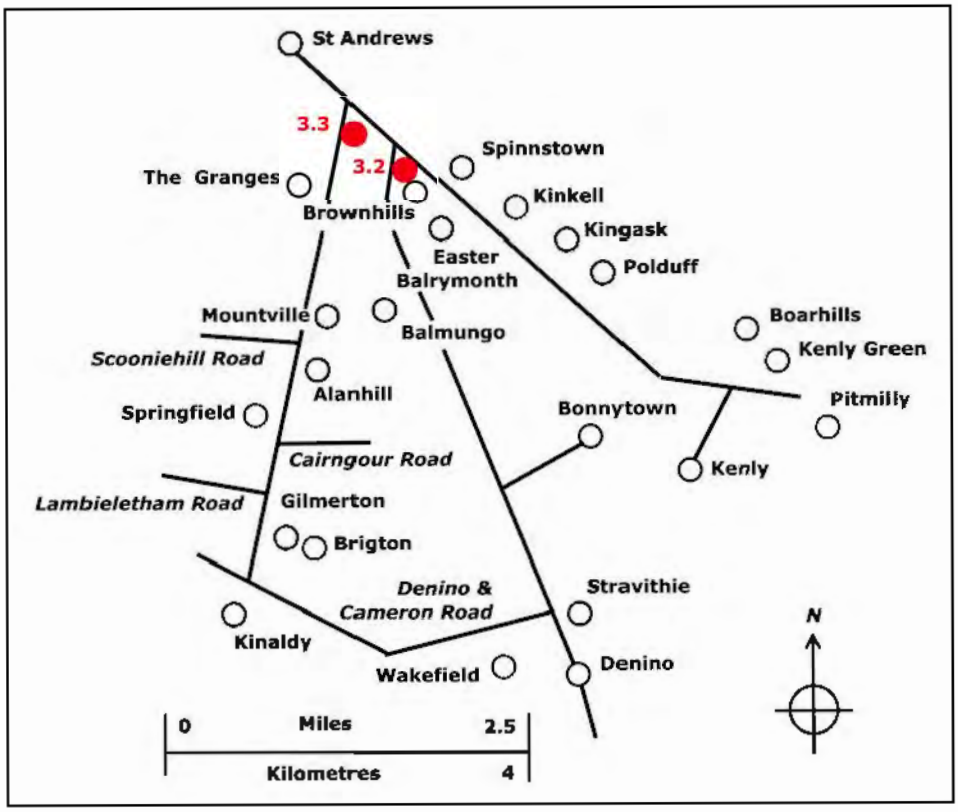
Image 14: Marker 3.3 Gannochy

Except for Kinaldy, names in the right-hand panel do not appear on any other marker. 'The Granges' are a collection of farmhouses, now known as 'East Grange,' 'West Grange,' 'The Grange' and 'Grange Farm.' The reference point on our map is on the site of 'The Grange.' 'Springfield' is now called 'Muir Park.'

Most unusually, some of the references in the right-hand panel are to local roads; here 'Lambo Letham' is a mistake for 'Lambie Letham' as shown on Marker 4.2.

Again, very unusually, only a single mileage is given on the two panels. Limits for the left-hand panel might have varied from ½ mile to 12 miles, and in the right-hand panel from ½ mile to 3½ miles.

We call this marker 'Gannochy', after the cottage closest to it, which was built in 1927. On the six-inch map of 1896 the only building in the area, very close to this cottage, is called 'Dunolly Cottage.'



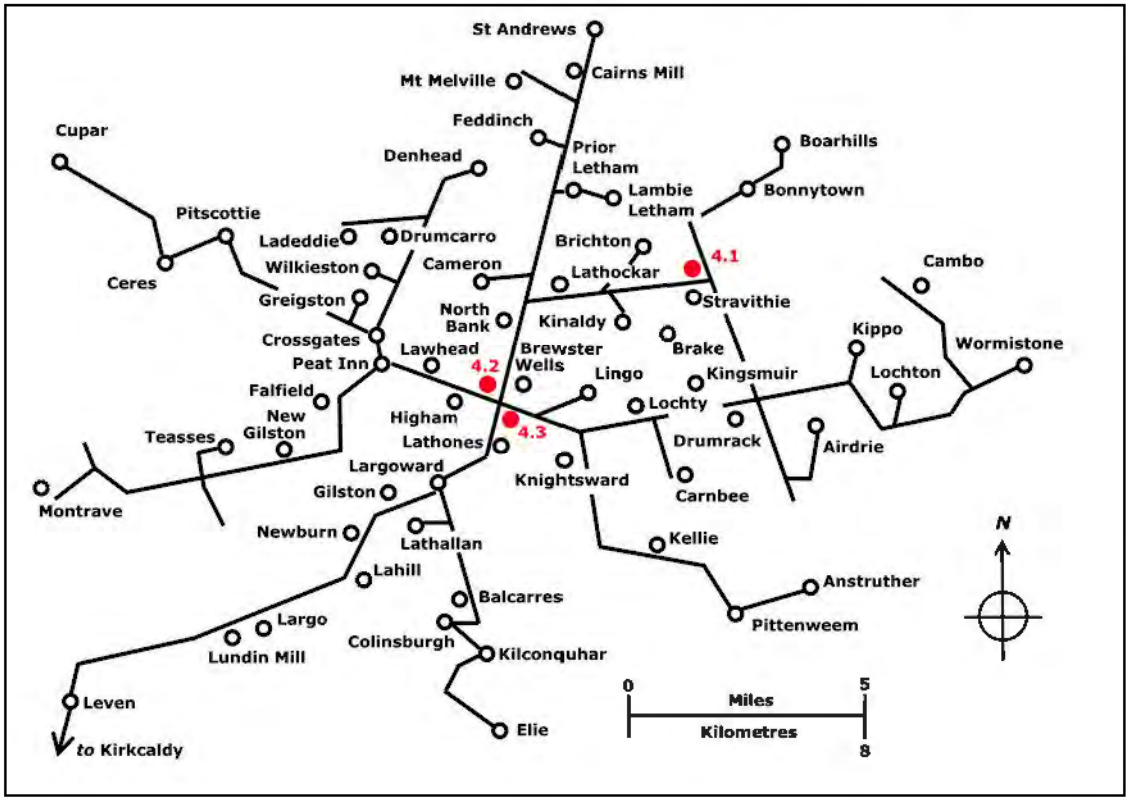
Map 9 (for details of Group 3 close to St Andrews, and for whole of 3.3, Image 14, right panel)

Group 4. The Lathockar road

We give this name to the minor road from Stravithie leading towards Cameron and Higham Toll, which was never a part of the turnpike arrangements and which remained unstoned. Stravithie lies on the B9131, a fully-milestoned road from St Andrews to Anstruther, designated as a turnpike in 1807. The three markers treated here fall naturally into a single Group because they are the only extant members of the Type K1, which we consider to be the true exemplar of the Type.

Image 15 (right): Marker 4.1 Stravithie.

Map 10 (below) (for 4.1, Image 15 Stravithie. , left-hand panel; 4.2, Images 16, 17 Higham Toll South and 4.3, Images 18. 19 Higham Toll South.)



4.1 Stravithie (FF_WMFF213, NO 5353 1149). A Type K1 marker (Image 15, Map 10 for the left-hand panel, Map 11, in Group 5, for the right) stands at Stravithie in Dunino Parish, at the east end of the Lathockar road. Its open back is supported by two struts attached to an eyebolt screwed into metal bushes at the back. Shrubbery (organic bushes?) prevents any easy access to the rear. Its panels are 34 by 14 inches (865 by 355mm), with 14 names in one panel and only 13 in the other: the name 'Stravithy Railway Station' occupies two lines. Inclusion of this name makes one wonder about the date this marker was cast, because the railway was not built until 1887 (Thomas and Turnock, 1989: 77). Lettering is 15mm high, with 22mm initials, the standard size for Type K.

Other names on this marker are as shown on the modern map, except for 'Brichton' for modern 'Brigton.' This seems to be merely an error on the part of the moulder, for it does not appear in this form in Taylor's lists of relevant historical documents (Taylor 2009: 88). All the names in the left-hand panel, apart from Brake and Higham, are also shown on Nos. 4.2 and 4.3.

Just over a mile beyond the west end of this road one finds the other two markers of Type K1, standing at the

junction, in Cameron Parish, of the turnpike roads from Crail to Cupar (designated in 1790, Roads 15 and 14) and from St Andrews to Leven (designated partly in 1807 as Road 43 and partly as late as 1829 as Road 73). In the turnpike era this junction was called Higham Toll, and today this name is perpetuated as a heading on the modern directional signboards seen approaching the junction and at the lay-by mentioned below. It takes its name from the nearby Higham Farm, so called because it is the highest inhabited building in the parish.

The junction is of interest in that it has in modern times been rebuilt so as to allow much faster traffic to progress on what is now the more important Leven-St Andrews road. Maps published up to about 1960, and the present arrangement of hedges and field boundaries, show that the Crail - Cupar road, now B940, used to maintain its general alignment through the junction, and the Leven-St Andrews road, now A915, met the B940 in a pair of T-junctions staggered by 50 yards or so. The toll-house stood beside the northern mouth of the A915; there was no doubt a toll-bar on the common stretch of the road, indicating that the tolls from both roads were collected into a common purse.

The junction has now been realigned so that the A915 maintains a wide sweep, almost a straight line, right through it, and the eastern arm of the B940 has been slightly diverted, so that both parts of the B940 now form T-junctions with the A-road. The mouth of the old northern arm of the A-road has been retained as a lay-by. The wayside markers stand at the present-day mouths of the B940.

4.2 Higham Toll North (FF_WMFF211, NO 4753 0933). In the mouth of the western arm of the B940, facing southward down the A915, stands a Type K1 marker (Images 16 and 17, Map 10) about 3 feet 3 inches (990mm) high, with 30 names. The panels are 2ft 8 inches (815mm) by 1 ft 2 inches (355mm). Lettering is 15mm high, with 22mm initials, the standard size for Type K. Places shown in the left panel are approached along B940, in the right, along A915.

Present routes to Cameron, rounding the new Cameron Reservoir, increase the shortest distance to that farm to more than the 1¾ miles (3km) shown on the panel. There is an intrusive 'e' in 'Brewester Wells' for modern 'Brewster Wells,' and this form, like 'Brichton,' discussed under Marker No. 4.1. above, is unattested in Taylor. There are two Lambieletham farms, South and North; and given the mere half-mile (1km) distance from Priorletham, we have to assume that South Lambieletham is the one meant. We have taken the name Stravithie to refer to the house of that name, on Marker 3.2 called by its older name of Wakefield.

We are in two minds about the correct position of the name 'Lathockar.' Modern maps show it at NO 493 110, on the north side of what we have called the Lathockar Road. This position seems to tie in reasonably well with the distances given on the marker. The map also shows another farm 'Lathockar Mains' at NO 488 095. After some discussion of an estate plan dated 1815, Taylor (2009:115) concludes that at this

Images 16 (left) and 17 (right): Marker 4.2 Higham Toll North.

time, a few years earlier than the Fife Turnpike Act of 1829, the centre of the estate was at Lathockar Mains, and the house now known as Lathockar was called Hazzleden. It is quite possible that Lathockar Mains was losing its importance in favour of Hazzleden, whose name was becoming Lathockar, at about the time the markers were cast. We choose therefore to show Lathockar in the modern position.

Marker 4.2 is not supported by being built into a wall of some kind, either already marking a roadside or erected for the purpose. Instead, it is supported by a bracket attached to an eyebolt screwed into a bush at the back (Image 17), and the clear ground behind, unobstructed by wall or hedge, affords an easy opportunity to inspect the, fairly uninteresting, interior of the casting. The other marker at Higham, No. 4.3, is supported by a very neat piece of masonry formed to fill the hollow back exactly (Image 19).

4.3 Higham Toll South (FF_WMFF210, NO 4753 0933). This marker (Images 18 and 19, Map 10, above) is symmetrically opposite No. 4.1, being intended to be seen when approaching from the north along the common stretch of road. Places shown in its left panel lie eastward along B940, on its right, southward along A915. The panels are 2ft 6 inches (760mm) by 1 foot 2 inches (355mm), and the whole is almost exactly 3 feet (915mm) high. Lettering is the standard size for Type K.

Wormistone is the same as Wormiston (the more usual form of the name) on marker No 3.1 near Crail; it appears with the final 'e' on marker 3.3. None of the 27 other names shown is noteworthy, except perhaps Kirkcaldy, at the bottom of the right-hand panel and difficult to see in Image 18; at 18 miles (29km) this is the furthest distance explicitly shown on any wayside marker, and there is unfortunately no room for it on the sketch-map.

Here and elsewhere it is difficult to reconcile the distance shown between Lathallan and Colinsburgh without passing through the grounds of Balcarres House, a route that has become a private road and so is no longer available. That it was once the normal route is shown by the existence of two milestones on the six-inch map of 1896, one at Lathallan Mill with NO 4683 0559 and the other at the East Lodge of the Balcarres Estate (shown without a name on the modern 1:25,000 map) with NO 4773 0435. These stones define part of the

Images 18 (left) and 19 (right): Marker 4.3 Higham Toll South.

road from Cupar to Colinsburgh running through the estate almost straight generally from north-west to south-east. The more southerly of these stones no longer exists, but the other, shorn of its mileage indicator plates, stands as a forlorn green stump beside the road.

Group 5. North Fife

5.1 St. Michaels (FF_WMFF205, NO 4413 2288). On the northern fork of the staggered cross-roads at St Michaels, in Leuchars Parish, stands a third example (Image 20, Map 11) of Stephen's Type J. It is only slightly larger than the two examples in Group 2, using panels of 2ft 2in by 1ft 3in (660mm by 380mm) to contain 22 names. Lettering is J-sized, 20mm high with 30mm initials. The marker was supported by a close-fitting masonry plinth, which has suffered some damage, and the back is now essentially open.

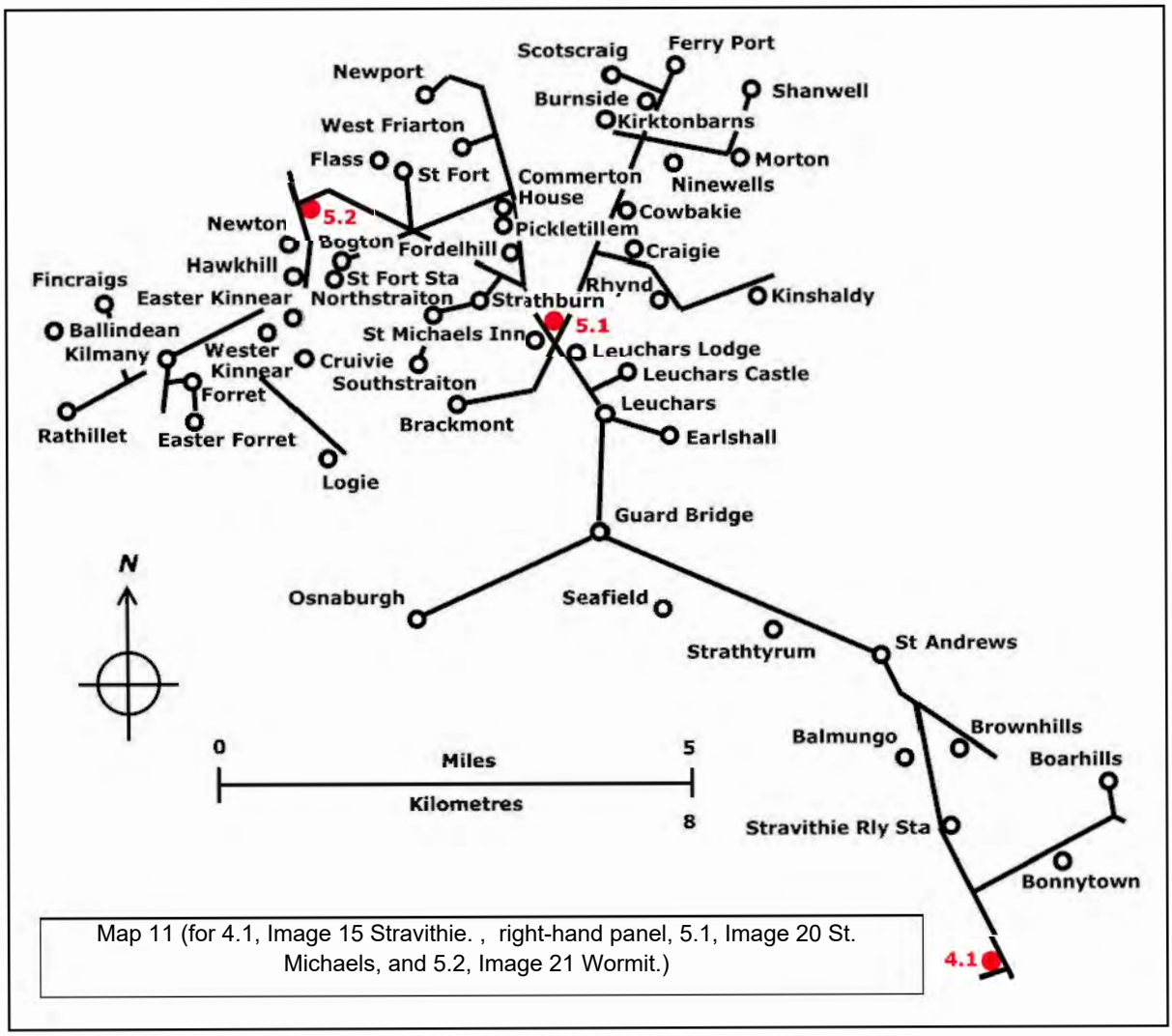
The names on this marker give rise to a number of difficulties. Bogton was a row of cottages close to St Fort station, shown on the 6-inch map sheet No 4NW of 1919, but possibly destroyed when the A92 was re-routed to meet the new Tay Road Bridge.

Image 20: Marker 5.1 St. Michaels

Commerton is now spelt with one 'm' and is referred to further under Marker 5.2, below. It should not be confused with the Comerton Farm close to Leuchars airfield. The Friartons is a group of two farms and a row of cottages, to east and west of the main road. We choose to show West Friarton on our map. Cowbakie is a puzzle to modern eyes, not having appeared on the Ordnance Survey since about 1890, but since then has been called 'Vicarsford' (Taylor 2010: 504). Ferry Port is a shortened form of Ferryport-on-Craig, the old name for Tayport. It appears as Tayport on Marker 4.3, which shows mileages, and helps us to believe that Type K and K1 markers are of later vintage than those of Type J.

As is normal for markers of Type J, no mileages are given. They range from half a mile (1km) to Strathburn to 4¾ miles (7.5km) to Kilmany, in the left panel, and from 1½ miles (2.5km) to Craigie to 4½ miles (7km) to Tayport harbour, in the right.

5.2 Wormit (FF_WMFF203, NO 4013 2512). North of St Michaels, at the junction with the unclassified road leading to Wormit, was the site of Stephen's Type L, now lost. Nearly three miles (5km) along this latter road, at its junction with what is now the B946, in Forgan Parish, stands a marker of hybrid appearance: all white, and with a triangular top, like a Type K, but without pointing fists; and with place-names given with 'L' and 'R' indications but without mileages, like a Type J. We have called this marker Type N (Image 21, Map



Map 11 (for 4.1, Image 15 Stravithie. , right-hand panel, 5.1, Image 20 St. Michaels, and 5.2, Image 21 Wormit.)

Image 21: Marker 5.2 Wormit.

11). Like No. 3.1, it seems to post-date the railway, which was opened from Leuchars through St Fort station in 1878 to reach the Tay Bridge (Thomas and Turnock, 1989: 78). Exactly like No. 2.4, it is situated at the junction of a road (the B946) said to have been managed by a Turnpike Trust with one not so described, but neither of them was ever milestoned.

The panels are 30 inches (760mm) by 14 inches (355mm), and letters are 15mm high, with 25mm initials. The shape of the top, with a depth of 9 inches (230mm), makes the whole casting very rigid, and its fixing in a stone base allows it to stand without any sort of bracketed support. The open back is entirely unobstructed.

The marker is arranged to be read when approaching from the north. The bottom line reads 'Earlshall L / Fincraigs R'. All names are as shown on the modern map, apart from 'Commerton House' which now has only one 'm.' This is the same place as 'Commerton' on Marker 5.1, and the Ordnance Survey traces the vagaries of its name. Until about 1885 it was always shown as 'Commerton House,' and from then until about 1915 it appeared with only one 'm.' From 1919 to about 1965, on all scales from 1:25,000 to the twenty-five-inch, it was given as 'Comerton Home.' This name arose because at the end of the nineteenth century the house was converted into a care home for disabled children, and was locally called 'The Home.' After it became a doctor's surgery in about 1980, it was known as a House again. On the latest map we have seen, the 2007 edition of Pathfinder, the name is shown as Comerton House with a single 'm.'

Table 1. Marker locations

Ref	MSoc	Type	NGR	Back	Location	Map	Image(s)
1.1	209	K2	3869 0698	Masonry plinth	Foggieleys Wood	3	1
1.2	204	J1	4169 0430	Open, concrete wedge	Pitcruvie	4	2
2.1	216	M	4246 0345	Against building	Upper Largo	5	3, 4
2.2	206	J	1609 0296	Wall at roadside	Balchrystie	6	5
2.3	207	J	5088 0364	Wall at roadside	B9171 junction	6	6
2.4	212	K	5189 0476	Heavy masonry plinth	Newton of Balcormo	7	7
2.5	215	L	5112 0555	Open, on pillar	Arncroach	7	8, 9
3.1	202	I	6079 0817	Open, metal bracket	Crail	8, 9	10 - 12
3.2	201	I	5241 1523	Masonry plinth	Brownhills	8, 9	13
3.3	208	O	5167 1591	Wall at roadside	Gannochy	8, 9	14
4.1	213	K1	5342 1148	Open, struts	Stravithie	10, 11	15
4.2	211	K1	4752 0942	Open, strut	Higham Toll North	10	16, 17
4.3	210	K1	4753 0933	Masonry plinth	Higham Toll South	10	18, 19
5.1	205	J	4413 2283	Open, strut	St Michaels	11	20
5.2	203	N	4015 2512	Open, fixed in concrete	Wormit	11	21

Milestone Society references are all preceded by FF_WMFF

Types I, J and K are those shown as such in Stephen (1967) Plates 21c, d and 22b. We use the designations L, M and N to perpetuate the style of Stephen's naming convention—further details in the Notes to Table II. All National Grid references are in the 100-km square NO.

Table 2. Appearances

Type	Refs	Images	Description
I	3.1, 3.2	10-14	Flat top, black edging, names centrally justified, no indicators
J	2.2, 2.3, 5.1	5, 6, 20	Black triangular top, black edging, no fists, L/R
J1	1.2	2	As Type J but larger panels
K	2.4	7	White triangular top, black edging, black fists, mileages
K1	4.1, 4.2, 4.3	15-19	White triangular top, no edging, black fists, mileages
K2	1.1	1	White triangular top, no edging, black fists, no indicators
L	2.5	8, 9	Rounded top edge, black fists, mileages, on cylindrical pillar
M	2.1	3, 4	Black triangular top, black edging, asymmetric black fists, mileages, panels at right angles
N	5.2	21	White triangular top, no edging, no fists, L/R
O	3.3	14	White triangular top, black edging, no fists, L/R in one panel only

L/R indicates the presence of indicators showing which side of the road the destination is to be looked for; on these markers distances are not shown.

Types I, J and K are those shown as such in Stephen (1967) Plates 21c, d and 22b. We use the designations L, M and N to perpetuate the style of Stephen's naming convention. We take the heavy black fists as diagnostic of Type K, and distinguish the sub-types by the paint scheme and the presence or absence of distance indications. Stephen's example of Type K is itself the only K-type with central black edging, and as such is not really a suitable exemplar of the Type. Type K1 is more nearly the standard.

Type I requires no sub-divisions. Type J has smaller panels than its variant Type J1. Our Type L is not the same as Stephen's Type L, which is no longer to be found; ours is a miniature version of Type K supported on a pillar. Types M and N (of which the latter was apparently not seen by Stephen, though we think it existed when he wrote) are hybrids of Types J and K. Type M has the black top and edges of Type J, and the black fists and mileage indications of Type K. Type N has the white top of Type K, the all-white panels

L/R indicates the presence of indicators showing which side of the road the destination is to be looked for; on these markers distances are not shown.

Types I, J and K are those shown as such in Stephen (1967) Plates 21c, d and 22b. We use the designations L, M and N to perpetuate the style of Stephen's naming convention. We take the heavy black fists as diagnostic of Type K, and distinguish the sub-types by the paint scheme and the presence or absence of distance indications. Stephen's example of Type K is itself the only K-type with central black edging, and as such is not really a suitable exemplar of the Type. Type K1 is more nearly the standard.

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All markers of Type K and its hybrids, Types M and N, have lettering 15mm high, with initials and figures slightly larger, at 22mm. Types I and J have larger inscriptions, the bulk at 20mm and the initials at 30mm. On Type I, all place-names are uniformly of the smaller size, and only the heading inscriptions are larger. On Type J (but not J1) the names of larger settlements are presented in uniformly larger letters. The modern Type L is different from the rest: here the letters are 20mm and 33mm high.

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