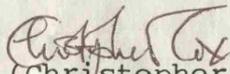


ERRATA. C Cox Ph.D. Thesis 1987 Development & Decline
of the Turnpike System in the Stroudwater
area of Gloucestershire.

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- p -1 Near end of Abbreviations: Newcomen
103 Half-way down: See
112 End para. 1: deemed
111 footnotes 35 (p 113) and 36 (p 114). Footnote 35
refers to Joan Chibnall, The roads of Buckinghamshire ...
unpub. M.Sc. thesis, London 1963. Footnote 36 is pro-
bably from Godwin F and Toulmin S, The drivers' roads
of Wales. Wildwood Press 1977.
126 4th line from bottom: Intended.
192 Footnote 21: viscount
199 1st para.: This
208 3rd from bottom: 39/40
211 End of line new para.: authorization
252 1st line: 1726

With apologies!


(Christopher Cox)

In addition, in some copies p 24 line 9 should read:
the parish of Pitchcombe

AND
THE DEVELOPMENT & DECLINE
OF THE
TURNPIKE SYSTEM
IN THE
STROUDWATER AREA OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE
1725 - 1875

---oOo---

by
CHRISTOPHER COX

for the
degree of
Ph.D.

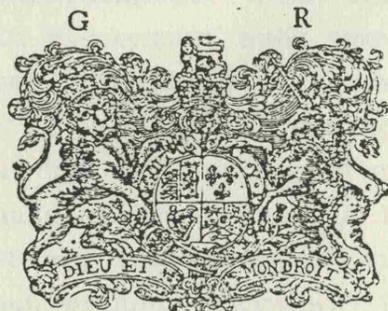
(London School of Economics.)

Anno Regni
G E O R G I I
R E G I S

Magna Britannia, Francia, & Hibernia,
DUODECIMO.

At the Parliament Begun and Holden at *Westminster*,
the Ninth Day of *October*, *Anno Dom.* 1722.
In the Ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign
Lord *GEORGE*, by the Grace of God, of
Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender
of the Faith, &c.

And from thence Continued by several Prorogations to the Twentieth
Day of *January*, 1725. Being the Fourth Session of this present
Parliament.



L O N D O N,

Printed by *John Baskett*, Printer to the King's most
Excellent Majesty; and *Thomas Norris*, Assignee to
George Hills. 1726.

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THESES

СБОРНИК

Author (full names) CHRISTOPHER COX

Title of thesis THE DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF THE TURNPIKE SYSTEM IN
..... THE STROUDWATER AREA OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE 1725-1875.
..... Degree Ph.D.....

The thesis examines the development of road communications within a relatively self-contained area of hills & valleys; their relationship with the local relief & geology, and their response to changes in the settlement pattern and local economy, from late medieval times to the latter part of the 19th century. By the 18th century a 3-tier pattern had developed: through-routes on the plateau or ridge tops, 'contour' tracks linking hill-side settlements, and 'vertical' tracks from valley floor to plateau top.

The inadequacies of the parish road repair system led to the creation of toll-roads. Three such phases may here be distinguished. Firstly, the amendment of roads from the Severn to the edge of the Cotswolds; secondly, the development of long-distance routes across the plateau; thirdly, the construction of completely new alignments along, or close to, the valley bottom, reaching the plateau by sweeping sinuous curves. This last phase starts with the creation of the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust in 1780, though the example was not followed in the other valleys until the period 1800-1825.

In each phase a close look is taken at the financing of a particular road, or group of roads. The first such is the audit of the Stroud Turnpike, which took place in 1734 as a result of public discontent over the newly-imposed tolls. The financial theme is central to the whole history of turnpikes and in fact it was not the coming of the railways that brought about the crisis in the system. The trusts had been in grave financial trouble by at least the 1820s, and numerous Parliamentary enquiries had tried to resolve the problem of debt but without success. In the Stroudwater area an attempt was made in the early 1850s to introduce many of the suggested remedies: how and why this attempt failed is discussed. But while the competition from rail-

ways certainly caused the extinction of long-distance coaching and allied services, the turnpike system itself continued for at least another 30 years, though with a diminished revenue in most trusts.

The long-drawn-out process of unravelling the affairs of a turnpike until final dispiking is examined through the records of the Nailsworth Trust. From 1780 to the 1870s this trust is the exemplar for the area. Examined in detail are: the inception and inauguration of this new road, ^{and} the employment of a professional engineer, with competent road specifications pre-dating the better-known work of McAdam by 30 years. Also examined are: problems of constructing a completely new road; the work of the various officials, the composition of the committee and the trust's administration; the raising of the initial capital and the collection of toll revenue, including a detailed examination of toll-farming in the later years. Allied matters are also looked at.

At each change in the pattern of turnpike communications an appropriate financial problem is examined. Use is made throughout of numerous reproductions of contemporary maps and of original documents.

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104	Diagram to show relationship in the Stroudwater area between 'old' and 'new' turnpike roads.
A23	A coaching advertisement from Griffiths S Y Griffiths, <u>A New Historical Description of Cheltenham & its Vicinity</u> , 1826.
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Abbreviations.

QJGS	Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society.
PCNFC	Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists Field Club.
GSIAJ	Journal of the Gloucestershire Society for Industrial Archaeology.
PGA	Proceedings of the Geological Association.
TrBGAS	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society.
AJ	Archaeological Journal.
CUP	Cambridge University Press.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
KAA	Kingscote Archaeological Association.
RCHM	Royal Commission of Historical Monuments.
Glevensis	Journal of GADARG - the Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group.
VCH	Victoria County History.
ECHR	Economic History Review.
JTH	Journal of Transport History.
GRO	Gloucestershire Records Office.
G Lib	Gloucester Library.
C.Coll	Gloucestershire Collection (in G Lib).
GJ	Gloucester (Glocester) Journal.
OS PD	Ordnance Survey Preliminary Drawings.
Newcomen Soc.	Trans- Transactions of the Newcomen Society.
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers.
HCJ	Journal of the House of ommons.
SFP	Stroud Free Press.

Special thanks are due to: the staff of the Gloucestershire Records Office, who for many years have patiently answered my queries and plied me with documents; and to the London School of Economics for allowing me to resume this study after an enforced gap of nearly twenty years.

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Chapter I. INTRODUCTION: THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND
& ITS INFLUENCE ON ROADS AND TRACKS.

(1) Relief and Geology.

Gloucestershire, like Caesar's Gaul, has traditionally been divided into three parts: Wold, Vale, and Forest of Dean. This classification ignores the claims to identity of the several valley systems that breach the western scarp and which may fairly be said to present significant differences from the three major regions of the county.

Of these river systems, the largest is that of the Frome, hereafter called the Stroudwater system, which includes areas of plateau, hill slopes and valley bottoms. The headwaters of the Frome itself start near the scarp edge not far from Birdlip, and at first flow in a generally south-easterly direction as though to join the strippling Thames in the manner of the Evenlode, Windrush, Coln and Churn. But near Sapperton the Frome and its twin the Holy Brook turn sharply to the west in a deepening valley to Stroud, which lies near the confluence of the main river with other valley streams.

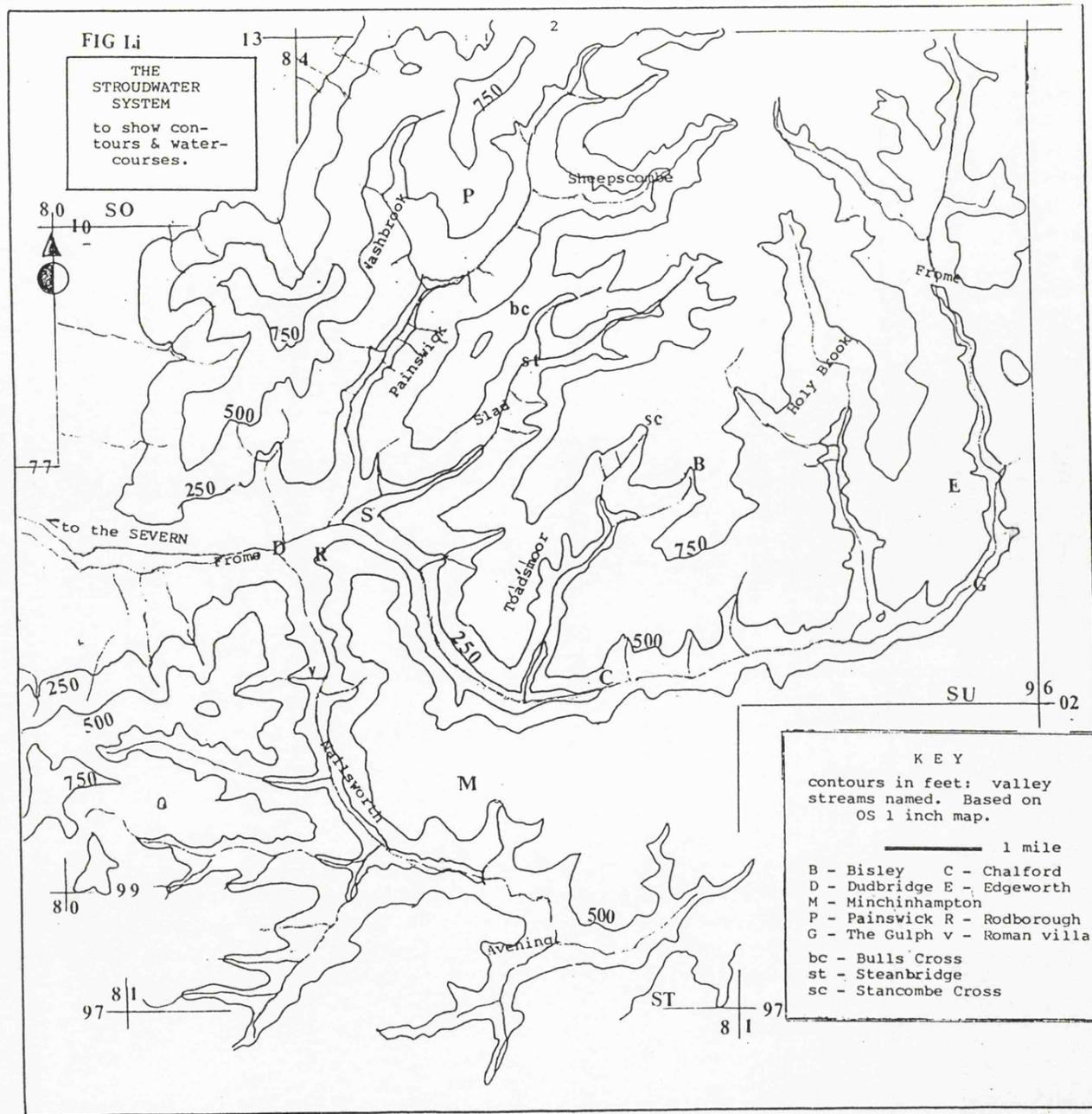
The Frome emerges from the Oolitic escarpment at Stroud, crosses the sub-edge plain as far as Stonehouse in a deep trench, and thence in a shallow valley flanked on the south-west, round Frampton, by a wide spread of oolitic gravels.¹

The valleys of the Stroudwater system are deeply incised into the Cotswold plates. Valleys vary in relief, at times having precipitous sides, elsewhere

being marked by broad shelves separated by pronounced breaks of slope, the valley flanks being incised by tributary streams.² Above Stroud the valleys are narrow, and in the past must have been watery or marshy. The hill slopes are mantled with numerous land-slips which, where they reach the valley bottoms, have provided fordable crossings, and also suitable sites for water-mills, their natural barriers making it feasible to pond up the waters behind. The steep relief, the wet bottoms and the cold nature of the valley clays would have seriously restricted movement across the grain of relief, while the level tops would have provided much easier lines of communication — provided the ridges led in the desired direction.

There are significant differences in the relief of areas north and south of the main valley. To the south, plateau levels provide good communications westwards from Cirencester over the commons of Minchinhampton and Rodborough to the river-crossing at Dudbridge, and on the other side of the Nailsworth valley high, level ground gives access to the south. But north of the Frome the valleys run north to south and so seriously impede travel from east to west. (See Fig I.i p3)

The area has attracted a good deal of attention from geologists. A simple version of the geological succession may be seen in Witchell and Dreghorn.³ All the rocks are of the Jurassic period, with successive strata of clays, sands and limestones. The geological dip is a little less than that of the plateau surface, and consequently
(text continued p 11)



A Note to Fig I.i.

The wide embayment of Lower Lias clay from the scarp to Stroud.

The greater number of tributaries from the left bank in both the Painswick and the Slad valleys, and the way these valleys and the head-streams of the Frome, curve back towards the upland between Bisley and Birdlip (off the map).

The cap rock on Rodborough Common is of Inferior Oolite and thus few, and weak, streams issue from this upland. But Minchinhampton Common is of Great Oolite on Fullers Earth and so gives rise to stronger streams (not shown on this map). But the larger tributaries of the Nails-worth valley enter from the left apparently at reversed junctions. The upland in that direction (towards Nym-psfield) has Fullers Earth under some Great Oolite, and in the late 19th century the clay at Bown Hill (SO 80 820 021) supported a brick-works.

One route from south to north, probably ancient as it is marked by several barrows, went from Tetbury through Avening, crossed the Frome at Chalford, then headed for Bisley and the scarp edge at Birdlip.

FIGS I.ii & iii. Geological sections.

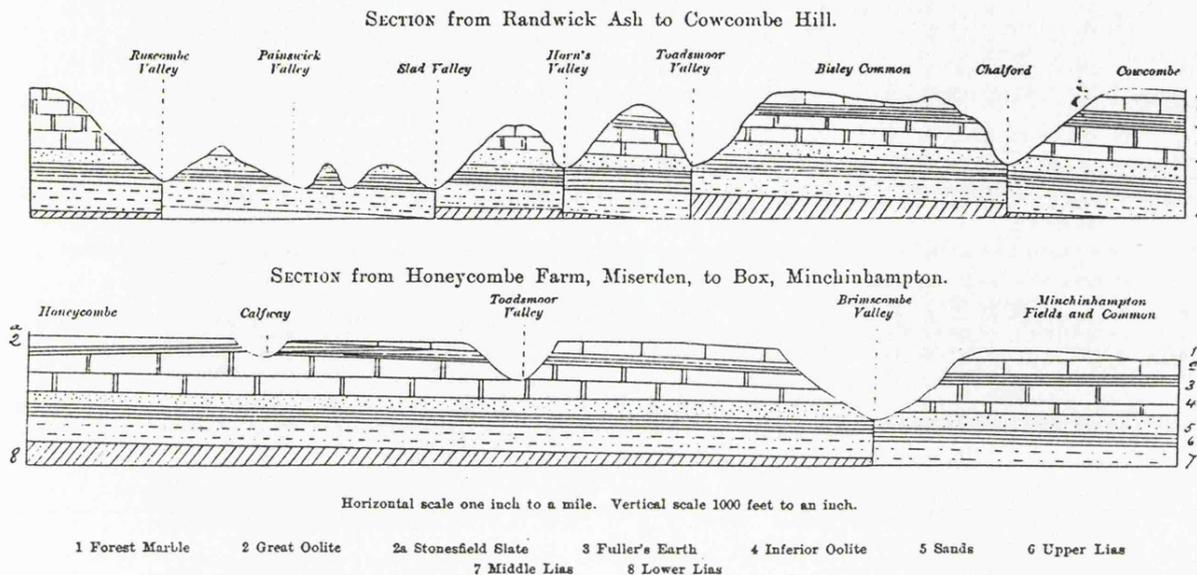


Fig I ii Geological section across the Stroudwater system, roughly NW to SE.

Source: Witchell E, The Geology of Stroud and the area drained by the River Frome: frontispiece.

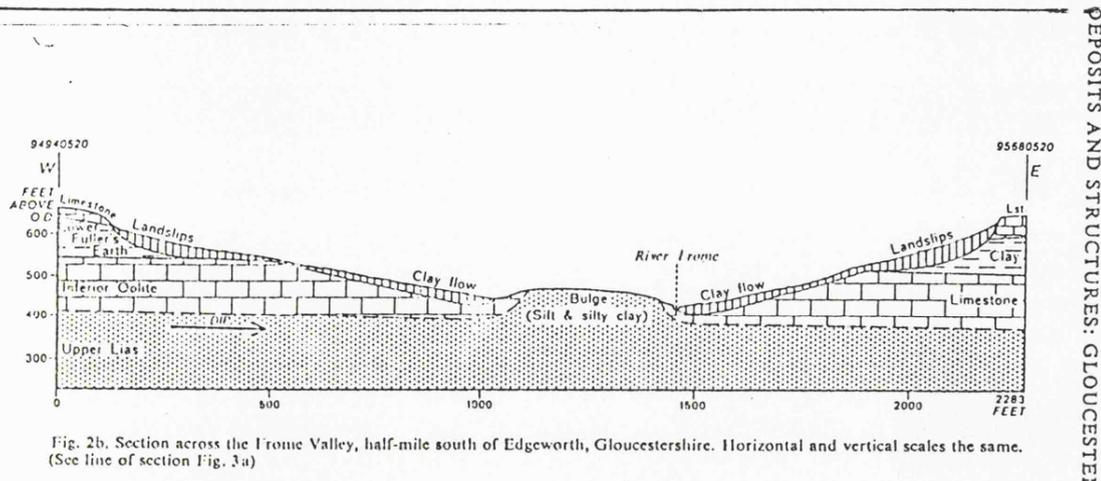


Fig I.iii Section across the Frome valley south of Edgeworth, to show surface structures due to hill-slip and valley bulging.

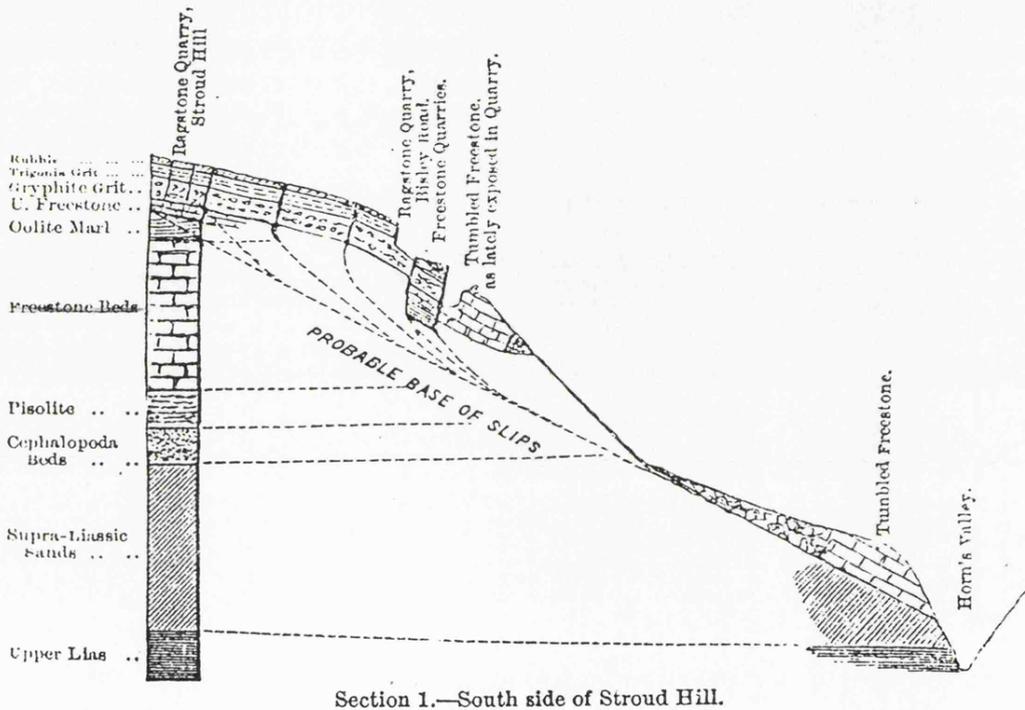
Source: Ackerman K F & Cave R, Superficial deposits & structure, including landslip, in the Stroud District, Gloucestershire.

FIG I.iv Hill-slip on Stroud Hill: Coneyger quarry.

Grid ref: SO 80 NE 867 048.

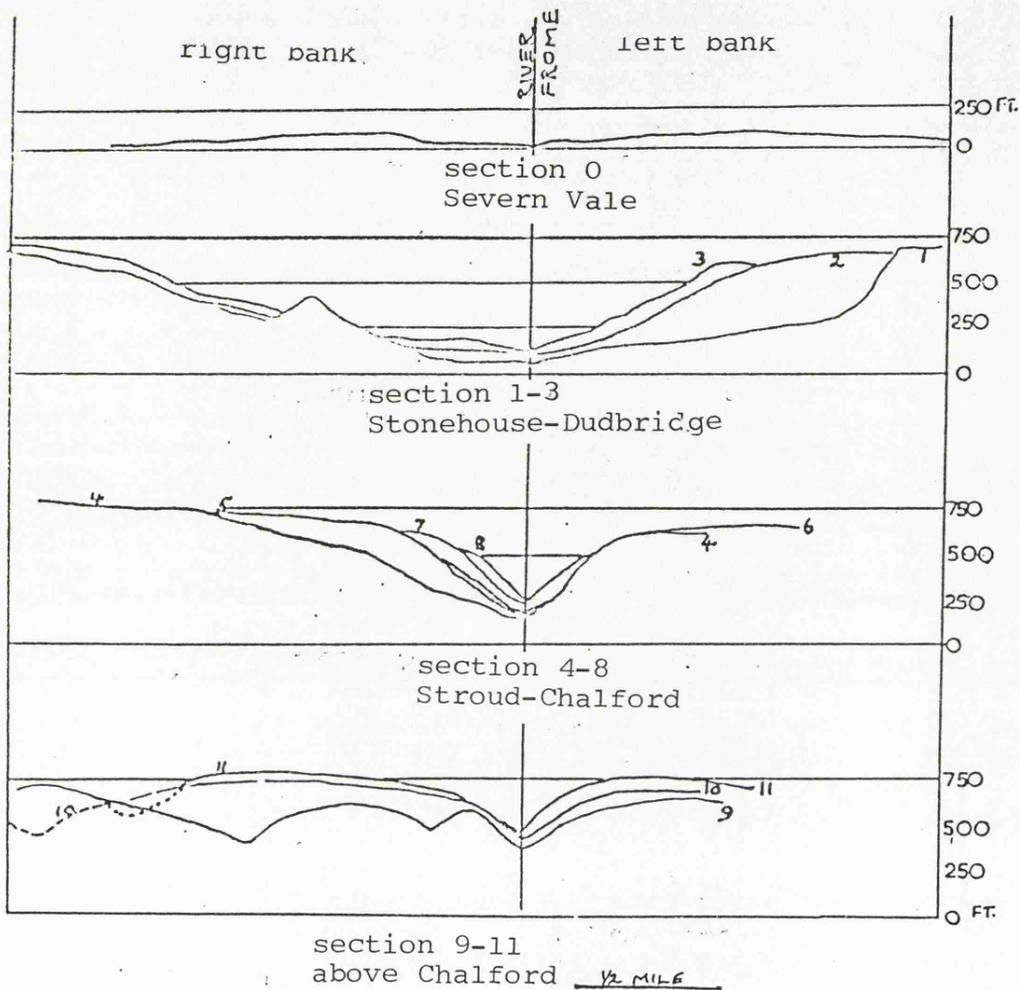
(from Witchell E N in PCNFC iv, 1880, 224, enlarged.)

Both areas of freestone quarry were extensively worked in the past; two houses have since been built on the now level space in front of the upper quarry. This lies just over the brink of Stroud hill, nor far uphill from the former Stroud Union Workhouse. Part of the upper quarry was worked by pillar-and-stall method.)



The effect of the action of the streams running along the base of the hills is everywhere seen in the tumbled condition of the Inferior Oolite, large masses of which are found at every conceivable height upon the slopes. It is by no means uncommon to see a quarry of Freestone upon the Sands or the the Upper Lias. The subjoined section (No. 1) is intended to illustrate this condition of things. It is taken from the south side of Stroud Hill, and the faults shewn upon it are visible upon the surface of the ground. Slips of this description arise from the deepening of the valleys as before mentioned. The formation of combes is sometimes facilitated by the increased erosion at the base, consequent upon the influx of a tributary stream from a branch valley, by which the main stream is impelled against the slope on the opposite side.

Fig I.v Schematic Section of the Frome Valley



Based on sections from the 1:25,000 OS map, with sections at right-angles to the contour lines, and all centred on the river. All sections on this Figure are looking upstream.

- 0: longitudinal section across the Vale: clay capped by gravel spreads on terraces.
- 1-3: embayment between Frocester Hill and Doverow, upstream to Stroud. Wide valley with floodplain. (See Tomlinson, Wills, Dreghorn, Gardiner op cit)
- 4-8: main area of settlement in period of domestic industry: deeply-cut valleys.
- 9-11: upland plateau: valleys still steep, but less deeply incised into the extensive areas of plateau.

For these and subsequent profile-sections, see Fig I i, I ii, and text.

FIG I.vi Schematic Section of the Painswick Valley

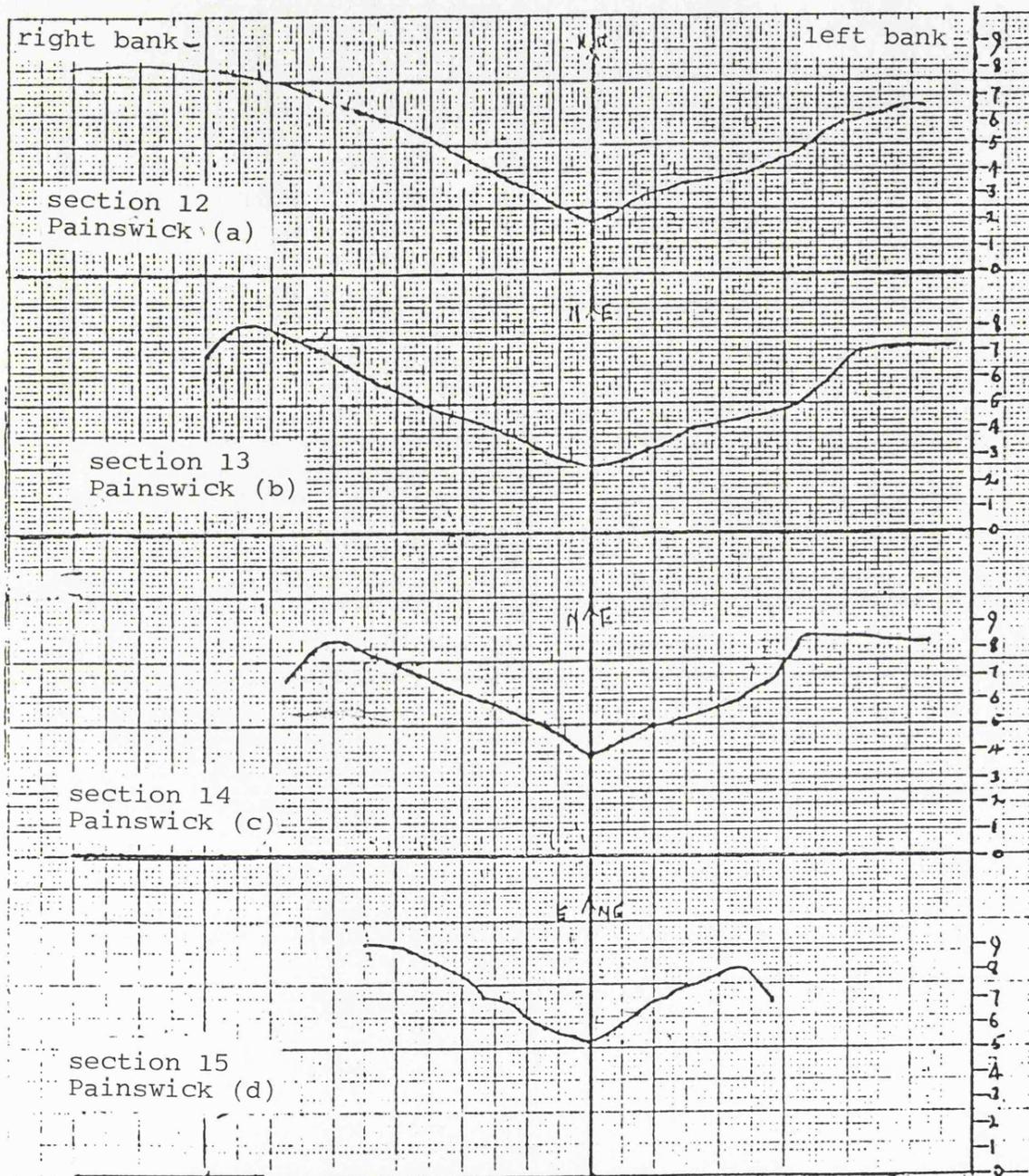


Table I.ii.

PAINSWICK VALLEY.

- | | | |
|-----|------|---|
| 12. | S080 | Tumuli 835085 to Wickridge Hill 861067 |
| 13. | " | Rudge Hill quarry 845091 to top Juniper Hill 870081 |
| 14. | S081 | NE end of Golf Course on Painswick Hill 872124 (Painswick Beacon over 900 ft) via Tocknells to Saltridge Hill 8911. |
| 15. | " | Triang. mark High Brotheridge 891138 to bridge at Cranham 895131 to Cranham common 897125. |

FIG I.vii Schematic Section of the Slad Valley

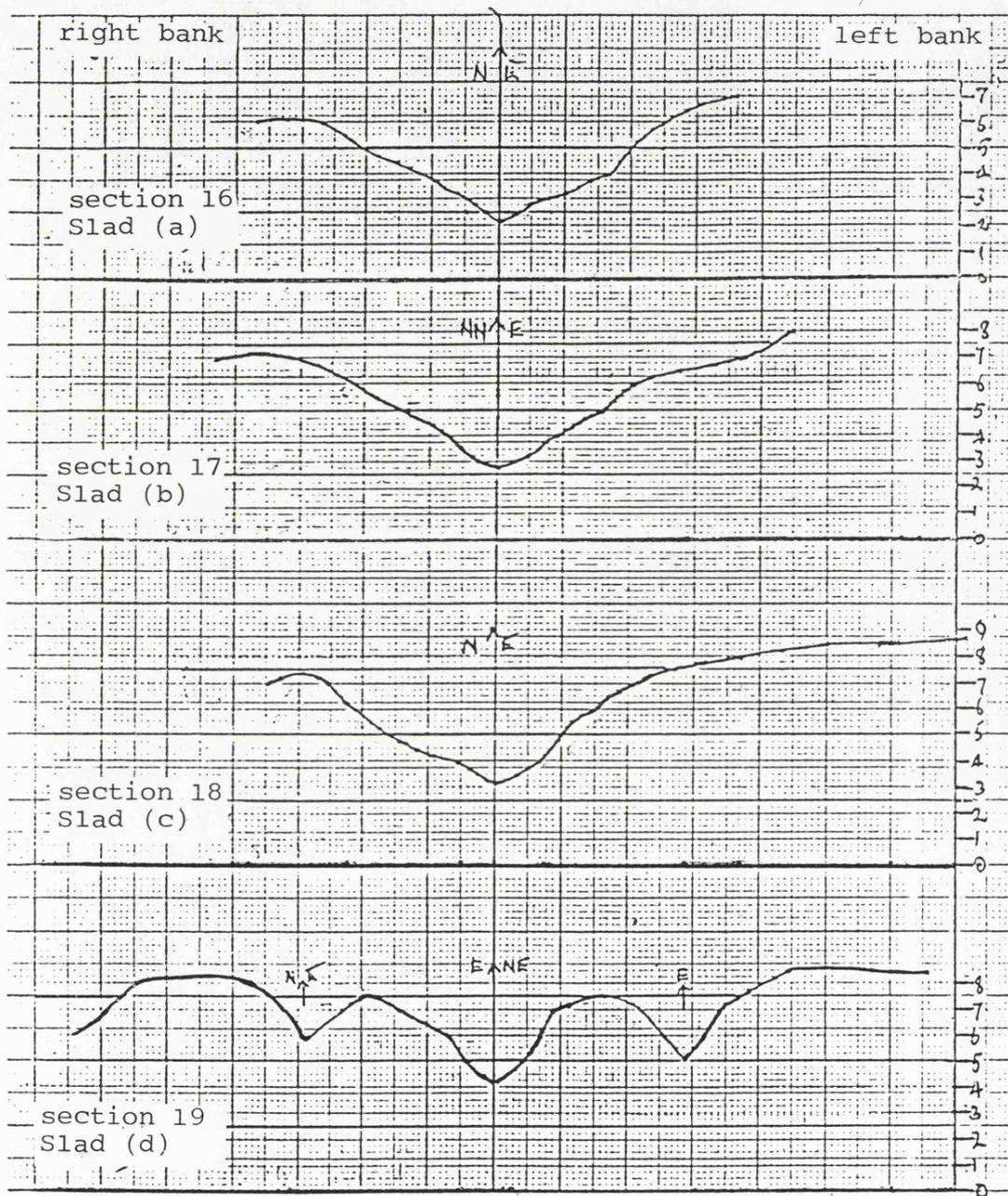


Table I.iii. SLAD VALLEY.

16.	S080	Grid line Wickridge Hill 860066 to road on Stroud Hill 871052
17.	"	700 ft contour Wickridge Hill 863074 to stream 872068 to road 890065
18.	"	700 ft contour 871083 to road at 891066
19.	"	Road 886099 to Stancombe Pike 898069

FIG I.viii Schematic Section of the Nailsworth Valley

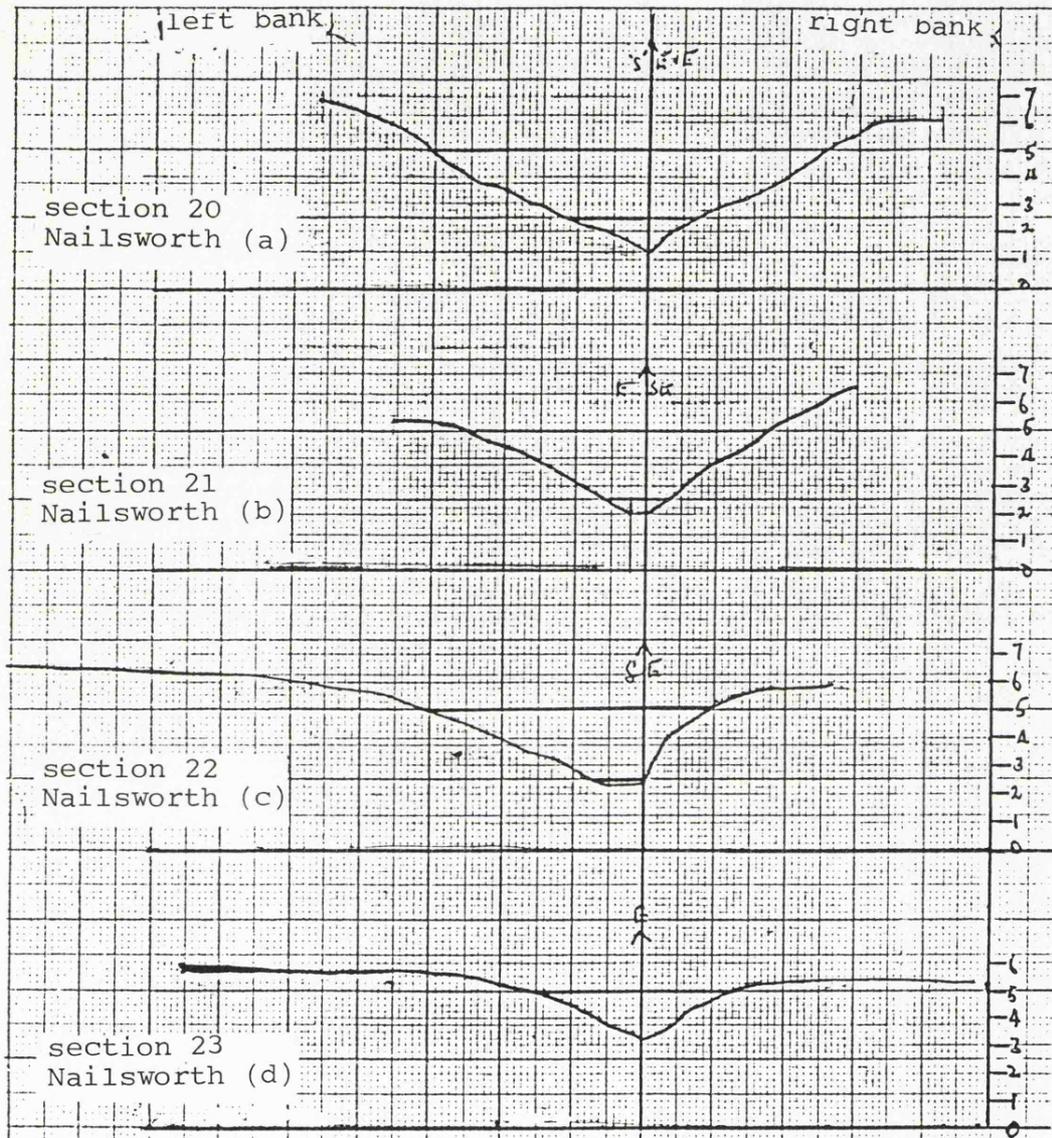


Table I.iv NAILSWORTH VALLEY.

- 20. S080 Triang. mark Selsley Common 829032 to track junction Rodborough Common 850037
- 21. Trig. point Forest Green 838999 (Sheet ST89) to Bulwarks 860011 (Sheet S080)
- 22. Tom Longs Post 859013 (Sheet S080) to track N of Brandhouse Farm 865985 (Sheet ST89)
- 23. Hampton Fields 886996 (Sheet ST89) to Linton Barn triang. mark 885970.

TABLE I.i Grid reference points for Frome Valley sections.

from 1:25,000 OS maps.

No. of section.	FROME RIVER.
0.	Severn Vale. 32/70. Stream S of Putloe 782099 to stream at Bridges Cottages 756048.
	Stonehouse-Stroud.
1.	SO/80. Long barrow 825069 to top Doverow Hill 816053 to Stanley Mills 812042 to tumulus 811020.
2.	" 838086 to Whiteshill Church 841068 to Dudbridge 835046 to road near Selsley Hill Farm 128026.
3.	" Wickridge Hill 868078 to Beeches Green 848054 to River Frome 847050 to rd. junction 848043 to track junction on Rodborough Common 857036
	Stroud-Chalford.
4.	" Round Elm (nr. Lypiatt) 880055 to Workhouse 863050 to track Rodborough Common 850037
5.	" Nether Lypiatt 874039 to Bear Inn 854027
6.	" Nether Lypiatt 874039 to Minchinhampton Common 864003.
7.	" Barn 896046 to road junction 884029 to Crackstone Farm 886003.
8.	SO90 New Inn, Bisley 905060 to Holloway 906054 to crosstracks near Cherington 906000
	Above Chalford.
9.	" Road cross 917039 to triang. mark 939040 to road at 956032.
10.	" Holloway (S of Bisley) 906054 to triang. mark 937051 to New Buildings 964057.
11.	" New Inn, Bisley 905060 to 700 ft. contour foot path 916064 to foot path 925072 to Waverley Buildings 970072 to road 958076.

In Fig I.vi, the Painswick valley, in each section one right bank gives the view down-stream; the uppermost stretch of the valley is at page bottom. The narrow ridges of the scarp stand clearly out. Section 14 shows the valley north of Painswick, while section 15 shows the sharp drop to the tributary Sheepscombe valley.

In Fig I.vii, the Slad valley, the upper part of the valley is at page top; the view is again down-stream.

But in Fig I.viii the Nailsworth valley, the upper valley is at page top, and the right bank is on the right-hand side of the page.

later rocks outcrop to the south-east. (See Figs I.ii)

The effects of the different rock formations are various and important. Clays tend to be wet and cold, and so seldom-really suitable for settlement. Sands provide a permeable layer, and give rise at their junctions with underlying clays to springs and water-seepage: they also serve to filter the downwards-percolating water.⁴ The plateau surface is of oolitic limestone, often barely beneath a thin layer of soil and the Inferior Oolite forms the steepest and highest part of the western scarp face. There are numerous fissures or 'lissens' in the limestone which allow rain-water to penetrate the sands below; such fissures also provided a convenient means of disposing of liquid waste.

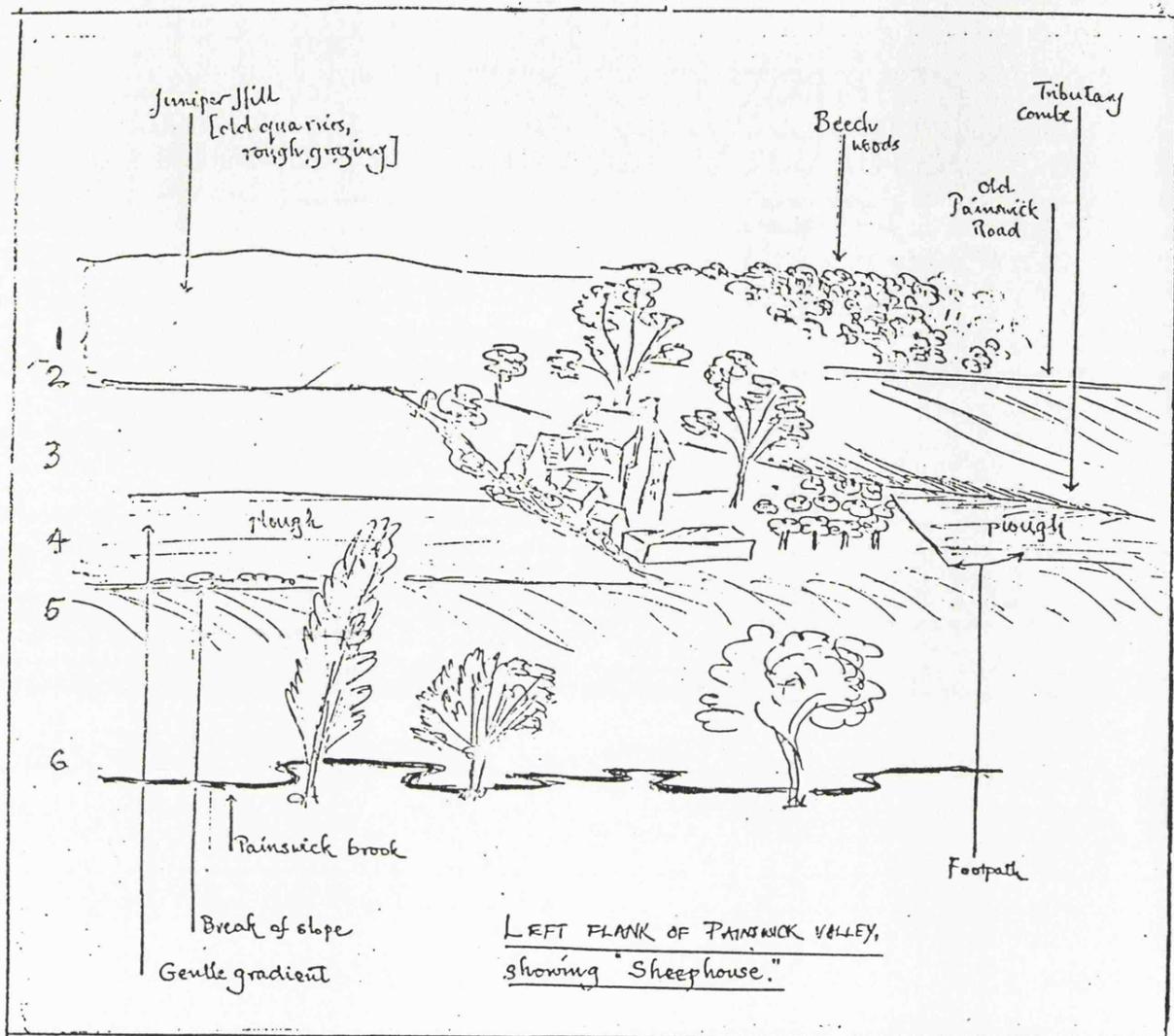
The availability of water has been a major factor in the location of settlement. On the western scarp (which is often eroded into narrow, arête-like ridges) spring-lines usually lie well down the slope. But to the east and north of Stroud, the Fullers Earth underlies at no great depth the Great Oolite, and so may provide a ready water-supply. Good examples of settlements depending on such upper springs can be seen in the villages of Bisley and Minchinhampton, both of which originated just above permanent springs, but which also lie in shallow hollows of the plateau which give some protection against winds. Small settlements elsewhere developed lower down the hill-sides at a lower spring line: the valley bottoms

were cold and damp and marshy, formerly devoid of settlement except at the occasional crossing-point.

This simplified geological picture is much complicated by the actual landforms which largely derive from the Pleistocene and post-Pleistocene periods. There has been a great deal of surface movement from the effects of alternate freezing, thawing and solifluction on rock layers of differing water-bearing capacity and load-bearing competence, and in addition lowering ~~of sea-level~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~sea-level~~ of sea-level has greatly affected the erosional power of the streams... (See Figs I ii, iii, iv)

The most recent geological survey shows that the sides of the valleys are almost completely mantled with material derived from slumping and slippage: a very great deal of downward movement must have taken place.⁵ In places the plateau edges are cambered, in other places whole blocks of rock have shifted down-slope, and masses of less consolidated material have slumped or flowed downhill, and in places the removal of the overlying burden, and the weight of the remaining hill-masses on either side of the valleys, have caused the plastic clays to bulge up under the valley floors. These valley floors have of course been over-deepened, and then choked with alluvium: the present streams are thought to be misfits. In addition, gravel terraces have been identified extending out from the system and across the Vale to the River Severn.⁶

Topographical features such as these have been important
(text continued p 15)



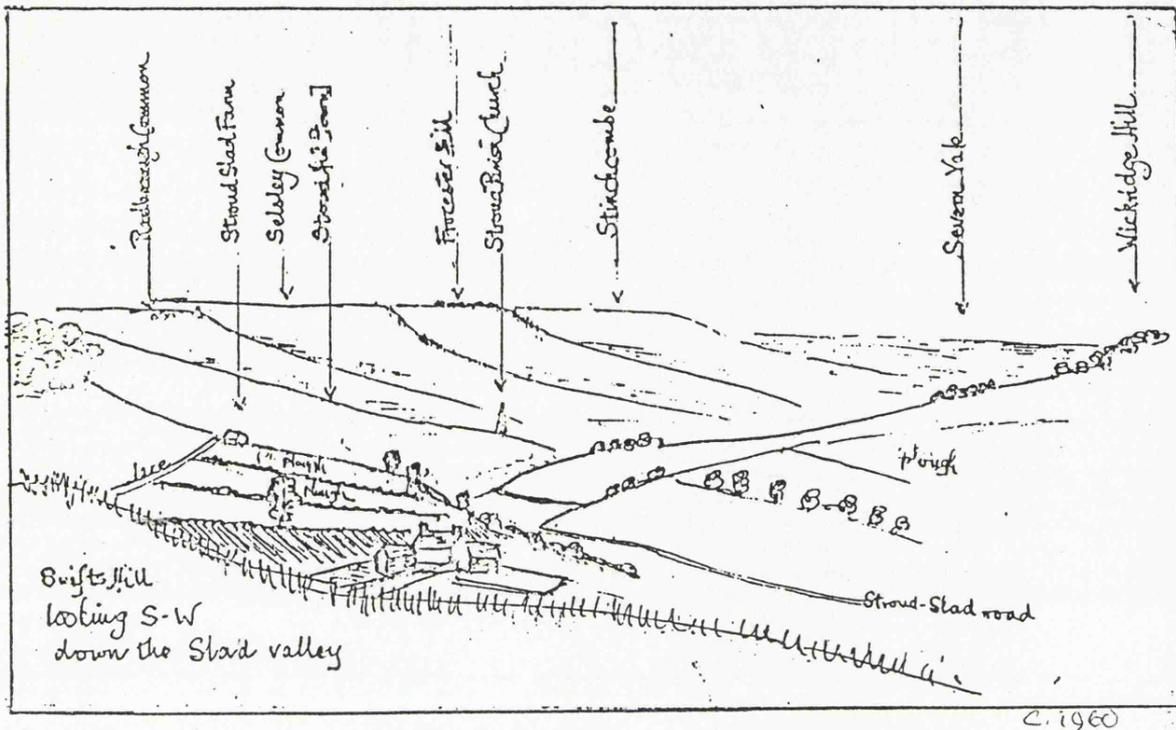
C. 1960

FIG I.ix View across the Painswick valley to Sheephouse,
 Grid ref of Sheephouse: 80 SO NE 859 085.

- 1 The ridge is Wickridge (the upper part of which is of Inferior Oolite), which slopes down to a low bluff in the main Frome valley below Stroud. The upper slopes are used for wood, rough grazing or quarrying.
- 2 The Old Painswick Road (Wick Street) runs at a break of slope, and the few houses mostly lie along it above the spring line at the junction of clays and sands. According to Dr Cave, it is probable that a whole length of rock has shifted down en bloc (personal communication).
- 3
- 4 The area of gentler gradient may be in arable, but at the edge of the ploughland there is a marked break of slope and a sharp drop to the narrow, or non-existent, valley floor, which in places has
- 5
- 6 a small river cliff on its left-hand side. The opposite side of the valley is of irregular, but steep, gradient, obviously mantled by the slumping of rock and soil in the past. Evidence of such down-slip was seen in a ditch at the side of the lane down from Pitchcombe several years ago. SO 80 NE 8575 0710.

FIG I.x View diagonally across the Slad Valley.

Grid ref Swift's Hill - SO 80 NE 87 06



This view shows the concordant plateau summits between valleys or embayments to the south of Stroud. The Slad valley has a general resemblance to that of Painswick, except that the upper stretches are of Great Oolite overlying Fullers Earth, so that springs start higher up the slope and so incise the valley sides more deeply, and at a higher level than on the corresponding side of the Painswick valley. Moreover the valley heads (there are two as with Painswick) veer sharply to the east back into the upland, and thus offer a difficult barrier to travel up the valley.

The right-hand, or western, flank is, like that of the Painswick valley, mantled with rock-slide and soil-slump. But unlike in the Painswick valley, there was no through route developed until the building of a turnpike up the right flank in 1801.

It was possible to use the Painswick valley for a through route, either along the narrow scarp rim and round to Birdlip, or (to a less extent) up the eastern side and so to the top by way of the tributary Sheepscombe valley. Such a possibility did not exist in the Slad valley which had very little settlement, nor much today above the pur-lieu of Stroud. (ss Lee L, Cider with Rosie, Hogarth 1959)

Thus though there are basic resemblances between the two valleys, the differences in relief have led to different communications, and settlement.

influences on both settlement and communications in the past. The steep, often precipitous hill slopes, and the watery bottoms would seriously have restricted travel across the area, while by contrast the level tops would have provided easier lines of communication provided, as mentioned above, they led in the right direction. (See Figs I.xii & xiii, p 32-33)

But communications are not determined solely by topography. The existing economic and social patterns are also major factors, not only in helping to determine where people live and work, but also in where they wish to travel and how they will reach their destinations. Travel may be by foot, hoof or with pack animals, herds and flocks of stock, or on wheels. (Locally, sledges could be put to use.) The journey might be only into the fields, to the next village, the church or manor house, the nearest market, or to places more distant such as the county town, a port, or a place of pilgrimage. The traveller might be merely passing through, or might have a local destination.

It is perhaps relevant to take a brief look at some possible routes earlier than the turnpikes of the eighteenth century, hazardous and doubtful though such an exercise may well be. Nevertheless, many suggestions have been made as to where such routes actually were.

(2) Some possible early routes & tracks.

The dubious "Jurassic Way" of the Iron Age should be mentioned, if only because it has gained credence in many

publications on rather doubtful evidence. While the original idea seems to have been put forward by Helen O'Neil as a result of careful field-work on foot and bicycle in the north Cotswolds, other, later, writers have accepted the idea often uncritically, and in some cases apparently without actually having been over the ground itself.⁷ As Christopher Taylor puts it -

Perhaps the greatest problem in the understanding of roads lies in the minds of those who wish to unravel their history. The fascination of roads and tracks, and the excitement that the process of tracing them onward across country gives, have all too often in the past resulted in complete mental blocks and visual blindness.⁸

By Roman times the picture is ~~a little~~ clearer. Their main, or military, roads still exist. The present road from Cirencester to Gloucester via Birdlip is for much of the way on the Roman alignment, known as Ermine Street. Southwards from Cirencester the Fosse Way heads for Bath though today the route in use veers from the straight line, for Tetbury. It should be noticed that these two major Roman roads carefully avoid entering the Stroudwater system, keeping to the high ground to east and south of these valleys.⁹

Another Roman alignment went south across the Vale from Gloucester to Sea Mills (the Roman port of Abone just before the confluence of the Bath Avon with the estuary of the Severn.) The present A38 follows the same general line, though rarely on the exact Roman alignment. These three routes define, as it were, the boundaries of the Stroudwater system.

(text continued p 19)

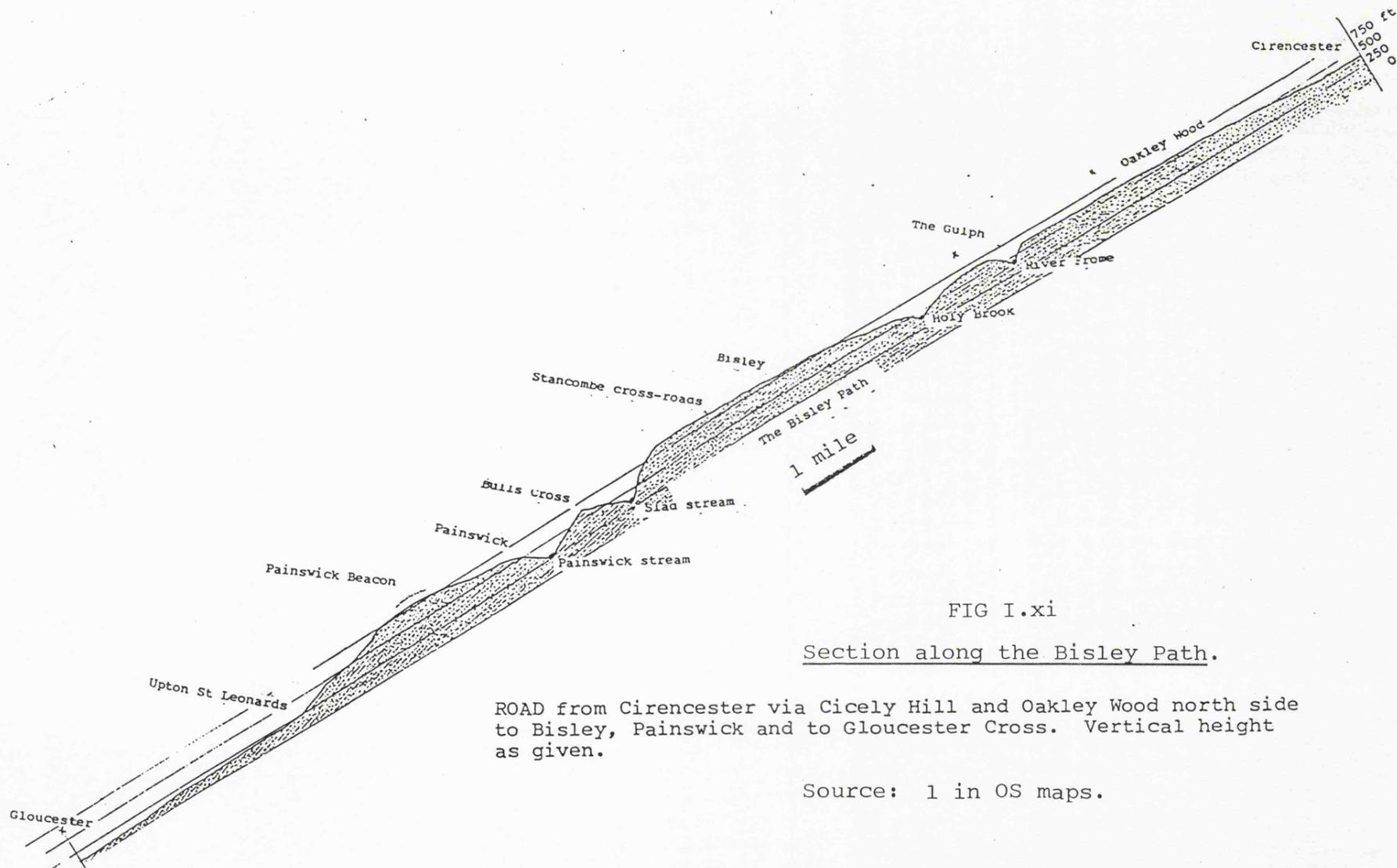


FIG I.xi

Section along the Bisley Path.

ROAD from Cirencester via Cicely Hill and Oakley Wood north side to Bisley, Painswick and to Gloucester Cross. Vertical height as given.

Source: 1 in OS maps.

Note to FIG I.xi Section along the line of the Bisley Path.

The name Bisley Path is given by the Bathurst Estate to the ride skirting the north-east side of Cirencester Park, the successor to the ancient road leading to Bisley, Painswick and Gloucester. See Milner J C, A medieval road to Gloucester, Glevensis 15 op cit. The present writer has used this name to stand for the whole route from Painswick to Cirencester (and has walked along the whole length). VCH xi also refers to it by this name.

The level plateau is exposed to the full force of wind and weather, and snow in winter except where trees may have given some shelter. But the extent of woodland on the western Cotswolds at any one time is problematic, though many local field names recall a time in the early middle ages when there was considerable woodland in this area. See VCH xi, Bisley; Grundy G B, The Ancient Woodland of Gloucestershire, TrBGAS 58 of 1936, Hooke D, Early Cotswold Woodland J Hist Geog 1978, Darby & Terrett op cit, and others. Rackham O, Trees & Woodland in the British Landscape, Dent 1976, also refers, see especially ch 3. The Woodchester estate dispute of 896 refers to areas of woodland, such as at Bisley (this being the first recorded use of that name), and the perambulation of that date frequently mentions places ending in -leah, meaning clearing in woodland.

Crossing the several valleys presented difficulties, mainly owing to the considerable variation in soil and the geological strata. Examples of slippery slopes may be seen on the eastern approach to The Gulph for the crossing of the Frome, and on the descent to Steanbridge in the Slad valley. Well-preserved hollow-ways can still be seen on either side of The Gulph.

By 1600 there was a bridge - Henwood bridge - at the Frome crossing; the early date for Steanbridge is given in the text. The present road alignment where the road crosses the Holy Brook is (in this writer's opinion) a diversion from an earlier, straighter, line, perhaps to accommodate the dwellers at the late settlement of Tunley. See VCH xi, 10.

For a conjecture on the early medieval use of the Bisley Path, see Cox C, The Lypiatt Cross in Glevensis 19, while other speculations appear in the text. While Parliamentary Acts give the turnpike of this route only as far as The Gulph, several milestones were found even up to and beyond Bisley, for which see Cox C, Milestones of the Stroud District, TrBGAS 83 of 1964.

Grid ref of The Gulph: SO 90 SE 953 045.

Cross-routes include that from the Severn at Arlingham (the river was fordable at low water) to the scarp beyond Frocester, where there was a Roman villa of some importance. This was possibly a route used for carting iron from the Forest of Dean. Once on the top, the route kept to the narrow ridge between the scarp and the heads of valleys, passing close to the Roman settlement at Kingscote.¹⁰

Another 'Roman' route, possibly of more ancient use, was that across the commons of Minchinhampton and Rodborough, descending the ridge-end for the river crossing at Dudbridge.¹¹ And yet another transverse route, this time north of the main Stroud-Chalford valley, and likely to have been in use, at least at intervals, over a very considerable period, was the road from Cirencester to Gloucester via Bisley and Painswick, which in this study is hereafter termed the Bisley Path (though the name is strictly applicable only to the section skirting Cirencester Park).¹² It was not till 1814 that it ceased to be a through-road, and parts of it are no longer in existence, having been ploughed out. But it is the most direct way to reach Gloucester from Cirencester, even though it crosses various streams. An actual walk along the route showed that such crossings were at the most suitable places, and between the Slad and Painswick valleys it utilised the col now called Bulls Cross. It is also noticeable that several Roman 'villas' lay close to this route and (though it cannot be definitely proved) it is the route which would have been taken by those in the

area who wished either to reach Glevum or Corinium by the shortest way, and possibly for the transport to those urban markets of what the intervening area could produce, whether agricultural goods, or wood or stone.¹³

One possible clue to this being in use in Roman times lies in the still-noticeable zig-zags on either side of the Frome crossing, called in the eighteenth century The Gulph.¹⁴ Similar zig-zags can still be seen up the old road to the top of Frocester hill, and Margary certainly classes this track as Roman.¹⁵ Other similar zig-zags seem to occur on the abandoned road down Birdlip hill, though this writer has seen them only on maps or from a distance, and has not himself walked down that slope. However, it is as well to heed Taylor's advice, and to regard the Bisley Path as possibly 'Roman', but not proven.

Yet it must have been by this route that Charles I went in 1643 after the capture of Bristol to the surrender (as he no doubt thought) of Gloucester. According to the *Iter Carolinum*, the King reached Cirencester from Tetbury on 9 August, stayed there the night with Sir William Masters, and reached Painswick on 10 August, continuing on to Mr Selwyn's at Matson. This would appear to confirm the use of the Bisley Path. (See Fig I.vii, and its accompanying Note, p 14 & 15).¹⁶

The first actual documentary evidence relating to roads or tracks comes in a charter dated 896.¹⁷ In that year, to settle a dispute between the Bishop of Worcester and

the occupiers of an estate based on Woodchester in the Nailsworth valley, a witan was summoned to Gloucester and a king's official sent to perambulate the land in question.¹⁸ Only some of the places named in the charter can be positively identified, but it is clear that the official began his tour from Rodborough, which implied that he had used the ford at Dudbridge. On his survey he was accompanied by the priest of the people of Woodchester. The estate in question can hardly be deemed identical with the present parish of that name, which is small in extent and lies on the western side of the Nailsworth valley, whereas the lands of the estate in question stretched from the upland of Rodborough common, across the Nailsworth valley at some unidentified point (perhaps either at Inchbrook or at Lower Nailsworth where bridges were later to be built) and back to Dudbridge across Selsley common. While only some of the names can be identified, this perambulation must have been along tracks such as still exist over the two areas of common.¹⁹

The pattern of settlement and land-use in the earlier medieval period can best be inferred from the Domesday Survey.²⁰ Roads and tracks are the response at any one time to the needs and capacities of travel and transport. The Survey records tenants and their status, taxable tillage and other items such as pasture, woodland and mills, and it is noticeable that the Bisley estate of Earl Hugh of Chester was credited with five mills, and that the estate of Minchinhampton, held by the Church, had eight. But no mention is made in this area of sheep, so it seems

likely that wool was utilised only for domestic purposes.²¹ The mills at this date were certainly not for fulling; it may be that the considerable size of these two estates, together with the probably dispersed nature of dwellings, and also the steepness of the slopes down to the streams, made it more convenient to site the mills in different places. It cannot be due to a need to make use of scarce power, as the streams even today are permanent, copious and fast-flowing, and could be used for simple mills even without the construction of a mill-pond. (See Fig I.xii p 23)

The Survey contains no references to roads. But roads or tracks there obviously must have been, for the movement of farm produce, for the haulage of stone for the numerous churches being built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for the assembling of tithing-men of the hundreds no less than for the journeys of officials, either of the king's government, the lords' stewards or of the Church. The grouping of estates, later and less permanent than parishes, into hundreds may supply clues as to which tracks were then the more important. The tithing-men of the Hundred of Bisley met, according to tradition, at Stancombe cross-roads west of the village of Bisley, while those of Longtree Hundred south of the Frome met also at a cross-roads, and one which neither then nor now was near any considerable settlement. It looks as if these meeting places were fixed by the convenience of route-ways. It is also to be noticed that Rapsgate Hundred, to the north of Bisley Hundred, included the

(text continued p 25)

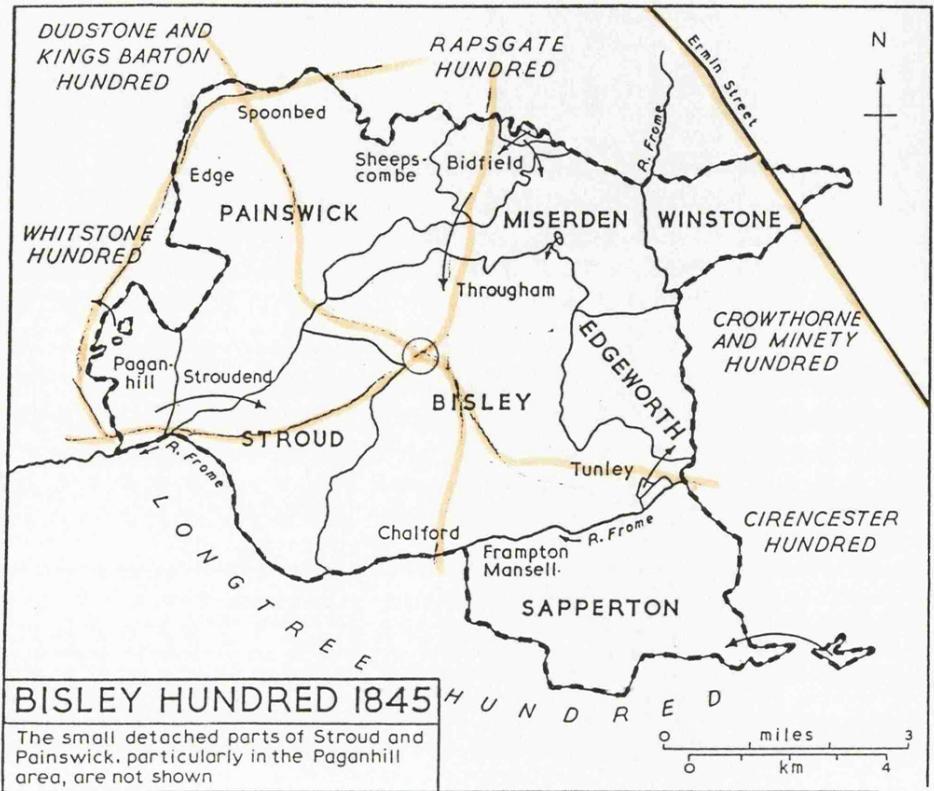
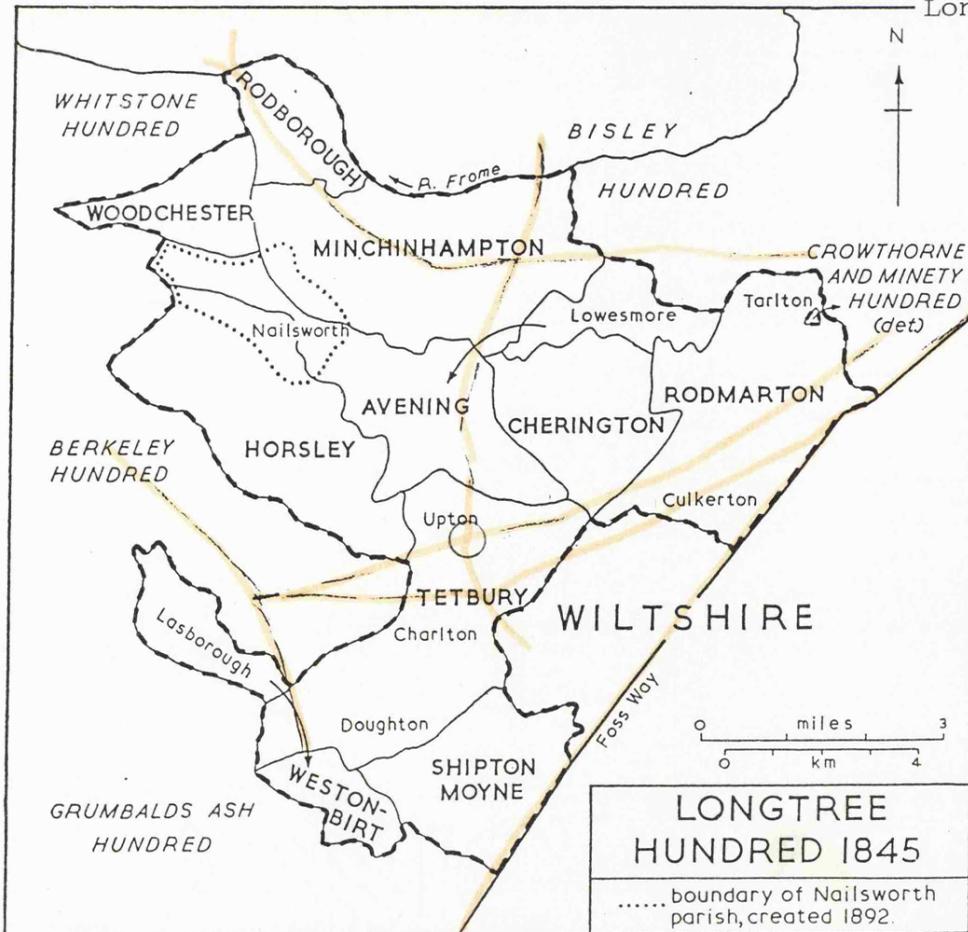


FIG I.xii Hundreds of Bisley & Longtree



Note to Fig I.xii, The Hundreds of Bisley & Longtree

These are the two main hundreds of the Stroudwater system, little changed in essence since the Domesday Book survey. Bisley lies mainly to the north of the river Frome, and Longtree to the south (with anomalies).

It has been mentioned that the heads of the Painswick streams (and the scarp rim there) were grouped into Rapsgate Hundred. Also to be noticed is that both Winstone and Sapperton lie across the Frome, while the parish of Painswick, though in the Painswick valley, was in a different, Vale, hundred. The chief point to note of Longtree Hundred is the conspicuous intrusion of Berkeley Hundred (mainly Beverstone parish) between Horsley and Larborough. The ancient road from the Severn to the top of Frocester hill runs along this spur between valleys. This route forks close to the Roman site of Kingscote for Tetbury to the east and Bath to the south-east and south. The Roman road called the Fosse (or Foss) Way forms a parish boundary, but Ermine Street from Cirencester north-west towards Gloucester, does not.

There have been several changes in administrative or ecclesiastical divisions within hundreds, which need not be particularised here. Note however that Stroud was earlier Lypiatt manor, and originally was part of the great estate of Bisley: Bidfield to the north was a detachment of Bisley, as Paganhill to the west was a detachment of Stroud. Some of the parishes are 'plateau' based, as Bisley, Minchinhampton, Rodborough; others have a valley stream as a spine, as with Avening and Painswick (which also encompasses Wickridge hill and down into the stream of the Slad valley).

For a comparison of the 1845 and 1086 estates or parishes, see VCH xi for the nineteenth century, and Moore J, Domesday Book - Gloucestershire (Phillimore 1982).

The general direction of main early 'through' tracks are indicated in orange. The word 'general' is emphasised. For contours and water, see Fig I.i; and for roads at different stages, see the text. The meeting places of the two hundreds are also indicated - both were at cross-roads - Bisley at Stancombe Ash, and Longtree at Longtree Barn.

The two hundreds maps are from VCH xi, p 2 for Bisley, and p 154 for Longtree.

heads of the Painswick valleys, almost certainly because the scarp-top provided by far the easiest way of reaching a point of assembly; while in the south of the Stroud-water system, similarly a tongue of land of Berkeley Hundred obtruded into what might be thought should have been included in the Hundred of Longtree. These remarks are of course conjectural, but reasonable when the actual shape of the ground is considered. (See Fig I.xii p23)

(3) Development of rural textile industry.

By the thirteenth century the economic importance of the area lay not so much in agriculture for a largely self-sufficient community as in the business of commercial sheep-farming, important for the owners of estates for the profits this could bring and also to the King's treasury for the ensuing taxation. The wool of the Cotswolds was forwarded to Italy and Flanders through Bristol, Southampton and London, a trade organised originally by Italian merchants' houses, though the great ecclesiastical establishments played a prominent part: until the wars of Henry V, Minchinhampton was held by the Nuns' convent at Caen who had the right to graze more than 1000 sheep on the local common.²²

From this manor to the market at Cirencester the main route was eastward over the plateau. North of the Frome, where the plateau is cut with valleys running north to south, travel to Cirencester was more difficult than south of the Frome. It is possible that Bisley manor played a less prominent part in the production of wool,

and it seems that in industrial development also it lagged behind Minchinhampton - which of course may be because the latter manor was more efficiently organised for profit, or because it had fuller records. But in 1381 only three tuckers were recorded for Bisley, while fifty years or more earlier Minchinhampton had seven fullers, with more than one fulling mill in operation.²³

There must have been traffic from Bisley manor if only to and from the expanding markets in Gloucester and Cirencester. A bridge is recorded at Steanbridge in the Slad valley (as Stewenebrige) as early as 1248, and it lay on the Bisley Path.²⁴ And strung along the dip-slope of the Cotswolds were several important if small market towns: Chipping Campden, Stow-on-the-Wold, Northleach, Cirencester, Tetbury, Malmesbury. Such an increase in traffic to the east was along routes already established, and did not involve any striking changes in the pattern of routes - this was to come with the development in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of local manufacture of textiles.²⁵

Fulling mills in the Cotswolds were not first established in the western valleys with their fast-flowing streams, but on the gentler streams of the dip-slope. The first one known was recorded for 1185 near Guiting Power, established by the Templars, and it was followed shortly afterwards by one at Sherborne near Northleach and by another, about 1205, at Bourton-on-the-Water.²⁶ The first signs of fulling by water-power in the Stroud-

water area appear by the end of the thirteenth century when seven men of Minchinhampton paid rent for leave to dig fullers earth.²⁷ This might merely denote that fulling was still done by foot, but the Rev C E Watson and others note the name of one Ralph the Fuller of Dudbridge in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and also that of Thomas de Rodborough, who owned a fulling mill at Brimscombe near Chalford, and another at Wallbridge, though the earliest mill in the area may have been one at Wheatenhurst (Whitminster), almost certainly on the Frome.²⁸

These were but small beginnings for what was to become an important area for the manufacture of textiles. By the middle of the fifteenth century fulling mills were well established in the valleys, as is evident from the record of an industrial riot at Chalford in 1485.²⁹

The trouble, which resulted in the deaths of two men and apparently some looting, arose from a dispute as to who was actually entitled to use the mill (worth 16s.), and was at length settled by an "arbiterment". John Mody and Edward Mody, who came from Malmesbury, had evicted their tenant, Edward Mull or Mill, from their tenement at Chalford, which included a fulling-mill.³⁰ The importance of this is that the Modys had moved from Malmesbury to Stroudwater, though the former place was then, as later, an important centre for cloth-making, being celebrated in the middle sixteenth century for the action of William Stumpe buying (and so saving) part of the

abbey church in order to use it as a sort of manufactory of cloth. Dr Carus Wilson points out that at this time clothiers were moving to Stroudwater from other towns, instancing one John Benet of Cirencester who, although asking in his will to be buried in that town, owned a house in Stroud and another in Kings's Stanley, with water-mills in Rodborough parish.³¹ It is also significant that the Whittington family took an interest in the area, perhaps as some form of back-integration in the mercery trade. It would seem that land-owners, and capitalists, were taking advantage of the potential of the area by investing in fulling-mills which could be let or sub-let if not actually worked by the owners. Stroudwater from now on was growing in wealth, population and importance, and this industrial development shifted the balance from upland agricultural farms to the scattered industrial sites down in the valleys.³²

Carus Wilson wrote:

it was these mills which were the nuclei of later development

which is true; but she anticipated history when she added:

colonies of weavers also began to settle round the fulling mills

and referred to the growth of a number of

scattered industrial centres down below in the Stroud valley.

She suggested that Minchinhampton town had at one time empty dwellings because the workers found it less arduous to live down below near the mills than face the long climb to the top at the end of the day. But this is to transpose a later development too far back in time.³³

Only a few workers were actually required in a fulling-mill: the great majority of workers in the textile industry were in spinning and weaving, and only the processes of cleansing, dyeing (where this was done) and fulling were tied to a site on water.³⁴ Until other machinery was introduced into the mills at or after the end of the eighteenth century, most processes were carried out in the homes of the out-workers, which could be at a considerable distance indeed from the mill or the manager's buildings. While there would be small knots of industrial or other premises at the established river crossings, such as at Dudbridge, Wallbridge or Chalford,³⁵ the dwellings of weavers tended to be grouped up the hill-sides or on the edges of the commons, and the former Blue Boys Inn on the outskirts of Minchinhampton town testifies that workers did in fact mount at the end of the day to their homes on the plateau.³⁶ Scattered groups of dwellings for this rural industry developed along the valley between Chalford and Stroud, and in the Nailsworth valley, but less conspicuously in the Painswick valley (which perhaps was a little later in industrial development than the two other valleys), while the Slad valley was conspicuously bare of such settlement. Even in the late nineteenth century when mills were still working in that valley, the workers tended to come to them over the hill from the town of Stroud.³⁷

Thus, while the movement of wool to and from the cot-

tages of spinners, and of the finished cloth, was along the plateau roads to such centres as Cirencester, the main finishing processes lay in the valleys below; the dwellings of weavers, more so than of spinners, were often clumped or spread along the edge of the plateau, or along the hill-side tracks connecting one small settlement with another, or cascading down hill like a cataract of stone.

(4) Establishment of a three-tier pattern of communication.

This brought into being a greatly-increased use of 'vertical' tracks, from the valley mills to the collecting points on the plateau, as well as from clusters of dwellings to the mills, and up to the hill-top settlements. In addition to wool and cloth, there would be an increase in other goods needing transportation, such as grain, animal products, stone and timber and many other things; such as are given for various parishes at the end of the eighteenth century in Samuel Rudder's *New History of Gloucestershire*.³⁸ So by the time the cloth-ing business was well-established in the middle sixteenth century, there had emerged a three-tiered pattern of roads and tracks.

1 Firstly, the ancient and accustomed hill-top through-routes, taking bulky or heavy traffic, especially that with wheels.

2 Secondly, roads or tracks connecting the settlements along the hill-sides, snaking along the contours above the spring line, but needing to descend to or near

to the valley floor where the combes of tributary streams had to be crossed. Such tracks would take the 'local' traffic, linking not only the settlements along the valley sides, but also especially with the growing town (if such it could then be called) of Stroud, which by the middle of the sixteenth century was just beginning to emerge as potentially the major local centre.

3 Thirdly, what may be called the 'vertical' tracks straight up and down the hill-sides, from mills to cottages and to the top road, and back again. In the eighteenth century, and very probably earlier, goods came along these plateau roads to suitable points for collection and distribution, such as the Bear Inn or the Road House, both on the neck between Rodborough and Minchinhampton commons, where goods in bulk could be broken up for cartage down the slopes to cottages, mansions and mills.³⁹ Wheeled vehicles could reach the top only in a few places, where for example a bridge spanned the rivers, and a hill-side road rather than a mere track had developed. But even as late as the early twentieth century, coal at Chalford was still being taken up-hill in baskets on the backs of donkeys.⁴⁰ There were few 'roads' to the top, but many tracks.

This three-tiered system shows the response of the change in economic activity to changes in settlement and in communications, and it remained the pattern until the end of the eighteenth century, and after. It was the 'new' turnpike roads along the valley bottoms, firstly along

(text continued p 34)

Hill-tracks along the Frome and Nailsworth valleys before turnpiking.

Figs. I.xiii and xiv are from the OS Preliminary Drawings, done at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, slightly reduced in scale. The plateau road over Minchinhampton and Rodborough Commons was turnpiked in the 1750s and has been included, but the first valley road, that of Nailsworth, was built 1780-81, and has been omitted, as also the Slad valley road of 1800-01. Both maps show the settlement tracks meandering along the lower slopes of the valleys, coming down to vally floor where tributary combs are crossed.

Various tracks linked these 'contour' roads with the mills and the hill-top roads, ~~are marked in yellow~~. By 1800 several bridges had been built - in the Nailsworth valley at Inchbrook (Cradle bridge) and at Nailsworth - a bridge at Woodchester (Grigshut) dates from 1781. Other bridges had been built across the wider Frome in the main valley, for which see the Victoria County History vol xi.

Hill-side settlements are shown more clearly on Fig I.ix but the mapping of the Stroud-Chalford-Bisley area was more heavily covered with wood or hachures, and only the level plateau tops stand out as white. (Fig I.x)

FIG I.xiii. Valley of the Frome from Stroud to Chalford

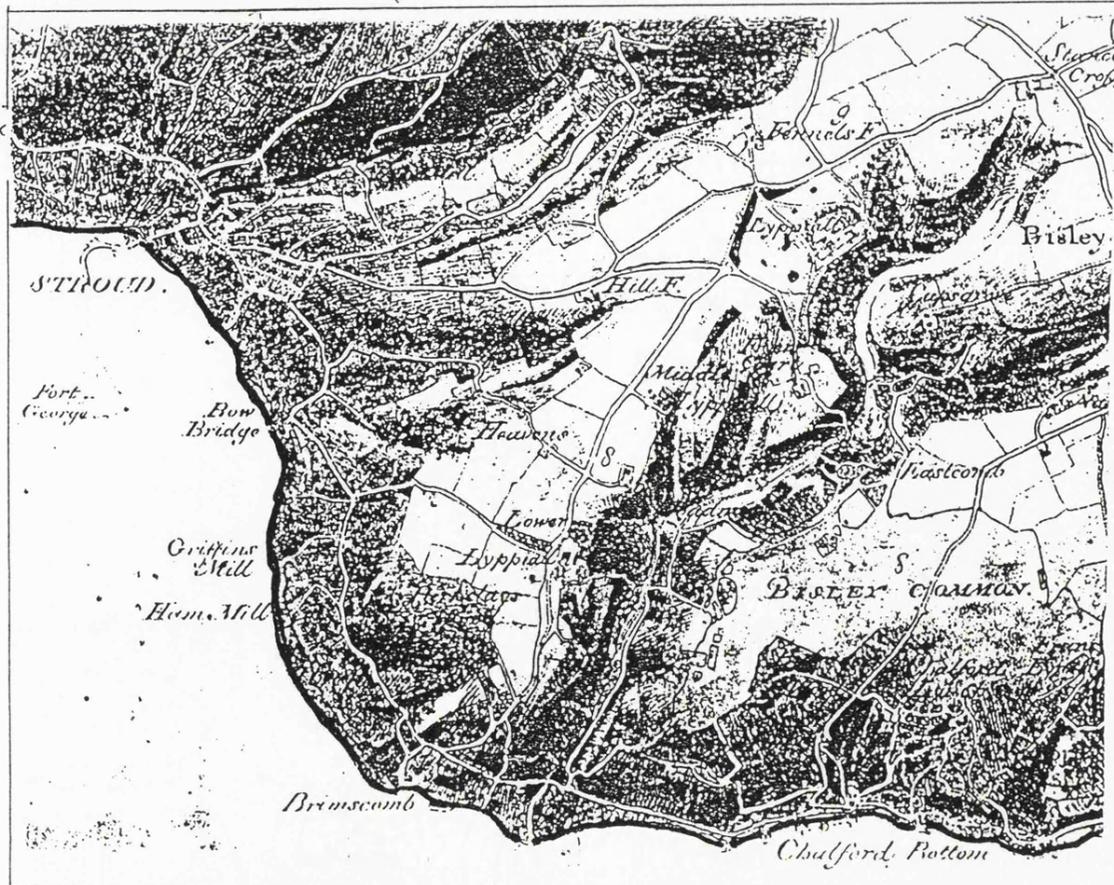
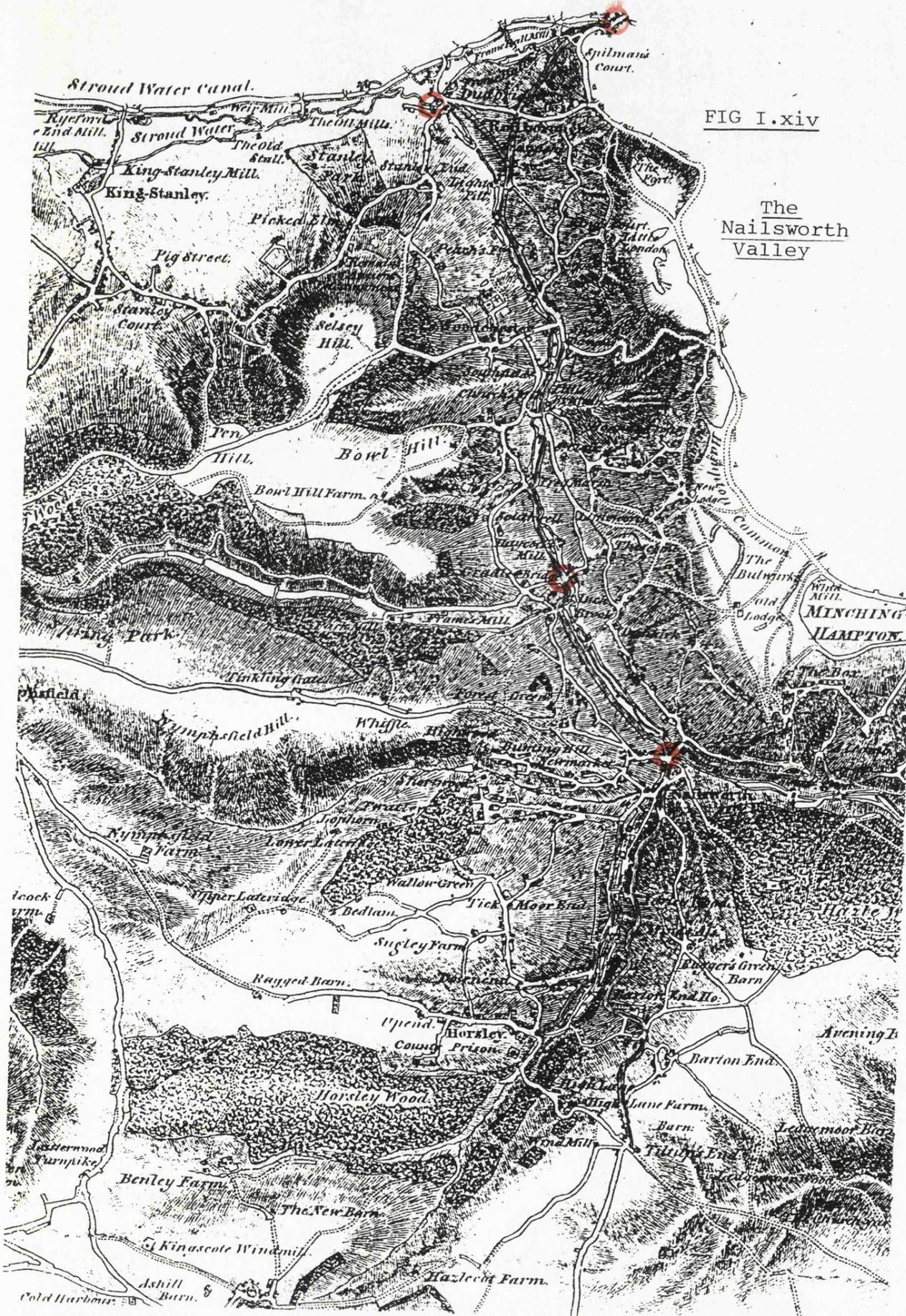


FIG I.xiv

The Nailsworth Valley



the Nailsworth valley in 1781, and from 1800 to the 1820s in the other valleys, that transformed the system of communications in the Stroudwater hills and valleys. Until then there were no roads along or near the valley floors, which were crossed at only a few well-established places; at best there would only ^{be} some minor local paths.⁴¹

(5) What were the roads like?

Opinions differ greatly on the conditions of roads in the later medieval period.⁴² Some point out that there was a great deal of travel by, for example, royal households or officials, by armed forces, merchants, pilgrims, traders and others, so that the main highways must have been passable, perhaps less so in winter, though there is scant evidence on this. Leland in mid-sixteenth century rarely complained about the roads, though he did point out that in the Vale of Gloucester there were

much lowe Groundes, subject to all suddain
Risinge of Severne. Soe that after Raine
it is very foule to travail in.⁴³

This was to find an echo two hundred years later in Samuel Rudder.⁴⁴ But authorities are generally in agreement that from the late sixteenth century onwards road conditions worsened, though by how much and how generally is not clear.

In the arguments on whether to rely on (perhaps biased) travellers' diaries or on incomplete traffic records, the tables of coach services and the schedules of carriers where these have survived, perhaps insufficient attention

has been paid to the fact that there was great variety in the types of traffic, in the frequency of such traffic, and perhaps with too much concentration on the important highways leading to London or other major provincial centres. Moreover, the variety also of soil and relief, and the difference between local movement to a local destination from what may be called main-line transport, needs to be taken into account — if it were possible to find all this out. It does seem that in some cases at least there has been too little scrutiny of the nature of the actual locality; relief and soil types, for example in the Stroudwater area provided much variety of road conditions, and traffic would have had to accommodate itself to alternations of clay surfaces, stony tracks, hill-side roads pouring with ground water in winter, or Vale roads dusty and deeply rutted in dry weather. As Willan points out, the roads could not be considered 'good' in any modern sense, but at least they were used, and presumably found adequate. A H Burne on the roads of Staffordshire remarks that road conditions in that county in the late seventeenth century were generally fair, but that the increase in the frequency and weight of heavy transport was responsible for deterioration.⁴⁵

The nature of any one route must have been taken into consideration. Though doubt has been cast on the accepted explanation of the formation of hollow-ways, it does seem that in the Stroudwater area changing soils and rock types (and the "breaking-out of the springs" on a

hill-side road) could create special difficulties for different types of traffic, whether foot, hoof or wheels.⁴⁶ Hill-side roads were commonly more confined between banks than those on the level. The surface of those stretches crossing the sands would be broken down in summer by the passage of innumerable hooves, and the winter rains would wash the debris down to lower the road surface still more,⁴⁷ while the passage over an outcrop of clayey soil would speedily become deep mud. The presence of water was probably the worst hazard for roads in the Vale; on the hill-tops it was possible to avoid the worst puddles and quagmires by passing round the road - if road it could be called. It must not be forgotten that 'roads' were rather 'rights of passage' than actual confined ways, and Hindle has a telling photograph of multiple tracks over Rodborough common.⁴⁸ Enclosure in the eighteenth century however would have constricted traffic on the plateau between walls and hedges, and this would have contributed to the worsening of road conditions.

One medieval example of road travel may be cited. This is a description given by Holinshed of the chase by Edward IV after the Lancastrian Queen Margaret in 1471, which culminated in the Battle of Tewkesbury.⁴⁹ According to this account, Edward must have taken the line of the present A46 from Old Sodbury to Lasborough, forking left past Kingscote and Nympsfield for the descent down Selsley Hill and the crossing of the Frome at Dudbridge. Holinshed said that Edward's troops

crossed but one little stream all the way, and the passage of his army churned up banks and stream bed. From Dudbridge Edward would have had the rather gentler northern slopes of the lower Frome valley to climb, up past Randwick and along the ridge towards Cheltenham, he in the "plain" country, and Margaret in the "woods". This implies that the Vale even then was partly enclosed, with plenty of hedgerow trees.

It was apparently a hot day and for the Yorkists to cover thirty miles was very good going. The march of the army of Margaret was doubtless more uncomfortable, apart from the fact that it was trying to avoid pursuit. The Vale roads would have been dry and dusty (and probably rutted), and possibly the men would also have had to march over the adjacent plough lands. The progress of this force would have been clearly visible to Edward on the top of the plateau from the clouds of dust marking its passage. This account, if substantially correct, shows that the scarp-rim route was usable in the late middle ages, and note also Charles's march to Painswick from Cirencester nearly two hundred years later. This latter route could never have been really easy, but it was still given in the later eighteenth century as an alternative road in bad weather from Cirencester to Stroud (which seems all but incredible). Yet even up to the early nineteenth century, "travellers from Stroud to London often went up to Bisley to join the old Bisley-Cirencester road".⁵⁰ But it is clear that from Roman to modern days, through-

travellers, and through-roads, avoided wherever possible entering the system of the Stroudwater valleys. Edward IV had kept to the scarp, partly to avoid the time-consuming and wearisome business of negotiating the valleys, and probably also mainly to keep watch on his enemy in the Vale; Charles I had taken the most direct way to Gloucester. But the hilly nature of the area which made travel difficult is shown by Rudder in the late 1770s when he wrote that Bisley market was

"now little frequented for the town is most unfavourably situated for a market, being of very difficult access, by reason of the deep bottoms which environ it every way."⁵¹

Riders and walkers might prefer the shortest route from one place to another, even if it involved the ascent and descent of hill-slopes. But when wheeled traffic increased, and when also the passage of herds of cattle and great strings of pack-ponies cut up the road surface and turned any soft ground in wet weather into a morass, the existing road system proved all too woefully inadequate. The problem for the Stroudwater area would be intensified as the increase in the volume of manufactured cloth, and the growing concentration on water-sites, put ever greater pressure on the varying soils of the precipitous hill-sides. Clearly there was an urgent, and increasing, need for road repair. But what was the administrative system for such repair in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries? The next chapter accordingly deals with various attempts to deal with this intractable problem.

.....

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the Painswick valley, Fig I.ix p 12. For rotat-
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name for a quarry) grid ref SO 80 NW 848 089.
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of the actual ground; and would suggest this is a
case where an hypothesis is rather uncritically
accepted as a proven fact, and repeated by later
writers. But see Clifford E M & Simpson C A, A

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- 14 Margary op cit cites a Roman road leaving Cirencester by way of Cecily Hill, at the gates into Cirencester Park, but he follows it as it veers south (and left) in the direction of Rodmarton villa. He does not mention possible Roman use of the Bisley Path, an odd omission in view of the numerous altars and grave-stones of Roman provenance found round Bisley.
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- 18

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- 23 Carus-Wilson E M, An industrial revolution of the thirteenth century, ECHR ii, 1941.
- 24 Milner J C, op cit, gives a date for the bridge at Steanbridge as 1248, which can be counted as evidence for considerable use of this route. For some other, local, roads see Cox C, The Lypiatt Cross ... Glevensis op cit. This former Saxon stone cross was possibly moved from its original 7th or 8th century site to mark the division of the great manor of Bisley in the late 12th century, and a large stone slab similarly was placed at the division from Minchinhampton of Rodborough, at a somewhat later date. Both stones stand on the highways, to mark the borders of manors, later parishes.
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- 27 Carus-Wilson Op cit 55. See also TrBGAS liv, of 1932 and Hilton R H op cit.
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- 30 Juliet Shipman names Edward Mull as grandson of Thomas Mill, in Chalford Place (Honeyhill Press, Eastcombe, Glos., 1979). She says there has been a house on the site by the Frome crossing since the 13th century, and by the first half of the 15th century there were at least two fulling mills there.
- 31 J Benet - see Carus-Wilson op cit, 195. Note also the Halliday and Hampton brasses in Minchinhampton parish church, clothing families of the early 16th century.
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- 33 Carus-Wilson op cit, 196.
- 34 Lipson E, op cit.
- 35 Earliest recorded dates for bridges in the hundreds of Bisley and Longtree are in VCH xi. Dudbridge is recorded in the late 12th century (VCH xi, 219); Wallbridge in 1527 (VCH xi, 101); Bowbridge was built by 1655; and there were bridges at Brimscombe and The Bourne by 1608 (VCH xi, 101). The early date for Steanbridge has been noted in ref 24 above. These, and others, and many minor tracks across the valleys, are evidence of a considerable volume of traffic in the late medieval period.
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the turn of the 19/20th centuries, and daily walked over the hill to the mill.

- 38 Rudder S, A New History of Gloucestershire, (reprinted A Sutton, Gloucester, 1977 from the original edition of 1779, with abridgements.). To give two examples, Rudder writes that Avening parish produced gunstocks, card boards, saddle trees, and charcoal; there were also workers in the clothing industry living in the parish (which extended well down the Nailsworth valley). Miserden in the upper reaches of the Frome valley well away from the mills of the main industrial area, produced a "good and durable sort of tiles for covering houses, which are sold at 5s. a thousand; but the difficulty of the roads is a great obstacle to the sale of them".
- 39 See Fisher P H, Notes & Recollections of Stroud, (Stroud, 1871), 150, and Playne A T, A History of the Parishes of Minchinhampton and Avening (A Sutton, Gloucester, 1978, reprint of 1st edition of 1915), but which has several errors of fact.
- 40 Young, Jephtha, Lays for the Cottage (Stroud 1875); also VCH xi, 22.
(For cottages on 'squatters' sites', see VCH xi, 22.)
- 41 For fords and bridges VCH xi passim. Maps by Isaac Taylor (1777) and the Ordnance Survey Preliminary Drawings, about 1810-16, are also useful.
- 42 Martin G H, Road Travel in the Middle Ages (JTH new series 3, 1975-76) says that both the economy and the affairs of the kingdom depended on effective communication and regular movements of goods. See also Stenton F, The road system of medieval England, essay No. 24 in Stenton D M ed. Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1970); also Law Alice on thirteenth century roads in ER vii, 1897, pp 289-322; Hindle B P, Seasonal variations in travel in medieval England, JTH new series 4, 1977-78. On 16th century roads, see Willan T S, The Inland Trade (Manchester UP 1976), who claims that roads were often in extensive use but reminds readers that very little is known about work on parish roads.

Articles by Chartres J A and Wilson C H in ECHR series from 1977 on show how difficult it is to reach a consensus on road conditions as late as the early 18th century. (Chartres on Road Carrying in England in the 17th century, myth and reality xxx of 1977, who points to a "very serious conflict of the evidence of the road services with that of the contemporary chroniclers as used by economic historians"; Wilson, Land carriage in the 17th century, xxxiii of Feb. 1980, and Chartres, On the road with Professor Wilson, also 1980). Pawson E in Transport & Economy - the turnpike roads of eighteenth century Britain (Academic Press, 1977)

is of the opinion that roads were not as bad as has generally been made out. It seems that increasing traffic, particularly locally of heavy goods, caused a deterioration in some roads. But evidence is prejudiced, sparse and often confined to certain types of routes.

- 43 Leland J, Itinerary, ed L Toulmin Smith, v, 90 et seq. See also in TrBGAS xiv, 1889-90, 221-284, for Gloucestershire roads.
- 44 Rudder S op cit on Whitminster parish 813.
- 45 Burne A H, in Victoria County History of Staffordshire ii, 275 et seq., on the county roads.
- 46 On the question of hollow-ways, see Milner J, Early roads in south Gloucestershire (Local History Bulletin of Gloucestershire Rural Community Council, 51, Spring 1985) and Bick D, same publication, 52, Autumn 1985.
- 47 Edgeworth R L, An Essay on the Construction of Roads and Carriages (London 1817 2nd edition) refers to roads deeply sunk below the land surface on either side in Section I, 8.
- 48 Hindle B P, Medieval Roads (Shire, 1982) gives several aerial photographs of multiple tracks. That for Rodborough common is Plate 6.
- 49 Holinshed's account is given by Cooke G A in Topographical & statistical description of the County of Gloucester (London, no date, probably c.1800).
- 50 VCH xi, 101.
- 51 Rudder op cit on Bisley, 289.

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Chapter II. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TURNPIKE SYSTEM
IN THE STROUDWATER AREA.

Parish Road Repair

The deterioration in roads from about the end of the sixteenth century would seem mainly to be due to the increase in long-distance travel, though parishes were in 1555 given the burden of road maintenance within their borders.¹ Among the most important provisions of this first parish road Act was that parishes should annually choose two surveyors (unpaid) to attend to road repair, and that this was to be done as a statutory duty by the (unpaid) labour of the parishioners, though the wealthier inhabitants could instead of manual labour provide tools, carts, horses. Later (much later), it was possible to bring in a highway rate to help pay for road repair.²

The JPs of the county had the duty to see that the parishes kept their highways in a reasonable state of repair. Failure to do so could result in a parish being indicted and fined, as can for example be seen in the Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions Order books of the 1730s. Several parishes in or near the Stroud area were indicted for failure to comply with their obligations, Stroud having to produce at the Michaelmas session of 1736 evidence that its roads had been amended. This evidence was allowed, though it is a matter of guesswork as to how well the repair had been done.³

The repair of strictly local roads continued to be a par-

ish responsibility until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, though statutory labour was abolished in 1835.⁴ It seems likely that the local people preferred the inconvenience they had been used to rather than pay through tolls for a better road surface. It depended on who really wanted, or needed, improved roads. Private vehicles, the growing numbers of stage-coach firms, which in itself was surely a sign not only of demand but also of road improvements, the waggons and carts of innumerable carriers, trains of pack-horses, and great numbers of stock (particularly cattle): all these contributed to a rapidly worsening condition of the roads, if the travel diaries of the period give a true picture.⁵

But this intensified wear and tear on the roads was generally restricted to certain definite routes, for example the roads out from London - in the case of Gloucestershire through Oxford to Gloucester and Wales, or to Bath and Bristol.⁶ Such routes fall into a different category from the local roads in parish use. It was the former that were largely brought under turnpike authority, London being the main centre for much of the inland trade of the country. But the larger market centres also became centres for webs of local turnpikes, as Dr Pawson has well shown with his (rather small-scale) maps of the growth of turnpikes, especially in the Severn basin.⁷ The road from the city of Gloucester to the top of Birdlip hill was one of the first roads to receive turnpike authority: this led to Cirencester and places east, while the neighbouring fork to the top of Crickley hill led through Northleach

and onwards to Oxford and London. From Gloucester to the base of the scarp the route led over the Vale, and carried all the traffic from South Wales, except that which used the Severn passages further downstream, over Gloucester bridge.⁸ The scarp face itself was both steep and difficult, though Pawson calls the old Birdlip hill road the "easiest" way to the top.⁹ This early turnpike crossed what was probably the most difficult stretch on that long-distance route to the east of the county and of the kingdom.

It was not only relief that created difficulties in travel: perhaps even more were caused by the varied nature of the soil. Clay vales probably gave the most trouble: dry, dusty and dangerously rutted in summer, thick with mud and with the surface obscured with standing water in winter. Leland's remarks in the sixteenth century were echoed two hundred years later by Samuel Rudder when he wrote on the present A38 just south of the cross-roads at Whitminster:

And surely there cannot be a more infamous turnpike for several miles of it, than the latter; for, incredible as it may seem, the writer of this account, in the winter of 1776, saw a chaise mired in it, about half a mile from the Swan Inn in this parish, and was told, that a horse had like to have been smothered in the same place two days before, but was luckily saved by some persons coming accidentally to the poor animal's assistance.¹⁰

The place of this episode must have been below the rise on which Whitminster stands, down on the flood-plain of the Frome, and this difficult stretch of ground was the cause of the road from the Severn to Stroud being diverted up-

slope to the present turning at Claypits in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹¹

Williams Marshall, writing soon afterwards, had this to say on the roads of 'Glocestershire'.

The roads of the vale are shamefully kept. the Parish roads mostly lie in their natural flat state, with the ditches on either side of them full of water to the brim. The toll roads are raised (generally much too high) but even on the sides of these I have seen full ... deep, ditch-like ruts ...¹²

If this was the state of roads which had received repair from turnpike trusts for many years, it is difficult to imagine what their previous condition had been, though it is easy to see the necessity for turnpiking this road south from Gloucester as early as 1726.

And yet - the pages of the Gloucester Journal in the 1720s contain numerous advertisements for coach and waggon services to Oxford and London, and to Bristol and Bath. The Cirencester Flying Machine was advertised as reaching London in one day, and this was in 1724, while it was allegedly possible to reach Bath, with a change at Bristol (which means the coach took the road south through the Vale) in one day. Stage coaches, not 'flying', could reach London via Oxford in two days. The journey might well be uncomfortable, but considering the reported state of the roads, and the stops, and the hills to be surmounted, this time taken was a good deal shorter than might have been expected.¹³

The early turnpike trusts - some difficulties.

The road south from Gloucester as far as the village of Stone came under turnpike authority in 1726. The preamble

to the Act states:

whereas the Highway or Road leading from the City of Gloucester to the Village of Stone, in the County of Gloucester (being the great Road leading from the North to the West Part of this Kingdom) and the Road from Framilode Passage over the River Severn, to the Top of Froster Hill; as also the several Highways and Roads Leading to or near Berkeley, Dursley, Wotton under Edge, Stroud, and Sodbury; and the several Roads from the River Severn (crossing the said great Road leading from the said City of Gloucester to Stone aforesaid) up the Hills in the said County, are very bad and ruinous, and many Parts thereof almost impassable in the Winter Season, and in divers Places so narrow, that it is dangerous for Persons to travel through the same; To the End the said Highways and Roads (which cannot by the ordinary Courts appointed by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm be effectually repaired) may with all convenient Speed be amended, enlarged, and widened, and hereafter kept in good and sufficient Repair, so as that all Persons may travel through the same with Safety, may it please your Majesty ...¹⁴

The commissioners (trustees) met at the Cambridge Inn (the George) on Monday 30 May, a Whitmonday, "to consider where and how many Turnpikes shall be erected", and were enjoined to meet again at the King's Head in Gloucester, on Thursday 10 June, to "treat with any fit Person to Rent the Turnpikes that will be erected near Gloucester". They met again at the King's Head on Thursday 28 July to execute the Act, and again on 18 August to take up £300 on the three turnpikes for repairing the said highways.¹⁵

A further meeting was held at the Cambridge Inn on 1 September at 12 noon "to settle a Method for Compositions; a general meeting for this purpose is thought necessary, to prevent any Disagreement in the Proceedings of the several Committees". Fig 6 in Pawson's book shows this road

to Stone (where it linked with the road north from Bristol), and also various cross-roads "to the Hills". The system was apparently split up into more manageable Divisions, and a century later appears as the Berkeley, Dursley, Wotton-under-Edge, Frocester, and Cainscross District.

Pawson and others point out that in these early years turnpikes were not truly separate and independent bodies, but rather supplementary to the parish system, and often administered by the JPs. Thus the two types of road ran, as it were, in double harness, with the same gentlemen acting both as administrators of the parish system, and as trustees of turnpike roads, in addition to their duties as county JPs. (They were often those who lent money for the initial repair - and would expect interest on their loans.) It might also be mentioned that the Acts ran usually for a period of twenty-one years, in the fruitless hope that after that length of time the roads would be fit for return to parish control: hence the regular (and expensive) renewal of turnpike authority, though often with amendments to the earlier enactment.

Some hints at the sort of discussions, or disagreements, which went on are given in a letter from Mr Clutterbuck to his son Dick in Bristol, dated 26 August 1726, writing:

yesterday at ffroster where we debated the affair of the Turnpike, the story is too long, Mr. Yate went with me, Mr. M^{ll} pertinaciously persisted, ag^t taking in Arlingham in to ours, but it happened he had no body on his side besides Mr.

Stephens of Chavenage for he of Church-
end declared on my side. Mr. Kingscot
and Coz^{ll} Mill would not vote, so we had
(as I take it) five to two but I suppose
'twill end in a Turnpike at Arl^m because
they have got the money.¹⁶

From this it would appear that there had been disagreement
as to whether the turnpike road should run from Frami-
lode Passage or from Newnham Passage. (for the Stroud
Turnpike, and places named in this Chapter, see Fig II.i)
In the event, both roads as given in the Act were made
into toll-roads. The key, as Mr Clutterbuck correctly
put it, was Money.

The question of Money.

All through the history of turnpikes, finance was a major,
perhaps the main, problem. In the formative years the
question was - how to raise the necessary cash needed to
do the repair? For until the roads had been put in a
better state of repair, tolls could not fairly be levied
on road users. In the early eighteenth century, before
the emergence of the country banks, the answer was to
raise a mortgage on the security of the tolls. Someone
with cash to spare would lend money to the trust, and in
return would receive interest on his loan. It must be
remembered that turnpike trusts were not profit-making
bodies, so the use of the word 'share' is to be depre-
cated. This restriction considerably hampered the trusts
in their search for extra capital in later years, and
was a very considerable burden even before the advent of
the railways with their devastating competition and (as it
seemed) their insatiable demand for capital.¹⁷

In the case of the Stroud Turnpike, as the road from Framilode Passage past Stonehouse to Stroud was then called, a mortgage was speedily raised. John Stephens Esq. ("he of Churchend") lent £200, and Nathaniel Poole Esq. lent £100, a total of £300.¹⁸ But within seven years the affairs of the trust came under enforced and detailed scrutiny over the possibility of misuse of toll revenue, and in 1734 there was a riot at Cainscross gate, possibly in imitation of a more serious disturbance at Gloucester itself.

The trouble at Gloucester seems to have been mainly over the imposition of tolls at the entrance to the city, particularly at the Over turnpike gate at the bridge across the Severn. According to the Deputy Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Gloucester, the rioters paraded throughout the city -

in an insolent and riotous manner ...
crying out Blood for Blood, and Down with
the Turnpikes,

threatening immediate death to any who should dare oppose them. These malcontents had destroyed the gates recently set up, and even -

erac'd the very foundation of the house
built there for the collector of the toll.

In addition, they assured the people that there "never should for the future any toll be paid".¹⁹

The Corporation had no civil police force and had been unable to do anything to quell the disturbance, though William James, Clerk of the Peace, had this warning inserted in the Gloucester Journal:²⁰

Such offenders have been notoriously abetted and encouraged, by many ill-disposed Persons, in their unlawful Proceedings, who may have drawn in many well-meaning People ... under Pretence that the Monies collected at such Turnpikes have been misapplied, and not laid out as they ought to have been ...

Accordingly, the JPs ordered an enquiry into the administration of the turnpikes, and particularly into the possibility of misapplication of funds, and also to show:

how impartially this court intends to enquiry into the conduct of the said several Turnpikes.

Henry Guise and the Over Turnpike.

Mr Guise had more than one long letter published in the Gloucester Journal in an attempt to explain the financial dilemma facing this trust, and also to try to mollify public opinion.²¹ He claimed that there had been insufficient money to bring the road into a satisfactory state of repair, and that therefore the commissioners had been forced to borrow. They had, he wrote, themselves contributed to the extra loan, but even this additional capital had not been enough, and the commissioners had been compelled to mortgage the turnpike. He himself had lent £2000 (at 5½%) in 1730 at a time when no one else had offered to help, and also he would have to give six months' notice if he wished to withdraw his capital. He emphasised that he had not asked for a higher rate of interest, but had been mindful of the needs of the public, and he referred those who wished to know more to consult the book of Orders of the Trust held by John Webb, the clerk.

He himself, he agreed, was one of the commissioners, and the trust (of which he was a member) had allowed him £300 a year and about half of his principal (with interest), but he claimed that he had not thought it proper to be concerned with that particular discussion as he was both a lender and a member of the trust.²²

This episode throws light on the difficulties arising from the lack of a financial market for local affairs. If roads were to be improved, money had to be found. There were few available sources of cash or credit other than from personal savings, and there was also a good deal of public spirit (as may in fairness be said of Mr Guise) in addition to private interest, in making a loan to what was virtually a public utility and one moreover precluded from making a 'profit'.

But the question remained: should the same people lend the money, receive the interest from tolls, manage the trust, sit in judgement at the county sessional courts? Who was to govern the governors?

One way was to hold an enquiry, and this was done with the Stroud Turnpike following the riot at Cainscross in 1734.

The Stroud Turnpike Audit, 1734.

Though the Cainscross riot had been less alarming than that at Gloucester, it was nevertheless alarming enough.

There had been, according to one report,

... a tumultuous company of disguised people, sounding a horn, and playing on a fiddle, and armed with firearms and other weapons, (who) came up to the turnpikes and commenced

hewing with axes ... and the turnpikes were utterly demolished.²³

Two local gentlemen were appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions to hold an enquiry and to conduct an audit into the affairs of the Stroud Turnpike. They were: Daniel Watkins of Bisley parish, and John Andrews of Standish parish.²⁴ They inserted a notice in the Gloucester Journal of 17 September asking for anyone who might know of possible misuse of toll money to come to the George Inn in Stroud on Friday, 20 September, at 3 p.m.; though information could also be laid at the residences of these two commissioners of enquiry.²⁵

The enquiry was recorded in the Sessions Order Book for Michaelmas, so they had acted quite promptly.²⁶ It began with a general statement and an admission by the two auditors that they had had some difficulty in disentangling the various financial statements. For example, the account of William Sandford had not yet been received; items had not been particularised, and this account was accordingly referred to the Court for later examination. The account of the late John Ady had been handed in earlier, but the sum he had claimed of £60 for expenses over and above what he had received was disallowed. Many items had been entered both in the day book and also on loose papers which would "require time to examine and adjust". The auditors then suggested an independent examination and adjustment:

Thomas Stratton's small acct we are informed hath been examined and authorized by the said commission but as

we have not yet seen the said Acct
we can at present say nothing fur-
ther referring thereto.

William Sandford was a name appearing as a trustees in the enabling Act.²⁷ There is some uncertainty over John Ady, the name being various spelt Adye or Adey, and not only John but William Ady is mentioned, while the Gloucester Journal for 30 April the same year refers to the late William Adey, hat-maker of Stroud. Lists of trustees in an originating Act could include people from many different social groups, as both Pawson and Albert point out, and the notice in the Gloucester Journal calling for a meeting has two Viscounts, some Esquires, then plain Mr., and clothiers are included, and there could well be well-to-do tradesmen among the trustees, as indeed can be seen some fifty years later in the list of trustees of the Nailsworth Trust, one of whom at one time was a farmer who signed his name with X.²⁸

Before the date of the audit William Marshall, Esq., had died, and the auditors remarked cautiously that he had charged for, and been paid on 8 August 1728, the sum of £67. 13s. 7½d., though in his account only £60 had been entered - a discrepancy of £7. 13s. 7½d. Owing to his demise this discrepancy could not be resolved. It is unlikely that this was defalcation: more probably lack of memory or the loss of a bill, the handling of which seems then, and for long after, to be rather casual, accounts which survive having often been written on scraps of paper with little useful details, perhaps not even a date.

Other discrepancies are noted in the Order Book. Only the barest summary is given for the years up to 1733, but for the year 1733-34 (when trouble had broken out) there is much greater detail, which looks as if the bills and receipts for that vital period had survived, while those for earlier years had been lost, mislaid, or the details perhaps not even written down. When the cost of labour or materials was given it was seldom broken down into quantities, time or even the nature of the job. A somewhat vague opening statement was followed by several pages of rather primitive double entry, certain items of which are given below as examples of the way financial matters were recorded or handled.

The Stroud Turnpike had been mortgaged as soon as inaugurated. Throughout the pages of the enquiry, Mr Stephens and Mr Giles Gardner seem to have been the principal backers, arranging loans on security of the tolls and possibly in the first year or two being responsible for much of the administration before the tolls were actually put out to farm. It also appears that the turnpike's management was still split up between different parishes. The left-hand page of the report is headed Cr for receipt of money or promises of money, while the opposite page is headed Per Contra, Dr for debtors, and contains a summary of money expended.

Toll receipts from the second quarter of 1726 to the third quarter of 1728 are given, and thereafter the quarterly rent of the toll farmers is entered. These 'farmers' seem

to be Messrs Sandford, Stratton and Ady. Gate money for the first two years is given.

TABLE II.i. Some extracts from the Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions Order Book for 1734-41.

<u>The Stroud Turnpike Audit, Michaelmas 1734</u>			
	£	s	d
1727-1734			
Collected at: Stroud Turnpike	695	18	3
Cains Cross	690	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wheatenhurst	134	13	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Composition received		16	
	<hr/>		
	1521	9	3
Spent in repairs etc.	1846	19	00 $\frac{1}{2}$
(Here follows on several pages detailed expenditure)	<hr/>		
Overspent	325	9	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		
When debts owed by turnpikes paid, sum will be reduced by	141	18	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Deduct balance due to other expenses	67	8	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
	74	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Add overspent balance	325	9	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		
- borrowed from, and owed to, Mrs Anne Stephens	400		
	<hr/>		

(Source: GRO Q/SO 6)

Overleaf, Table II.ii summarises somewhat fuller material. The discerning reader will have noticed an error in the arithmetic, which has however been adjusted lower down in the Table. Comments have been simplified and modernised from the original in the Order Book.

TABLE II.ii. Expenditure: a summary by years and half years.

1727	J Stephens & G Gardner Esqrs	£ 185	3	6½
1728	) ditto	46	1	4
		35	4	5
1729	) ditto	2	-	-
		22	2	-
1730	) ditto	22	2	-
1731	) ditto	22	2	-
		2	2	-
1732	) ditto	2	2	-
		22	2	-
1733	) ditto	22	2	-
	G Gardner for Stroud & Painswick digging, hauling stone etc.	128	2	6
	J Stephens for the same	2	4	-
	- Field ditto	91	13	8½
	S Hawker ditto	17	10	6
	E Stephens, for Eastington	230	12	3
	Andrews for Stonehouse	62	3	9
	Phillipps ditto	25	15	7½
	Poole ditto	17	15	11
	J Small for Whitminster	191	5	2
	Edwd Stephens for Eastington	65	10	6
	T Andrews for Stonehouse	176	15	9
	To Wm Sandford if allowed	153	18	7
	Th Stratton if allowed	43	12	5
	Wm Ady if allowed	238	17	0
	Total given as	<u>1846</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0½</u>

Apart from an elusive 10s. received by Messrs Stephens and Gardner in 1727, and which complicates a little these accounts, there are various errors in the addition to correct which would be otiose.

It is clear that repairs for the trust as a whole were in fact done for each individual parish, not by the trust as a separate body.

TABLE II.iii. Toll revenue 1726-1728, & part of 1734.

Collected from Turnpikes for period 26 June 1726 to 2 September 1728	Stroud			Cainscross			Wheatenhurst			Totals		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
	218	18	3	235	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	48	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *	502	8	3
Quarterly rent 1728 (3 September)	21	0	0	20	0	0	3	15	0	44	15	0
Total from last quarter 1728 to end first quarter 1734, 27 April.	462	0	0	440	0	0	82	10	0	984	10	0
Total received before turnpikes were farmed out	218	18	3	235	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	48	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *	502	18	3
Total received	680	18	3	675	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	130	18	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1487	8	3*
By J Stephens and G Gardner for the remaining part of the Quarter from Lady Day until the Turnpikes were cut down	15	0	0	15	0	0	3	15	0	33	15	0
making a total of	695	18	3	690	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	134	13	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *	1521	3	3
By Sam ^{ll} Hawker r'cd in lieu of statutory labour										6	0	
By Ballance expended more than received										325	9	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
TOTAL										1846	19	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Figures as recorded: certain discrepancies marked *

TABLE II.iv. Further extracts from the Audit report.

	£	s	d
Drs to J Stephens and G Gardner Esqrs from 23 June 1727 to 30 June 1730 - various sums are listed, from £223 to £17, including 10s. for composition.	815	13	3
		10	0
Total	816	3	3
Per Contra, these sums are accounted for in a number of payments. The initial sum of £223. 0. 3¼ contains some interesting items, eg £28. 16. 0 as the share of the 'Division' for the Act of Parliament, £58. 4. 2½ for erecting turnpikes and a house, salaries of surveyor, pike-keepers and clerk £67. 13. 0, and a sum of £20. 19. 4 for "Halling stone etc." The total of these early payments in 1727, when the road was first put under toll, came to			
and the expenditure of Mr Gardner is given as	185	0	6½
		38	10 8¼
Details for the years 1728 to 30 June 1730 are much briefer, and list payments to various gentlemen in respect of the parishes through which the road ran, together with the cost of tickets and salaries: total to 30 June 1730 is given as			
	592	0	5½
	815	10	8¼
The book total however is given as	816	0	8¼
which presumably includes the 10s. composition fee recorded earlier			
The third page of the 'double entry' carries over on the Dr side the sum of	816	13	3
- the total above + the 10s., and gives the total as at January 1731 as £89. 10s., and up to the autumn of 1723 as	402	17	10
Thereafter the four quarterly sums of about £44 are entered, and the total carried over is given as	1218	18	6¼

(Table II.iv continued)

The Dr side to 27 April 1734 gives a total of	1487	8	3
and adds a "Ballance" due to Stephens and Gardner			<u>3$\frac{3}{4}$*</u>
Thus receipts to April 1734 total	1487	8	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *
and added is - To Turnpikes for remaining part of the Quarter from Lady Day till cut down "when the same is paid".....		33	<u>15 0</u>
The opposing Cr page gives a total of money going out to 27 April 1727 as	1487	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *
hence the adjustment on 8 October 1734 to match the total on the other page			<u>3$\frac{1}{4}$</u>
	1487	8	<u><u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u></u>

* these slight discrepancies look like a slip of the quill on the part of the clerk copying out the figures. It does not seem worth while trying to correct minor errors of 250 years ago.

Several pages follow, trying to balance expenditure by the parish representatives or trustees against expenditure on the road. One or two examples only may be given here.

5 September 1726 to 30 September 1729	John Stephens	105	19	<u>0$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
Per Contra:	To Thomas Stratton £35 and £8. 18s. 6d			
	Wm Ady 52. 10s.			
	Sam Hawker 14s.			
	Paid T Stratton for printed tickets 2. 4s.	99	6	6
	Balance	6	12	<u>6$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
	Total	105	19	<u><u>0$\frac{1}{2}$</u></u>

which agrees with the amount expended by Mr Stephens.

The summary does not make any general statement about these recurring 'balances'. Some of these seem to have been put in as adjustments to make the sums tally (yet there are some small mistakes in addition or subtraction). At times something of more interest is written down. In the summary for October 1733, the total is given as £310. 17s. 7½d., out of which £49. 1s. 0¼d. is described as "Balance in his hands when Lloyds note of 20L is paid towards a debt of 63L claimed as due to Adys expenditure"; and a further extract is given here: ²⁹

Walter Marshall Esq. for			
Eastington's share of 100L	30		
bond - G Gardner etc.		20	
Total		238	5 0½
8 October 1734 Adjust balance		7	13 9½

and on the opposing Per Contra page:

By Ballance being the Difference			
in the Sums of L68 13s. 9½d.			
charged and paid to him on the			
8 August 1728 ... etc.		7	13 9½
		<hr/>	
		238	6 0½

(double l, for L = £, is used indifferently before or after the sum in figures).

Considerably more items of expenditure were entered for 1733 and 1734 than for earlier years. The cost of tickets has been noted, though the quantity printed was not given. There were items on labour and maintenance, but the numbers of men involved were not given. For example:

1733 Digging, hauling and Labour	128	2	6
----------------------------------	-----	---	---

Another item is:

Digging etc., stones and gravel and filling up fits @ £152. 63. 0s

and £38. 19s. 2d for hiring labourers and the use of a sledge, which says something about the state of the ground.

In 1729, stones gravel and labour cost	90	16	8½,
while Timber and Tools came to			17s.

A later entry has work and materials and "Tool grinding".

These various short summaries and extracts appear opposite a series of names of gentlemen who presumably supplied the cash, and perhaps supervised generally the work, or repair, as surveyors for their parishes. The two main trustees were John Stephens and Giles Gardner, probably Stephens for the western, and Gardner for the eastern, stretches of the Stroud Turnpike.

Stephens had taken out a mortgage on the road: as Mr Guise wrote, someone had to put up the money for the erection of gates and to pay for labour and materials before the tolls produced any income. Surveyors had to recoup their expenses, tickets ordered, and pike-keepers paid a wage. It would seem that money was lent as required, perhaps as asked, and the lenders were recompensed from the toll-collections, while from the last quarter of 1728 the tolls were farmed out. Though this might bring in less money than direct collection, it did ensure a fixed sum in advance (and a more or less guaranteed sum), and left room for some repayment of loans or for some repair of the road.

The example of Mr Guise and the Over Turnpike shows the trouble that could follow a shortfall in revenue. For the Stroud Turnpike, clues lie in the scanty details of costs of labour and materials and payments to keepers such as Stratton, Ady and Hawker.

TABLE II.v. Quarterly rents for gates.

Stroud	£21	
Cainscross	20	
Wheatenhurst	3. 15s.	giving
a yearly total	£179	

A summary of gate income has been given above. The three quarters from June 1727 to April 1728 brought in £176. The rent for the same period would be £133. 5s. If the total income remained steady, the surplus would be only in the region of £50 plus or minus a year, which was not much for road repairs, salaries, maintenance, not to mention the payment of interest. And as has been seen in Table II.iii, when the Audit was made more than £325 had been spent over money received.

In later years maintenance costs were not inconsiderable. Toll revenue over the first seven years was £1521. 9s. 3d., giving a rough average of £215 a year. Repairs in the same period appear as £1846. 19s. 00½d., with a rough average of £256 a year, and this does not seem to include interest or the repayment of loans. So it can be seen that there was quite a financial problem, not so much of defalcation as sheer lack of income.

The last few pages of the report deal with financial impasse. Short statements for J Small of Wheatenhurst, Walter Marshall and Edward Stephens, for Eastington, and others, apparently deal with the loan or the arrangements for the loan of money for the actual maintenance of the road, each in their respective parishes. The Per Contra pages attempt to balance expenditure against these with, it must be said, a good deal of notional adjustments, as for example this entry for July 1732.

Ed Stephens, £5.18s. 9d. to "Ballance due to his
expenditure"

Care seems to have been taken to make sure Mrs Anne Stephens got back her investment (perhaps the initial loan was from her money?). In August 1727 Mr Gardner lent £300 to the trustees on credit of the turnpikes, and Mr Poole in 1731 lent £100. This total of £400 is called "Due to Mrs. Stephens", the entries being placed against her name for 1733.

The final summary is headed for "Sundry Persons":

J Stephens & G Gardner "for remaining part of the quarter's rent of Turnpikes, Lady Day past till they were cut down when the same is paid £33. 15s.," and .. another reference is made to Lloyd's note of £9. 1s. 0¼d., and reiteration of the total paid out of £1846. 19s. 0½d.

Out of a recorded total of £1512. 9s. 3d., there was a shortfall of £325. 9s. 9½d., which with sums still owing made a final deficit of £467. 8s. 8¼d. (unless the money was eventually paid).

Some conclusions

The occasion of the 1734 riots thus gives a welcome insight into the clumsy method of financing turnpikes in the very early years. The affairs of the parish, the county, and the trusts were too much the concern of the same group of people, though it is difficult to see how in those days it could have been otherwise. The very fact of the riots however show that those who ran public affairs could be made responsive to what can only be called public opinion, and the Audit of the Stroud Turnpike was a prompt attempt to investigate the financial cause of such trouble. The very local nature of road manage-

ment is also made clear by this episode, with the parish still being regarded as the 'real' unit for administration, even for a turnpike road.

But one of the most important innovations of the turnpike system was the fact that these roads transcended the narrow limits of the parish. Eventually, the turnpike trust evolved into an entity separate from parish authority, and not constrained by the boundaries of any one parish. The example of the Nailsworth Trust half a century later shows that considerable advances had been made in the raising of funds, and especially in the business organisation of a trust, this particular example being largely run by local clothiers and other businessmen.

It seems clear that with the growth in traffic, and with its extension over the whole year (although until well into the eighteenth century many coach services ran only in the seasons of better weather), the prevailing method of road repair by parishes had, to say the least, become inadequate.³¹ But it has not always also been made clear that this disability applied particularly, perhaps mainly, to the long-distance through-routes, in the case of Gloucestershire westwards into Herefordshire and Wales, northwards to Worcester and the Midlands, south to Bristol and Bath, and most of all east to Oxford and London. It was these roads that had to be brought under a different authority from that of the parishes. The parish system still remained in existence for the local users of local roads till the end of the turnpike age. It

does not seem that many attempts were made, at least in the Stroudwater area, to put such local roads under turnpike authority, and few such attempts were successful.³²

While roads leading to an important and much-f~~r~~^fuented market town might well be put under toll - and Pawson has some instructive maps showing the growth of such market webs, particularly in the Severn basin - it seems likely that for purely short-distance, local traffic the existing highways were preferred in their unimproved state rather than that local people should have to pay toll where previously their highways had been 'free'.

Where speed was of the essence for a service, as with coaches, or where particularly heavy, bulky or fragile goods demanded better road surfaces, turnpikes were adopted, round the growing industrial centres of the Midlands, and on the routes into and out from London and the major provincial towns.³³

But in the Stroudwater area the first, and for many years the only, turnpike roads were from the passages over the Severn to the hills and to the small market towns and areas of cottage industry in the western valleys of the Cotswolds. While the 'great' or main road south from Gloucester to Stone and on to Bristol was a long-distance route, the cross-roads were relatively short and led only to the settlements of Stroud, Dursley and others. The exception to this was the road from the Newnham-Arlingham passage over the Severn to the top of the scarp on Frocester hill, a main road to Bath. In the eighteenth cen-

tury the traffic to Bath from Gloucester headed for Bristol, to change there, or (with road improvements) turned east at Claypits to take the plateau road direct to the spa of Bath. And in fact one of the attractions intended for the Nailsworth Trust was that it provided a more convenient route to Bath from Cheltenham and Birmingham.

Another important point emerging from a study of turnpikes in Gloucestershire (and no doubt elsewhere) in the early eighteenth century was that of finance. The parish system had been unable to cope with certain types of traffic because the parishes could generally not afford the high cost of road repair when travel from outside, and passing on elsewhere, had caused their highways to deteriorate. The essence of the turnpike system was that the road-user should pay for the repair of the roads that he and his fellow travellers had damaged, not the unfortunate inhabitants of the parish through which he passed. The difficulty was, how to raise the initial capital to effect the needed repair. Users could not be charged until the roads had been improved: the roads could not be repaired until the money was available.

The trouble at Gloucester in 1734 seemed to be over this very question. The trouble at Cainscross in the same year led to an examination of how the finances were collected from the tolls, and accounted for. This dilemma, of insufficient money both to repair the roads and to pay interest to those who had lent the capital, was to bedevil the turnpike system right to the end.

It should however be mentioned that protests in the early days might arise from different causes. Albert has given much detail on the contemporary riots at Kingswood near Bristol, not necessarily caused by reasons identical with those at Gloucester: the reasons for the riot at Cainscross are not made clear.³⁴ The cattle-drover, especially from South Wales through Gloucester and over the Cotswolds, the cloth-merchant, the local farmer, the town retailer, the carter and carrier and the stage-waggon firms, might well vary in both their needs and their responses, not to mention the gentry with their carriages, the stage-coach firm, and the well-to-do traveller.

Later in this study it will be noticed that it was the through-routes, for the most part sedulously avoiding the Stroudwater valleys (despite their industrial settlements) that were the first to be put under turnpike authority. The development of a turnpike system within the valleys themselves came quite late in the period, in fact not till the nineteenth century (with the one exception of the Nailsworth Trust).

But certainly one other point concerning the early trusts should be mentioned again. This is that their management, to judge from the available records, was unbusiness-like, rather inefficient, haphazard in accountancy, open to abuse, and not subject to independent, regular and public scrutiny. When disputes did occur, the same group of people was responsible both for the administration and

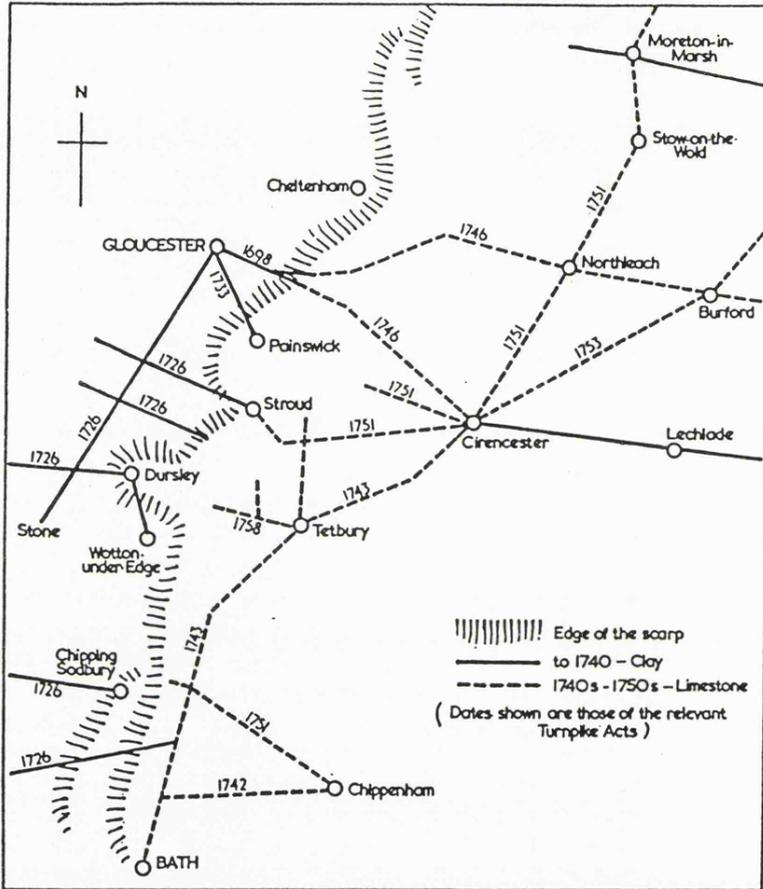


Fig 21. Turnpike development in the first half of the eighteenth century.

FIG II.iii.

DIAGRAMS to show turnpike development in Gloucestershire in the eighteenth century.

Source:
The Cotswolds,
a new study. ed.
Hadfield C & A M.
pp 146, 150.

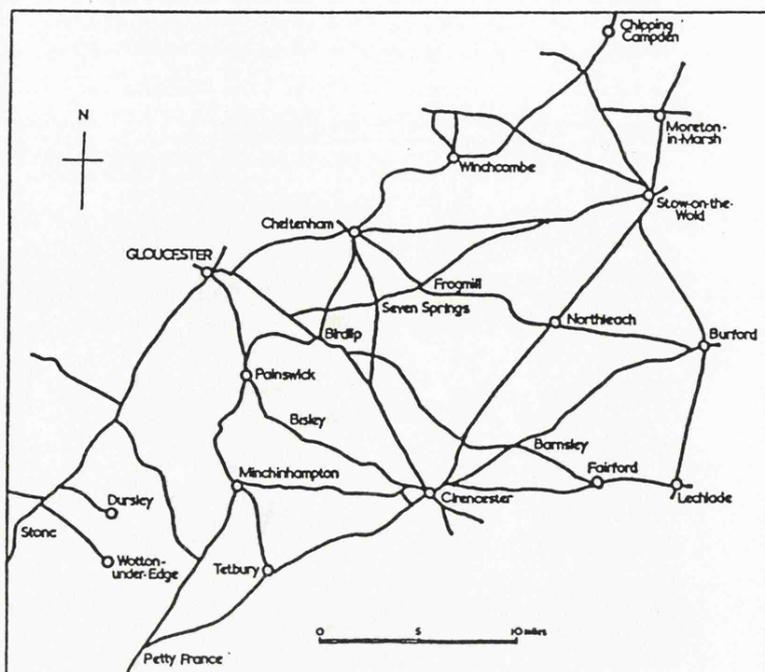


Fig 22. The 'Great Roads' of north and mid-Cotswolds in the 1780s, after Tunnicliffe. Lechlade-Burford-Stow road inserted.

the repair of the roads (parish and turnpike alike) and also for seeing that matters were put right. This was not a satisfactory state of affairs. Late in the 1770s Samuel Rudder acidly summed this up. He attributed deficiencies to: the scarcity of stone, the remissness of the commissioners, and the total ignorance of the surveyors. And of course behind all this was the lack of money.

Not all these deficiencies were to be made good before the railways removed almost totally the main source of revenue from the long-distance coach and waggon routes, but by a study of the development of the turnpike system in and around the Stroudwater valleys and hills it is possible to see how the trusts came, perhaps slowly and incompletely, to employ professional engineers, competent (at times) surveyors, better business practices and administration, and of course to acquire an existence independent of, and different from that of the parish highway system, though there were still many links between them. Such changes may be seen particularly in the pages of the Minute Books of the Nailsworth Trust, from 1780 to 1877. On a wider scale, it would seem that there were three phases of turnpike development in mid-Gloucestershire. The first was when the roads in the Vale and up to the edge of the scarp were brought under toll; the second was when the great long-distance routes over the plateau were turnpiked to link with those of the first phase, and lastly (and surprisingly late in time) when completely new roads were constructed within the valleys themselves.³⁵

.....

FIG II.ii. Places named in Chapter II, to face Fig II.i.

KEY
Turnpike roads in yellow.
○ = turnpike site.
1 Wheatenhurst
2 Cainscross
3 Stroud
4 Over
5 Gloucester Southgate
6 Frocester hill

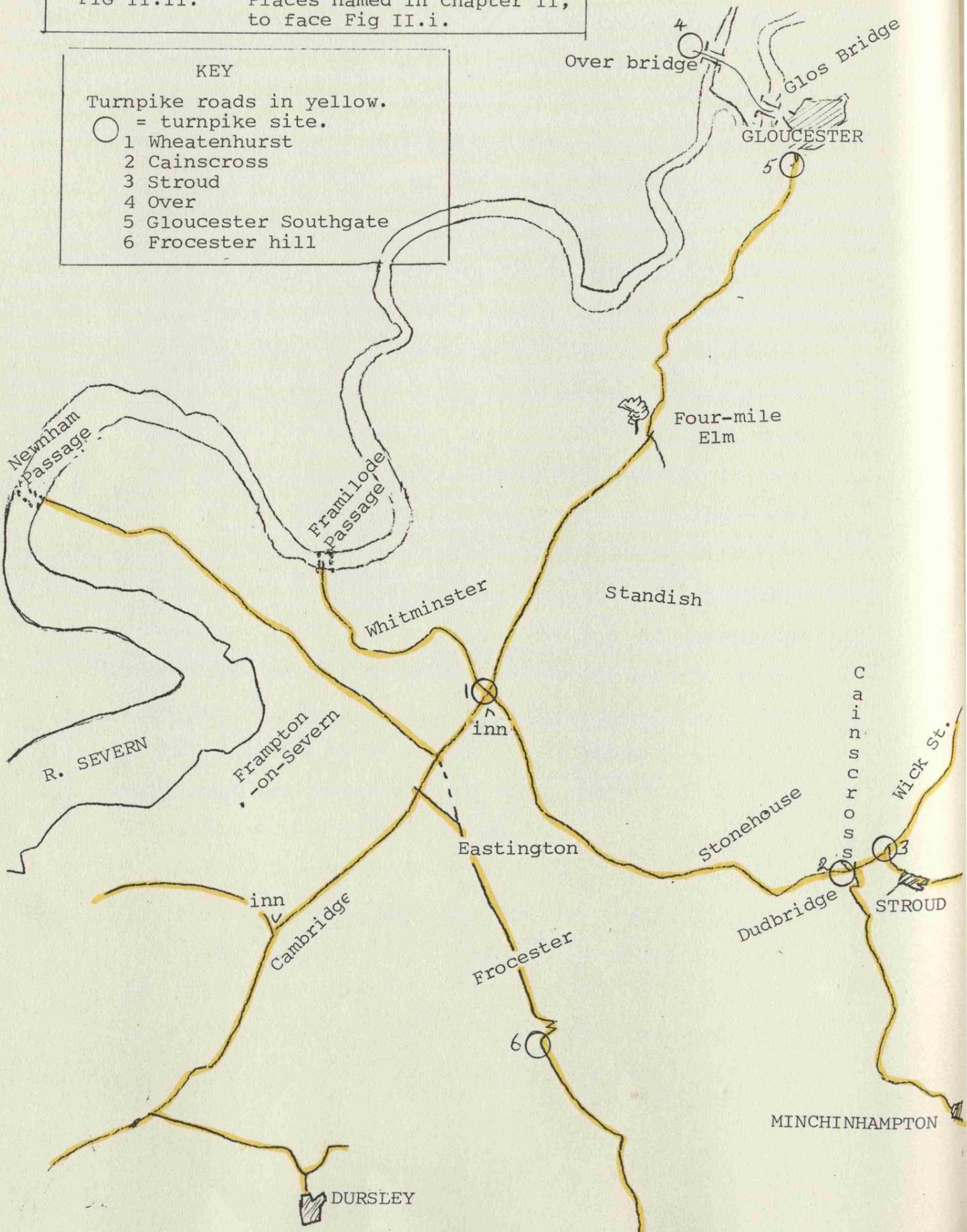


FIG II.i. Roads in the Stroudwater area turnpiked in 1726.

(Source: I Taylor 2nd edition)



Note to Fig II.i. Roads in Stroud area turnpiked in 1726.

Source: Isaac Taylor, A Map of the County of Gloucester.

(1st edition 1777: the one used here is the 2nd edn., and shows the Berkeley & Gloucester Canal, and indicates turnpike sites of later date than 1726).

The Gloucester-Stone road (A38) is in orange, as also the Stroud Turnpike from Framilode Passage to Stroud, and the turnpike road from Newnham Passage to the top of Frocester hill. Certain other roads from the Severn to the Hills are shown.

The earliest Gloucestershire turnpike, from the city to the top of Birdlip hil, is that going south-east from Gloucester where the (later) turnpike is given. The Over turnpike, cause of the 1734 riots, is by the western branch of the Severn beyond the city.

Though the map is fifty years after the events described in Chapter II, some family names still persist, as Clutterbuck at Frampton-on-Severn and Stephens at Eastington.

The former course of the road crossing the A38 from Arlingham to Frocester is shown by a dotted red line just to the north of Claypits. St Clair Baddeley in TrBGAS lii of 1930 op cit dates the diversion as about 1760.

Note the Cambridge Inn where the road forms for Cam and Dursley just east of "Slymbridge", also the Inn (the Swan, now gone) where the Framilode-Whitminster-Stroud road crosses the A38.

The original three turnpikes of the Stroud Turnpike are indicated. One was at the Whitminster cross-roads, the second at Cainscross (not the present pike house, which is from the 1820s), and the third where the old road to Painswick (Wick St) meets the Stroud Turnpike close to "Meachs" (ie Beeches) Green. Another error is Randcombe for Randwick, between the N and E of WHITTSTONE.

Cainscross gate was NOT in Stonehouse village (as Albert has it, see Popular Opposition to turnpike trusts in early eighteenth century England, JTH new series v, 1979.) He refers to Cainscross as "in the village of Stonehouse near Stroud" and also to "the Stonehouse gates".

Note also Hardwick Elm, near Hardwick village south of Gloucester, referred to in several later Acts as the Four-Mile Elm even after it was dead and gone.

The Gloucester-Stone first turnpike (p 73(a, No. 5) was "at or near the Place in Littleworth"... also mentioned is the road from Sudbrooke Bridge to the 9th milestone at or near Claypits. (GRO D 149/E58, 1779)

Chapter II. REFERENCES.

- 1 1 & 2 Philip & Mary c.8.
- 2 The Commonwealth tried to replace statutory labour by a highway rate, but the previous system was restored with the monarchy. 3 & 4 William & Mary c.12 in 1691 gave powers to the General Sessions to levy a highway rate. See Albert op cit Ch 5. While the earlier system came back in 1660, the Earl of Carbery writing on 14 March 1661 (as President of the Council from Ludlow Castle to the magistrates of Gloucestershire) "required" them to "cause the Statutes to be put into operation" and have their roads amended. The letter describes himself as their "very loveing Freind". In their reply, a draft of which is in the county Records Office, the JP rather tartly asserted that the care of the county highways was the responsibility of the JPs only, and none of his lordship's business. GRO photocopies 212 a & b.
- 3 GRO Q/S06 1734-41. Several examples of local parishes being indicted appear in the early years, perhaps prompted by the disturbances of 1734. For parish highway repairs in the 18th century, see Meikle W P, Highway Repairs in the eighteenth century (Newcomen Soc Transactions 1940-41, 123).
- 4 5 & 6 W iv c.50.
- 5 Two 'local' examples may be cited. Anna Jackson, writing to her nephew Nicholas in July 1717, has "I thank God I gott to Oxford, very safe, where I found the Dear Children Mr Willson and Mr Seale waiting for us, almost in despair, the roads being so bad, we made it late, and all the coaches were in, before us". (GRO D 153/21) The point to note is that the coaches apparently were not delayed. The other example comes in a letter, rather later, from Sir John Gyse to Thomas Vernon Esq. .. "shall I not have the pleasure of seeing you here before you go to London, I doubt the roads are too bad to see Mrs Vernon". (GRO D 326 L17) This was written in January which might well explain why Mrs Vernon was reluctant to travel. Road conditions would be very different in winter from those in other seasons, and this should be taken into consideration when discussing travel in the eighteenth century.
- 6 For the importance of, and the attention given to, London, see Webb B & S, Jackman, Albert, Pawson and others.
- 7 Pawson op cit Figs 6, 7.
- 8 The lowest crossing of the Severn by bridge was (until very recently) at Gloucester. There were places just fordable lower down, as well as ferries at (for example) Aust Old Passage. Gloucester-

ter bridge would take the great bulk of traffic from Herefordshire and South Wales heading east, especially for London. 24 G ii c.28 of 1746-47 refers to the route from Crickley hill through Northleach and Witney to Oxford as difficult or impassible even for travellers on horseback. See also the remarks of Cobbett W, Rural Rides (Dent, 1912/57) on the road from Witney, written eighty years after that Act. In Rural Rides I, 19, Cobbett mentions meeting great numbers of cattle being driven towards Cirencester.

On drovers, see Godwin F & Toulson S, The Drovers' Roads of Wales (Wildwood House, 1977) who point out that drovers avoided tolls wherever possible; they detail such an evasive route up Birdlip hill, which lessens the value of the Birdlip gate tolls listed in Pawson. They also point out that the name "Little London" indicated a drovers' halt, and one such name appears on Rodborough common near Stroud, on a route to the east from the Severn crossing between Newnham and Arlingham. Cirencester and its toll roads were also avoided by a route to the north through the now-minute settlement of Ready Token, and the so-called Welsh Way past Fairford.

- 9 Cobbett op cit felt obliged to get out of his chaise and walk down (for safety) Birdlip hill - not a particularly easy route! That up Crickley hill, though longer, was less precipitous. He was also very scathing on the condition of the road from Cirencester to Birdlip: but it was in November.
- 16 G ii c.21 includes the opinion that tolls on Birdlip hill might cease even before the statutory 21 years, if the roads were judged to be well repaired. The fullest account of this turnpike road is in Spry N, The Northgate Turnpike, GSIAJ for 1971.
- 10 Rudder op cit, 813, on the parish of Wheatenhurst otherwise Whitminster.
- 11 St Clair Baddeley, TrBGAS lii, 1930, op cit. See also Fig II.i.
- 12 Marshall W, The Rural Economy of Gloucestershire, (London, 1796) I, 14.
- 13 Herbert N, Road Travel & Transport in Gloucestershire (A Sutton, Gloucester, 1985) has many examples taken from the Gloucester Journal. See especially Ch 3 on Coaches, Ch 4 on Carriers. An example of travel from a village can be seen in a letter of Mr Clutterbuck of 2 December 1727, when he refers to two carriers or Gloucester Waggon leaving Frampton-on-Severn every Tuesday, reaching the King's Head in Old Change, London, on the Friday. (GRO D 149/F21)

- 14 12 G i c.24, 1725/26. As well as roads specifically named, several other roads were later deemed to come under the provisions of this Act, the vagueness of which led to the need for more careful definition in order to justify the imposition of tolls.
- 15 Cambridge was, and is, a small settlement where the present A38 crosses the River Cam, which comes down from the scarp near Dursley. (See Fig II.i.)
- 16 Mr Stephens of Chavenage, which is east of Kingscote, north of Beverston. This is presumably Nathaniel, d. 1732, according to VCH xi, 178. The Stephens of Eastington were closely related. The reference is in the Clutterbuck letter (GRO D 149/F21).
- 17 On early financial sources for turnpike trust funds, see authorities such as the Webbs, Jackman, Albert, Pawson. See also Buchanan B, The Evolution of the English Turnpike Trusts: lessons from a case study. (ECHR 2nd series, xxxix, 2, 1986), which deals with the Bath Trust and is a corrective to certain opinions expressed elsewhere.
- 18 John Stephens of Eastington: see note 16 above, and Fig II.i, at Eastington.
- 19 Gloucestershire Notes & Queries iv, 1842, 493, quoting from State Papers (Domestic).
- 20 GJ 30 July 1734.
- 21 Mr Guise's letters in GJ 11 June 1734 et seq.
- 22 5½% of £2000 would bring £110. If £300 were the interest @ 5½%, the capital sum would have had to have been nearly £5500.
- 23 For Gloucestershire riots against turnpikes, see Albert W, Popular Opposition to Turnpike Trusts in early eighteenth century England, (JTH new series, 5, 1979). However, Dr Albert gets the location of Cainscross wrong, describing it in one place as "in the village of Stonehouse near Stroud, and in another as "the Stonehouse gates", as noted in the text. See Fig II.i: Cainscross was then at the extremity of the parish of Stonehouse - the parish boundaries have since then been altered.
- 24 Daniel Watkins of London bought Over Court in Bislely village in 1721, and died in 1736. VCH xi, 14.
- 25 The George, High Street, Stroud, was until 1819 the premier hostelry in Stroud (see Fisher op cit, index). The arch of the former bar is still visible in what is now an outside wall on Swan Lane, just off the High Street.
- 26 The whole report of the audit is in GRO Q/SO/6, from which extracts in the text have been taken.
- 27 Sandford: see VCH xi, 159.

- 28 Albert op cit Ch 5 says that as well as landowners etc., subscribers came from all classes, instancing a labourer, carpenter, and stonemason. In the chapter on the administration of the Nailsworth Trust, examples will be given of the social or economic groups of the trustees, including at a later stage a farmer who signed his name with X (as mentioned in the text).
- 29 William Loyd (sic) is given in GJ of 28 May 1734 as pike-keeper at the Stroud toll-gate; during the county election a horse had been stolen, and the toll-house was a convenient place for a notice advertising this fact.
- 30 William Marshal "of Eastington, gent." in GRO D 149/320/904, c.1702. Giles Gardner of Straftords, son of Giles, clothier, is in VCH xi and Haine C, The Cloth Trade along the Painswick Stream I, GSIAJ for 1985. In another part of the Audit Report, gentlemen responsible for parish roads are given as: G Gardner - Stroud & Painswick (i.e. the small portion of Painswick parish between the Painswick stream at Stratford's and the Slad stream at Badbrook at the bottom point of Stroud), W Sandford - Stonehouse, Fd Stephens - Estington (sic), and M Small for Whitminster.
- 31 The Gloucester Journal (sometime given as Gloucester) gives several examples in the later 1720s of coaches and carriers "flying" after the winter was over. See also Herbert N op cit.
- 32 The example of an abortive turnpike in the 1820s for the sole benefit, apparently, of Miserden House, will be cited in a later chapter.
- 33 See Burne A H op cit on traffic in Staffordshire, Wilson C H op cit, Booker J M L, The Essex Turnpike Trusts, M Litt, ^Durham, 1979, p 64.
- 34 Albert W, Popular Opposition, ... op cit "not immediately clear why popular opposition was aroused at this time".
- 35 On 'phases' of turnpiking in Gloucestershire, see Cox C in The Cotswolds, a new study, Hadfield C & A M ed, (David & Charles, 1973), in the chapter on transport.

.....

P.S. An indenture, counterpart of the mortgage of Stroud Turhpike to John Stephens Esq., on 8 August 1727, is in GRO 149/320/911. Stephens lent initially £300 and in return had the tolls assigned for the "road from the River Severn to Stroud".

Chapter III. FROM 1725 TO 1780 - THE EVOLUTION OF
THE NAILSWORTH TURNPIKE TRUST.

General

Albert, Pawson and others have outlined the development in the first half of the eighteenth century of radial networks of turnpike roads centred on major market towns. Frank Walker for example, points out that before 1750 Bristol was linked with Cirencester and places further north, and that the clothing towns of the Somerset-Wiltshire border were also linked with Bristol: Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon in 1751/52, Malmesbury in 1755/56, and Frome in 1756/57.¹ It is perhaps surprising that the Stroudwater area, equally important with Frome and Trowbridge as a cloth-making area, did not develop a coherent turnpike system until after 1800. The earliest toll-road, the Stroud Turnpike, was clearly intended to give Stroud access to the major traffic artery of the Severn, and the need for such communication was emphasised by persistent efforts to improve the river Frome, culminating in 1779 with the opening of the Stroudwater Canal.² Even as late as the 1820s efforts were made to obtain an Act for a rail-way from Framilode to the canal port of Brimscombe.³ But in the period under review in this chapter the major routes conspicuously avoided the valleys. With the exception of the Nailsworth Trust of 1780, no turnpike traversed the lower length of any valley, and only one actually crossed the main valley of the Frome.⁴

In Chapter II (p 72) it was suggested that three separate phases can be distinguished in the development of the turnpike system in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds. The roads radiating out from Gloucester in the clay vale were the first to come under toll authority in the 1720s;⁵ the plateau through-routes were turnpiked in the 1740s and 1750s, apparently revealing a shift of emphasis from market access to long-distance coach travel. A gap was left between the two 'ends' of such routes which were joined up later.⁶ The road up Birdlip (& Crickley) hill however did reach the scarp top earlier than did others, which may show the importance of the Gloucester-Oxford-London route in the earlier years of the century. In phase III came the construction of entirely new alignments through the Stroudwater valleys and up the valley-sides to the plateau, but by routes different from those in existence as parish highways. This marks a quite new development.

Most of such roads in the Stroudwater area came after 1800, but the Nailsworth turnpike road marks this new departure some twenty years earlier. This chapter accordingly will follow the development referred to as phase II, leading to the authorisation of the first phase III road, the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust in 1780.

Toll-roads in the Stroudwater area before 1780.

The complete map of these roads in this area is in Appendix I, but sections are given with the enumerated different roads here for the convenience of the reader.

- 1 Cross-roads of the Gloucester-Stone road (the Gloucester Southgate group). These properly belong in phase I.

12 G i c.24 of 1726 was the first Act to turnpike roads south of Gloucester, in the Vale. It fell within the period when JPs were directly responsible for toll roads, and when such roads were not separate, independent bodies but rather parish roads put under toll to raise funds for their repair when the burden was beyond the resources of the individual parishes. In fact, the inaugural Act states that the parishes still had the liability of road repair. The Act was somewhat vague in its definition of which roads were to be turnpiked, and there was some question later as to the legality of tolls on certain routes, so that renewal Acts had to be more precise. This Act is constantly referred to in subsequent legislation, even as late as the nineteenth century.

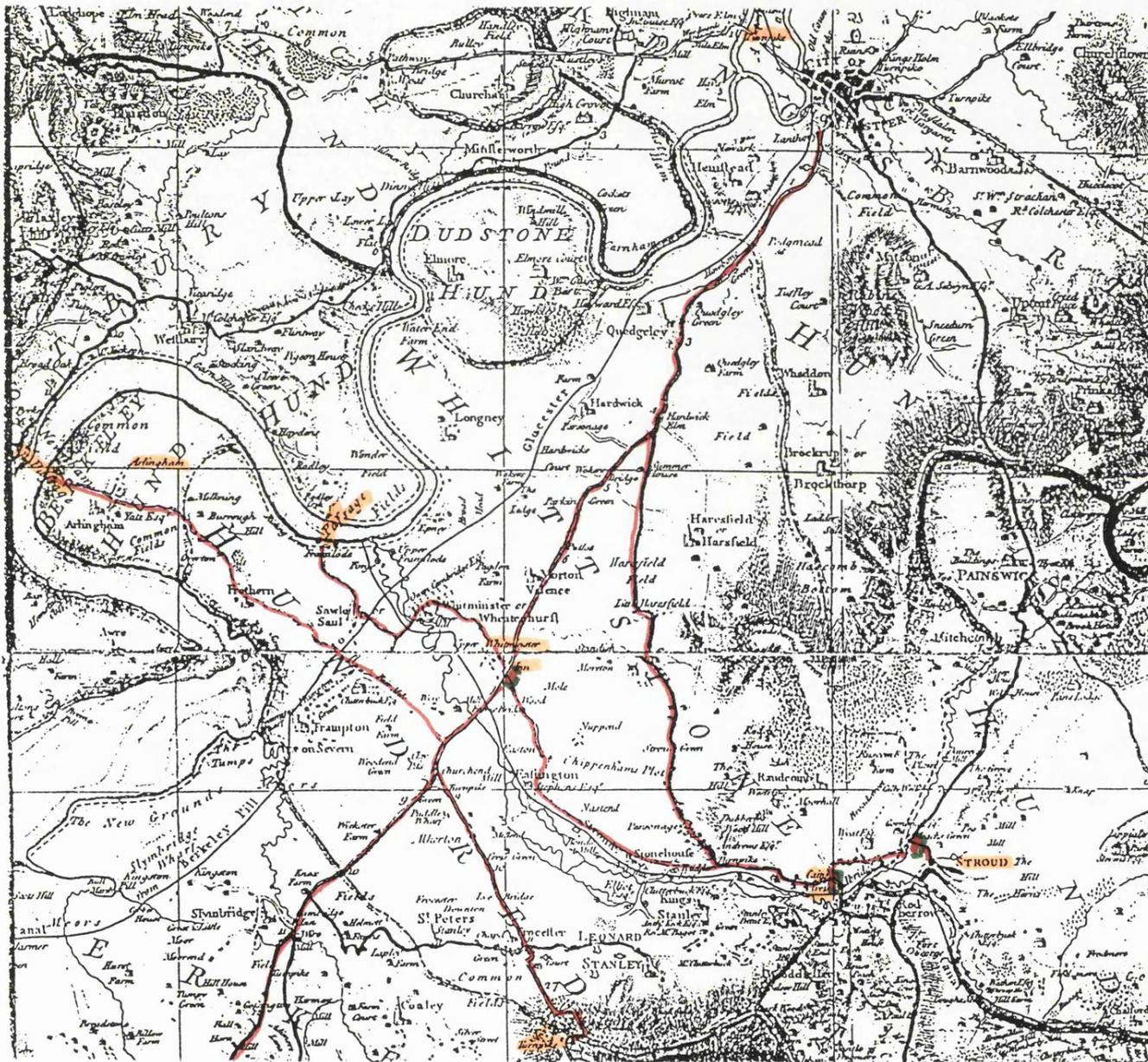
i The Stroud Turnpike.

This road has been discussed in the previous chapter. Here it may just be remarked that at some stage it seems to have lost its name and separate identity, as various portions came under other, newer, trusts or were regrouped differently.

ii The Frocester Hill road.

This was a contemporary companion of the Stroud Turnpike. 12 G i c.24 includes "... the Road from Framilode Passage over the River Severn, to the Top of Froster Hill ...". This is in fact incorrect for the road from Framilode Passage was the Stroud Turnpike, while the road to Fro-

FIG III.i. Gloucester-Stone turnpike (part), showing
 Stroud Turnpike & Frocester hill roads
 (cross-roads from the Severn to the Hills),
 Road from the Four Mile Elm at Hardwicke
 through Standish to Stonehouse.
 The toll-sites on the Stroud Turnpike ...



Places indicated: Newnham Passage, Framilode Passage,
 Arlingham, Over, Hardwicke Elm, Whitminster Inn, 'Easton',
 Cainscross, Stroud, Frocester Hill toll-site.

cester Hill began from Newnham Passage, that is the "Arlingham road" referred to by Mr Clutterbuck.⁷

31 G ii c.65 of 1758 the initial turnpike Act for the Tetbury roads group, records the turnpike gate at the top of Frocester hill, and also notes that from there the road went through the village of Nympsfield in its hollow below the plateau surface. The authority of the Frocester hill road stopped at that gate which was close to the existing information hut (itself a former toll-house) of the Coaley Peak Country Park. This ancient track uphill was replaced in the 1780s by a somewhat easier way a little to the south.

19 G ii c.18 of 1746. One of the turnpike roads about which there seems to have been some doubt was "the said road from Newnham Passage, leading through the parishes of Arlingham, Fretherne and Saul, and until it is joined by the said road from Framilode passage" (which is evidence that the two roads were linked - through Saul), "leading through the parishes of Arlingham, Fretherne and Saul, and until it is joined by the said road from Framilode passage", and 19 G iii c.118 of 1779 refers to the "house lately used as a Toll gate (which) stands at the Top of Frocester Hill", a phrase repeated in 20 G iii c.93.

This unveils a small problem. According to the Vic-toria County History, a new hill-road was made in 1783 at the instigation of the vicar of Frocester, the Rev George Hayward.⁸ So it is not clear why the toll-house

at the top should have been abandoned before that date, as the new alignment was probably constructed under the threat of loss of revenue to the new route to Bath along the Nailsworth valley, which was not completed till the spring of 1781.

39 & 40 G iii c.76 of 1800, in recapitulation of the Gloucester-Stone road Act, refers to "... the Road ... to or near the place called The Freeze, where the Hand-and-Post stands at the Top of Frocester Hill". This is the new road up-hill.⁹

iii From Hardwicke through Standish to Stonehouse.

This road also was implied in 12 G i c.24, at least as far as Little Haresfield, and with other roads had to receive a more precise definition. 19 G iii c.76 of 1779 calls it the road "from Hardwicke where the Elm was, to Stonehouse, Cainscross and Stroud". The Elm is still shown on Taylor's map of 1777, and it is to be noted that the road to Cainscross and Stroud had been part of the original Stroud Turnpike. This route through Standish probably replaced one that led through Haresfield and Stroud Green to Stonehouse, and it has also been suggested that an earlier route lay even further to the east, along the lower slopes of the scarp, but only disconnected pieces of such a way appear on the later maps.¹⁰ The turnpiking of this route to join the Stroud road is probably the reason why a fourth toll-gate was listed on that latter road, at a curious extra-parochial place known as Haywards Field, where recently

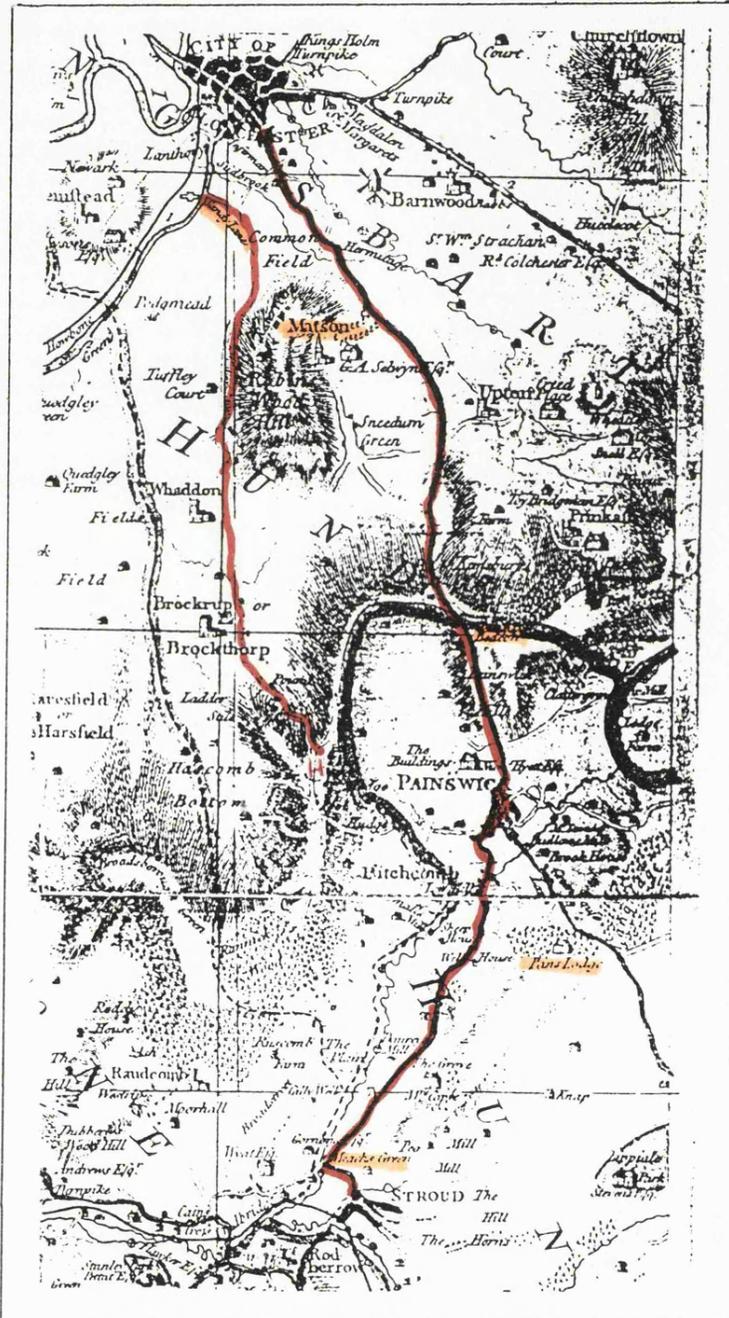
a roundabout has been constructed at the eastern approach to Stonehouse village, more or less on the site of the former toll-house.¹¹

iv Tuffley, Whaddon, Brookthorpe.
(see Fig III.ii.)

Yet another road towards Stroud from Gloucester was considered to fall within the scope of 12 G i c.24. This one left the Gloucester-Stone road (the Bristol road) south of Gloucester's then built-up area. It is still called the "Stroud Road" though at the time much of it was named Sandy Lane.¹² It passed Tuffley and the villages of Whaddon and Brookthorpe to ascend the scarp to the edge of the ridge on Huddingknoll common in Painswick parish. From Brookthorpe up-hill it was replaced by the present Horsepools road, in 1817, and the former hill-stretch is now only a grassy track which near the top is a hollow-way with a small stream down the middle.

It does not appear that it was ever repaired from toll revenue. 31 G ii c.74 of 1758 mentions it as leading out of the Great Road from Gloucester and heading for Stroud as far as the top of Brocckthrop (sic) Hill, and added that it might be repaired after other roads had been amended if there were any money left. There never was. 19 G iii c.118 of 1779 said the road through Painswick was short of money to repay loans, and therefore travellers through the parishes of "Harscombe and Brockthrop" need pay only half the toll on the road from Gloucester. In a later chapter it will be seen that most, if not all, of this route was still a

FIG III.ii. The road from Gloucester through Painswick to Stroud.
Road from Gloucester via Tuffley, Whaddon and Brookthorpe to the top of the scarp at Huddingknoll Common.



Places indicated: for road through Brookthorpe - Sandy Lane, Huddingknoll Hill - H;
for road through Painswick - Matson, Beacon, Pans Lodge, Meachs (Beeches) Green.
Wickridge Hill track

charge on the parishes in the 1830s and 1840s.

Several other roads crossed the Gloucester-Stone road, but these lie outside the area of this study. However, the road from Gloucester to Painswick was regarded as within the provisions of 12 G i c.24, even though it left the city by a gate other than the South Gate, and so should not strictly have been included in that group. It was in fact usually termed the Gloucester Eastgate road, as that going south was the Southgate, and that to Birdlip, the Northgate turnpike road.

v Gloucester-Painswick-Stroud.

Of this road 19 G ii c.18 of 1746 says, as of so many others, that it could not be repaired from the parish rate as it was too long and ruinous, and those stretches actually amended would soon again be ruinous, "many heavy Carriages frequently passing thereon". There were also doubts about the legality of raising tolls on this road under 12 G i c.24.

The route is given as from the East Gate down Barton Street in Gloucester, through the parishes of Matson and Upton St Leonards to the "Camps" on the top of Painswick hill (that Iron Age camp goes under various names).¹³ The preamble states that "although the said Road was very bad and ruinous, and is the direct Road from the City of Gloucester to Stroud" (mentioned in 12 G i c.24) "and a turnpike had been put up - and remained" (that is, at the East Gate) it was now deemed lawful to raise money by tolls. Roads were to be measured and milestones put up,

but these powers apparently extended only to Painswick "Camps". Taylor's map obligingly depicts a beacon on top of the Iron Age ramparts.

From Painswick there were two alternate routes to Stroud, as is pointed out in 31 G ii c.64. Doubts had been expressed as to whether the trustees could actually amend all the roads from Gloucester to Stroud or set up toll gates beyond The Camps. These two routes were:

- (a) down Tibbywell Lane in Painswick, via Pan's Lodge and Vicarage (sic) Hill to Stroud, and¹⁴
- (b) From New Street at the lower end of Painswick, down the present Stamages Lane and over the Painswick stream to Wick Street Lane (now Wick Street) and so to Stroud.

The ridge top track does not seem to have proceeded any further north along the top towards Birdlip than Bulls Cross, and in any event it was Wick Street - a presumed ancient hill-side road - that received the milestones, most of which were located in the 1960s, though only one set of iron mileage plates had survived, and even that may now have disappeared.

18 G iii c.98 confirmed the road to Stroud as a separate district, and tolls were even lowered in the endeavour to attract traffic - though when the Nailsworth road was opened a successful plea was made to increase these tolls on the grounds of increased wear and tear from traffic. At this date, travel from Cheltenham came along the scarp-rim road,¹⁵ past the heads of the Painswick

valleys, and along from Cranham or Prinknash Corner over the "Castles" and down to Painswick;¹⁶ from here travellers could go along Wick Street to the toll-gate on the Stroud Turnpike, turn right for Cainscross and on to Bath on the new Nailsworth road. Previously, Bath traffic would have had to go to Frocester and up that hill for the Old Bath road.

2 Roads west from Cirencester.

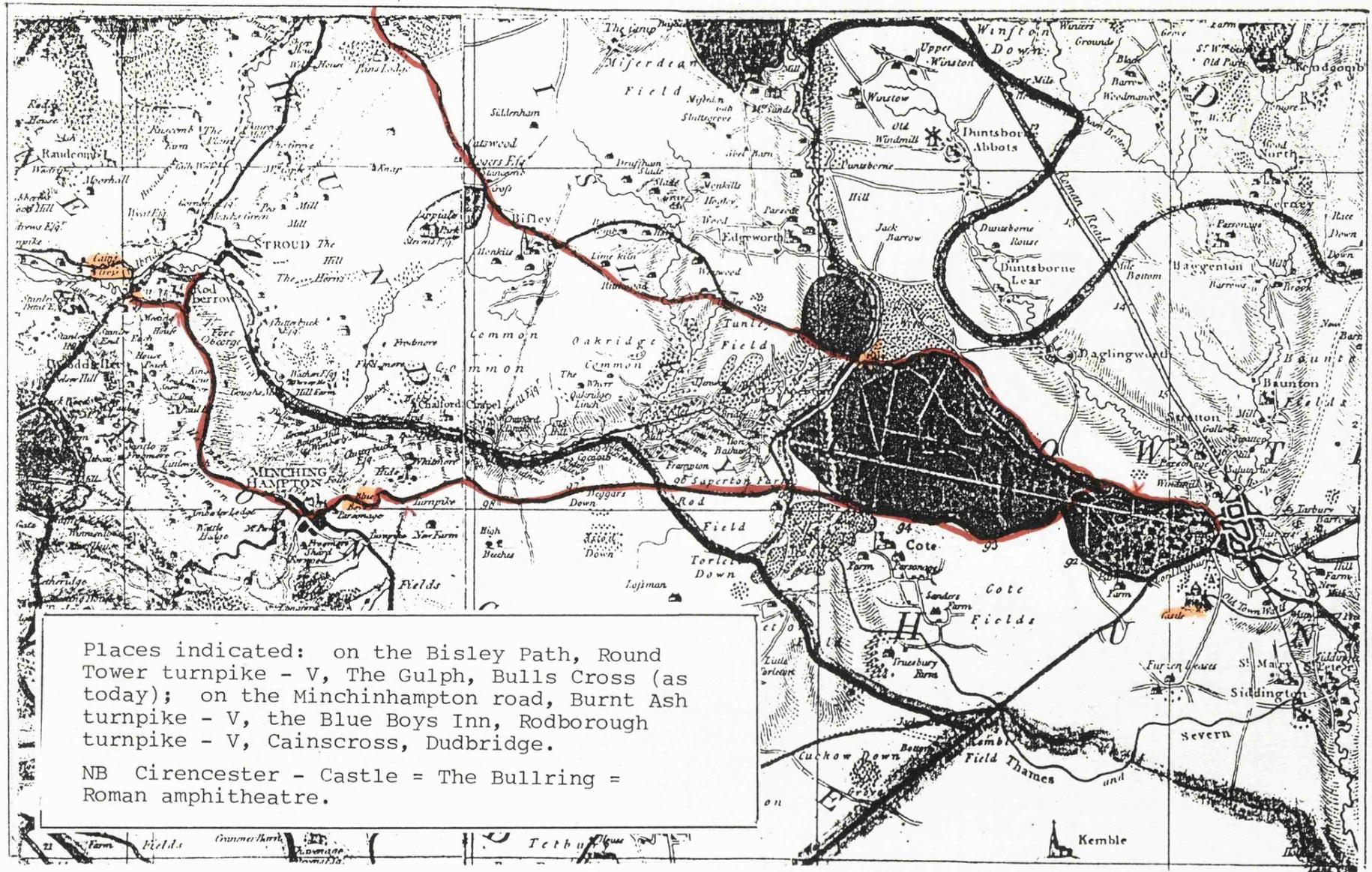
(see Fig III.iii.)

The growth of a network of turnpike roads radiating from Cirencester may be seen in the article by M J Paine. *See p4/5*
Here the concern is with those which lead towards, or across the Stroudwater valleys. .

These roads were two, and both were brought under toll by 25 G ii c.13 of 1752, both being ancient trackways. One led from the "pitching cross" in Cirencester to the Blue Boys inn on the outskirts of Minchinhampton, thence across the commons (though coaches detoured into Minchinhampton) to the lower end of Stroud, another branch going down Rodborough hill to Dudbridge and Cainscross.

The other route, called in this study the "Bisley Path", ^x led up Cecily Hill at the entrance to Cirencester Park, through (or rather along the edge of) Stratton Field, turning left at the end of Oakley Wood for the crossing of the Frome at what was then termed Gulph Hill Bottom. It was described, and this time with some truth, as narrow, deep and ruinous, and in part impassable for waggons and laden horses in winter and rainy seasons, and as dangerous for travellers.¹⁷

FIG III.iii. Roads west from Cirencester.



It is far from clear how far along this road turnpike authority extended. The authorising Act, and even continuing ones, does not mention any right to raise tolls beyond Gulph Hill (and the only toll-house verified was where the road to Coates to the south branched off through Cirencester Park), but several milestones were located along the route towards, and even beyond, Bisley. The toll-house at Holloway to the south of Bisley lay on another road, and is later. But with the growing importance of the valleys rather than the uplands, and with the improvement of the road through Minchinhampton, the Bisley Path fell out of favour and as Rudder remarked, Bisley town "is most unfavourably situated for a market, being of very difficult access, by reason of the deep bottoms which environ it every way".¹⁸

The route preferred by the second half of the eighteenth century was that through Minchinhampton. It was considered to be two districts, hinged on Minchinhampton itself. On Taylor's map there are curious meanderings east of that town, and it seems probable that until road improvements encouraged its use by long-distance coaches, it was rather of local convenience and use, and carriers' carts would have gone from one farmstead to the next instead of following a straight line to Minchinhampton. Before the enclosure of the lands east of Minchinhampton, however, it is possible that drovers took the straighter way across open fields, which later became the turnpike. Taylor's map also indicates the turnpike roads as going into the town itself, rather than by-passing it as it

now does, along the edge of Old Common. Close to the cross-roads at Burnt Ash, there is what appears to be an abandoned stretch of early turnpike improvement, corresponding with one of the bends on Taylor's map, and heading for the town rather than past it. Moreover, the area east of Minchinhampton was open field until about the middle of the eighteenth century according to contemporary writers, though it now presents a classic example of stone-walled, rectangular fields, the stone walls then being regarded as "offensive to the eye of taste".¹⁹

Other improvements were confirmed by 58 G iii c.23 of 1818, namely the straightening out of the road south of Cirencester Park by exchange of land with Earl Bathurst.²⁰

The decline of the Bisley Path, and the improvements on the Minchinhampton route, may perhaps indicate the growing attraction of communications with the industrial valleys though it must be remembered that this road, like the Bisley Path, was essentially a through, long-distance route on the ridge between two industrial valleys and so convenient for both, but originally rather a level way to the crossing of the Frome at Dudbridge and to the Vale of the Severn south of Gloucester.

3 Tetbury roads North & West. (see Fig III.iv.)

Tetbury like Cirencester became a centre of radial routes. It can be noticed that traffic going south from that latter town veered off the Fosse Way at Jackaments Bottom,²¹ presumably responding to the pull of Tetbury, continuing from there to join the Old Bath road from Glou-

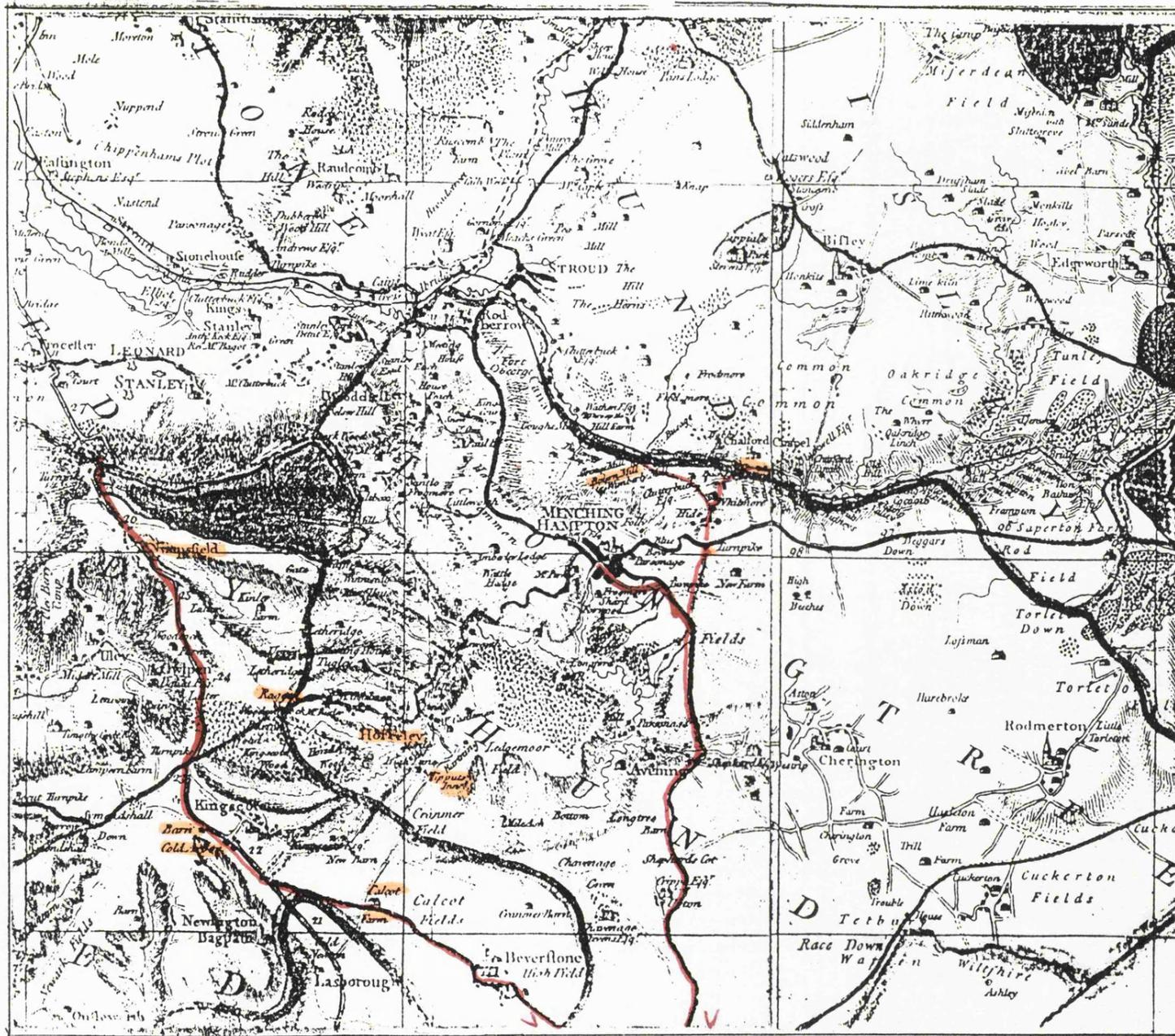


FIG III.iv.
Roads West
& North from
Tetbury.

Places indicated:
To Tetbury - V,
Avening, Burnt Ash
turnpike - V, Chal-
ford Bottom, The
Bourne (mill), Cal-
cut Farm, Tipputs
Inn, Horsley, The
Ragged, Nymphsfield,
Barn (= Ashel Barn),
Cold Arbor (The
Bear).

cester at Dunkirk. The roads north and west from Tetbury are of concern for this study.

Several Acts deal with this road from Tetbury Market House north through Avening near the headwaters of the Nailsworth stream, crossing the Cirencester-Minchinhampton road at Burnt Ash before descending the Frome valley to Chalford Bottom, whence it climbed the northern flank to head for Bisley and Birdlip. This was possibly a route of some antiquity, and there are still several barrows along it, which in the past would have been convenient landmarks.

Some relevant Acts are: 31 G ii c.65 of 1758, 20 G iii c.70 of 1780, and 41 G iii c.85 of 1801. To attract such attention, roads in both directions from Tetbury must have been considered of some importance, and two districts were formed. The roads west constituted the first district with its meeting place for the trustees at The Bear, (now Hunters Hall inn) near Kingscote; the second district comprised the road going north, with its meeting place in Tetbury, at the White Hart.

Dealing first with this second district, the Act of 1758 authorised repair only as far as Tayloe's Mill (now Belvedere mill) in Chalford Bottom.²² But significantly, a branch led from Hyde near Burnt Ash to The Bourne in the valley bottom west of Chalford (where the tributary Toadsmoor valley entered the main valley). This looks as if a link with such industry as then existed down on the valley floor was thought important to those who framed

the Act, and it may be noted that at this time Minchinhampton looked to Tetbury (as will be seen when the Nailsworth road is considered) rather than to Stroud.²³

There was to be no toll-gate in Minchinhampton town on its western side, but there was one a little way to the east where the road to Burnt Ash branched off for Minchinhampton at Hampton Fields near the lodge to Gatcombe Park.²⁴ 41 G iii c.85 extended the authority for repair from Tayloe's mill-pond as far as Foston's Ash inn north of Bisley on the way to Birdlip, due to the recent construction of a turnpike up the Slad valley from Stroud to Birdlip. Taylor's map does not show a road over Bisley common; Rudd asserts that the road went round the edge of that common, not across what was then still open field, but from the discontinuous ends of road on Taylor's map a route across the common seems the more likely. The stretch between Foston's Ash and Birdlip came under authority of the Slad valley turnpike.

More important to this study, because they foreshadow the conception of the Nailsworth Trust, were the roads west from Tetbury, that is the first district. 31 G ii c.65 gave the road as from the turnpike gate at the top of Frocester hill, through the parishes of Nympsfield, Owlpen and Kingscote, and on to Lansdown near Bath; and also a road from Bouldown Sleight to the end of a land adjoining to the road Horsley-Tetbury, near Tiltups Inn. Another improved road was that leading due west from Tetbury, past Beverston and Calcut Farm to

Coldharbour, close to the Bear Inn, and past Ashel Barn to a gate west of Symonds Hall. Part of this route lay along the Old Bath Road, and at Ashel Barn it forked left for Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge.

In the first district, toll exemption was allowed for carriages laden with cheese; in the second district to carriages carrying coal, perhaps an indication of the growing need in the Stroud valleys for fuel - not for power but for the 'necessitous poor'. 20 G iii c.93 brought into repair the highway from Ashel Barn to the Dursley road, but this lies outside the area of this study. It must be recalled that all these roads were already in existence, if only as country tracks, and also that the highway from Frocester hill lay through Nymphsfield, with a very steep drop into the Horsley valley before heading for Tetbury past Tiltups Inn, though the easier, if longer, road was that through Calcut Farm rather to the south.

But the concern of this paper is with the way an entirely new alignment came into being, one which shifted the direction of travel in the area south of Nailsworth from a generally west-east direction to one from north to south.

The evolution of the Nailsworth Trust.

The trustees of these two districts of Tetbury roads advertised in the Gloucester Journal on 7 September 1778 their intention to seek renewal and enlargement of the authorising Act, 31 G ii c.65. It was noticed above

that one of the roads that came under that authority was from Bouldown Sleight to the end of a lane at or near Tiltups Inn, which stood on the road from Horsley to Tetbury, serving traffic west to east, not north to south. There was a proposal to include a track from this inn to Minchinhampton common to join the turnpike along that upland ridge. The notice said "through Nailsworth" but it is not clear whether this meant through the small settlement of Barton End, down through Hazelwood and up the Iron Mill and Well Hill roads to Minchinhampton (which according to A T Playne was then the way from Minchinhampton to Bristol), or whether it meant to follow the existing highway, now called Tetbury Lane, to the bridge at Lower Nailsworth, and then straight up "The Ladder", a near vertical track to the west of Minchinhampton. (places named will be identified in later chapters.)

The process of obtaining sanction for such a local Bill can be followed in the Journal of the House of Commons. The two Tetbury road districts were dealt with at nearly, but not quite, the same time: that for the northern road to Chalford a little in advance of the first district, that is the road to the top of Frocester hill. For example, the Journal records that on 2 December 1779 a petition was presented to enlarge and continue powers for the second district, as the money borrowed on credit of the tolls could not be paid nor the roads properly repaired. As the Order of the Commons, dated 25 April 1774, had been complied with (referring to the correct public notice of intent having been given), Mr Christopher

Gardiner gave evidence that over £600 had been borrowed, and Mr Chester, Sir William Guise and Mr Blackwell were given instructions to prepare a new Bill, which was given its second reading, engrossed, and passed to the Lords by 10 February 1780. As the Lords had no amendments to include, this particular renewal received the Royal Assent on 21 March 1780.

Renewal of powers for the first, western, district proceeded similarly. The petition was heard on 24 January 1780, including the minor road straightening mentioned above,²⁵ and received the Royal Assent on 4 May 1780. A certain William Wilkins was mentioned as having answered questions: he will be met again later.

These of course were petitions for the renewal (with additions or amendments) of existing powers for existing roads which had come under turnpike authority. But the Gloucester Journal for 16 November 1778 contained an announcement by the Tetbury roads group trustees (that is, of the first district) that they would consider whether to include either a road from Tiltups Inn via Nailsworth to Minchinhampton common, or instead a road from Nailsworth via Woodchester to Dudbridge, to make a junction there with the road of the Cirencester Trust, rather than reach that road closer to Minchinhampton town, with the consequent very steep rise from the valley to that town. This seems to be the first recorded intimation of what was to prove a striking and momentous innovation of turnpike development in the Stroudwater valleys. For

first time, a route through a valley rather than one along the interfluvial ridges - or one merely crossing the valley system - was suggested, though the idea of a completely new construction was not immediately broached: it emerged as the suggestion was no doubt debated and enlarged.

The idea takes shape.

The Journal of the House of Commons for 26 November 1779 includes a petition from -

Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, Freeholders, and others, residing near, or frequently travelling the Road from Tiltup's Inn, in the Parish of Horseley, to Dudbridge, in the Parish of Rodborough, and from Nailsworth, in the Parish of Avening to the Turnpike Road leading from Minchinhampton to Stroud, on Minchinhampton Common.

The road in question was still the local hill-side way passing through various small settlements: but the Petition also included a proposal for a better road from the George inn in Lower Nailsworth to the turnpike on Minchinhampton common. Thus both improvements were combined, though previously they had been considered as alternative routes. And another point which perhaps should be emphasised is that from the first it was not just one road that was to be improved, but that those behind the Bill conceived of a system of roads, based on the spine of the Nailsworth valley, but with more than one side or branch road feeding the proposed new road from the ridge-top routes on either side of that valley. This certainly seems a far-sighted innovation, for while the road from Gloucester to Stone in the 1720s included several cross-

roads, these were incidental to the main Vale road, and rather crossed it than were conceived as an integral part of that main route.

The Petition was referred to Sir William Guise and others, and they were instructed to meet the next day at 9 a.m. and to report back; which was done. William Wilkins was again examined; he had claimed that the roads were in disrepair and could not be repaired under the existing laws, and that it would be of great convenience to amend, widen and repair, and in some parts alter, the valley road (that is, the hill-side road connecting settlements) for easier and nearer communication between Gloucester and Bath. So the public argument was still for a through-route: but the innovation, apart from the new alignment (which was not put forward immediately) was to link the valley industrial sites one with another, instead of only each with the plateau road on the ridge tops.

It is of some interest to note that while in the 1752 Act for the repair of the Cirencester-Stroud roads emphasis was laid on the use of these roads for the "Carriage and Conveyance of Wooll, Woollen Manufactures, Dying-ware, Corn, malt and other Commodities ..." with particular reference to the route to Bisley, the emphasis twenty-five years or more later, and in a valley much more concerned with manufacture than the land on either side of the Bisley Path, was on providing a long-distance, through route. It might be because through traffic, and particularly for the gentry and

others travelling to Bath, had been on the increase and it was therefore thought the new road might be more attractive to the type of person who sat in Parliament and had either private means for a carriage or made use of stage-coaches. The emphasis in the Act was not on waggons and bulk carrying.

The Commons gave permission for a Bill to be presented, but added that the road from Nailsworth bridge via Hawcombe (sic = Holcombe) and up the Well Hill road to Minchinhampton should be included. The Bill was to be prepared by Sir William Guise, Sir William Codrington and Mr Chester, and on 10 December Sir William Guise duly presented it and it received its first reading.

It had its second reading on 21 December - the alternative name Tiltups End, for Tiltups Inn, appears here.²⁶

The main proposal was for the improvement of the road from Tiltups End (or Inn) to Dudbridge, which is the name generally given to the Bill before the road actually came into use. In the nineteenth century its official name was the Nailsworth, Woodchester and Dudbridge road.

This Bill, originally presented as a link with the Tetbury and Bath roads, and for the benefit of travellers from places further north, had some extra improvements inserted as it went along, and also suggestions of a new alignment of considerably more importance than those for minor straightening of corners. And as a result, it was at this point that opposition of some weight was encountered.

Counter-Petition.

The first counter-petition was presented to the House of Commons on 28 January 1780, from "Inhabitants of the Town of Tetbury, the Parishes of Horsley, Avening, and the Village of Nailsworth", and these claimed that there was -

an ancient and public Road or King's Highway from the Town of Tetbury, by Chavenage, Ledgemore, Rugard's Green, and The Wind's Arse, down to The Cross²⁷ at Nailsworth, in the Parish of Horseley, and so on through The Forest Green, in the Parish of Avening, to many Towns and Villages, which has been, and still is, of very great Advantage and Emolument to the Petitioners.

The petitioners had inferred from the Bill that the highway from Nailsworth Cross (in Upper Nailsworth) to Barton End, which is now called Tetbury Lane, and other roads to the lane joining the road from Barton End to Minchinhampton, via Hazelwood, might cease to be in use as public highways. It was also suggested that some of these had cunningly been omitted from the Bill, and they asked that they should not be deprived of the ancient highway from Tetbury, that also ran north on the upper slopes of the Nailsworth valley through Forest Green to Dudbridge.

Another counter-petition came from proprietors of houses and lands on the existing road to Dudbridge, which, it was claimed with a sublime disregard for fact,

"has a firm and very good Foundation, and may be made very commodious for Carriages and Travellers, by only widening the same, and in some few Places reducing the rising Parts thereof, and by going very little on private Property".

This counter-petition also asserted that the Bill -

has a Plan of such intended Road drawn out, whereby it appears they have deviated almost entirely from the old Road, and have adopted nearly an entire new Road, through the Gardens, Orchards, and Meadows of the Petitioners and others, which Meadows are of a very rich and deep Soil, and very valuable, and where an entire new Foundation must be made at an enormous Expence, and in many Parts above One hundred Yards from the old Road, the old Road lying between the new-intended Road and the Quarries from whence the Stones must be fetched for making the said new Road ...

These petitioners thought it would be extremely oppressive and injurious to proceed with the Bill.

The Plan referred to must be that drawn by Mr Rice, which is reproduced later with comments. (cf Figs IV.ii, Sections along old and new roads in the Nailsworth valley, and IV.v, Rice's Plan, reduced in scale, of the Intended New Road. ^{See} ~~See~~ also Appendix 2 for the full-size photocopy of this Plan.) The person most likely at this stage to suffer inconvenience from the road going through meadows would have been Mr Webb of Egypt mill, though on the Plan the road is shown as running close to the existing hedge.

Also shown on the Plan is the original suggestion to follow much of the existing hill-side road, and the protests of these petitioners seem somewhat contradictory, as that particular alignment would have caused considerably more damage and inconvenience to dwellings than the line through fields and meadows. It is not impossible that some objections were raised in order to enhance the price of compensation for lands which were to be ac-

quired compulsorily. In the event, Tetbury Lane was not closed, though today its upper stretches can be used only by tractors with high clearance. The road through Hazelwood no longer exists. Many of the former uphill tracks were cut through by the new road.

The old road from Nailsworth to Dudbridge along the hillside is still narrow, hilly and incommodious, and in one place the distance measured between opposing house walls was barely nine feet.

What can perhaps be described as a counter-counterpetition was presented to the Commons on 16 February 1780. These petitioners "understood" that the proposed route between Frogmarsh and Rooksmoor was aligned through "Woodchester Street", and they suggested it would be better to have a "plain Road" from a house near Frogmarsh Mill Poin to Rooksmoor through St Chloe's Grounds by Little Britain. In fact, this was the final choice, as may be seen from the copy of Rice's Plan, Appendix 2.²⁸

Objections by other turnpike trusts.

Strong objections were raised by trustees of adjacent turnpike roads. The western district of the Cirencester-Stroud road faced a considerable loss of revenue, particularly for the down-hill stretch from Rodborough to Dudbridge. It had been pointed out in the Journal of the House of Commons in January 1780 that up to £600 had been borrowed for repair especially for that stretch of road. There were two toll-sites: one in Rodborough village itself, the shell of which still survives, the other,

known as a "Cheque" gate, at the end of Bowell (otherwise Bowl) Hill Lane, now termed King's Court. The latter gate was to catch those who took a down-hill track to avoid the Rodborough gate.

The trustees of the Cirencester road claimed that the intended new road, which was "in the same line as Bowell Hill Lane", would destroy the use of that check-gate, and would be very injurious to the mortgagee, Mr Joseph Cripps, and also a disadvantage to the public, for if less money were taken in tolls, less would be available for road repair. They did not mention that with fewer vehicles on the road, the need for repair would be the less. Their existing down-hill road to Dudbridge was, they asserted, equally commodious to the public, the cost would be less than half that of the new road, and with one tenth only of the damage to property. Another of their objections was the possibility that travellers might have to pay an extra toll on the last one hundred and fifty yards of their road, between its junction with the new road and Dudbridge. In fact, this last fear was obviated by that short stretch being expressly removed from toll.

All these petitions were referred to Committee.

The trustees of the Painswick-Stroud road also put in objections. The Journal of the House of Commons for 25 January 1780 quotes from it: the road was "also used by Stage Coaches, Diligences, and other Carriages, as the great Road from Gloucester to Bath." This was not

strictly true, as the Gloucester-Bath traffic generally took the Stone road (A38) to Claypits and then turned up-hill through Frocester for the top route, the Old Bath Road, to Lansdown. The Painswick trustees pointed out that they had recently lowered their tolls, but the next extract reads somewhat oddly for a trust wishing to attract long-distance traffic:

the Materials for repairing the same being at a great Distance, and of a bad Quality, the Amendment of the said Road hath been attended with so great an Expence, that the Petitioners observe, by the Votes" (that the) Nailsworth Road Bill communicates with the Bath Turnpike road, and "will also open a Communication of Road from Gloucester to Dudbridge" through Standish and Stonehouse, which would divert traffic from the Gloucester-Bath road through Stroud "as by the intended Road several steep Hills will be avoided".

This is a very curious argument. Firstly, the trustees said their road was badly repaired and improvement would not be easy; secondly, they said their road was much less convenient than the intended new route. Thirdly, it is difficult to follow their argument that because of the new Nailsworth road, traffic to Bath down the Painswick valley road would be diverted through Standish and Stonehouse to Dudbridge. It seems far more likely that it would be the Old Bath Road, as far as the junction with the Tetbury western road at Ashel Barn, or further south near Lasborough, which would lose custom, while the new and easier route through Nailsworth would benefit the Painswick valley route, especially for traffic from Cheltenham, despite the problem of the ascent up the scarp face at Birdlip.

In fact this route through Painswick and Nailsworth is now the A46 to Bath.

However, their plea to be allowed to raise tolls in expectation of a reduced revenue was granted, and the tolls were increased by one third. A cynical observer might suggest that they had reduced tolls earlier in order to attract traffic, but could now raise their tariffs as traffic would anyway be attracted down the Painswick road by the advantages of the Nailsworth route.

It has been suggested earlier that the new alignment up Frocester hill, constructed by broad sweeps athwart the contours in the manner of the Nailsworth road's ascent to Tiltups End, was a response to the threat posed by the Nailsworth road. In corroboration is the following advertisement which appeared in the Gloucester Journal on 4 September 1780 (with repeats) from Christopher Coleman of The George, Frocester, who begged leave "to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry, and others" that the Gloucester-Bath road had been repaired and made good, the road up the hill was in complete order - that is, the older zig-zag road, soon to be superseded by a new construction - and quite "commodious", which rendered the former Trouble and Expence of putting on additional horses to the carriages going up that hill unnecessary, coupled with a reminder that this was the best and nearest road from Gloucester to Bath by several miles.

The new Frocester hill road emerged on to the top, out of the former direct line through Nympsfield village,

and the present road runs along the top past a row of houses called Cockadilly before rejoining the existing Bath road. In the eighteenth century, travellers from Dudbridge to Uley would have had to turn left at the old Frocester hill toll-gate, and then right again at Nympsfield: the present stretch of road from the toll-gate site past the Frocester quarry to near Hetty Pegler's Tump (a Neolithic long-barrow on the rim of the scarp) did not then exist. A Bath Road milestone stands on the road-side just before Cockadilly, and probably dates from the 1780s' attempt to refurbish the Old Bath Road in a (vain) attempt to prevent the Nailsworth road from taking their traffic.²⁹

Lastly, among the various petitions and counter-petitions of February 1780, there was one from -

several Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others, living near, or frequently travelling from, Dudbridge, to the Top of Frocester Hill, and from Selsly, by The Spout, to the Turnpike Road near the Bear Inn.

This Bear inn was the one on Rodborough common, and this petition was to have inserted into the Act a cross-link from the ridge on one side of the valley to the ridge on the other, further proof that the scheme, as it reached the Statute Book, was to create a system of linked roads, not just the improvement on one road. This is clearly borne out by the Preamble to the Act.

The Nailsworth Trust Act, 20 G iii c.84 of 1780.

Whereas it would be of great use and Advantage to have a good substantial Road made and maintained from Tiltups Inn, in the Parish of Horsley, to join the Turnpike Road leading from Cirencester to Dudbridge, at or near Dudbridge, in the Parish of Rodborough; and from the bridge at Nailsworth, in the Parish of Avening, to the House called The Half Way House, or Fives Court, upon Minchinhampton Common; and from the said Bridge, through Barley Hill Grove, Barley Hill, and Scar Hill, by Howcombe and Iron Mill Hill, up the Well Hill, to Minchinhampton; and from a House near Frogmarsh Mill Pond, in the Parish of Woodchester, through Saint Cloes Grounds, and by a Place called Little Britain, to Rooksmoore, in the Parish of Rodborough; and also from Dudbridge, through Buckholt Wood, to the Turnpike Road near the top of Frocester Hill; and from Nurlsgate, or Selsly, by a Place called The Spout, to the Turnpike Road near the Bear Inn, in the said Parish of Rodborough ...

The first meeting was to be at "The Publick House known by the Name of The Lodge (it is now the Golf Clubhouse) on Minchinhampton Common, upon the Second Thursday next after the Day of Passing this Act", and a clause was included stating that no tolls were to be taken on the stretch between the junction with the Cirencester road and Dudbridge, about two hundred yards; and it was agreed that the Nailsworth Trust would pay half the annual cost of the repair of this short stretch.

The Petition for the Bill had been presented to the House of Commons on 26 November 1779, and the Royal Assent was signified on 21 March 1780. The first meeting of the new Trust was held on 30 March 1780.

Comment.

From the details of turnpike roads in the Stroudwater area, and from Taylor's 1777 map, it is clear that no radial network had developed with Stroud as centre by 1780; and in fact it was not till well after 1800 that such a net-work evolved. (see Fig II.iii.)

If there was a node of communications, it was at Cainscross, and then this is not a very convincing one. Nor can a "turnpike boom" be discerned for the area in the early 1770s, as Pawson finds for the country as a whole. The Stroudwater area does not fit that particular model.

Apart from the Nailsworth road of 1780 - and that has been shown to be an idea developed from an originally different conception - the Stroudwater valleys had no turnpike network at all. The existing pattern was of long-distance through-routes, which avoided the valleys except where use was made of ancient tracks on the long interfluvial ridges. Only one road, that from Framilode Passage to Stroud, was turnpiked in phase I: in phase II the major through-routes on the plateau did come under turnpike authority, but only one such road seems to have been a purposeful link - and that a minor one - with the developing industrial valleys. This was the branch of the Tetbury-Bisley-Birdlip route to The Bourne; and not all of the main turnpike road was put under toll until a later date. It is true that the road along the upper slopes of the Painswick valley came under toll in 1778, but this was an ancient road and was comparatively late

in being brought under the control of the Gloucester Eastgate, but as a separate district. The evidence strongly suggests that the roads that needed extra repair, and so were put under turnpike authority, were the through-routes. (for the Hyde-The Bourne link, see Fig III.iv)

The question may be asked as to why it was so long before the industrial valleys were given better roads, unlike the cloth-making areas of Frome, Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon. An attempt at a brief answer has been made, suggesting that the nature of so-called cottage industry provides a reason. It should also be recalled that the Stroudwater area was one of dispersed, even linear, industry, which was not so much the case in the concentrations to the south of the county. The cloth industry in the eighteenth century was not concentrated in the valley bottoms on mill-sites. Mills were for fulling; washing, bleaching, dyeing also needed sites on running water.³⁰ But the other main processes in the manufacture of cloth, and in particular those requiring the use of intensive labour - especially spinning and weaving - could better be carried out in the cottages of workers living at some considerable distance from the mills. Spinning was done up to at least a thirty-mile radius: Cheltenham, before its development as a fashionable spa³¹ provided yarn from the labours of women and children for the mills of the Stroud Frome, though weavers' dwellings were closer, owing to the weight and bulk of cloth needing transportation to and from the mill, whether on donkey, by wheelbarrow, or on the shoulders of the

weaver's wife.³²

It was the workers who collected and returned the raw or half-finished materials, except that yarn would often be brought to a central 'spinning-house' in a suitable village centre. The expense of transport was not at this stage borne by the capitalist-clothiers. So while the plateau routes to, for example, Cirencester and Tetbury had to be kept in repair, it would not be thought worthwhile, either by mill-managers or those who paid heavy rates to the parish, to spend money on improving roads that for their current use were deemed quite adequate.

Perhaps the one exception was the early Stroud Turnpike, and this, with the construction some fifty years later of the Stroudwater Canal, points rather to the need to keep prices down, especially those of corn and coal, for the industrious poor - and hence, to a certain extent depressing wages and the poor rate.

This is conjecture, but it is a possible hypothesis that only when the manufacturing firms and families in the Stroudwater area were faced with covering the costs of transport hitherto carried by others, did they accept that an entirely new road system was a necessity. The Nailsworth Trust had shown the way some twenty years before the opening of the nineteenth century.

Pawson gives small importance to the effects of relief or geology in determining where turnpike roads went. He writes: "this factor has often been claimed ... to be of importance in understanding the location of turnpike trusts,

this was not so, except in a few cases of very early adoption ..." and "Even in 1720, the turnpike routes to the north and west of London showed little respect for the junctions between the clay and limestone belts".³⁴

Even if this true for the areas fairly close to London, some qualification is needed. Joan Chibnall, for example, places considerably more emphasis on the factors of geology and relief in her study of roads in Buckinghamshire,³⁵ and Fig II.iii would also seem to indicate a lacuna both in space and in time where clay and limestone met in mid-Gloucestershire.

This Figure, and Taylor's map, Appendix 1, also point to another difference. The cross-roads over the Gloucester-Stone road, turnpiked at the same time in 1726, were essentially short-haul, local roads, not centred on the county town, but linking the great traffic artery of the Severn with the small market towns and growing industrial areas of the Cotswold edge. Notice the word 'Wharf' in square 1D just south of Frethern, close to Hock Crib, which is a rapidly-eroding river cliff well-known to the writer. The photo-copy rather obscures the work, but on the original it is clear enough; and a little further south again, west of Frampton-on-Severn, is Frampton Wharf. Further south down the river can be seen Slym-bridge (sic) Wharf and further south again (but not on this photo-copy) is Oldbury Wharf; and this is not to mention the numerous Pills, where small streams flow into the Severn - all attesting to former small tran-

shipment from trows or barges to land carriage. The two ferries nearer Bristol, Old Passage at Aust (where now is the Severn bridge) and New Passage at Redwick (where the jetty of a railway in part still survives) are given by R J Colyer as crossing places for cattle, as also that from Newnham to Arlingham (just fordable then) and the route to Stroud, up Rodborough common and on to places east - which tends to confirm the occupational name of Little London on that common.³⁶

Nor does the dating of Stroudwater turnpike Acts readily fit in with Pawson's periods of turnpike "boom" ~~except~~ in the most general fashion. He cites the two decades of 1750s and 1760s as "boom" years, with other peaks in the early 1790s, around 1810, and in the 1820s. The construction of most of the new toll roads in the Stroudwater area took place from 1801 to 1825, as will be seen later: this can be called phase III. Phase I was that for the the turnpiking of roads in the clay Vale (the term 'phase' applies only to the area of the Cotswolds and the Vale to the west). Phase II therefore is that when the major long-distance plateau roads were brought under toll, and as Fig III.ii attempts to show, this took place at various times in the 1740s and 1750s. It must also be noticed that it was rare in this area for just a single road to be turnpiked: mostly it was a group of associated highways that were put under toll, as was seen with the Tetbury roads, and those leading out from Cirencester. A map in William Tunnicliff's Topographical Survey of Staffs (and other counties,

including Gloucestershire) forms the basis of the lower map in Fig III.ii, and shows a convincing network radiating from Cirencester and other similar market towns.³⁷

It also shows the short lengths of road to Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge, but in fact these were by then linked with the Tetbury roads group, as Tunnicliff's map is of "Great Roads", not just of turnpikes. Fig III.iii is included to show how one turnpike Act could include a number of different roads, in this case the Tetbury group which, it will be recalled was then separated into two independent districts.

Buchanan makes the point that the original authorisation was often on only one Act among many later ones which not only renewed the legal powers after the standard twenty-one years, but often altered and extended that authority to cover further highways. This means that the reliance of Albert and Pawson on 'new' Acts of Parliament needs a good deal of qualification. It is also pertinent to remark here that milestones and the sites of toll-houses can give valuable clues to such extensions beyond the limits of the originating Act.³⁸

TABLE III.i. A list of various Acts referring to certain roads.³⁹

The Frocester hill turnpike, from Newnham Passage to the top of Frocester hill.

12 G i c.24 of 1726 specifically named this road.

19 G ii c.18 of 1746.

19 G iii c.118 of 1779.

20 G iii c.93 of 1780.

39 & 40 G iii c.76 of 1800.

2 G iv c.82 of 1821all these referred to this road, either directly or indirectly - the list could be continued.

The Gloucester Eastgate turnpike, from Gloucester to Painswick, with authority later extended to near Stroud.

This was regarded (rather oddly) as one of the cross-roads of 12 G i c.24. Ignoring references to it in mid-century, in 18 G iii c.98 of 1777/78 authority was confirmed for the road from Painswick to Stroud, and subsequently references are in 19 & 40 G iii c.97 of 1799, 59 G iii c.13 of 1818/19, 15 & 16 V c. of 1852, 16 & 17 V c.135 of 1853, and 17 & 18 V c.95, when this authority was repealed.

Tetbury roads West and North.

31 G ii c.65 of 1757/58 was the initial Act. Later Acts include 20 G iii c.70 of 1779/80, 20 G iii c.93 (same session) 39 & 40 G iii c.75 of 1799, 4 G iii c.85 of 1800/01, 1 & 2 G iv c.83 of 1821, 3 G iv c.63 of 1822/23, 16 & 17 V c.135 of 1853, 17 & 18 V c.58 of 1854 and 18 & 19 V c.102 of 1855.

Not all these refer to the same direction of roads, as the Tetbury group was divided into two districts; but extensions as well as continuation of powers were made in both districts. The final roads before repeal and dispiking were often significantly different from the roads of the initiating Act. As Buchanan points out,⁴⁰ turnpike roads "did not emerge fully fledged at the moment of legal inception, but were instead subject to a continuing evolution within a network which was itself undergoing change".

This "evolution" applies not only to individual trusts, but to the system within in any one particular area: there were changes both in time and in space. Some of these changes have been examined in this chapter (and later),

and in the chapters that follow one of the most important trusts of the Stroudwater area is given detailed discussion, reinforcing the point about constant change and evolution.

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Notes to Appendix 1 and to maps in text.

1 On the second edition of Isaac Taylor's map, the courses of the Berkeley canal (opened fully 1826), the Stroudwater canal (opened 1779) and the Thames & Severn canal (opened 1789) are overprinted, though otherwise there appear few, if any, signs of change.⁴¹ For example, the road from Saul to Frampton-on-Severn (square 1D) now skirts the NW bank of the Berkeley canal, but this change is not recorded by Taylor.

2 The various roads either turnpiked or newly built after 1780 are not shown. The word Turnpike indicates some toll-sites, though these do not correspond in all cases with the original siting. That at the Whitminster cross-roads, for example, (square 3D) is not shown, and it is possible that by the 1770s the road from Framilode to Eastington via Whitminster had reverted to parish control, but the existence of a milestone of the same type as those on the Arlingham road at Westend near Nupend (square 2D, and wrongly called Easton) is evidence that it had been under turnpike authority. (There is reason to believe that these milestones date from after 1800.) The word Turnpike at the SE corner of Stonehouse (square 2E) was probably a response to the turnpiking of the road from Hardwicke on the road to Stone (Taylor depicts the Four Mile Elm), altering the junction of roads at Stonehouse Cross with the Stroud Turnpike to this newer site at Haywards Field. Nor is the Round Tower toll-site on the Bisley Path given. This was on the NE side of Cirencester Park where a road branched to the left through

the Park to the Minchinhampton road, and across that way to Coates. A toll-house was identified at that spot.⁴²

Pawson considers milestones and toll-houses "not sufficiently reliable indicators of the turnpike network of an area. A much more accurate and orderly appreciation of the sequence and extent of turnpiking will always result by working downwards from the central Parliamentary record".⁴³ As it happens, the writer's experience is the exact opposite of this view. Using the 6 inch OS map of the 1880s as a main source, and by extensive field-work, milestones were first located and verified, subsequently toll-house sites were verified - where the Tithe Maps were especially useful. Only after that was recourse made to Parliamentary and other records. It is the writer's opinion that field-work is essential, and of equal and complementary value to documentary research.⁴⁴

3 Mills are shown on Taylor by a wheel symbol. More mills appear by symbols on Bryant's map of 1824, and also many turnpike sites. The 1st edition of the 1 inch OS map also identifies many sites.⁴⁵

Note the Gloucester Way (= Welsh Way) just appearing at the extreme right-hand edge (square 6E), part of the route from Gloucester by-passing Cirencester and Fairford, used by drovers to avoid tolls.⁴⁶

4 Note the continued existence of the name Cambridge at Whitminster (square 1D), Clutterbuck at Frampton-on-Severn (square 1D) and Stephens at Eastington (square 2D). The turnpike in square 3E is Burnt Ash, where the Tetbury road crossed the Cirencester-Stroud road. The former Frocester hill toll-site is where the Frocester road met the Tetbury group west road (square 2E). The Cambridge Inn is in square 1E.

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Chapter III. REFERENCES.

- 1 Frank Walker, The Bristol Region, (Nelson, 1972).
- 2 Michael Handford, The Stroudwater Canal, (A Sutton, 1979).
- 3 GRO Q/RUM/100, 1824, is a plan of the intended railway. Marshall W, op cit, wrote "Railways may in numerous situations be formed in preference to canals. But let not a rage for railways succeed that for canals". The plan is of interest as showing that even at that late date communication with the Severn was still deemed important. Twenty years later the railway that was actually built went, not to the Severn at Framilode, but up the Vale to Gloucester.
- 4 Wick Street, as mentioned later in this chapter, seems to be an exception to this statement. But it kept strictly to the upper slopes of the Painswick valley, and the writer does not classify it as a "valley" road in the sense of the later, and 'new' turnpikes - Wick Street nowhere runs along or close to, the valley bottom.
- 5 See Fig II.iii.
- 6 M J Paine, The Cirencester District of Turnpike Roads 1825-1880. This is one of the articles that take the story of turnpikes beyond the 1830s or 1840s. (Copy in GRO D 2637.)
- 7 Mr Clutterbuck's letter is quoted in Chapter II.
- 8 VCH x, 170.
- 9 The milestone now standing at the top of the 'new' Frocester hill road dates from 1823: the bill is G. Coll JF 9.166, dated 22 September 1823. See also Cox C, Milestones ... TrBGAS lxxxiii op cit, 141.
- 10 VCH x, 232, suggests earlier roads nearer the escarpment. See also p 190 for medieval roads on the present A38 alignment. See also Lilley H T, A History of Standish, (Portsmouth, 1932).
- 11 For the Haywards Field gate, see GJ 16 June 1777. The road from Standish would appear to have joined previously the road from Arlingham at Stonehouse Cross. The Haywards Field toll-site was later moved to the turning to Ryeford and Stanley mill, about two hundred yards to the east; the Haywards Field gate was at the entrance to Stonehouse village, as the Cainscross gate was not! (but it was erected much later than 1734).
- 12 See e.g. Taylor's map, Appendix 1.

- 13 Painswick Camp or Camps; Painswick Castles; Painswick Beacon; Kimsbury Camp.
- 14 Pan's Lodge, (square 3D); later called The Red Stables. VCH xi, 65, note 60. Harris J, A Garden Alphabet, (Octopus Books, n.d.) - the frontispiece is a view of Painswick from Pan's Lodge (misspelt Paris) painted by Thomas Robins 1757.
- 15 According to VCH x, this scarp rim road was turn-piked 1785 by 25 G iii c.125. Travellers may have descended into Cranham village, and then up again to the main road at Cranham (or Prinknash) Corner.
- 16 OS Preliminary Drawings show this road, and depict some milestones, both near Painswick Castles and on the bend of the road on the rim road above Cranham. None however could be found on search in the 1960s. (OS PD sheet 172, 1811)
- 17 Milner J C, op cit.
- 18 Rudder S, op cit, 289.
- 19 A writer in The Gloucestershire Repository, a short-lived publication c.1817.
- Ralph Bigland, Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections relative to the County of Gloucester, (London, 1791), vol ii, on Hampton cxxix, refers to two common fields of 800 acres on the east side of the town as having been enclosed after the start of the century, by Peach's Farm. The Rev S Shaw, A Tour to the West of England in 1788 (1789) wrote "From hence (i.e. Minchinhampton) the road is flat and unpleasant, and instead of the verdant bloom of hedge-rows, the eye is continually disgusted with the unsightly object of loose stones heaped in strait lines and angles". In other words, the now-admired dry-stone walls of the Cotswolds. Thomas Rudge, General View of the Agriculture of Gloucestershire (1813) put the enclosure within the previous hundred years, while George Turner in his General View etc., (1794) wrote that there had been a great deal of agricultural improvement during the previous forty years.
- 20 54 G iii c.80 of 1814 had ordered a shortening of the way where the sharp bend is shown in Appendix 1 on the south side of Cirencester Park (the Stroud-Chalford road Act), and by 58 G iii c.23 of 1818 this was confirmed, and the former road through the Park ceased to be a public road and went to Earl Bathurst in exchange. This virtually marked the end of the Bisley Path.
- 21 Jackaments Bottom is off the base of Appendix 1: the change of direction is clearly shown on the full map, and is a marked change on the ground itself when one is travelling south along the Fosse Way.

- 22 An alternative (and modern) name for Tayloe's mill is Ballinger's. Mrs Hester Tayloe sold her Chalford property to Charles Ballinger in 1778. Rudd op cit, 330. See also VCH xi 26-28.
- 23 "There were Nunnes att Minchin Hampton in Gloucestershir towarde Tetbyri" - Latimer J, Leland in Gloucestershire, TrBGAS xiv, op cit, 221-8.
- 24 This is site 63 of Toll-houses in Cox C, Turnpike Houses of the Stroud District, TrBGAS lxxxvi, 1967, 145. Grid SO 879 003.
- 25 That is, from Latterwood Pike to meet the Tetbury-Dursley road west of Ashel Barn, see Appendix 1.
- 26 Tiltups Inn, see VCH xi, 177. The name has now reverted to Tippets (formerly the Black Horse), but in the eighteenth century the inn was often so-named, after the Tippets family of Dursley and Tetbury, prominent in various businesses including the woollen trade. As this inn then stood on the west-east highway to Tetbury, this name seems a more likely derivation than from the tilted-up shafts of carriers' carts.
- 27 The name is said to derive from an exchange of land in 1543 between the Crown and Lord Windsor, hence the names Windsoredge and Windsor Ash: Pavey-Smith A B, Nailsworth from 1500 to 1900, (Stroud News & Journal, n.d.). However, the name given in the petition is The Wind's Arse, later being rendered The Wind's Ass, but now Windsorash.
- 28 This is a large-scale, detailed plan of the intended new road, which unfortunately does not include the up-hill section from Nailsworth to Tiltups Inn. It is Appendix 2; for a copy at a reduced scale, see Fig IV.v.
- 29 Milestone No. 61 in Cox C, Milestones of the Stroud District, TrBGAS lxxxiii, 1964. Grid ST 797003.
- 30 On the introduction of machinery into the mills, see House of Commons Report on the Woollen Trade, v, 1802-3, 257. Various manufacturers were vehement that there was very little machinery in mills, and what there was had been introduced only recently.
- 31 See Rudder S op cit, 334: "Here is no manufacture carried on, but the women and children of the poorer sort spin woollen yars, for the clothiers about Stroud".
- 32 Marling W H, The Woollen Industry of Gloucestershire, TrBGAS xxxvi, 1913, writing from personal recollection.
- 33 Pawson op cit, chapter 6, 146.
- 34 Pawson op cit, chapter 5, on Diffusion of the turnpike system through time.
- 35 Joan Chibnall, The roads of Buckinghamshire ... unpub. M.Sc. thesis, London 1963.
- 36 R. Colyer, The Woollen Industry of Gloucestershire, Univ. of Bristol 1976.

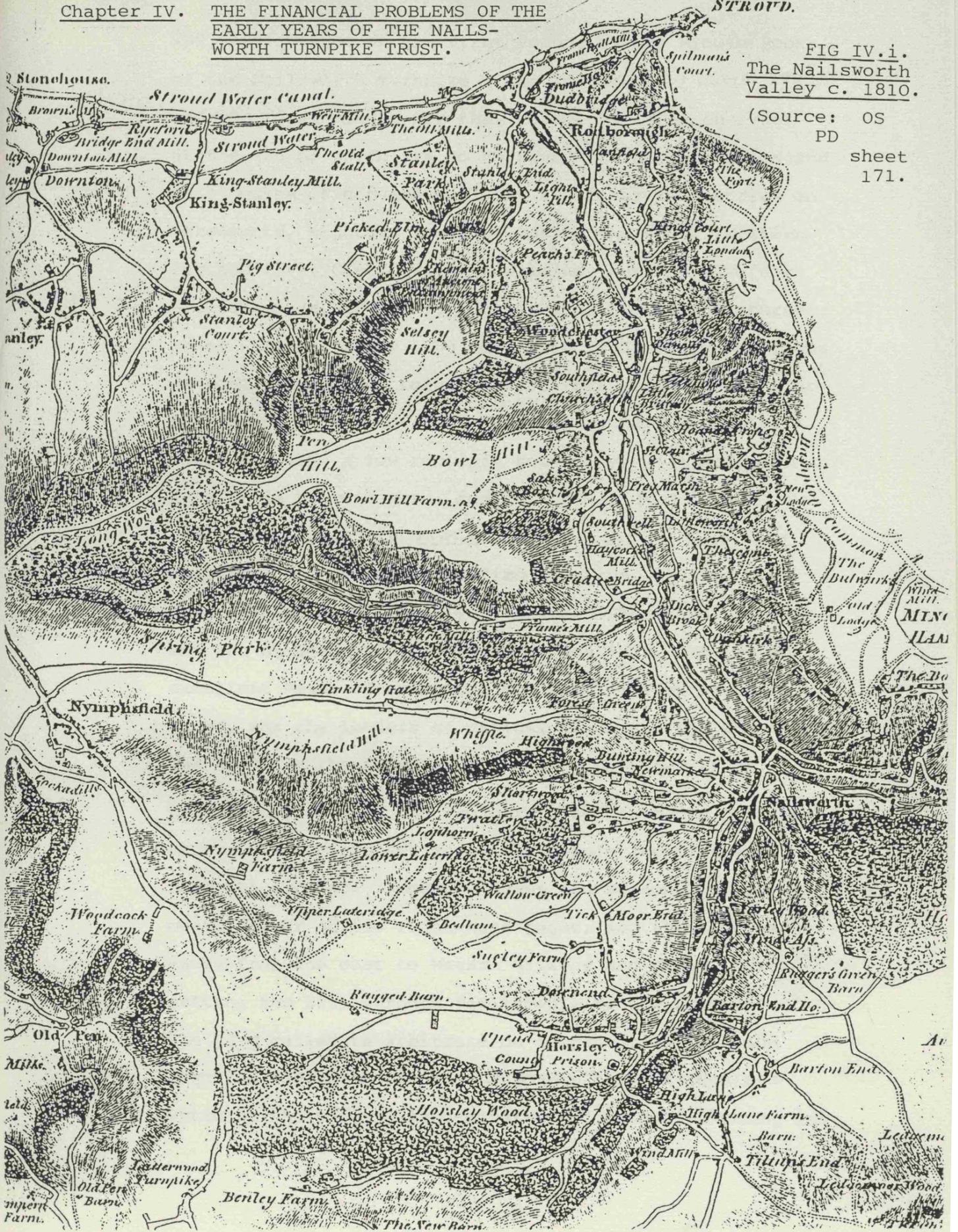
- 37 Tunnicliff W, A Topographical Survey of Staffs ... (Bath, 1789) includes other counties such as Gloucestershire. See also Paine M J, op cit.
- 38 Cox C, Milestones of the Stroud District, and Turnpike Houses of the Stroud District, op cit.
- 39 Chronological Table & Index of the Statutes i, 1934.
- 40 Buchanan B, The Evolution of the English Turnpike Trusts, ECHR xxxix op cit, 223.
- 41 The Berkeley canal (otherwise the Gloucester or Sharpness, canal) was fully opened in 1827, see Crawford G N, The Gloucester & Berkeley Manuscripts in the Telford Collection, GSIAJ for 1981. The Stroudwater canal opened in 1779, see Handford M, The Stroudwater Canal op cit, and the Thames & Severn canal in 1789, Household H, The Thames and Severn Canal, (David & Charles, 1969).
- 42 OS Preliminary Drawings, sheets 172 and 164W, show milestones along the Bisley Path though none now survive east of The Gulph crossing of the Frome.
- 44 See Cox C, Milestones of, ... and Tollhouses of ... op cit. See also 2 p 116.
- 45 Bryant A, A Map of Gloucestershire, 1824.
- 46 See - Colyer R, op cit, and Godwin F & S Toulson, The Drovers' Roads op cit.
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Chapter IV. THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NAILSWORTH TURNPIKE TRUST.

STROUD.

FIG IV.i. The Nailsworth Valley c. 1810.

(Source: OS PD sheet 171.



The first minute of the first volume of the Minute Books of the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust is dated 20 March 1780, and the final minute for that volume is 27 March 1786, at the end of which are to be found various summaries and fair copies of documents. There are forty-two entries on Agreements, eighteen Instructions to the Clerk (sixteen for the first Clerk, William Wilkins, but only two for his successor, Mr Dalby), thirty-nine items of Disbursements - from 17 July 1780 to 4 July 1785, fifty-one items on Land Values (and four others), forty-six Orders, fourteen Resolutions, and four Reports (to May 1780 only). There are also a few receipts for Money, fifty-nine Instructions to surveyors, and an Alphabetical List of Securities (apparently tidied from an earlier list) and the names of Trustees qualified to serve, or who have been disqualified, usually by death. These end papers, and the numerous minutes taken at meetings, provide an excellent means of examining how such a trust was financed, who the lenders of capital were, and how the money was spent in the first crucial years of a new trust.

Cash deposited with the Treasurer, and payments out (per contra credit* are set down in a simple receipts and payments account. Amounts, names and reasons for payments appear on the right-hand pages, and these payments range from the cost to Messrs Wilkins and Biggs, for getting the Bill through Parliament, to the expenses of the jury called to arbitrate on compensation for land acquired where the Clerk's proposals had not been accepted by the various land-owners, to costs of fencing and

setting hedges, damages to the working of mills, advances to the Engineer and to the Surveyor (one item on a sum advanced to Wilkins, who in the first year combined the offices of Clerk and Surveyor, reads "to be accounted for"), a payment of 1 guinea to John Hyde, gate-keeper at Nailsworth, as compensation for having been assaulted (he did not receive the full amount of the fine), postage and printers' bills, and the repayment of a few bonds.

Such payments were made both by the Treasurer and by the Clerk, which does not seem to have been a wholly satisfactory division of financial responsibility. Two advances to the Clerk, to a total of £11. 4s. 3d. from September to November 1780, seem a rather parsimonious dribbling out of cash. He does not seem to have been given a 'float' nor specific powers to draw up to a given limit. Up to February 1782, £4427. 10s. had been paid out by the Treasurer, but only £4165 is recorded as having been paid in - an apparent deficit of £262. 10s. - but the List of Securities gives a total investment at that date of £4242. 10s., which reduces the deficit to £185. This small error may be due to inaccurate accounting, or to a failure to include all the items from the original bills and receipts, or perhaps money promised but not yet actually paid was included. Strictly speaking, the word 'investment' should not be used of money lent to a turnpike trust. Such concerns were not profit-making, and the usual way to finance a trust was to raise a mortgage on the security of the tolls, or (as in the

case of the Nailsworth Trust) to issue bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest. As several writers have pointed out (for example, Albert, Booker, Pawson) this inability to turn a turnpike trust into a commercial, profit-making business greatly hampered efforts to raise capital, especially after the initial period of financing had passed. Some of the details in the end pages of Volume I will be examined later, but the preliminary expenses of the Trust may first be considered, bearing in mind that, until the road was declared open and in use, no toll revenue could accrue. These accounts were regularly "examined" by the Trustees at the Annual General Meetings on or near Lady Day, and generally passed, though an early financial crisis will require discussion later.

Preliminary expenses.

The essential early expense was that of getting a Bill through Parliament. The minute for 10 July 1780 authorised the payment to Wilkins of £367. 10s. 11d., of £69. 15s. 6d. to W Biggs, and £4. 8s. to G White Esq., a total of £441. 14s. 5d. Other legal expenses, not enumerated in detail, included payments of £1. 11s. 6d. on 27 March 1781, £21 on 3 August 1781, to Mr Perry, attorney-at-law, and a bill for his costs given on 11 July 1782 for £67. 12s. Another early expense must have been payment for the Plan of the ^tIndended New Road drawn up by Mr Rice (see Appendix 2); at all events a payment to him of £30 was recorded on 22 June 1781, and a further £27. 11s. on September was authorised "by retaining", though what for

is not stated - perhaps in connection with the branch road from Nailsworth bridge to near Minchinhampton.

By 14 September 1780 the Clerk had reached agreement on compensation for most of the lands acquired by compulsory purchase, though agreement had not been achieved for William Jones's Tynning and Yarley Hill grounds, for William Smith's grounds and orchard near Nailsworth, or (and most difficult of all) for the damages and inconvenience caused to Nathaniel Webb's Egypt mill and lands further down the valley. The jury for arbitration, twelve gentlemen from various parts of the county, met on 18 September. Mr Jones's land was valued at 35s. an acre and 30s. an acre at thirty years' purchase, that of Mr Smith at 50s. and thirty years, and Mr Webb's private road and banks were judged to be worth 10s. an acre, and his garden, orchards and brick kiln meadow at 40s., also at thirty years. His reservoir or scour pond was valued at 7 guineas, his "house for heating press planks" at £5. Damages and compensation for stoppages of mill-working will be considered later.

Incidental expenses included the £32 paid to Mr Perry for stakes to mark out the route, recorded in the minute for 7 April 1780, and it may be noted that the Clerk was ordered to supply them and get them onto site. Wilkins was given £4. 15s. 6d. in July 1781, apparently connected with the cost of getting the Bill through Parliament, but other payments to him later in 1780 seem to be related to his work as Clerk.

Capital Accumulation.

To finance the construction of the new road, and for other early and necessary expenses, such as compensation to land-owners, bonds were issued at £50 each, though sub-division was not infrequent. The rate of interest was the normal 5% (or twenty years' purchase), though it would be some time before subscribers to the issue could expect to receive interest from toll receipts. It does not appear that any of the capital was used to provide interest in the early years - interest was deferred until revenue was sufficient. It would seem that the lesson of Mr Guise and the Over turnpike of the 1730s (see Chapter II pp 54-55) had been learned. Up to ninety-six bonds were issued, though the number was increased in later years when branch roads were built, bond No. 100 being issued in January 1787. It should be noted that the full cash amount of a bond was not immediately called for, but as and when required, and it would seem that some bonds were issued at a discount. Who took out which bond can be discovered only by chance, as for example when Sir George Paul took up bond No. 96 for £65 on 9 April 1783, while Obadiah Paul took up two bonds on 5 February 1782 for £91. 5s. and W R Tyndale one for £30 on 28 May 1781.¹ Other sums were given as £10, £15 and even £5 - this last was by Wilkins on 27 March 1781, and he took up another £28. 15s. worth on 6 February 1782. These varying sums make accurate computation unreliable, but Table IV.i is an attempt to reconcile sums against

names in the Securities (Borrowings) list, and against possible numbers or fractions of bonds. As this list does not quite coincide with other details given in the notes of Borrowings & Receipts, it must not be regarded as absolutely definite, and it must in fact be assumed that none of the lists at the end of Volume I are the original, but at best later copies or the results of some tidying-up. Nevertheless, they do give a not unrealistic view of the income and expenditure of the Trust in the first few years of its existence.

TABLE IV.i Original subscribers to the issue of bonds on the Nailsworth Turnpike road.

(From the Securities (Borrowings) list at the end of Volume I of the Minute Book.)		
Name	Amount £	Possible number of bonds
R Aldridge	300	6
T Baylis	580	12
W Biggs	162.10s.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
R Cockle	162.10s.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lord Ducie	50	1
J Elliott	130	3
W Frost	162.10s.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
W Harris	81.5s.	2
J Hawker	325	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
W Knight	200	4
O Paul	416.5s.	9
Sir G O Paul	325	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
T Pavey	162.10s.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
N Peach	200	4
S Peach	250	5
W G Peach	300	6
S Remington	50	1
W R Tyndale	162.10s.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
J Wade	416.5s.	9
W Wilkins	143.15s.	3
	<hr/>	
	£4580.00	94 $\frac{1}{4}$

At £50 each the ninety-six 'shares' would have brought in £4800 but, owing probably to discounts, the total sum fell somewhat short of that figure. The number of bonds taken up is also uncertain as some sums were paid which did not fall with $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of a full share. Nevertheless, the total of a likely $94\frac{1}{4}$ bonds is not far short of the 96. When the branch roads were being built, more money had to be raised, and bond No. 100 was issued (as noted above) in January 1787. At certain points what may be termed an urgent call for more cash was made. Thus, on 10 February 1782, as given in the list of Borrowings & Receipts, over £500 was called in: the figure given in the Securities list is just over £400. One or two subscribers paid in £91. 5s., another £65, while no less than six contributed £32. 10s. each, which all looks like the allowance of a considerable discount. Certainly, in the following month the committee insisted that strict economy had to be practised, as gate receipts were low: the road had been open for just under a twelvemonth. Moreover, at this meeting - the 'crisis' meeting - Wilkins was dismissed from the office of Clerk, being replaced by James Dalby, attorney-at-law, of Tetbury, who would be paid 10s. 6d. (that is, half a guinea) for each meeting, instead of submitting an annual bill for his services, as Wilkins had done.

At the February meeting the lenders listed requested that the divided bonds given them in return for their loans be cancelled, and new bonds made directly out including the sums given, not amounting to £50. At another

time when cash was urgently needed (in May 1781 when the road was ready for opening) various subscribers had taken out fractions of a bond. For example, J Wade and O Paul each took up half a bond at £25 each, in Paul's name, which may mean that he had guaranteed Mr Wade. Two weeks later Samuel Wathen 'invested' £30, William Biggs £10 and William Frost £10, making one complete bond of £50. W R Tyndale took up £30, William Harris £15, and William Wilkins £5, to make up another full bond.

During the first year the Clerk was instructed more than once to apply to those subscribers who had promised to pay but had not yet done so. On 27 March 1781 there is mention of £50 on account of Mr Baylis's scrip being paid by Lord Ducie, while on 12 February previously there is the note (in a different hand from the rest of the minute) "Paid off Bond No 20 by exchange with Mr Baylis - by the Treasurer".

There are occasional errors. On 4 November 1782, for example, Bond No. 92, given at the previous meeting to Baylis, was cancelled as he had already received one, which underlines the difficulty of trying to get one account to agree with another. The three lists - Securities (Borrowings), Borrowings & Receipts, and the Treasurer's double-paged entries, do not always coincide, and there is an, at times, irritating lack of exact information. This must be due to the fact that these statements are not 'original' but a tidying-up done when the end of the book had been reached. The two later volumes do not contain

the same end-information except right at the end when the trust was wound up. However, a good deal of interesting material was recorded, and Table IV.ii is an attempt to compare the three different statements listed above. While a full reconciliation is not possible, enough can be extracted to give a fair idea of the financial problems of the trust in its formative years.

One or two discrepancies might be picked out. The minute for 17 July 1780 said £450 was borrowed from subscribers, but the Securities list gives £400 only, the extra £50 perhaps being that borrowed from Lord Ducie on 19 August. The minute for 30 April 1781 gave a borrowing of £150, but only £50 appears on the Securities list. On 8 May 1781 the minute recorded £400 as being subscribed, but only £370 appears in the Securities list: the other £30 was acquired on 6 May. While the minute for 13 November 1781 recorded a borrowing of £400, only £10 is given on the Securities list, which does not go beyond 7 April 1783.

In Table IV.ii the three financial lists appear side by side. The chart of Capital Accumulation, Fig IV.i, is based on the Securities list: it may be less of an accurate record than the Borrowings & Receipts list, but the latter has gaps, e.g. "various borrowings" without figures, while the Accounts of the Treasurer include figures other than those from straight subscription.

Table IV.ii. Various Accounts compared.

	Date	Securities (Borrowings)	Borrowings & Receipts	Cash deposited
1780	May	200	150	150
	July	700	750	750
	Aug	50		
	Sept	300	300	350
	Oct	300	300	300
	Nov	490	200	200
	Dec	300	300	300
	1781	Jan	50	50	50
Feb		100	100	100
March		150	150	150
Balance		(2640)	(2300)	c/f 2350 Lady Day 1782
1782	April	50	150	no balance recorded
	May	780	800	but details appear
	July	50	50	just before March 1783
	Nov		400	dated 25 March 1781.
	Dec	40	40	
	Jan	100	100	
	Feb	413.15s.	537.10s.	
	March	91.5s.		
	(1525)	(2077.10s.)	(2254.8s.11½d.)	
1783	April	100		
	Sept	100	100	
	March	150	'various borrowings'	
	April	65	200	
		(415)	(300)	4903.6s.0¼d.
	£4580	? By Ballance	4500.6s.3¾d.	

Agreement is seen to be close in the first year (with a few discrepancies), but thereafter it becomes more difficult to achieve resolution and reconciliation. The "double entry" pages of the Treasurer may now be given a closer look.

The Treasurer's Cash Account appears on three pages from 19 May 1780 to 27 March 1782. The left-hand pages are headed: Dr. Wm Biggs Treasurer; the right-hand pages per Contra Cd. The left-hand pages are of receipts of money, the right-hand pages give considerable details of payments on a variety of items. In July 1780, William Wilkins was paid £367. 10s. 11d., William Biggs £69. 15s. 6d. for Act of Parliament (Wilkins receiving an extra £4. 15s. 6d. "other expenses). The meeting of the jury of arbitration on 14 September cost £13. 1s. The Engineer received various payments; postage was recorded (11d. on 27 November 1780); Lord Ducie was given £59 for taking up Bond No. 19 (in exchange) on 12 February 1781; damages to land and mill-working were paid; J Townsend got £13. 7s. on 5 March 1782 for planting quickset; advertising the new road in papers in Dublin, London, Bath and Bristol cost £1. 17s. 6d. in March 1782 - and so on. Some of these details will be examined later.

Cash Deposited as at 27 March 1782 was given as £4903. 6s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Some of the items included receipts from sources other than subscriptions. One Samuel Halliday was fined £5 and John Hill 1 guinea in November 1781 for assaulting John Hyde, as noted earlier. Mrs Castleman's account of £17. 9s. 9d. was written off on 12 January 1782;² and on 29 September 1781, £6. 5s. 6d. was handed over by the Surveyor (Wilkins), presumably collected from tolls - a meagre amount for nearly four months of toll-collecting. The sum of £400 for bonds liquid-

ated should be subtracted, and interest of £2. 19s. 8½d., so "By Ballance" the final figure appears as £4500. 6s. 3¼d.

There is a difference between this sum and that on the Securities list of £79. 13s. 8¼d., but at least it is on the right side of solvency. But little seems left over for any payment of interest to subscribers: the dilemma of conflict between road maintenance and interest payment still persisted, and the anxiety of the Trustees at the end of one year's operation is understandable: the money was just not coming in.

The minute for 27 March 1786 indicates that interest was not overlooked. The holders of early bonds were given notes of acknowledgement for interest due before security was granted:

	£	s.	d.
N Peach (for Mr Harris)	3	3	11
T Pavey	1	0	6
S Wathen	1	1	6
T Baylis (and for the holdings of W Wilkins) ³	7	0	0
W Biggs	1	0	6
W Frost	1	0	6
W R Tyndale	1	1	6

The total of £15. 8s. 5d. is not a large sum, no more is the £10. 0s. 11d. recorded at the end of the financial year 1781-82.

On 27 June 1785 an order to pay off and discharge several holders of notes of acknowledgement was cancelled, as the Committee thought it had no powers so to do, but later it seems to have been decided that such authority did in fact exist.

Looking ahead, it may be noted that on 26 March 1787 the Treasurer was ordered to pay all interest due up to 25 March 1783, amounting to £223. 14s. 10½d. £908. 10s. was said to be owing on the "Principal". It looks as if interest was paid on an ad hoc basis, to those subscribers liquidating bonds or demanding the money owing to them. On 7 April 1783 the Treasurer had been told to pay £16. 10s. as two years' interest due on 6 April on the sum of £65. 10s. The recipient seems to have been Mr Frost, but the writing here is hard to decipher.

The word "interest" is perhaps a misnomer. It is even found counted as an asset in the Treasurer's accounts -

	25 March 1781, To interest due	£54. 8s. 11½d.
	25 March 1782, To interest due ... from last	
	year to date annexed, £161. 6s. 1¾d.	
and	27 March To Notes given for interest due on	
	Money advanced without bonds existing for	
	the same, £10. 0s. 11d.	

The "Principal" due on security of the tolls on 2 April 1784 stood at £4542, with interest; in the previous month it had been laid down that holders of bonds issued before 25 March 1782 would get all their interest paid: 82 bonds out of 96 bonds qualified.

Few of the original investors could have hoped that their investment would provide a steady income: to most of them the benefit would have been manifested in the advantages of greatly improved communications for manufacture or business. A closer look at these original subscribers may now be taken.

Subscribers to the first Bond Issue. (Who they were)Richard Aldridge

The minute for 27 March 1786 calls him a "banker of Bristol". Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1775 puts the banking firm of Bright, Deane, Ames, Whitehead & Aldridge at 4 Small Street in the heart of that city. Richard Aldridge, by his will of 1815 left £500 to be laid out on coal and clothing for the poor of Stroud. The family name occurs frequently in the Stroud area.⁴

Thomas Baylis

His name occurs frequently in the Minute Book but he has not been positively identified. There were clothiers of this name in the Painswick valley, but it is more likely that the suggestion of L Walrond of the Stroud Museum is nearer the truth: that Thomas Baylis might be one of the firm of local carriers which soon after 1800 joined up with the Tanners to form the well-known firm of Tanner & Baylis. According to Fisher, "... the principal common carriers of wool, cloth, and general merchandise, found it convenient to fix their large establishments near the Bear Inn, which lies between the two commons of Hampton and Rodborough."⁵ The Niblett firm of carriers were based at the Bear; the Tanners used the Road House (now a private house) on another road in the same general area⁶ It would be sensible for a representative of the firm to belong to the Trust, which would have a very marked effect on the commerce and the carrying-trade of the road across the commons.

William Biggs

He was for many years Treasurer. A prominent member of the Forest Green congregation, he had Freames mill, on the Inchbrook tributary, rebuilt in 1770. He is described as a shopkeeper, which would give him the necessary business experience for his post in⁷ the Trust. He was succeeded by an assistant of his firm.

Richard Cockle.

Of Dyehouse mill, sometime known as Philpotts mill.⁸

Thomas Cooper

In 1793 (and presumably earlier) at Churches mill. He also had at one time an interest in Frogmarsh mill, and with Joseph Wathen leased Dudbridge mill in 1805.⁹

Francis Corbet.

He appears in the lists at the end of Volume I as a land-owner, but other than this subscription seems to have played no active part in the affairs of the Trust.

Lord Ducie.

Of Spring (Woodchester) Park. In 1770, as Thomas Reynolds, he succeeded his uncle to the title, and accordingly took the surname of Moreton.¹⁰ He died in 1785 and was succeeded by his brother Francis who in his turn changed his name to Moreton. The estate had been visited by Frederick Prince of Wales in 1750, and also in 1788 by George III. In 1846 the estate was sold to William Leigh.

Nathaniel Dyer.

He is described as an architect of Nailsworth, designing St George's Chapel (free) in 1794. His name also appears in the vestry books of a number of local parishes in the 1820s as a property valuer, in particular of mills, and especially for rate assessment. ¹¹

John Elliott.

This name appears in the list of subscribers but does not seem to occur elsewhere in the Minutes; he has not been identified.

William Frost.

A tenant of Peter Leversage, farming at Barton End. Apart from his subscription, he attended various meetings in the early years, usually when his financial or other interests were concerned. At one point the Committee considered taking him to court, though later on he became a trustee. He was given the task of seeing to the construction of a short stretch of road from Barton End to Tiltups Inn. Though apparently illiterate - he signed with X - he displayed considerable business acumen in his dealings with the Trust.

William Harris.

The Harris family worked Gig mill in the Horsley valley, but William has not yet been identified with a particular firm though he may have worked with one of the businesses in the main valley, perhaps that of Cooper or Cockle. ¹²

John Hawker.

The Hawker firm worked cloth, and had a dye mill at Dudbridge, which was usually called Hawker's mill. Peter Hawker was Vicar of Woodchester, and later took a prominent part in the Trust, as well as being a strict JP. ¹³

William Knight.

Another name which has not been positively identified. He may have been related to the William Knight (d. 1786) described as a banker of London, and as nephew to the late Henry Bond, curate of Stroud, who lived at Lower Gannicox between Cainscross and Stroud, a situation which would not have been affected by the new road. ¹⁴

Obadiah Paul.

A member of the prominent Paul family, he worked more than one mill from time to time, but was chiefly connected with Southfields and Woodchester mills, entertaining George III in 1788 at the latter. The most illustrious member of the family was Sir George Onesiphorus Paul. 15 Obadiah played a very active role in the Trust until his death in 1792, when he was succeeded by his nephew Samuel Wathen.

Thomas Pavey.

He owned land at Barton End, and regularly attended meetings of the Committee. His handwriting is very shaky; he died in 1794 or 1795. His descendant, Mr Pavey-Smith, wrote a short history of Nailsworth. 16

Nathaniel Peach.

The Peach family worked Rooksmoor mill. In the list of "Trustees who have qualified for Acting by taking the oath ...", 17 March 1781, Samuel Peach is described as "of Tockington", a small village near Bristol, then in the south of Gloucestershire. Susannah, daughter of yet another Samuel Peach, married James Bradley (d. 1762), Astronomer Royal, who had been born at St Mary's mill near Chalford. 17

William Gaisford Peach.

He does not appear in the index to VCH xi, nor in Tann, but took a fairly active part in the Trust in its early days. In February 1786 both he and Samuel Peach, "gentlemen", ceased to be qualified trustees as they had died.

Samuel Remington (or Remington).

The family held a mill in 1799 in the Horsley valley. In 1766 they had sold a mill in Avening (whether the village or the parish is not stated) to Edmund Clutterbuck of Hyde, which is a small settlement just down the southern hill-side of the Frome valley on the road down to Chalford. The firm of Blackwell & Remington also worked a mill at Brimscombe, as well as later in the Nailsworth valley. He ceased to be a trustee in early 1786. 18

William Robbins Tyndale.

Neither the VCH nor Tann record his name but he was quite active in the Nailsworth Trust. He was probably a partner or manager with one of the mill-firms.

John Wade.

Mary, widow of Richard Cambridge, sold a small estate then called Pudhill (but now St Mary's Hill) near the present monastery, to her nephew John Wade of Gloucester. Inchbrook mill was part of the estate, and in 1807 was occupied by the firm of Cockle & Hicks. 19

William Wilkins.

After helping to get the Bill through Parliament, he was appointed first Clerk, doubling this with the post of Surveyor. The Wilkins family is recorded at Lot mill at Shortwood in the seventeenth century, and in the early eighteenth century the family was prominent among the Tetbury Quakers. A William Wilkins, attorney, was at Cirencester, but by reason of distance at least it is unlikely the two names belonged to the one man. William of the Nailsworth Trust seems to have been a member of the local family who were then tradesmen. 20

Sir George Onesiphorus Paul.

The most eminent by far of the Trustees. In 1780 he had just embarked on his career of philanthropy, prison reform, and public service, after what had been described as a frivolous youthtime. His career has been described by E Moir, his bust with eulogistic inscription is in Gloucester Cathedral, and the Paul tomb is in the old churchyard at Woodchester on the edge of the Roman pavement. 21 His father, Sir George Paul, is said to have invented an early finishing machine for knapping cloth, receiving his title from the Prince of Wales at Southfields mill in 1750. G O Paul was a most important member of the Trust, his name heading the list of those signing at meetings, and it would seem that he was called in to help with difficult problems, acting for example as mediator between William Frost and the Committee in December 1780.

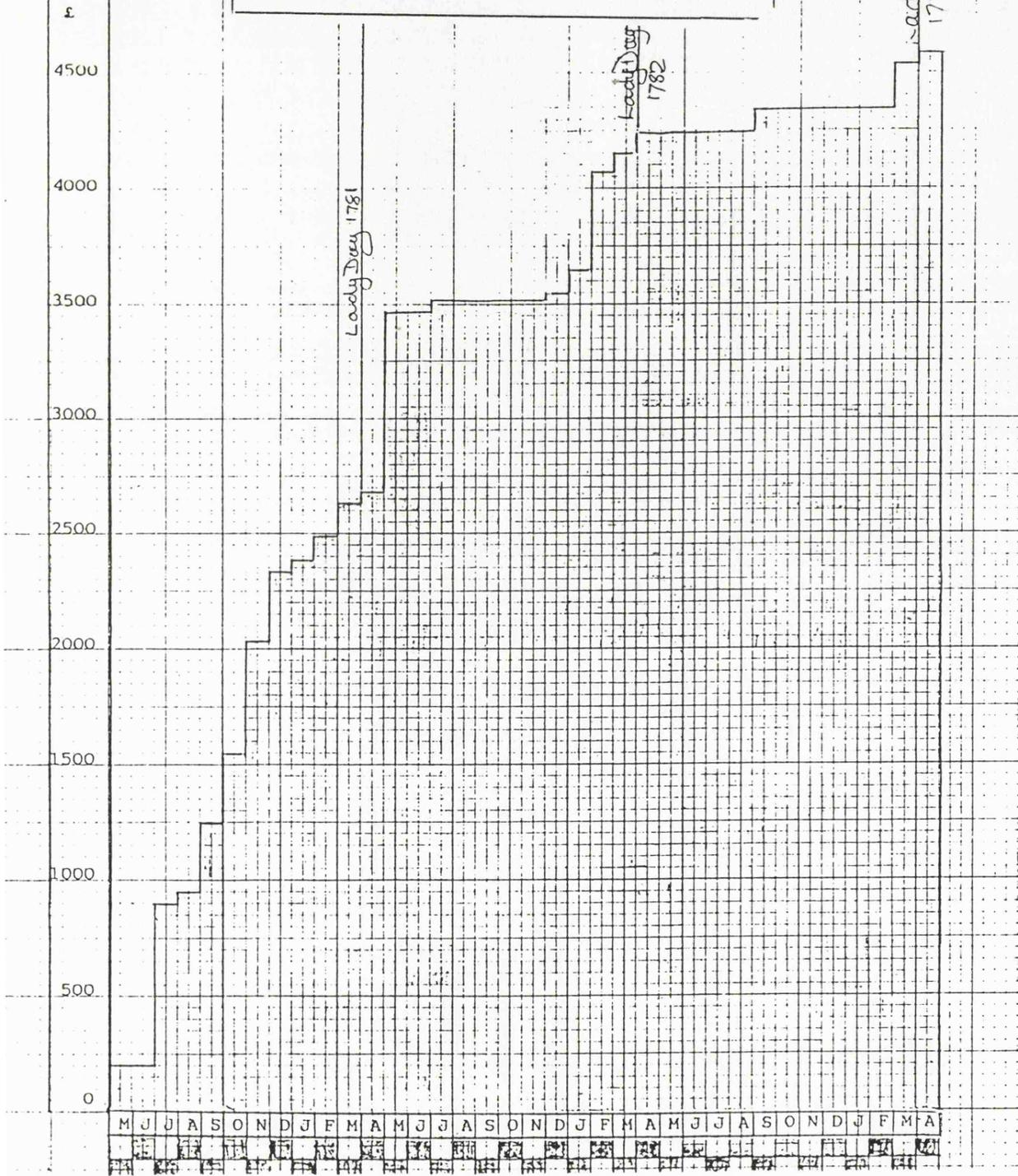
He became chairman of Quarter Sessions - county chairman it would now be called, and was responsible for a much-needed reform in county jails. He had built four houses of reform (not using the word prison) at Lawford's Gate in Bristol, Horsley near Nailsworth, Northleach on the Fosse Way cross-roads, and Littledean in the Forest of Dean. The first two have quite vanished; the remaining part of that at Northleach is a museum housing the Cotswold Countryside Collection, while the last was until recently still in use as a police-station. Paul's reforming regime at Northleach laid down an adequate diet, useful work, and separate living and sleeping cells. It was only later, after his death in 1820 that a punitive regime replaced a reforming one. 22

It is noticeable that most of these subscribers were local millmen or businessmen, and that only one 'aristocrat', Lord Ducie, subscribed (and he soon withdrew his security). Fig IV.i Capital Accumulation, shows that subscriptions quickly built up during the first year, with a surge when the road was officially opened in May 1781. Some of the costs, apart from construction, will be discussed later.

FIG IV.ii CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

by monthly totals from
May 1780 to April 1783

Source: Securities (Borrowings)
in Minute Book Vol I.



Mills and Millers of the Nailsworth valley.

There were four main valleys in the Stroudwater system with cloth mills, as well as several tributary combes or valleys which also had mills. A list of clothiers dated 1792 (GRO D 67 Z77) has a total of nineteen firms, out of which seven can be definitely placed in the Nailsworth valley, with a possible two more - nearly half the total on the list. It must of course be remembered that business partners frequently changed, and that clothing families inter-married, comprising a rather tight social group; in addition, firms could well have interests in more than one mill or one valley, and a mill site might include more than one named firm. Thus the Wathens had interests in the Chalford area as well as in the Nailsworth valley; the Blackwells appear both at Chalford and at Nailsworth - Blackwell & Remington had Brimscombe mill, as tenants, in 1790, while Stephen & Edward Blackwell leased Egypt mill (Nailsworth) in 1814. Names of several clothiers appear as subscribers to the first bond issue (see pp 136-139), and the following pages attempt to link them with the actual mill-sites.

The first really useful map is that of Taylor 1777, and mills are indicated on it by a mill-wheel symbol. The first edition of the 1 inch Ordnance Survey map for this area was published in the 1820s, but the 2 inch Preliminary Drawings are not only earlier and on twice the scale, but provide information not given on the 1 inch sheets, as changes had taken place in the inter-

vening period, as for example in the building of new roads. Four sheets of these drawings cover the Stroud-water area: sheet 174 dated 1811, sheet 172 also 1811, and sheet 164A of 1816, but sheet 171, covering the Nails-worth area, has no date, but must have been drawn at about the same time. Other maps useful for this study include A Bryant's map of the county of 1824, and the various Tithe Award maps, dating from the late 1830s to the early 1840s, which are therefore of considerable value for the later period of the turnpike age. Details of mills and mill-owners or tenants are to be found in various books such as Tann and the Victoria County History, and in several local histories referred to in this study.

TABLE IV.iii. Mills on the main stream about 1780.

No.	Name	Rice's Plan	Notes
1	Hawker's, Dudbridge	building shown	Hawker's dye house (Walrond)
2	Lightpill	building Mrs Roberts	Mr Roberts died 1780; thereafter Hawker (Walrond)
3	Friggs or Aitches	building Mr Smith	
4	Rooksmoor	buildings Mr Peach's	
5	Woodchester	building	Obadiah Paul. Between this mill and Frog- marsh, only the build- ing of Churches mill is given: the road here is some way from the stream which Rice therefore omits.
6	Southfield		Obadiah Paul according to Walrond: the VCH suggests Sir G O Paul was still concerned.
7	Southfield Top	Rice gives names of Mr Paul and Mr Snow for much of the land here.	(Walrond) O Paul.

8	Churches	building	Mr Paul in 1777, says Walrond; VCH gives
9	Frogmarsh	buildings Mr Shurmur	T Cooper after Paul's death in 1792.
10	Merrets or Haycocks	building	Haycocks in 1792, says Walrond - previously Webb
11	Dyehouse or Philpotts	building	Cooper according to VCH.
12	Inchbrook	building Mr Wade	
13	Dunkirk (New Mills)	building New Mills	Walrond says rebuilt 1798 (VCH says by John Cooper) - previously Webb
14	Egypt	building	

TABLE IV.iv. Millers of the Stroudwater valleys.

(Source: GRO D 67 Z77 of 1792)

Thomas & John Cooper*	at	Dunkirk mills
Samuel Wathen & Sons*		Rooksmoor
Peach Gidley & Co.*		Rooksmoor
Jeremiah & Daniel Day*		Nailsworth
Sheppard & Hicks		Eastington, then Dursley
Shurmur & Overbury*		Frogmarsh (VCH xi 299)
George & James Harris*?		not recorded Tann or VCH - they may have been sub-tenants; or perhaps the same family as William Harris qv above. Tann records a James Harris at Gig Mill, Horsley in 1856 (Tann 233)
Richard Cockle*		Dyehouse mill
Thomas Baylis		New mills, Stroud
Nathaniel Watts		Wallbridge mill, just below Stroud VCH xi 225.
Richard & Henry Cooke		Lodgemore mill, next below Wallbridge.
William & Samuel Watts		Wallbridge (Tann 162)
George Hawker*		Dudbridge dyeworks (Tann 218, VCH xi 228)
John Capel		Capels mill, just above Stroud (VCH xi 126)

William Knight	not yet identified
William Baylis	at Baylis' Upper and Lower mills in the Painswick valley VCH xi 73.
Samuel & Henry Dyer*?	possibly of the family of Nathaniel Dyer qv, but not given Tann nor VCH
J & E Blackwell	the family mostly at Chalford, but John Blackwell 'of Nailsworth' bought the Remington's mill at Avening 1800 (VCH xi 161)
Corbet & Co.	Not recorded Tann nor VCH. Francis Corbet held land in Nailsworth.

Firms marked * are positively placed in the Nailsworth valley.
Firms *? possible, not definitely proved.

(for both lists, see Fig IV.i p 122, IV.iii p 144 or Fig IV.iv, p

Fig IV.iii attempts to show in diagrammatic form the relationship of mills on the main Nailsworth stream to roads and tracks existing before 1780. Fig IV.iv is the OS Preliminary Drawing of the Nailsworth area about 1810, showing the Nailsworth Turnpike in orange (side-branches have been omitted for clarity); various other roads are in yellow, in particular the hill-side 'settlement track' on the west side of the valley, the road from Frocester hill through Nympsfield and Horsley and past Tiltups End towards Tetbury. Also shown is part of the 'Bristol' road from Minchinhampton through Hazelwood, and the Cirencester turnpike over Minchinhampton and Rodborough commons.

From a comparison of Figs IV.iii & iv, it would appear that the need for access to the ridge-top routes was greatest in the middle portion of the valley, between Inchbrook and Rooksmoor (south of Peach's Fm, which is

FIG IV.iii
MILLS on the
MAIN STREAM,
ROADS &
TRACKS
before 1780

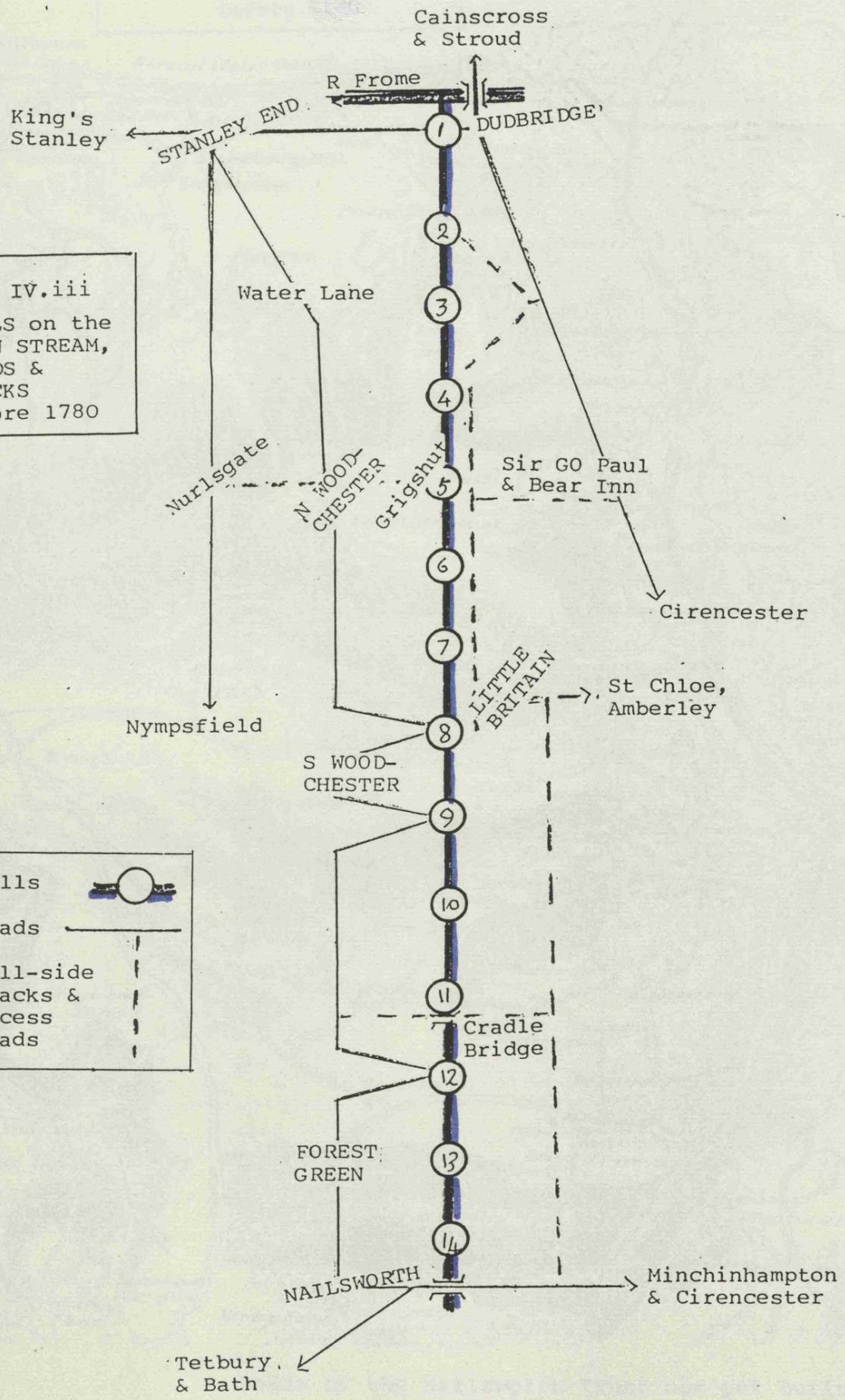
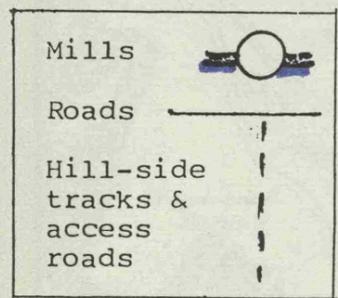


FIG IV.iv. MAP OF THE
 NAILSWORTH VALLEY, to
 show roads & tracks
 before 1780.



Roads of the Nailsworth Trust not yet built —

not to be confused with the farm of the same name near Burnt Ash turnpike on the Cirencester-Minchinhampton road. Note that Frogmarsh mill, run at this time by Thomas Shurmur, had less need than several other millers for better links with the top, as his firm lay on the 'main' road from Dudbridge to Nailsworth, and the same applies even more to Egypt mill by Nailsworth bridge, as also to Day's mill close by. Both these mills were near the route from Minchinhampton to Tetbury and Bath, which may help to explain why neither of these clothiers took any significant part in launching, and managing, the new road. One or two minor points on Fig IV.iv may be noted. The Fort on Rodborough common is a folly built by 'Captain' George Hawker in 1761. The Lodge (where early Trust meetings were held) is marked, also Little London and King's Court (the alternative name for King's Court was Howell or Bowl Hill, which is cause perhaps of some confusion with Bowl Hill on the Ordnance Drawing, to the west of Frogmarsh, now known as Bown Hill). Hill House, the residence of G O Paul, is on the lower part of the hairpin bend on the road up to the Bear (shown, but not named) on Rodborough common from the site called The Spout Turnpike (one of the early sites of the 1780 Trust).

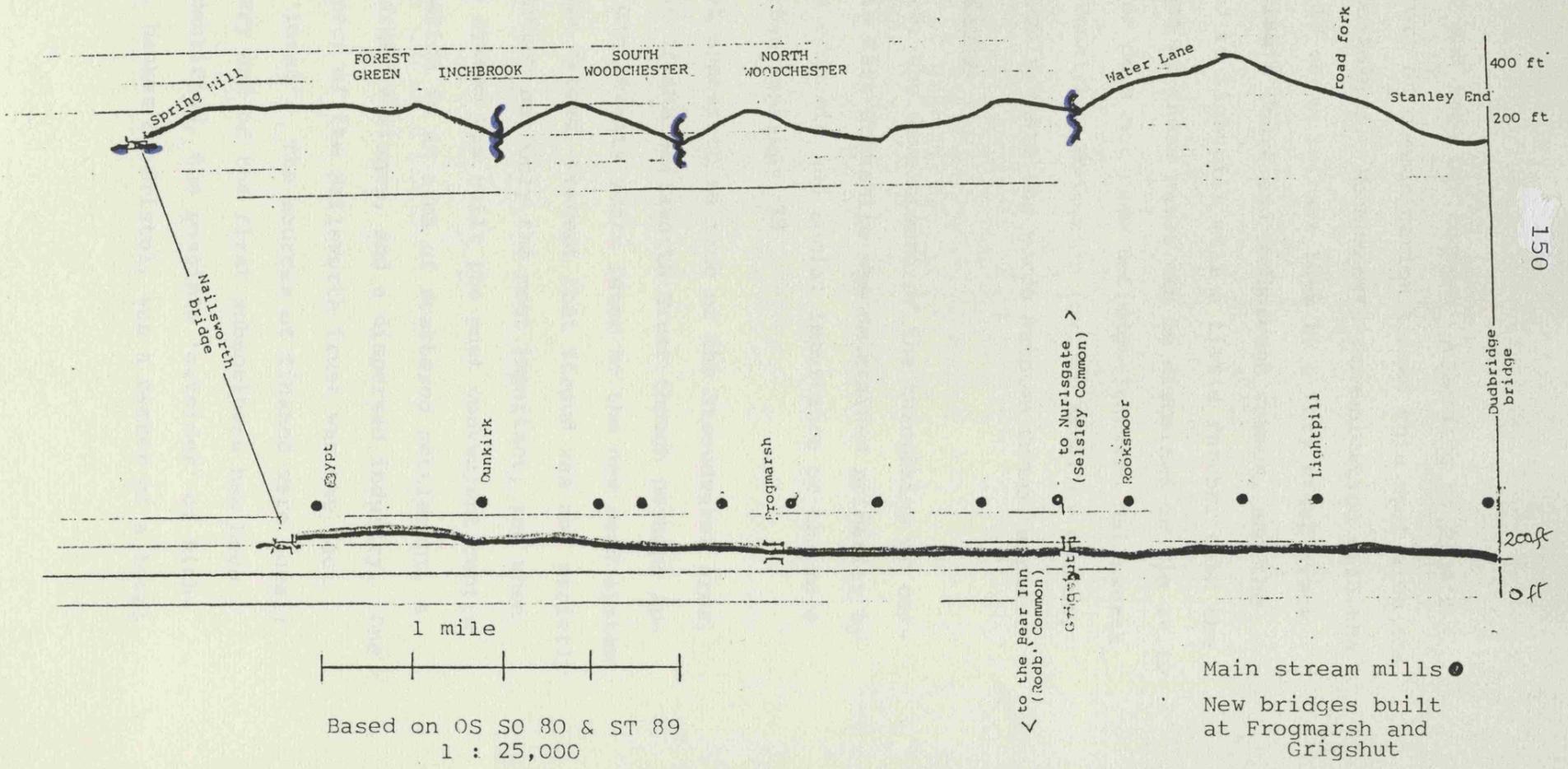
Mr. Rice's Plan of the intended new road (see Appendix 2 and Fig IV.vi) provides valuable information for the early years of the Trust. The OS Preliminary Drawings show the area after the road and its branches had been

built (but before the new road to Avening had been made). The Plan unfortunately lacks the hill-stretch from Nailsworth to Tiltups Inn; and also omits detail of stream and mill not closely approached by the new road. Certain pencil notes have been inserted in a later hand. There are some differences in the Plan from the road as actually constructed, notably the absence of an alignment between Frogmarsh and Little Britain (which on Fig IV.vi has been inserted in red - so see Appendix 2 for the full Plan). The drawn Plan maintains the original proposal of routing an improved version of the existing road through South Woodchester, the cause of so much heart-burning among certain petitioners.

The 'main' road of the time from Dudbridge to Nailsworth (as described in that petition) first ran uphill to Selsley (then called Stanley End, but not on Fig IV.vi) and thence along the hillside to North Woodchester, above the site of the Roman villa, here being known as Water Lane. It continued along the contours, dropping down to near the bottom of the main valley where tributary streams had to be crossed, finally descending to Nailsworth bridge. As in the Stroudwater valleys in general, tracks here connected the water-side mills with such 'contour' roads. The opposite side of the valley also had steep, narrow tracks, but lacked a usable road along most of the way. A track led (and still leads) from Nailsworth through Watledge and past Theescombe to near the valley floor at Little Britain, and from here another leads uphill

FIG IV.V
 DUDBRIDGE-NAILSWORTH ROADS OLD & NEW
 Length and gradient compared.

Roads are taken from Nailsworth bridge to the bridge at Dudbridge by Hawker's dye-works, junction with the Cirencester turnpike road. The new road includes approximately 150 yards of the Cirencester turnpike.



to St Chloe and Amberley common. According to Rice's Plan some sort of communication linked this spot with the Rooksmoor buildings. Rooksmoor's communication with the outside world seems to have been by a very steep track uphill to King's Court and Rodborough common, and the same applied to Lightpill mill a little further down the valley. Most of these names can be discerned on Fig IV.iv which however does not name Watledge (between Nailsworth bridge and Dunkirk), Rooksmoor (qv) or Amberley common, which is roughly where the words Hampton Common appear.

Some conclusions.

"As elsewhere, the development of the turnpiking of certain roads in East Yorkshire was determined primarily by the relative economic and social importance of the more important urban centres".²³

This does not appear to be true of the Stroudwater area, certainly not of the Nailsworth Trust though perhaps applicable in part twenty years later to the new road system radiating from Stroud - except that Stroud was not strictly an "urban centre" but only the most important, and when the new road system was built the most convenient centre for communication in an area of scattered settlement, a handful of larger villages, and a dispersed industry. One important aspect of the Nailsworth Trust was the fact that it was 'local'. The sources of finance were local: while not every one of the first subscribers has been positively identified, the possible 'outsider' of Richard Aldridge, banker of Bristol, was a member of a local

family and in his will left a bequest, in 1814, to the parish church at Stroud.²⁴ Up to 1785 he attended only two committee meetings, but perhaps his business lay in Bristol which gave him little time for the local trust.

The subscribers were very much 'local'. Most of them were clothiers, with one or two businessmen and land-owners. It is noticeable that those^e who took the keenest interest came from mills in the middle stretch of the main Nailsworth valley: mill-owners and clothiers at either end of that valley, or up the side valleys such as Horsley or Inchbrook, were little, or not at all, involved.

The new road conspicuously made no effort to provide a shorter communication with Stroud: its connection at the northern end was with the 'main' road to the Vale, the Severn and to Gloucester, at Cainscross. Nor must the then-new canal be forgotten, one of the aims of which was to lower the cost of coal and corn, especially for the "necessitous poor".

The Trust was not a joint-stock company. The bonds issued at a nominal £50 each, could be divided and 'shared', and were issued at a discount when it was important to get cash in quickly. The thorny problem of payment of interest remained thorny, but was not allowed to diminish the sums available for construction or for maintenance, at least in the early years. Subscribers were willing to wait; the important thing was the convenience of the road, not the cash. This again emphasises the local

nature of the enterprise.

The Accounts, as shown both in the Minutes and in the end pages of Volume I, would probably not pass the keen scrutiny of a modern accountant, and unfortunately the Treasurer's book (which must have existed) has not survived. So the Minute Books merely record, in summary form, the deliberations of the Committee, though there is yet a good deal of financial evidence written down by the Clerk, as he shared payments with the Treasurer, an unsatisfactory arrangement (as remarked above) which was largely abandoned at the end of the first full working year. But there was no independent audit; the accounts were examined by the Committee, and passed, at the Lady Day meeting. In particular, the method of paying for the work of construction does not seem to have been very efficient, but no doubt it was then inadvisable to pay out large sums of money in advance, as later dealings with contractors on both the Thames & Severn and the Berkeley canals were to demonstrate.²⁵

But it is important to note that the Trust advertised for, and appointed, an outside professional - one Denis Edson "of Chester". The Committee also advertised in the Gloucester Journal for a "good intelligent Surveyor to work on the road", though it was to be some time before a really satisfactory surveyor was employed. Road maintenance, as distinct from road construction, does not seem to have been other than locally-done, and somewhat inexpertly at that. The first body of professionals were

the toll-farmers, taking over toll-collection as a business on a commercial basis. This method was also useful to trusts, which thus got a fixed income for any one year, and also partly at least in advance.

Also to be remembered was the fact that trusts were not run by what to-day would be termed boards of professional directors. The Committee of the Nailsworth Trust, for example, consisted of a select number of trustees, who in those early years displayed great enthusiasm. They walked (with no road, they could not ride) the whole length of the projected route from Barton End to Dudbridge, as the minute for 23 June 1780 records, to check on the private grounds to be taken in; and the minute for 30 May 1781 recorded that they had gone over the whole road on a tour of inspection, before accepting it from the Engineer, to see if any small deficiencies needed to be put right. This local and personal interest was both a weakness and a source of strength. The strength would be from the keen involvement felt by local people: the weakness was that they would not necessarily be objective, nor sufficiently distanced from the actual business. A further possibility, not uncommon in such concerns, was that in time the Trust might be regarded as the private property of the Trustees, rather than as a public utility for the general good.²⁶

Nevertheless, the conception and the achievement of the Nailsworth Trust marks a big stride forward from earlier methods of turnpike road construction in the area. It

was at least half-way towards an efficient organisation. The big stumbling block had been that pointed out by Samuel Rudder in his comment on the roads in the parish of Whitminster: "several causes operate to this evil: the scarcity of stone, the remissness of the commissioners; and the total ignorance of the surveyor".²⁷ In the case of the Nailsworth Trust (at least in its early years) the commissioners - the Trustees - were very far from being "remiss"; the engineering was advanced for its day, though maintenance was probably no more than adequate, but no worse than that done of other local roads. The problem of poor road material was not solved until the building of the railways enabled good road-stone - blue-stone from Clifton in Bristol - to be brought cheaply into the area. By then it was too late for turnpikes to prosper.
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Chapter IV. REFERENCES.

- 1 At £50 a bond it would seem G O Paul generously gave more than the asking price; others took their bonds at a discount.
- 2 The Castleman family was at Barton End. Mrs Elizabeth Castleman sold the house in 1786; it then came into the hands of John Remington. VCH xi, 179.
- 3 By this time Wilkins had ceased to be an official of the Trust.
- 4 VCH xi, 145.
- 5 Fisher P H, op cit, 150.
- 6 VCH xi, 230.
- 7 William Biggs owned Freame's mill in 1786. VCH xi, 214.
- 8 VCH xi, 197.
- 9 VCH xi, 227, 299.
- 10 VCH xi, 296; Fisher op cit 126.
- 11 VCH xi, 215. For some of Dyer's work as a valuer, see e.g. GRO P320 A/VE 2/1 (Stroud), D189 II/3/E1 (King's Stanley), P244 VE 2/17 (Painswick, though here the work was later done by others).
- 12 Tann op cit puts the Harris family at Horsley gig mill in the 1850s; but in 1799 that mill was owned by John Remington.
- 13 VCH xi, 228; Tann op cit 218. For the Rev Peter Hawker, see VCH xi, 302. Woodchester old church was rebuilt on a new site in 1863. The Roman villa lies under the old churchyard, and a surviving Norman arch of the old church displays Roman tiles in its construction.
- 14 VCH xi, 110.
- 15 For Obadiah Paul, see eg VCH xi, 227, 297.
- 16 VCH xi, 178. Pavey-Smith A B, Nailsworth from 1500 to 1900 is undated, but based on articles and lectures, so probably belongs to the 1890s. It was published by the Stroud News & Journal.
- 17 VCH xi, 189.
- 18 GRO Q/SRh 1799 c1; for Blackwell & Remington see VCH xi, 122.
- 19 VCH xi, 299; Tann op cit, 228.
- 20 VCH xi, 280.

- 21 VCH xi, passim. There is a good, but short, biographical sketch of G O Paul by Esther Moir in Gloucestershire Studies, Finberg H P R ed., (Leics. Univ Press, 1957).
- 22 Gloucestershire Country Collection, Northleach: exhibition and available literature.
- 23 MacMahan, K A, Roads & Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire, E Yorks Local History series 1964 No. 18; also JTH pamphlet G700/882.
- 24 Aldridge - VCH xi, 138.
- 25 See for, Thames & Severn canal Household op cit, for Berkeley canal Crawford GSIAJ for 1981 op cit.
- 26 For an example of a turnpike road as private property, see Cox C., A rather untrustworthy toll-road! in GSIAJ for 1986.
- 27 Rudder op cit, 813.

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Chapter V. CONSTRUCTION OF THE NAILSWORTH TURNPIKE ROAD.

There was much criticism of highways, both parish and turnpike, in the later years of the eighteenth century. Parish roads, for example, often had to be 'opened up' for travel at the end of winter by means of the parish road-plough.¹

In the words of the Gloucestershire County Surveyor:

these ploughs persisted until the general use of macadam and the extensive surface dressing with tar ... (it was) virtually a horsedrawn scraper (used) to plough to one side the detritus produced during the winter time by the wearing away of the bare stone by horses and steel-tyred vehicles. It is this material generally which has given us the raised verges which form a distinctive part of a cross-section of roads in this county.²

An advertisement of the firm of Bourne & Harris of Ilchester offered in 1837 a Patent Hand Machine for Scraping Roads, which cleared the roads of dust or mud better than the common scraper.³ Marshall wrote that road scraping made a very good cement or mortar:

The scrapings of the public roads; namely levigated (sic) limestone, impregnated more or less with the dung and urine of the animals travelling upon them, are found to be an excellent basis for cement ... Similar scrapings might be collected, in any district where limestone is used as a material of roads.⁴

Turnpike road maintenance also received some harsh criticism. In the late 1760s Arthur Young wrote of the present A40 this oft-quoted comment:

The road from Witney to Northleach is, i think, the worst turnpike I ever travelled in; so bad that it is a scandal to the country. They mend and make with nothing but the stone which forms the understratum all over the country ... which rises in vast flakes, (and) would make an admirable foundation for a surface of gravel; but by using it alone, and in pieces as large as one's

head, the road is rendered most execrable. I travelled it with a very low opinion of all the counties and places it leads to: for if they were inhabited by people of fortune and spirit, I should think they would never suffer such a barbarous method⁵ of mending their capital road to subsist.

Rudder's strictures have already been noted. One example from the late eighteenth century may be cited, though not from Gloucestershire. The Bermondsey, Rotherhithe & Deptford Turnpike Trust (1776-1810) neither had a professional survey made nor took competent engineering advice, but relied for such work on the members of the committee, with occasional assistance from the surveyor.⁶

The great names in road improvement, and rightly so, are those of Macadam and Telford. But at the time when the Nailsworth road was under construction, MacAdam was in America, and he did not go to Bristol until 1802, nor present his memorial to the House of Commons Select Committee on Highways and Turnpike Roads until 1815.⁷ Moreover, he at first advocated a flat surface to a road, only later changing his opinion in favour of a 3 inch camber; unlike Telford, he was not so insistent on a good foundation, relying on an impermeable surface to throw off the unwanted water. This was more than twenty years after the building of the Nailsworth road, while Telford came even later.

In fact, good advice on road making was available before Macadam. In a pamphlet of about 1790, on Advice to Surveyors of the Highways on how to make a good Durable Road, the following was advocated:

The intended Road being laid out, the Surface of the natural Soil should not be reduced to a dead Level, but left rounded from the Trenches that are made to carry off the Water: it should then be laid with small brushwood (such as is cut from the Hedges) the twigs lying crosswise to the Road, or with Furzes or both mixed, and upon that the Stones placing the largest in the Bottom, and decreasing in sizes to the Gravel or whatever small materials you have for the last finish of the covering. It is also most earnestly recommended to the Consideration of such Surveyors that no Road can be well prepared to receive the Material or preserved in a good state afterwards unless the Hedges and Ditches by the sides thereof are properly cut and opened, at the usual seasons directed by Acts of Parliament for that purpose, and convenient Drains laid in proper situations for diverting any Stream or Watercourse that might be injurious thereto; and also, that unless a sufficient Foundation of Furze or green Brushwood as above mentioned, be laid under the Stones, Gravel or other Material, the Expence and Labour will in no Degree answer the intended Purpose or public Utility and Advantage.⁸

The use of brushwood as a road foundation may seem to-day rather unusual, but the County Surveyor had this to say:

With regard to the attached specification for road construction in the eighteenth century, the interesting point about this is their understanding of the importance of drainage and their shaping and excavation of the road generally to ensure the free movement of water to the side ditches. The Stroud-Nailsworth road through the valley was built on soil with poor bearing value, and the use of brushwood and furze has been, until quite recently, the accepted practice for distributing the load from the embankment above on to the poor subsoil ... There is no doubt that the work in those ancient times was well done and are the foundation of our present roads which we have done so little to improve during the last hundred years!⁹

This tribute to the makers of the new roads in the eighteenth century from a modern road engineer may well be set

against the persistent criticisms of road users of that earlier time; it should be remembered that the cost of obtaining good road-stone was prohibitive for most parish surveyors. The problem in the Nailsworth valley was that of excess water: the problem on the limestone uplands would be the different one of road-stone insufficiently broken, with the added disadvantage that much of the limestone had an argillaceous content, which turned after use into white mud - as the present writer noticed some sixty years ago on local private roads. On the steep hill-slopes the problem would not be one of standing water, but of positive torrents in winter after rain. It is clear that there was no one single difficulty, at least in the Stroud-water area - and the greatest handicap in the Vale was from the underlying clay. It is worthy of remark that the Bermondsey Trust, close as it was to the metropolis, merely laid gravel over the surface of its roads.

Twenty years before Macadam, even more before Telford, and ten years before the publication of the Advice to Surveyors, the Nailsworth Trust not only employed a professional engineer to construct its road, but also laid down in the Articles of Agreement (in modern terms, specification) instructions that at that time could hardly have been bettered, incorporating as they did all the good advice given above - before it was in print - except for the actual laying down of brushwood, of which there is no specific mention. But the Engineer did not leave a day-by-day account of his methods, though the contemporary County Surveyor of today draws special attention to its use.

Closer attention may now be paid to what the Minute Book of the Nailsworth Trust actually had to say about the construction of the new road.

The Road Engineer.

The Committee resolved at its third meeting, on 19 April 1780, to put an advertisement in the Gloucester and Birmingham newspapers for "estimates of construction". At their fifth meeting the Trustees were told that one Denis Edson "of Chester" had applied to make the line of the main road - about five miles - for £1400, and this estimate was accepted.

Edson was one of the new breed of civil engineers. In 1774 he had been a foreman on the Chester canal, being appointed assistant surveyor in February 1775, but discharged in September of that year. In January 1780 he was given a contract to make two additional reservoirs (for £300) on the Stourbridge canal, completing this task by 10 April 1781¹⁰ He was for a time resident engineer on the Gloucester & Berkeley canal, being appointed in September 1794 but discharged twelve months later. G N Crawford says that the work in the "first period of construction ... was supervised by resident engineers lacking in experience or expertise ... ", naming Dennis (sic) Edson and James Dadford.¹¹ Hadfield adds that Edson was clerk of works on the Grand Surrey canal from June to November 1802 (at one hundred and fifty guineas a year). It looks as if his canal work did not give complete satisfaction; but he was also employed as a road engineer.

In 1780 he was in receipt of payment from the Ironbridge Proprietors, and Dr Trinder thinks he may also have surveyed the road from the bridge to the Madeley Turnpike.¹²

It will have been noticed that he had more than one project going at the same time that he took over the construction of the Nailsworth road: perhaps he saw the advertisement in a Birmingham paper while he was at Ironbridge. At all events, he was appointed engineer for the "main line" of the Nailsworth road, the Agreement between him and the Trustees being made on 13 June 1780 though not entered in the Minute Book until 7 August.

Road Construction: Specifications. (summarised from the Minute Book)

The Minute for 13 June 1780 records that Denis Edson of Chester had applied, and was to make ("in a proper manner") the line of road "from a stile marked in a Plan of the same drawn by Mr Rice" to Pudbridge for £1400.

The offer was accepted, subject to Articles of Agreement in writing signed "by us and him", and these Articles appear in the end pages of Volume I of the Minute Book, dated 13 June 1780, but entered in the Minute Book on 7 August, as mentioned above. Trustees signing the copy of the Agreement were: J Wade, S Wathen, T Pavey, T Baylis, R Cockle, W Biggs, O Paul, J Hawker and W Harris. Wilkins testified this was a true copy. Edson also signed. The "stile" is presumably that mentioned in the Act (and also in one of the Tetbury west roads Acts), but unfortunately cannot be pin-pointed as this portion of the Plan is lost.

Summary of Specifications.

Width To be 30 foot throughout. However, here as elsewhere the Trustees could use their discretion slightly to alter dimensions or the actual alignment.

Surface The road to be "stoned" to a width of at least 15 feet, 7½ feet each side of the centre line. The stones to be "well and sufficiently broken to the satisfaction of the Trustees". (Alternatively, gravel could be used.) The thickness of road-stone was to be 12 inches at the centre, lessening gradually to 6 inches at the sides. But in fields numbered 52, 58-63 on the Plan, and in the "last of St Cloe's grounds", these dimensions were to be 15 inches and 9 inches. The Plan (Appendix 2) shows that the road here lay on the valley floor close to the stream. If gravel were used, a bed of stone should first be laid down, and the maximum thickness of gravel was not to exceed 3 inches without the consent of the Trustees. (Gravel did not easily compact to a smooth surface owing to the rounded nature of the individual pebbles - McAdam was later to demonstrate the need for angular road-metal.)

Camber The surface was to be "convex", with the centre at least 12 inches higher than the sides "before stoning". The actual surface however was to be 3 inches higher at the centre; presumably the centre width was to be given a deeper foundation. Note also the camber: some roads were given far too steep a surface curve.

Gradient No ascent or descent to exceed 3:30, or 2 inches in 1 yard "measured from an horizontal plane".¹³

Banks The sides of cuttings were to be made safe and secure. In field No. 20 the sides of the road were to be at least 14 inches above the existing surface, as also in fields Nos. 58-63 and the "last of St Cloe's grounds next to Little Britain".

Drainage At least twenty water plashes (sic) were to be made under the road; the culverts should measure 15 x 15 inches (and there would have to be special arrangements where the road crossed mill scours). At Nailsworth itself, the brook in front of the George Inn was to be diverted and made to pass under a "sufficient covered archway ... substantially made". New bridges were to be built at Inchbrook ("by the Wear"), at Frogmarsh, and at Grigshut, where the trans-valley track crossed the stream past Woodchester mill up to Selsley common at Nurlsgate. The clearing of ditches properly belonged to maintenance, but it may be noted that at the meeting on 30 October 1780 the Surveyor (at that time Wilkins, who was also Clerk) was instructed to take care that the roadside ditches were kept properly drained. Along the valley bottom this was obviously a major concern.

Foundations, camber, drainage, the use of broken stones - and the restricted use of gravel, road-side banks: the only obvious omission in this specification was in the use of a particular road-stone, and for this the Trust could not really be blamed as there was no really suitable hard stone obtainable in the whole locality. In fact, quarries were opened up alongside the road to extract material for the road: hardly the best material!

Road-stone The local oolitic limestone was virtually the only available road metal: it would be many years before the Trust could import hard road-stone at a cost it could afford, even though the Stroudwater canal was by this time open to Stroud itself. It would not be until Bristol "blue-stone" was available - from St Vincent Rocks near Clifton on the Bristol Avon, sometimes called Clifton stone - that really suitable stone would be used, and then generally only on the "main line" of the road, with occasional short stretches elsewhere where influential trustees could make a case for such repair on a branch road. But at least gravel was not just spread over the surface (as with the Bermondsey Trust), nor were large "flakes" allowed, as Arthur Young complained of the main through-route from Oxford to the edge of the Cotswold scarp. Nor is it likely that in the actual process of construction holes in the road were merely filled up with whatever came to hand, such as earth or clay; though later complaints of poor road repair may have been justified. One point often overlooked today in pictorial reconstructions of roads in the days before horseless carriages was that not only did the wheels of vehicles make ruts in the road surface, but between these ruts the pounding of horses' hooves also broke up the surface, leaving depressions capable of holding water after rain.

The Act gave the Surveyor powers to get materials from Waste Grounds - "common or Waste Ground, River and Brook", and also from private grounds, but with the

obligation to make good any damage caused. This turned out to be a sore point with several landowners, where in case of disagreement two or three JPs were called in for arbitration. But it should not be assumed that earth would be used for surfacing. If such poor load-bearing material were used, it would be only for in-filling, and it was the Surveyor's task to ensure that repair work was done in an adequate fashion.

Several entries in the Minute Book illustrate the somewhat haphazard way in which road-stone was obtained. On 25 September 1780 William Wilkins, having been officially Clerk since 19 May, was also made Surveyor and was told to contract with a Mr Alder to bring stone, in quantities he might think necessary, and to have the loads dumped in suitable places. The Act had laid down a fine of 40s. for anyone removing road materials unused after thirty days. On 16 October the Surveyor was told to get stone "from the quarries opened for making the road," and to dump it as above. The stone was taken from various places, probably those most convenient for haulage, not necessarily from the most suitable quarries. In at least one case this led to a considerable disagreement.

On 9 March 1781 Edson and Wilkins were told to take stone from "Hazle Wood" in Avening parish from land belonging to Edward Sheppard, (see Fig V.i), and also from a "tyning" in Horsley parish owned by William Smith.¹⁴ Smith was offered £75 per acre for damage likely to be done and for materials extracted.¹⁵ The offer to Mr Sheppard was recorded as half a guinea. On 1 June 1781 Mr Parry, "our

Attorney", was told to plead for Wilkins and Edson, and for two other men (possibly the labourers concerned) in an action brought by Sheppard.¹⁶ The dispute seems to have been settled as, on 13 November, the Surveyor was told to treat with Mr Sheppard for use of ground called Haizley to use as a quarry at £30 per acre: there is no explanation in the Minute Book for the miniscule offer of half a guinea earlier. Mr Sheppard's name occurs again, when on 31 March 1783 the Surveyor (by that date no longer Wilkins) was told to get a proper wall made against Mr Sheppard's wood in Barley Hill Grove. This would appear to be Yarley Wood (Harleywood on ST 89 NW of the six inch OS map square 84/98 (1955)) as this is adjacent to Hazel Wood: the identification is not sure. At any rate, the work was to be done "with the utmost expedition".

The suggestion that earth and stone was taken from land most conveniently near the line of the road seems to be supported by the entry for 30 April 1781, when stone was to be got from Mr Peach's rack-hill at Rooksmoor, and from ground at Winneredge (i.e. Windsoredge) for the road near Inchbrook, while another order of 17 July 1781 ordered the taking of earth from Mr Frost's land at Barton End - with the consequence that on 23 October 1781 the Trustees had to pay Mr Frost, or the landowner, Mr Peter Leversage, one guinea for land spoiled.¹⁷

Trustees had not only to pay for damage done but also to "protect, indemnify and defend" Edson against all law-suits arising from his work; necessary when he

had been given authority to enter or dig on lands to get "Earth, Sand, Soil, Stones, or Gravel or other Material." Such deeds would not be popular with those not much in favour anyway of the road. Those unable to claim damages might show their resentment by acts of (usually) mild vandalism. Mr Weston had been told to stake out the new parts (his bill for surveying and planning came to £32 according to the Minute for 7 April 1780), though Wilkins had been told to get the stakes and to place them ready for use. It was noted that in places stakes were missing, and the Gloucester (sic) Journal for 24 April 1780 offered 1 guinea reward for information for the removal of some of these stakes.

Apart from the considerable making good of damage to Mr Webb's properties, the major irritation seems to have come from Mr Frost.¹⁸ The top stretch of road towards Tiltups Inn passed close to or through the land he rented from Peter Leversage. William Frost, though taking some part in the affairs of the Trust, seized every opportunity of profit, as will be shown later.

Completion of the main line of road.

Edson's application to the Trustees had been accepted on 13 June 1780, and the Minute for 7 August recorded that he was told to start work forthwith. On 30 May 1781 the Trustees met, at 9 a.m. at Mr Frost's at Barton End, and went over the line of road, ending up at Cainscross, to where their meeting on 28 May had been adjourned. They agreed to accept the road as made,

with a few minor deficiencies which would be overlooked provided Edson made over 1 guinea. He had built the road within the specified twelve months, and nearly within the agreed cost. It is not possible exactly to reconcile the disbursements in the Treasurer's Cash Account with the few entries in the Minute Book, and with the proposed method of payment. There is also some confusion over the short final stretch of road from Barton End Lane to Tiltups Inn, which Frost had undertaken to get built, but which in the end Edson had to take over. The Minutes do not reveal why Frost should have been able to get the contract for this final bit of road. This will be discussed when dealing with problems attending the building of the road.

Edson was given one more commission - that of the road from Nailsworth bridge to the Fives Court (sometime also known as the Half Way House) on Minchinhampton common.¹⁹ This road, The W as it came to be called from its double hairpin bend, replaced the old steep pull uphill known as The Ladder.²⁰ The estimate for this new road was £220, and payments recorded to Edson for this task, from 2 February to 27 March 1782, do in fact come to that total.

No more appears in the Minutes about Edson, not even an official expression of thanks; and there are slight indications that perhaps his work on the Hampton Hill road did not afford complete satisfaction. But more probably it was financial caution that stopped the Trust from em-

ploying outside professional help with the construction of the other branch roads - which in any case were already in existence as parish roads or hill tracks. The cross-route, from the Bear Inn on Rodborough common, down past Sir George Onesiphorus Paul's Hill House, over the valley floor at Grigshut, then up past Park Stile in (North) Woodchester to Nurlsgate on Selsley common, was undertaken by Paul for the Rodborough road, and W G Peach for that up to Selsley common. Opposite the driveway of what is now called Rodborough Manor, which replaced the name Hill House - this was burnt down earlier this century - is a much-eroded milestone. The inscription is now almost illegible, but would seem to record a distance of 101 miles from London, so that it seems likely it was put up by Paul himself for the enlightenment of his visitors from the Capital.²¹

Payments to Edson appear in Table V.i. p 172.

Hedging & Fencing.

The new road passed through ("opened up" was the phrase used) lands which previously had been in private hands, and these would have to be fenced off from the road. Three methods seems to have been tried. Firstly, proprietors were asked to see to their own fencing or Walling, being paid for the work they had done. Secondly, estimates were asked for from outside contractors. Thirdly, members of the Committee themselves undertook the task of seeing the fencing was done.

TABLE V.i. Payments to the Engineer 27 Nov 1780 - 9 Nov 1781.

date	amount	reason given
27 Nov 80	£ 625. 5. 0.	Account of D Edson *
	8. 0. 0.	extra work
9 Dec 80	174.15. 0.	sundries (Edson)
28 Dec 80	100. 0. 0.	Edson
10 Jan 81	17.11. 0.	Edson, extra work
13 Jan 81	50. 0. 0.	Edson
24 Feb 81	6.18. 6.	Edson, extra work
5 March 81	150. 0. 0.	Edson, road account.
14 April 81	5. 5. 0.	Edson
19 May 81	50. 0. 0.	Edson, for Mr Webb's work, and Nailsworth bridge. **
9 June 81	22.10. 0.	Edson, extra work
	50. 0. 0.	Edson, road account
22 June 81	15.15. 0.	Edson
17 Aug 81	150. 0. 0.	Edson
29 Sept 81	6. 5. 6.	Edson, road account
1 Oct 81	15.10. 0.	Edson a/c given to Trustees (£8. 8. 0. + £7. 2. 0.)
9 Nov 81	12.18. 0.	Edson, extra work
	56.14. 6.	Edson, for the great line in full
Total	<u>£ 1517. 7. 6.</u>	
Less:		50 for Mr Webb's work etc. 67.17. 6 extra work
	<u>117.17. 6.</u>	<u>117.17. 6</u>
Total	<u><u>£ 1399.10. 0</u></u>	
This is only 10s. short of the agreed cost of £1400 - somewhere an extra 10s. has got misplaced or wrongly entered.		

* On a page or two of "expenses" at the end of Vol I, an entry of 17 July 1780 records an advance of not more than £20 to Edson: in the Minute for 7 August he got £30.

** A sum of £35. 6s. was to be paid to Edson for work on Webb's mill (dated 7 Nov 1780). This presumably means that the work on Nailsworth bridge cost about £15. The widening of Frogmarsh bridge - to 15 ft - by Richard Harrison cost £6 (16 Oct 80), but to put another 4 ft on the bridge at Inchbrooke cost £20: this was done by Edson.

Edson got the Hampton Hill road contract for £220. The figures tally: £1.1.0. on 2 Feb 82, £79.13s. and £120 on 10 Feb 1782, and £19.6s. on 27 March 1782.

On 26 June 1780 the Clerk was told to treat with proprietors and to agree with them "to make the bounds of fences to their own Lands at a rate of 3 shillings per Pole". In the Cash Account there are some examples of such payments, though it is possible in only a few cases to separate the cost of fencing from the price of land which had been acquired. One example is that of Henry Smith through whose garden at Harly Hill (sic) the new road now passed. He got £21. 10s. 9d. on 27 November 1780. Samuel Pegler with a garden in the same area got £14. 12s. for land and fences on 12 December 1780. A few other costs can be ascertained. On 26 June 1781 William Frost got £30. 17s. for fences (presumably along the stretch of road near Tiltups Inn for which he had been given the small construction contract). On 17 September 1781 Henry Smith was allowed an extra £1. 4s. for fences, and on 27 April 1782 W Smith was paid £13. 7s. 6d. in full for fences. Unfortunately, the length of fencing in each case is not given, and the price per pole is not constant.²²

The Minute for 25 September 1780 records that Wilkins could agree with proprietors on fences at or under 3s. 10d. per pole, paying by drafts on the Treasurer, as appears in the Accounts. On 30 October 1780 Wilkins had to see to the erection of temporary fencing. These must have been hurdles, as on 27 November that year Edward Sheppard received £13 for hurdles, and when the price for Mr Wight's land at the Dudbridge end of the road was finally settled, (at the end of 1784, after

rather a long interval) the Minute recorded that his land was to be sloped off, quickset-planted and protected with new hurdles, while the old ones were to be placed on the field side of the new hedge. Thomas Cooper acted for Thomas Wight, and £80 was paid over provided that no further demands were made. These fields are Nos. 128 and 129 on Rice's Plan (Appendix 2), which are named for Mr Wait, which is presumably the same as the Wight named in the Land Valuation list.²³

One or two examples may be given of members of the Committee seeing to the erection of fencing or hedges. On 27 August 1784, the Treasurer was to pay Mr Pavey £1. 16s. for planting nine luggs (i.e. poles) of quicksett (sic). This might well have been for his own ground at Barton End, but on 12 June 1786 Obadiah Paul, Thomas Cooper and Samuel Wathen were empowered to see to the erection of an oak post-and-rail fence alongside the road from Grigshut to Peach's meadow at Rooksmoor. Cooper lived nearby, and the firm of Wathen & Peach were at Rooksmoor. In other words, it was for their own convenience, but some of the land in question is named for a Miss Small. It may be noted here that the Trustees soon abandoned the employment of outside professionals and reverted to the usual practice of having members of the Committee supervise work, and even take responsibility for actually getting the work done. This was rather an unsatisfactory method, though perhaps cheaper in the short run. It is in this respect that Macadam and Telford were in advance of the amateurish attitudes of

both parish surveyors and of many turnpike trusts of the eighteenth century.

In the matter of fencing, the most interesting excerpts from the Minutes are those where the Surveyor or Treasurer actually do make use of outside contractors. For example:

30 October 1780. The Surveyor to send to the Treasurer a sample of oak posts between 5 and 6 feet long, at 6d. each.

11 December 1780. Jeremiah Millwaters of Nailsworth makes an offer to supply fencing: oak posts 2 in a perch, 3 rails - 10s. a perch; ash at 5s., elm at 4s. 10d., beech at 4s. Samples to be seen at Little Britain.

If 3 rails proved unnecessary, the price was to be "abated" 1d. per foot for oak for every rail omitted, and 3s. 4d. for other wood.

Millwaters was told to fence off the late Mr Pinfold's two grounds (89 and 90 on the Plan, Appendix 2) with elm. It does not appear that he got the full job: the Cash Account only records - Millwaters 2s. 6d. on 27 November, perhaps for a sample, unless the payment is concealed under another heading (the Minutes do not always give the precise date of a transaction, which may already have taken place, or perhaps was to occur later). Perhaps Millwaters' price was deemed too high. In June that year, the Surveyor had been told to get proprietors to make fencing at 3s. per pole, but on the contrary this may have been too low; in April 1781 Wilkins, as Surveyor, was told that where post and two rails only were put up, proprietors could get 8d. per pole more, or plant quickset if they preferred.

As has been seen, attention had to be paid to "finish", and one of the deficiencies had been some failure to clean up the banks. On 4 November 1782 G'O Paul undertook to slope off the banks on the road from The Spout past his mansion up to the Bear Inn: he had undertaken the improvement on this road, which was already in existence, but not 'improved'. In July 1783 he presented his account of land taken for this cross-route, and for damages to his land and the lands of his tenants. He took some other land in exchange, and the balance came to £75. 11s. 3d., which he agreed to waive if the Trustees ensured that their workmen would "not at any time hereafter" lop any of the road-side trees.

This, like the task of clearing ditches, properly belongs to a section on Maintenance. Such action as that of Paul was exceptional; he was a philanthropist, and wealthy enough. But in most cases owners, including members of the Trust, were careful to see that the Trust paid for any damage done while the road was under construction, and also for any alterations or adjustments made necessary thereby.

Adjustments, Alterations: Damages.

New bridges had been built over the Nailsworth stream at Frogmarsh (for the main road) and at Grigshut (where the branch road to Nurlsgate left the main road). Diversions to streams and to mill leats may be included within the same class of work. On 30 April 1781 the Surveyor was told to get an "iron gate" put at the head of the

drain lately made at Rooksmoor, and on 16 May of that year he had also to get a lead pipe laid under the road at Rooksmoor "for Mr Peach's Scour", as well as having a flight of steps built from the new road into Peach's rack-hill. A similar adjustment had to be made on 4 November 1782 for a drain by Mr Wade's mill at Inchbrook, to lead into the mill pond.

Damages proved more of a problem. It has already been noted that the Trust had to build a wall quickly by Mr Sheppard's property. Consequent on the purchase of lands, but separate from valuation, in February 1781 the Trust had to get two independent Gentlemen as arbitrators on damage done to the lands of Mr Halliday, at the Dudbridge end of the road, and William Jones. It was not until 1 January 1782 that Mr Halliday accepted the Trustees' valuation for his land, and for damage which included £8 for damage done by trackways and trespass, though he did not ask for a separate fence or hedge for the remnant of field left between the road and the stream: No. 119 on the Plan, Appendix 2. The claim of Mr Jones was settled by the resolution of 27 March 1782 to build a stone wall along his hill ground, to a height of 3½ feet. The first suggestion, on 11 May 1782, had been for his land to be fenced off with oak posts and two elm rails on the upper and the lower side. In the event, the lower side got a wall. At the meeting of 13 April 1781, while the Trustees agreed to continue with assessment for damages, on 30 April they laid it down

that such damages were to be signed and copied into the Book.

Under the heading of damages can be added the claim of Thomas Shurmur of Frogmarsh, on 7 December 1781, of £3. 11s. for expenses incurred in milling cloth out while the bridge was being built. Such damages and alterations were to be expected. But in the cases of Nathaniel Webb of Egypt mill, and William Frost at Barton End, rather more trouble was caused; in the first case because of the fact that the road passed exceedingly close to the mill building, and in the second case (it would seem) because Mr Frost was determined to get what he could out of the Trust.

The Trust and Nathaniel Webb.

Today the A46 on its near approach to Nailsworth passes Egypt mill so closely that the door to the top, third, floor of this mill opens directly onto the road - admittedly the building has been extended in that direction. Of all the proprietors of lands through whose grounds the new road was to pass, Mr Webb suffered the greatest inconvenience. Not only did the road brush his buildings, but it was raised well above the former level of the ground; and from the mill to Inchbrook the alignment passed through a long block of his land. In the List of Properties given in the Act, a special clause was inserted with regard to Mr Webb's lands: for example, the new road must not cut his house off from his workshops.

At the valuations meeting on 14 September 1780 at The Lodge on Minchinhampton common attended by the jury of assessment, Mr Webb's private road and adjoining banks were valued at 10s. an acre, at 30 years' purchase.

They were listed as follows:

Garden (to avoid the house)
 Little Orchard and White Croft
 Great Orchard
 Brick kiln meadow
 Farther Meadow and Barnard's hays.

Also Reservoir or scour pond at 7 guineas.
 House for heating press planks - £5.
 The Trustees to find a leaden pipe of 2 inches bore or other safe and secure conveyance of water from the new reservoir to the mill, (replacing the old reservoir". 22, 23

This reservoir is clearly not the Egypt mill pond, which is well below road level, but may refer to the structures indicated on the Plan further down the valley. There was a round pond below Dunkirk (New) mills near Inchbrook, and here the Nailsworth stream has been canalised. The existing leat for Dunkirk mills runs along the right-hand side of the valley, a little way up the slope. The 1885 25 inch OS map does not map it, and nowadays in-fill and new industrial buildings have obliterated almost all traces of the valley floor as it was two hundred years ago.

On 11 December 1780 it was recorded that Mr Webb had brought an action against the agents of the Trust for trespass in making the new road, and the "acting Trustees" (that is, the Committee) and subscribers had agreed to meet on 17 November previously to try to resolve the

dispute. Sir George Paul had agreed to act as referee, and the results of the earlier meeting were confirmed on 11 December.

Copy of the Agreement (summarised)

The Commissioners are to throw an arch bridge over Mr Webb's mill pond to his Little Orchard, of 10 feet span, the carriageway 9 feet between parapet walls; also to make a road through the land and an arch over the water near the flood-gates of his present dyehouse sufficient for carriages. Also to pipe water for the mill for a scour stream, and pay Mr Webb for making his own fence by the turnpike road through his own lands; and to pay for damages done in digging etc.

If later claims were made, two "indifferent persons", one chosen by the Committee, one by Mr Webb, were to settle the issue.

Mr Webb for his part undertook to give the land for such road, and not to claim for loss of water during the building of the arch.

This Agreement was signed by G Onesiphorus Paul and Nath Webb, witnessed by Wm Gaisford Peach and Jn^o Holmes, and certified a true copy by Wm Wilkins.

Nevertheless, the Cash Accounts record: on 27 November to N Webb, land £91; on 22 June 1781 a payment to Mr Webb of £3. 13s., while on the 19th of the previous month there is Edson's bill of £50 for Mr Webb's work and Nailsworth bridge.

The Treasurer was told on 28 May 1781 to pay Mr Webb 3½ guineas for loss of water for his scour (probably the £3. 13s.) and for his having had a wall built by the road opposite the corner of his mill; and on 13 August of the next year, the Treasurer was told to pay

Webb £87. 13s. for damage done to his lands: if Webb gave a legal discharge for all damage, the money would be paid before the 17th. Finally, the Minute for 10 September 1782 records a payment of £2. 7s. to Joseph Ackland "for his Trouble Journeys and Expences" in settling and adjusting the damages sustained by Mr Webb.

William Frost and the Trust.

William Frost's name appears in the Act as a Trustee, and he attended some meetings, mostly where business affecting the land he occupied was concerned, and significantly when financial matters were under discussion. He signed with X in a rather wobbly hand, though on one occasion his name appears neatly written in full, presumably by another on his behalf. He attended the meeting on 7 April 1783 when the revenue from tolls was discussed (the mark of William Frost - X), and also the meeting on 26 May when his bill of £5. 6s. for falling stones was authorised for payment - it is here that his name is neatly written, for the only time.

When the Trustees walked, on 23 June 1780, over the private lands to assess their value for compulsory purchase, Frost was with them, and on 26 June it was agreed that he should make the bounds and fences alongside that part of the road which was to pass through Mr Leversage's lands at Barton End. As well as being a tenant of Mr Leversage, Frost rented land from Mr Webb and on 14 September, when agreement had not yet been reached on Webb's lands, it may be noted that two fields of Webb's down

the valley - Farther Meadow and Barnard's hay - were in the occupation of Mr Frost. It took two days, 12 and 13 April, to reach a decision on the claim for damages at Barton End; the Trustees arranged to go over the disputed lands on 9 April, but met instead on the 12th at Frost's (as the 9th had proved "very wet"), and again on the 13th at Mr Wade's.

The last stretch of road, from Barton End Lane to Tiltups Inn, was contracted out to Frost: he stood surety for Samuel Rigby and John Naylor to make the road for £80 (his surety being £100). On 13 April the Surveyor was told to get the hillside by Frost's orchard lowered by six feet, and to use the soil dug out to build up the hollow-way below his barn. When on 30 May the Trustees inspected the completed road, one of the minor defects Edson had to make good was the gradient from the highest part of the road at Barton End (a field called the Two Acres occupied by Mr Frost), which was said to be on top of a culvert near Frost's waggon house. On 22 June the Trustees agreed to open up this culvert and to build it up "in a chimney-like manner" to the ground surface.

The Accounts had been checked at that meeting and it was agreed to pay 10s. 6d. to Frost, and that he would make a pond to supply his ground with water cut off by the new road. This point was raised again on 23 October when 1 guinea would be given to Mr Leversage (or to Mr Frost for him) for land spoiled and earth dug out at the end of his orchard, and again it was said that Frost

would make a watering pool.

On 9 July 1782 Frost was awarded £4 for damages in "beating and treading down" the mowing grass by the wheeling of stones over the fields rented from Mr Webb (Nos. 49-51 on the Plan presumably). His bill for falling of stones on 26 May 1781 has already been mentioned.

At that meeting the Surveyor was ordered to fill in and make good the ground where quarries had been made in Barton End Lane. Mr Frost not only got damages: he got the land restored into the bargain. However, something had gone amiss with his sub-contract for the final, level stretch of road at the southern extremity of the Trust's road. While he had been advanced £20 on 17 July 1781 (in addition to damages, not yet adjusted, of £10. 4s.), at the meeting on 22 June less than a week later it was recorded that the contract of 30 May with Edson for the top stretch was "inconvenient" to the estate of Mr Leversage and his tenant, Mr Frost. It was accordingly cancelled, and Edson was told to keep to the original contract to finish the road - and also to put an extra 6 inches of stone on the road below or near Mr Frost's waggon house - and pay £10.

In the end the Trustees may well have lost patience. On 23 June 1783 the Surveyor was told "to take proper methods to bring Mr William Frost to justice for evading payment of the Tolls so that He may be convicted thereof". After this there was no further reference to him in the

first Volume. (Incidentally, that same meeting recorded that an action should be brought against one Henry Smart for an assault on John Hyde on Monday 16 June "in and about the Execution of his office".)

Frost may have been illiterate, but he seems to have been a man of some substance as his name was included on the list of Trustees, and when he ceased to be on that list, as noted on 23 September 1793, he was referred to as a "gentleman". He certainly seems to have used every opportunity to get compensation from the Trust, or some advantage for his lands. No one else seems to have caused so much bother in the matter of damages. He had a keen eye to the main chance. Table V.ii shows the payments to William Frost as given in the Cash Accounts and the page of disbursements.

TABLE V.ii. Payments to William Frost.

Source: Cash Accounts and Disbursements.

19 May 81	for varying road through Frost's hill	3 gns.
22 June 81	paid as per acct this day to Mr Frost	£20
26 June 81	Drawn to Mr Frost for fences etc. (fences seem to be £30.13s.)	£72.8s.6d.
25 July 81	drawn to Mr Frost as per order	£30.4s.
(Disbursements)		
22 June 81	Mr Frost, building a pond for water	10s.6d.
"	allowed Mr Frost, for making road from Tiltups Inn to Barton End	£40.
17 July 81	damage in making road	£10.4s.
	Advanced Mr Frost ac/t making road	£20
9 July 82	Wm Frost, damage to mowing grass	£4
26 March 83	Mr Frost for falling of stone	£5.6s.10d
		<u>£205.16.10</u>
and		
7 April 83	Wm Frost 2 years' interest of £65	£6.10s.

The Securities List records that he had invested in the Trust -

28 July 80	£50
11 Dec 80	£50
28 May 81	£10
and	£20
6 Feb 82	£32.10s.

No doubt he thought it time he saw something for his money?

At this point the difficulties and problems of actual construction of the road may be left; instead may be considered the methods by which the Committee did its business, how revenue was raised, and how maintenance was carried out. It is here too that the initial enthusiasm and the pioneering efforts of the Trust tend to fade away, with attendances at meetings falling off, and the work of the Trust starting to sink to the level of effort on so many other roads, whether parish or under toll. Its days of keenness and innovation seemed to be over: perhaps from lack of money, but more likely because the initial pioneering effort was now gone, and the routing, dull and accustomed work of running the affairs of the road did not seem to require so much thrust and attention as had been required for the organisation and excitement of a new enterprise.

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Nailsworth Turnpike Road: section uphill Nailsworth - Tiltups Inn.

Notes to Fig. V.i Taken from Preliminary Drawings to the O. Survey, c. 1810 (scale 2 inches = 1 mile), and from Taylor 1777, Bryant 1824.

Main Nailsworth road, and new sections of branch roads 

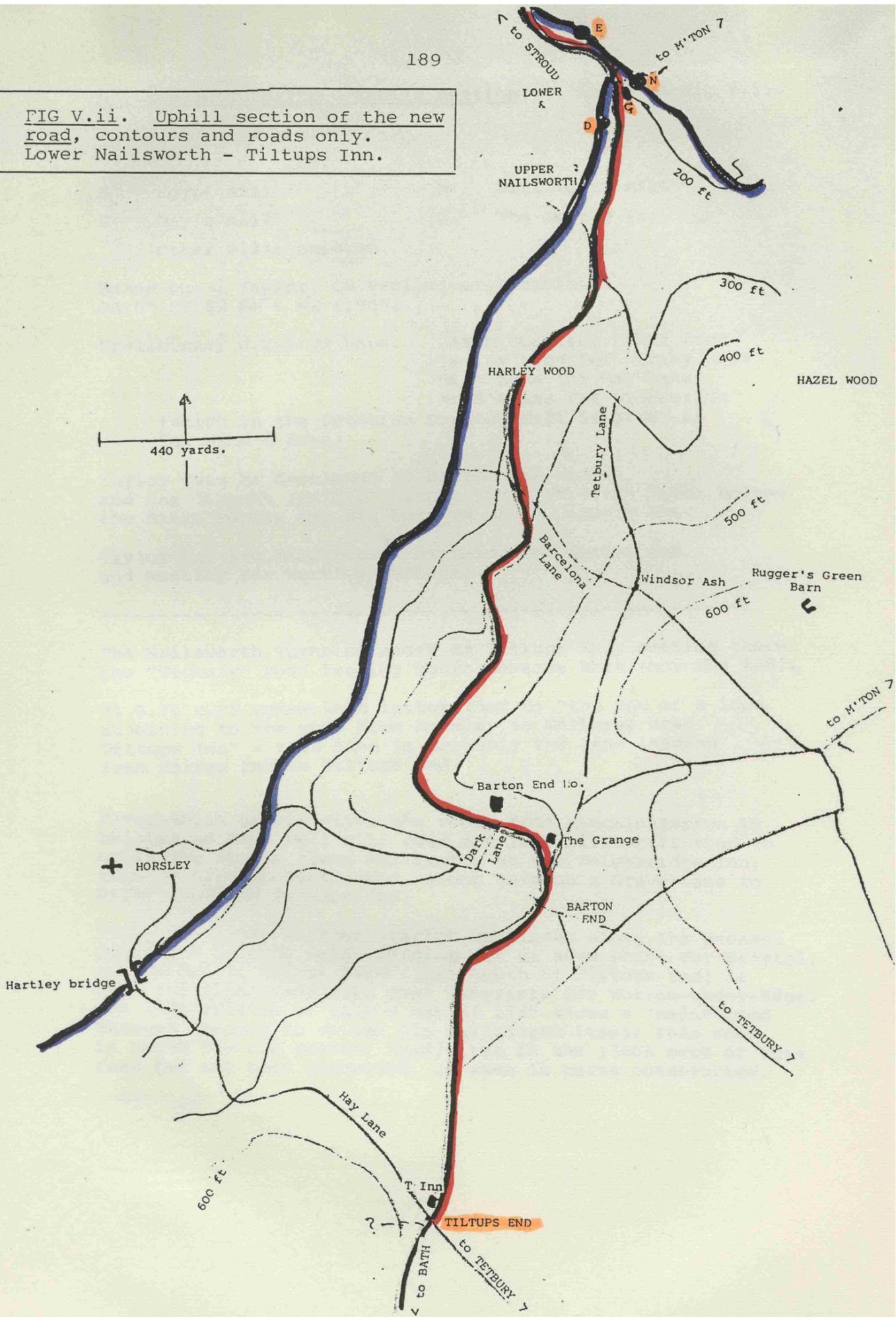
Roads existing in 1780. 

New road up Horsley valley :

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- 1 The valley route to Avening was not built till the 1820s.
- 2 On the extreme left the words wood and pike, near Benley Farm, mark the first site of Latterwood pike on the Old Bath Road, later moved to where the new road from Ragged Barn met that road.
- 3 Yarley Wood = Harley Wood.
- 4 Winds Ass - nowadays Windsorash.
- 5 Barton End House is named; but not named though shown is Barton End Grange, just to the south of Barton End House. Barton End = Upper Barton End, while Lower Barton End is to left of the new road.
- 6 High Lane west of Tiltups End is now Hay Lane, leading to Horsley.
- 7 Taylor gives Tippit's Inn, elsewhere referred to as Tiltup's Inn. The small settlement is named Tiltups end on this map, and retains that name today, though the inn, sometime the Black Horse, has been renamed Tippets Inn.
- 8 London Lane, from Chavenage to Kingscote Park, given by Margary as a Roman Road, has been verified as such by recent excavations as The Chessalls, at the head of the small stream near Hunters Hall inn (= Coldharbour or the Smith's shop).
- 10 The House of Commons Journal xxxvii, under an entry dated 28 January 1780, refers to the Top of the lane joining the road from Barton End to Minchinhampton, and also a lane joining this to the Barton End-Minchinhampton road, that was the Tetbury - Nailsworth Cross public highway. The road from Nailsworth to Avening was then over the top of the hill in Hazle Wood (sic). The Gloucester Journal for 7 September 1778 in an application for the renewal of the powers of the Western group of the Tetbury roads, refers to the road "from Bowldown Sleight to the end of a lane adjoining the road from Horsley to Tetbury, near Tiltups Inn" - presumably the point where High/Hay lane meets the present A46.
- 11 It has not proved possible to identify William Frost's farm and lands. The Horsley Tithe documents name only a few fields, including a Frost's Hill, which is not located on the Tithe map. It seems likely that his lands were at Lower Barton End, or divided by the new road just below Barton Grange, but this has not yet been verified.

FIG V.ii. Uphill section of the new road, contours and roads only. Lower Nailsworth - Tiltups Inn.



NAILSWORTH TURNPIKE - uphill section. Notes to Fig V.ii.

KEY

E	Egypt mill	N	Nailsworth mill
D	Day's mill	G	The George Inn

Other mills omitted.

Based on I Taylor, OS Preliminary drawings,
OS 6" ST 89 NW & NE (1955).

Preliminary drawings have: Hazle Wood for Fazel Wood
 Yarley Wood for Harley Wood
 High Lane for Hay Lane
 Wind's Ass for Windsorash
(which in the Petition for the Bill is given as
The Wind's Arse)

Taylor puts Mr Castleman at Barton End House.
and has Tipputs Inn for Tiltups Inn. This inn later became
the Black Horse, but has been re-named Tipputs Inn.

Taylor has two misprints: Bartning for Barton End,
and Mortley for Hartley (bridge).

The Nailsworth Turnpike ended at Tiltups End, meeting there
the "Tetbury" road leading south towards Bath (now the A46).

31 G.II c.65 takes this latter road to "the end of a lane
adjoining to the road from Horsley to Tetbury, near
Tiltups Inn" - this lane is probably the lane leading
from Barton End to Tiltups End.

Pavey-Smith op cit gives the route from Minchinhampton to
Bristol as down Well Hill road and Iron Mills Hill road to
cross the stream above Nailsworth at the Weighbridge Inn,
then up through Hazel Wood, along Shipton's Grave Lane to
Barton End and Tiltups End.

It is not clear whether traffic continued along the present
A46 south towards Bath, turning off at some point for Bristol,
or whether at Calcut Farm (just south of Tiltups End) it
took the right-hand road past Kingscote for Wotton-under-Edge.
The 1831 edition of Cary's map of 1787 shows a "main" road
through Horsley to Wotton (in Nailsworth itself this road
is named The Old Bristol Road), but in the 1780s much of this
road had not been turnpiked, or even in parts constructed.

Chapter V. REFERENCES.

- 1 Playne A T, op cit.
- 2 Personal communication from Mr R A Downs, Gloucestershire County Surveyor c.1968.
- 3 See Appendix 3.
- 4 Marshall W op cit, ii. 17-18.
- 5 Arthur Young, Six weeks' tour through the southern counties. (1768).
- 6 Payne F L, The Bermondsey, Rotherhithe & Deptford Turnpike Trust (1776-1810), JTH ii, No. 3 Mary 1956.
- 7 Robert H Spiro, Jnr, J L McAdam and the Metropolitan Turnpike Trust, JTH ii, No. 4 November 1956.
- 8 GRO HI 7.
- 9 See Mr Downs' letter note 2 above.
- 10 Personal communication from Mr Charles Hadfield.
- 11 Crawford G N, GSIAJ 1981, op cit.
- 12 Shropshire RO 2448/1; and personal communication from Dr Barrie Trinder.
- 13 The present writer disclaims responsibility for the arithmetic!
- 14 "tyning" = fencing, enclosure: Smith A H, Place-names of Glos. op cit, ix 180. The term was common in the Stroudwater area.
- 15 W Smith might be the W Smith of Avening, see VCH xi 160.
- 16 Edward Sheppard: the family owned Gatcombe Park, now the residence of Princess Anne and Capt. Mark Phillips. See VCH xi 190-1, also Tann op cit, index.
- 17 There were three Peters of the Leversage family, father, son and grandson. All were lawyers. The eldest acted for the Stephens family of Lypiatt, (who held the Manor of Bisley) and managed to acquire a good deal of property, industrial and otherwise. The family had Ferris Court near Bisley (there is a line of stones on the verge of a steep slope there inscribed P.L): two of them at least acted as clerks to various turnpike trusts, including the Nailsworth Trust. See VCH xi, and Rudd op cit, index, for various references.
- 18 It is a misfortune that Rice's Plan in GRO does not include the uphill stretch from Lower Nailsworth to just beyond Tiltups End. The property lists in the Act do not locate properties, only giving a numbered sequence. Frost's Hill is named in the much later Horsley Tithe Award, but is not shown on the Tithe map. See Fig V.i & ii.
- 19 And still on the edge of the common at The Box, a small settlement close to Minchinhampton.
- 20 The Ladder has been used for motor-bike scrambles.

- 21 G O Paul died in 1820 and the estate and manor of Rodborough went to his nephew, Robert Snow, who then took the name of Paul. Lord John Russell, second MP for the new borough of Stroud, bought the estate in 1855, and in 1861 became Earl Russell and Viscount Amberley. The house itself was burnt down in 1906. VCH xi 233-4, and Fisher op cit 166.
- 22 A list of properties is in the authorising Act.
- 23 See Rice's Plan (Appendix 2).

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THE DEVELOPMENT & DECLINE
OF THE
TURNPIKE SYSTEM
IN THE
STROUDWATER AREA OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE
1725 - 1875
VOLUME II.

THESES

F

6417 - ii



Chapter VI. REPAIRS & MAINTENANCE; TOLL-REVENUE.

The Surveyor

The work of the Surveyor during the year of construction had been carried out mainly by the Clerk. But in May 1781, when the road was declared finished and open, the Trust advertised in the Gloucester Journal for -

a Person in the Quality of working Surveyor of a Turnpike Road. Any Person whose Judgment in forming Roads can be properly ascertained, may hear of Employ, by applying to the Surveyor or acting Trustees of the Road leading from Tiltups Inn to Dudbridge, in this County.

Glocester, May 12, 1781.

The term "working surveyor" in the end appears to have meant someone who would be responsible for doing the manual work, or at least acting as a kind of foreman. The "Head Surveyor" would be the official responsible to the Trust for the work done by the labouring force, as with the surveyors of parish highways, and it was not common at this date for either parish or trust to employ a full-time professional 'engineer'. This may account for the discrepancy between the salary of the working surveyor, and the sum paid to the head surveyor: the former was paid on a weekly basis, the latter by the year, perhaps rather in the nature of an honorarium. In the Minute for 17 July 1781 the Clerk wrote that John Gunn had been chosen as "working Surveyor" at 9s. 6d. a week. The decision on 11 May previously had been to advertise for a "good intelligent surveyor", but in fact Gunn could not write, signing his name with a mark - X. On 10 September

1782 Samuel Heaven was appointed Head Surveyor, so it would seem that at this stage the Trust was not certain quite what was required. From the early advertisement, it would appear that the Trust expected a rather higher standard of surveyor than they actually got in Gunn, and thus the more usual type of surveyor had to be put in overall charge.

Mr Heaven's Agreement, entered in the Minute Book on 10 September 1782, was for one year at a salary of £20, provided he acted for the whole year: "if his Health or other Accident should oblige him to retire", the time lost would be deducted from his salary. He was to get expenses for attendance at Sessions, and did not have to pay for attendance (presumably the meal taken) at ordinary meetings of the Trust. The rest was to be left to the discretion of Sir George Paul, and no money was to be paid out by the Surveyor unless specifically so ordered and entered in the Book. Though his salary was to be paid at the end of the year, in fact he got half a year's payment (£10) on 26 March 1782, which does not seem a very generous amount in view of his many duties. The expectations of the Trust for the post seem to have been divided between the tasks of a parish surveyor and the need for professional expertise on the repair of a turnpike road, where maintenance was more imperative than for a country road and its omission inexcusable.

The duties Heaven was expected to attend to included the necessary arrangements with parish surveyors about their

statutory duty or the payment of a 'composition' in lieu, the cleaning and scouring of road-side ditches on the valley floor stretch "so that the Current may be free and uninterrupted" and above all, the collection of mon-
eys received for tolls at the various gates and bars.

The Minute for 20 January 1783 recorded that his accounts were examined; but this was written in anticipation and in fact the meeting was adjourned until after Lady Day.¹

At that financial meeting on 7 April 1783, when turnpike-gate receipts were scrutinised, it was recorded -

"Error in the Receipts by Mr Heaven to be deducted £1. 7s. 2d. as per his Book": he had received his half-year's salary in March. At this April meeting the Trustees had at least agreed to make good to him the sum of 30s. for the loss due to bad half-pence handed in at the toll-gates. It is possible that the Trust, after what seems to have been a financially traumatic first year's operation (for the ensuing crisis, see later), was being especially careful over money, which would not bode good for the maintenance of the road itself.

On 26 May 1783 Mr Heaven was told to fill in and make good the ground where quarries for road-stone had been opened in Barton End Lane next to the turnpike road; he had also to hold the note of hand of Harry Smart until the latter's fine for assault on the gate-keeper, John Hyde, had been paid. But on 2 April 1784, as perhaps some sort of concession, it was agreed that when the quorum of five Trustees was not reached, the cost of the

Surveyor's dinner should be met out of Trust funds. This might just be the official recording of the suggestion previously given about the Surveyor not having to pay for attendance at Trust meetings.

William Frost was present at that May meeting, and it might be that this Minute was a tart reminder about expenses. On 24 July 1783 it had been resolved, and entered after the notice of adjournment, that any Trustees coming into the room at a meeting before the Book was signed should pay the same charge as "those who have attended the whole Business of the Day".

To return to the matter of the "working Surveyor". Gunn's Agreement was dated 7 April 1783, which seems a long time after the original decision to employ him: it may be that this was entered in the Book well after the actual Agreement itself had been signed - the Agreement with Edson, it will be remembered, was entered at the end of Volume I, but must have been made out, with contracts exchanged, at the time of the actual appointment. In Gunn's case it should also be recalled that he could not write, and the original arrangement might well have been a verbal one, and it was later realised that it had to be recorded formally. At all events, Gunn got the repair contract for one year for the road from Dudbridge to Nailsworth at 6d. per square yard, to include stone-breaking, and he had to satisfy the (Head) Surveyor, and to deposit the broken stone where required.

He was allowed:

2 barrows
 2 pickaxes
 1 iron "Barr"
 1 sledge hammer
 1 scraper
 3 small hammers
 and 1 Iron "Raicke"

and these implements were to be handed back at the end of the year "in as good repair ... as they are at present", a condition which might well make it impossible to do any work at all.² Gunn also had to scrape and clean the road before laying stones, and was to get 1d. extra for every 8 yards in length where it was only necessary to fill in the ruts, not to cover the whole surface. It would be the task of the Head Surveyor to see that all this was properly carried out, and it looks as if the "working surveyor" was little more than a head labourer or foreman.

The draft of an Agreement with a new surveyor was recorded on 27 September 1784, so perhaps Mr Heaven either was not as satisfactory a surveyor as required, or perhaps he himself relinquished the post. The new Surveyor was William Howard, who was to work for the Trust on and off for a number of years, and seems to have been more in the nature of a professional; at any rate, he spent a good deal of time and trouble on the roads of the Trust.³

The Minute for that date has a number of corrections in pencil. For example, the original reading was for a salary of 100 guineas on or before 1 September 1785 by equal payments from 1 October, and 100 guineas every year for the succeeding five years. At the very next meeting,

the salary is given as 1 guinea, and the contract as for 1 year. There would seem to have been some confusion: 100 guineas at this date would seem to be excessive unless the salary included the cost of materials, while the sum of 1 guinea is derisory.

His duties were to include keeping the road "so as no water may lodge therefore and stone fit for Travelling Fifteen Foot wide", to keep ruts filled with stone already broken, not over 4 inches in depth, to scour and cleanse ditches and open culverts if necessary, to clear up slips and encroachments, to see that statute duty was done (or money contributed in lieu, which it always was). The duty to repair bridges and fencing was not included, but he could use any of the tools provided by the Trust. He had to repair any part of the road on the receipt of written notice from a Trustee, and two Trustees might inspect such work on giving six days' written notice. If any such repair had not been done, the expenses would come out of his salary (which makes the 1 guinea quite obviously wrong!). When his appointment as surveyor for seven years was renewed on a later occasion (April 1801), he was given £25 a year for each of the seven years, which looks more like an honorarium than a salary. But the greater care taken to set out in detail the duties of a surveyor show that the Trust was learning by experience. In that later year applications for road repair were received from a Mr John Pixton in response to the usual advertisement in the Gloucester Journal. He offered - -

to keep all the said Roads in repair for Seven Years for the Sum of Two Thousand Two Hundred and Seventy five Pounds per Quarter for the first Two Years and Twenty Seven Pounds Ten Shillings per Quarter for the remaining Five Years.

This offer was rejected as being too costly; Howard was called in and said it could be done "even under the present high price of wages" for not more than "200 a year, with an extra £100 in the first year". This Minute for 22 April 1801 was twenty years after the actual construction of the road, and no doubt a good deal of repair and maintenance was by then very necessary. It would also seem to indicate that the business of road repair was being put on a more professional basis instead of the sometimes amateurish, and certainly part-time, work of the parish highway surveyor. But it is not clear whether the Surveyor would be allowed to retain any surplus should the costs be less than the estimated total sum.

Howard was re-appointed, but had to find wheel-barrows and tools. He was also enjoined -

to keep the Accounts in a correct state and that as much of the work as can be done by contract shall be so performed and vouchers of Bills shall be delivered with the Accounts. That his Salary shall take place from Michaelmas day last past as a satisfaction for his trouble since that time.

This might provide a hint of what had not been properly done in the past, and also of a more business-like attitude to management.

Side-roads of the Trust.

The 'main' line from Dudbridge to Tiltups Inn was not the

only route planned. Right from the start what had been in mind was, not a single road, but a road system. On Fig IV.i, Roads of the Nailsworth Trust, these are shown in orange and numbered (though not in the order given in the Act), and toll-sites are also indicated.

At the meeting held on 30 March 1780 at The Lodge on Minchinhampton (named Old Lodge on the Preliminary Drawing) it was resolved to make roads in the following order:

1 The main road from Dudbridge to Tiltups Inn, about five miles in length. (No. 1 on Fig VI.i).

2 A new road from Nailsworth bridge to the Fives Court (close to The Box on the map) on Minchinhampton common. This was to be called "The W". (No. 2.)

3 A road from Nurlsgate on Selsley common down past Obadiah Paul's Woodchester mill to the valley bottom (No. 5) - hence the building of a bridge at Grigshut;⁴ then up the opposite side of the valley past G O Paul's Hill House to the Bear Inn on Rodborough common. (No. 4.)

4 A road from Dudbridge up Selsley hill past Stanley End (now Selsley) along the edge of Selsley common and past Buckholt Wood (Long Wood on the map) to meet the old road up Frocester hill. (No. 6.)

There was a proposal to improve the existing hillside road from Dudbridge to Nailsworth, to join the new alignment at Frogmarsh. However, this was not implemented, and that highway remains, apart from modern road-surfacing, in its pristine state of width and gradient.⁵

(Continued on p 203.)

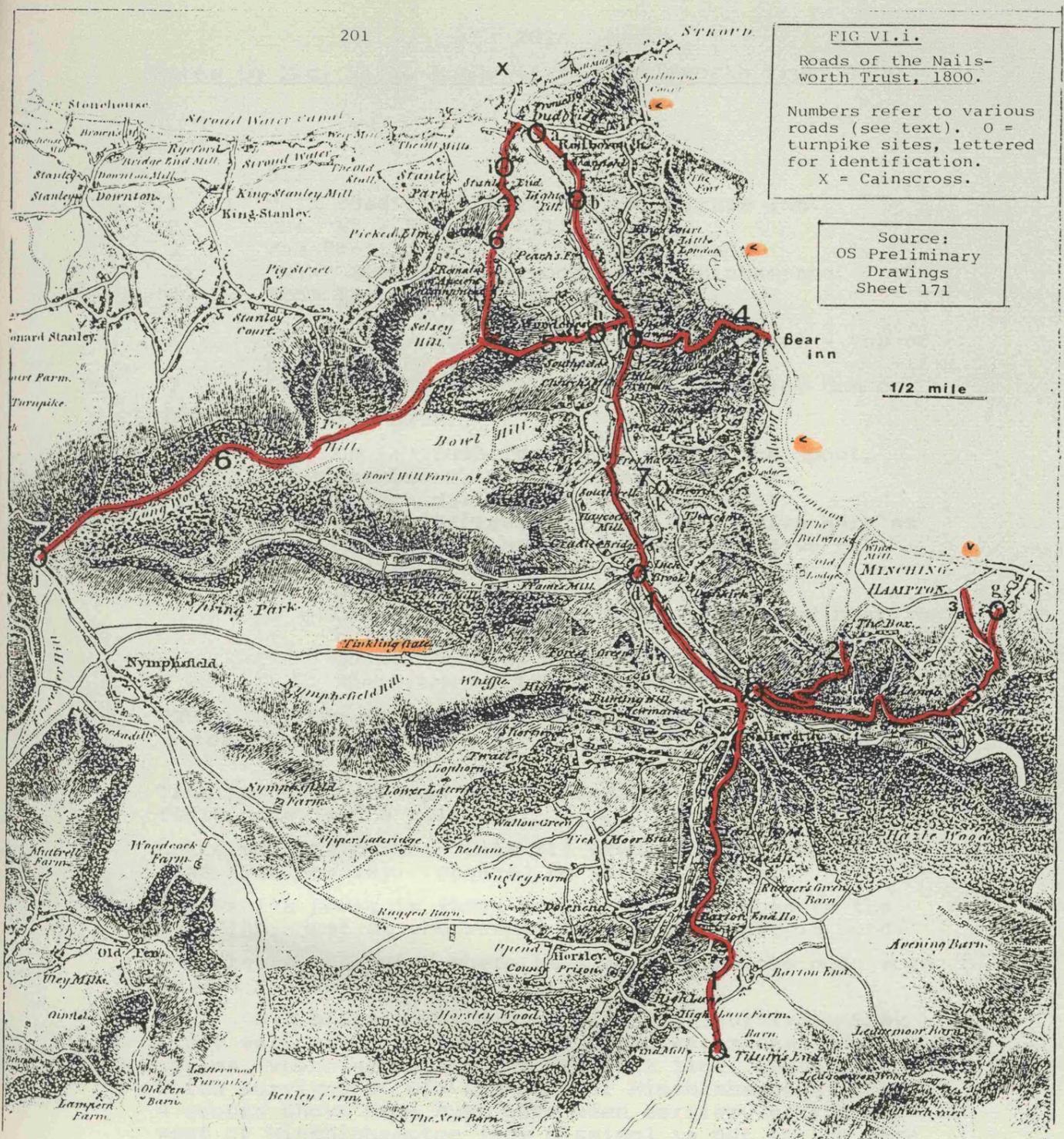
FIG VI.i.

Roads of the Nails-worth Trust, 1800.

Numbers refer to various roads (see text). 0 = turnpike sites, lettered for identification. X = Cainscross.

Source: OS Preliminary Drawings Sheet 171

1/2 mile



Notes to Fig. VI.i, Roads of the Nailsworth Trust 1800.Key

- 1 - 1 Main road from Dudbridge to Tiltups Inn.
- 2 The "W" - Hampton Hill.
- 3 The Pensile Road - = Howcombe Road.
- 3a "New" Road from Forwood to Minchinhampton.
- 4 From The Spout to the Bear Inn.
- 5 Grigshut - Nurlsgate.
- 6 Dudbridge - Buckholt Wood (= Long Wood) - top of Frocester Hill (old road).
- 7 Little Britain - Culver Hill - Amberley Common.
- 0 Turnpike gate.

On 1: Dudbridge, Lightpill, The Spout, Inchbrook, Tiltups Inn.

On 2: Nailsworth = Hampton Hill.

On 3: Nailsworth, Will Hill (give here as just before M'ton, later moved down hill nearer Forwood.

On 4: The Spout.

On 5: Park Stile (originally on or near the bridge at Grigshut.

On 6: Stanley Lane, Buckholt Wood far end - where the earlier Frocester Hill gate had been.

Note: on the map bars are shown in most cases by a line across the road itself.

Tinkling gate on road between Horsley and Nympsfield is a field gate, not a toll bar.

Latterwood Turnpike: site (1) predates building of new road from Horsley: changed to site (2) later.

G O Paul's house is shown half-way up the road to the Bear Inn, just at the second bend of the hairpin bend.

The Fleece was built where this road joins the main road at The Spout.

< old milestones, 3 of which still survive: they latter were given plates of the Cirencester-Hampton-Stroud series, which antedates the original line, one stone of which survives at Old Common near Minchinhampton: the 4 stones shown here must have been earlier, as the one west of Minchinhampton (now missing) is not on the same line of road as the one survival mentioned above (which has now had its 100th mile from London plate replaced.) (See BGAS Transactions vol 34 of 1964, Milestones of the Stroud District by Christopher Cox)

At the left-hand edge of the map are depicted both the old road up Frocester Hill, its zig-zags being clearly marked, and also the new road of the 1780s rather to the south, cutting across the word Frocester. Note also that no straight connection then existed between the toll-site at the top of the old road, and the Uley road - one had first to turn right towards Nympsfield, later right towards the Neolithic tumulus of Hetty Pegler's Tump. The new connection may be due to the existence of the new hill-road, but close to the group of houses called Cockadily is a Bath milestone, possibly done when this road was improved as a counter to the Nailsworth route.

5 Nailsworth bridge via Howcomb (Holcombe, where the hair-pin bend is) and Well Hill to Minchinhampton. This route has two steep stretches but is an easier route than the "W". Pavey-Smith refers to it as the Pensile Road, as it passed Pensile House, and as such it will be referred to in this paper. The hair-pin bend is just before it meets the existing road from Minchinhampton down to the Iron Mills, whence a track led up through Hazle Wood for Tetbury; (Playne says this was the old Bristol road); but the hair-pin bend is on the level, unlike the formidable double bend on the "W".

One other hill-side road was later to be built, or "improved" (No. 7 on Fig VI.i.) and an easier alignment made on the road from Iron Mills to Minchinhampton near Forwood (not named on Fig VI.i.), which is marked 3a. It is still called the New Road. Toll-sites are indicated by 0, including the later site at Lightpill which came when the short direct cut to Stroud was made across the base of Rodborough hill. The site on 3 on the Well Hill stretch was later moved down hill to Balls Green to take traffic on 3a; there was also a site (not shown) for a time on route 7, the Culver Hill road. But the main toll-gates were those on the Dudbridge-Tiltups Inn main road, taking travellers and traffic from, for example, Cheltenham to Bath.

Roads to Minchinhampton.

Earlier it was said that one of the original proposals of the Tetbury Roads group had been to facilitate communications with Minchinhampton and that, previous to 1780, the coach- or carriers'- road from Minchinhampton

ton descended Well Hill, past the Iron Mills, then up Hazelwood to Barton End for Tetbury and Bristol, bypassing Nailsworth itself. The route to Nailsworth was straight down the slope to the bridge via The Ladder - this is now only a precipitous hollow-way; its replacement by "The W" has been referred to above.

The Minute Book gives details about the purchase of land for this new Hampton Hill road, and compensation for damages particularly mentioning fruit trees. A specification is given in the Minute for 1 June 1781. The gradient was to be 4 inches in 1 yard from the Crown Inn to Barley Hill (note here the doubt as to whether the Barley Hill belonging to Mr Sheppard is this one, or Yarley = Harley Hill on the other side of the valley); thence 3 inches in 1 yard to the top of the hill at a "place called Cobs stone".⁶ The width was to be 30 feet. Edson got the task. The centre was to be 12 inches higher than the edges, stones 12 inches deep but 6 inches at the sides; with an extra 6 feet and 3 inches over "the space near the top of the Hill which is on swampy ground". The estimates for this work, which included six culverts of 12 inch square section, was £220, and the time allowed was six months. But by the end of December there were complaints of ruts and of other defects. Edson does not seem to have been so successful in the hill-sections as along the valley bottom.

The order for the Pensile road came ten years later, and by August 1792 the "W" was referred to as "the old turn-

pike road to Minchinhampton Common". While the Pensile road was a considerable improvement for communications with Minchinhampton, it too received alteration, as mentioned above. This New Road took an easier alignment from Frowood to join the top road from the Halfway House at Trapend Gate by the almshouses on what was till recently the western edge of the town. The older route past the spring (hence Well Hill) to the cross-roads in Minchinhampton is very steep and difficult to negotiate.

The Spout to the Bear Inn.

This is a steep, serpentine road passing the entrance to Hill House. It was presumably the track used by local carters and carriers conveying goods to and from the middle part of the valley. The Minute for 24 July 1783 gives a cost for this road of £210. 19s. 3s., which as mentioned above was borne by Paul himself. As a mark of his public generosity he offered on 12 June 1786 to widen and alter the road from his gate to the common at his own expense. A cynic might remark that this was for his convenience, and the convenience of his guests; but at least he did not lay the burden on the Trust as conceivably he might have done.

Nurlsgate-Grigshut: Dudbridge-Frocester hill.

On 25 September 1786 a sub-committee was appointed to superintend the survey for the new road from Woodchester mill up to Nurlsgate, and from Dudbridge to the top of Frocester hill. Howard handed in an "estimateion" of £408 including damages likely to be caused by quarrying,

and repair for seven years at £25 a year. In this case the plan was thought "too limited and confined", and an enlarged plan and estimate had to be offered. The road up to Nurlsgate (where there is now a cattle-grid) was to be 25 feet wide, stoned for the central 15 feet; the cost was £95. The other road over Selsley common was estimated to cost £345, and the total for the two roads thus came to £440. This price was accepted and the job was to be done before 24 June 1787. Howard was given 2 guineas for his estimate, and half the cost of the Agreement. It was further resolved that interest on money borrowed would be at 4%, and that the tolls would be kept in an account separate from those of the main road in order to pay this interest.⁷ The respective parish surveyors were told to report to the Fleece Inn (for which see below and Appendix 14) on 4 December. Obadiah and John Paul were given thirty years' purchase for land taken, and the sub-committee to oversee the work consisted of G O Paul, John Hawker, O Paul, T Cooper and T Pavey. They were to report back at each meeting of the full Committee.

For surveying the Selsley road Howard got 2 guineas, and he also surveyed the road up to Nurlsgate for which he and Samuel Keene got 12s. for expenses incurred in measuring it. Samuel Keene was paid an extra 10s. 6d. by John Hawker for the survey.

The reasons for this pair of roads are not clear. Now that the bridge at Grigshut had been built, Paul's mills

on the Woodchester side of the Nailsworth stream had easy access to Dudbridge, or in the other direction to Tetbury. From Stanley End to the Nympsfield turning there were (and are) few dwellings, but it is just possible that the advantage of road improvement was for the back entrance to Spring (= Woodchester) Park opposite the Buckholt Wood toll-gate, and certainly the new Lord Ducie lent £200 for the new road. Bonds issued to him were 101-104, and Richard Aldridge received bonds 105 and 106 (for £50 each) at 4% interest. Mile-stones and direction posts were ordered: one or two stones, though now defaced, remain. There were to be two toll-sites: Stanley Lane, about half-way up the hill from Dudbridge where the gradient levels out for a space, and Park Stile in North Woodchester on the Nurlsgate road. A further gate was ordered on 28 September 1789 for the far end of the top road, presumably at the cottage which previously had been a toll-site on the old Frocester hill road.

Other side-roads.

One road not on the original list was the steep twisting track up from Little Britain through the grounds of St Chloe and past Culver House to the plateau top at Amberley Bank. This was authorised on 4 August 1800.

There was one more road proposal. This is a very curious and puzzling one. On 16 July 1793 it was resolved to appoint a committee to meet trustees of what they called the Haywards Field District of Roads, at Cainscross on

3 October, to discuss the making of a turnpike road from Cainscross to join the Gloucester Turnpike Road at the Four Mile Elm. Howard as Surveyor was instructed to give notices to the parish surveyors of Stonehouse, Moreton Valence, Standish, Haresfield and Hardwicke, to put into and keep in repair the line of road leading from Haywards Field (qv above) to near the Four Mile Elm, and if they did not they would be indicted immediately and this would continue as often as any part of that road should not be kept in repair.⁸

This is most peculiar. It is not obvious how an official of one turnpike trust which in fact terminated its authority well before even Cainscross was reached, could make this sort of imperious demand belonging strictly to a JP, and on parishes at some considerable distance from the group of parishes through which the road of the Nailsworth Trust ran. The road from Cainscross to, and beyond, Haywards Field had been part of the original Stroud Turnpike. As noted in an earlier chapter, 19 G iii c.76, that is before 1780, referred to the road "from Hardwicke where the Elm was (writer's italics), to Stonehouse, Cainscross and Stroud". It is tantalising that nothing further appears in the Minute Book about this odd and improper proposal. It seems only too likely that it got a somewhat dusty answer.

39/40 G iii c.75 authorised the improvement of the road from Nailsworth through Horsley to Latterwood: part of this road was "new", and the toll-house site at the top

replaced the earlier one that had lain further south along the Old Bath Road. (On Fig VI.i the first site is called Latterwood Turnpike; the second site is where the road from Horsley through Horsley Wood debouches onto the main road.) It was not till 3 G iv c.61 in the 1820s that a new, valley, road was built linking Nailsworth directly with Avening. Neither of these two last roads formed integral parts of the original Nailsworth road scheme; and the Horsley-Latterwood road in fact was counted as part of the Coldharbour group. They will be given mention in a later chapter.⁹

Toll-sites, Toll-houses, Gate-keepers.

The first mention of toll-sites in the Minute Book is on 16 October 1780 when two gates were ordered for the bottom of Spout Lane, to "take travelling both ways". This stretch of road on the valley bottom already existed, to link mills with one another. On 8 January 1781 notices were ordered to be put on "all the turnpike gates", and on 19 March 1781 a bar or gate was to be put near the new bridge at Grigshut, to catch travelling between Rooksmoor and Woodchester. Presumably the bridge was by then in use; Obadiah Paul retained ownership of this gate. All these dates were well before the whole stretch of road had been completed, or the road declared officially open.

When the official opening was nearly due, orders were given for three gates to be set up: one at Tiltups Inn (e on Fig VI.i), one near Dudbridge (a), and one at Inchbrook (d); thus both ends and the middle of the road were covered.

Estimates were asked for building the toll-houses, though it was some time before they were in fact put up. The Minute for 7 April 1783 ordered the building of pike-houses at Dudbridge, Inchbrook and near The Fleece (that is, The Spout site - c). The pike-house at Tiltups Inn was built by then, as on 4 November 1782 it was decided to have a window put in, presumably a hatch or ticket-window, which was still to be seen in the early 1960s before the house was demolished for road widening. This house was built by John Wilkins of Woodchester, carpenter, and Isaac Harisson, of Woodchester, Mason. The cost was not written down, but the pike-house at Dudbridge was not to cost more than 30 guineas. This house was ordered on 11 May 1781, an order repeated on 17 July, when the Surveyor was told to treat with the owner of the land - John Hawker - for not more than £40, an increase on the previous figure. But on 7 April 1783 there was another order to build a "good substantial house", and on 22 December 1783 Nathaniel Dyer was paid £20 as part of his bill, the balance of £20 12s. being paid on 27 August 1784.¹⁰

The Inchbrook pike-house was built alongside, perhaps over, a small tributary brook, and thereby gave considerable trouble. Authority for construction was given on that same 7 April 1783, the architect again being Nathaniel Dyer. On 23 June 1783 came an order to repair the window, put in a wooden shutter, and make a casement in the bed-chamber. (Had that room been built without ventilation?) At the same time the gate was to be moved to the quoin of

the house, and a small gate for horses etc. put in. Whoever had been the first keeper was dismissed on 26 May previously, and a Richard Adey installed as keeper at 3s. 6d. a week. Almost immediately, in June, he was allowed an extra 4s. 3d. a week, which "he has used in drying out the Walls etc.". After this it is no surprise to learn that by July he had gone, and John Barrett had moved from Dudbridge to Inchbrook.

A few more examples may be given. On 7 April 1783 *author-isation* ^{ity} was also given to build the pike-house by The Fleece, and on 9 July 1782 Mr Pavey and Mr Biggs were told to get a small turnpike house built by the new road up Hampton Hill. This is usually referred to as the Nailsworth Gate (f), but the original house, and the exact site, have long since vanished, not only by the building of a new pike-house on the corner of the Pensile Road, but also because considerable road changes have taken place at this spot.¹¹ Instructions for the Pensile road pike-house were given on 26 September 1791 to Mr Howard, who was appointed the "Inspector or Super Intendant" for that new road along the hill-side. The Nailsworth Gate had hitherto been kept by John Hyde, who had on more than one occasion been the victim of assault, which probably means that he had tried conscientiously to do his duty. On losing his abode as a result of the new road being built, Hyde was given in 1791 3 guineas compensation.

Hyde may have been an honest gate-keeper. But such employees (with poor wages and awkward 'unsocial' hours)

naturally took advantage of the many opportunities for small fraud. On 27 March 1782 they were instructed to attend to their duties, including Sundays. Gate receipts had been too low. They did attend the meeting in the following month and "attested their accounts". There is also a note on 3 January 1791 asserting that gate-keepers were practising frauds, and reward was offered for information leading to conviction. It was difficult to get "proper" persons for such a job.¹²

The first keeper of the gate at The Spout before the pike-house was built, was Martha Wellstead, and she got 2s. a week for 4 weeks, and 1s. a week for each subsequent week, according to the Minute of 27 March 1781. (It does not say if the 1s. was extra, or by itself.) The wage for Inchbrook has already been given. On 28 May 1781 payments were made to Kezia Temple, and to the wife of James Dudbridge (who took over The Spout gate), and to William Window. The first two got 3s. a week, the last 4s. a week - they were women, he a man. On 4 November 1782, John Barrett, by then at Tiltups Inn pike, was allowed 6d. a week for coal: as has been seen, he was moved to Inchbrook from Dudbridge, and the Dudbridge post was filled on 31 December 1784 by John Teakle at 4s. a week, he taking over from a man named Mountain.

As the various side-roads were built, so pike-houses and gates were put up either where they entered the main road, or at some convenient, that is level, spot up the road - stopping the earths, as it were. None of these early pike-

houses were of the 'traditional' three-faced type: only one now survives, that at Park Stile (h on Fig VI.i.), though the house at Tiltups Inn survived long enough to be recorded. Both of these were ordinary small cottages, and both had hatches closed by shutters. The later Pensile toll-house does survive, and this is of the 'traditional' three-faced style. The Dudbridge house was presumably demolished when the branch of the Midland Railway to Stroud from Dudbridge Junction was built, just about over the site: now even the railway viaduct has gone, though the defaced milestone remains.

Revenue of the Trust: Tolls.

Revenues from tolls were much of a gamble. Turnpike roads were not envisaged as making a "profit": the phrase "public utilities" occurs in the Advice to Surveyors of Highways of 1790.¹³ But it was expected that revenues would accrue both to pay for the necessary maintenance, and to repay the various loans, or at least the interest on bonds. This expectation, as has been seen, was likely to be sadly disappointed: and some detail of this short-fall will be given in a later chapter. Also in a later section an attempt will be made to chart the toll-revenue of the Nails-worth Trust up to the 1820s. Here it is sufficient to give one example from the early years, together with some additions as further toll-sites were added.

One example only of revenue from tolls in the early years need be given. The example here, Table VI.i, is for the year ending 25 March 1783.

TABLE VI.i. Toll Receipts at various gates, for year ending 25 March 1783.

Gate	per Mr Biggs Treasurer	per Mr Heaven Surveyor	Totals
Tiltups Inn	29.4.11	41.11.9	70.16.8
Nailsworth	22.17.10	24.16.4	47.14.2
Inchbrook	13.16.2	12.6.3	26.2.5
The Spout	10.15.6	11.12.7	22.8.1
Grigshut *	6.7.0	7.9.10	13.16.10
Dudbridge	16.0.11½	17.9.0½	33.10.0
		Total	214.8.2
	Less error in Mr. Heaven's receipts to be deducted		1.7.2
	Net total		£213.1.0

The figure in the Minute for 31 March was £213.0.11½ ¹⁴

It is also noted that the Surveyor was to be allowed 30s for loss of bad halfpence, and John Hyde of Nailsworth gate was to get 6s.

* Grigshut was only a temporary bar; when the Nurlsgate Road was built, the pike site was the one just up the hill, which appears under different names.

Notices of meetings for Trustees were usually put up on or near the pike-houses, as well as lists of toll charges - an example of which is given later.

The first account of toll receipts did not appear in the annual audit till March 1783.

RECEIPTS

Nett Receipts at Toll Gates from 27 March 1782 to 10 September 1782, received by the Treasurer	99. 2. 4
Ditto, from 10 Sept 1782 to 20 March 1783, received by Mr Heaven the Surveyor	113.18. 7½
	<hr/>
	£ 213. 0.11½

Even allowing for the newness of the road, this was not a very promising start in view of the heavy commitments even before tolls were collected, nor does the divided financial responsibility between Treasurer and Surveyor inspire confidence. The next year's report was hardly more encouraging. Receipts for the year ending 25 March were given as £269 13s. The brief entry is given below.

TABLE VI.ii. Income from Lady Day 1783 to 1784.

since Lady Day 1783 to date	£	269.13. 0
Statute Duty		19. 5.11½
Sale of land		10. 6
Forfeitures		1.10. 6
Taken upon Security		215. 0. 0
Sale of Hurdles		2.13. 6
		<hr/>
		598.12. 7½
		<hr/> <hr/>
By disbursements as per accounts		587. 8. 8
By balance with Mr Biggs (Treasurer)		4.17.10
By Dt. with Mr Heaven (Surveyor)		6. 6. 1½
		<hr/>
		598.12. 7½
		<hr/> <hr/>

Thus receipts from tolls covered less than half the expenditure of the year, and a sum nearly equal in amount had to be borrowed.¹⁵ Already the Capital borrowed stood at £4542. 10s., without counting Interest due and owing. It would probably not much affect the accounts when it was agreed that the Surveyor's dinner at meetings could be paid out of Trust money if a quorum had not been reached.

Unfortunately, the next annual meeting does not give details of toll receipts, merely stating that the Treasurer's

Accounts had been examined and passed, with a balance in hand of £26. 17s. 6½d., and that there was "due on the credit of the Tolls the principal sum of £4542. 10s., and for interest for the same to 25 March, £891. 5s. 7d." This looks a little wry, as on 31 December 1784 they had managed to let tolls for only £290, though by the following September this was increased to £315.

Toll Farming.

It is well established that the usual practice was to auction the collection of tolls to the highest bidder on the basis of what they had fetched in the previous year. This at least gave the trust a known income (though it was not unknown for the farmer to default when he could not cover his costs). On 7 April 1783 the Clerk was to give notice of intention to auction the tolls in two distinct divisions, at Michaelmas following. And on 29 September 1783 it was confirmed that tolls would be let to Peter Smith of Nailsworth for £200, and he joined the ranks of the Trustees that same day.

The Minute of 27 August 1784 repeated the notice for auctioning tolls for a twelvemonth, but no one appeared on the due date of 4 October to take up the offer. The tolls had been offered for £290, but the highest bid was only £280. Peter Smith then agreed to take them for £290, paying by monthly instalments. But on 29 September 1785, he and William Howard agreed to take them for £315. So it would appear that income was at last on the increase, perhaps enough to cover payment of some interest, but

with little margin for remuneration of officials or for repair and maintenance.

If tolls were allowed to rise too much, traffic might well use rival turnpike roads, such as that from Cirencester to Rodborough and Stroud. The receipts for tolls on that road for 1783-74, from the Gloucester Journal for 23 August and 27 September 1784, provide some comparison.

Cirencester-Stroud, Rodborough Hill-Dudbridge, and Gulph Hill: the auction taking place at Richard Smith's, the Crown Inn, Minchinhampton, on 5 October -¹⁶

the gates at Park Corner and Round Tower	£140
Rodborough and Bowl Hill	187
Burnt Ash	71
	<hr/>
(Total)	£398
	<hr/>

The tolls for the Tetbury Roads western group were as follows (this is from the Gloucester Journal for 18 October 1784):

Tetbury	86. 1. 4½
Long Ash*	135. 4. 8½
Cold Harbour	85.12. 6½
Latter-Wood *	50. 1. 4
	<hr/>
(Total)	256.19.11½)
	<hr/>

(The Bear at Coldharbour is now Hunters Hall Inn; Long Ash pike lay on the Old Bath Road close to Boxwell at a cross-roads. The Latterwood site is the one marked on Fig VI.i.)

The Tetbury Roads group was not in competition with the Nailsworth Trust; in fact each might help the other, except for the section of the Old Bath Road from the top of Frocester Hill to near Coldharbour.

Receipts for these three trusts are very similar, but it must be remembered that the Nailsworth road was a new one, and that the expenses of construction had to be covered, though existing turnpike trusts often had to borrow not-inconsiderable sums to pay for necessary repair. An attempt will be made later to show the fluctuations in revenue of the Nailsworth Trust. Not every year was recorded, and differences occurred when new, or alternative, gates were added, for example that up Hampton Hill or the new Pensile Road. The Selsley common, and Nurlsgate, road was kept as a separate district, and its accounts did not affect those of the main road.

Toll Farmers.

It is of interest to obtain glimpses of those who actually bid for, or acquired, the farm of the tolls. In the early days when public auction failed (probably because those prepared to bid did not consider the risk a good one), the Trustees themselves had to step in. Thus on 25 September 1786 J Cooper offered £303 (excluding Grigshut) for all the gates, his security being Nathaniel Peach, both being of Rooksmoor. It seems that Park Stile replaced Grigshut about this time: Kezia Temple handed in money from "Woodchester Gate" on the road from Frocester Hill to Mr Paul's Mill, amounting to £8. 3s. 4d. as from 4 December 1786, and she was allowed £3. 12s. 9d. for her time and trouble. In September 1787 Miss Ann Pierce, spinster, of Rodborough parish, offered £310, her security being John Cooper. (Ebenezer Earle was now keeper of the Park Stile gate

at 2s. 6d. a week, which on 2 October 1788 was increased to 3s.). At the 1788 toll auction Robert Evans bid £99 for Tiltups Inn Gate, with Peter Smith for security, John Hyde bid £68 for Nailsworth Hill Gate ("his" gate), again on the security of Peter Smith, and John Barrett bid £53 for the gate at Inchbrook - presumably he was still keeper there, naming Richard Cockle as his security or backer. Betty Didbridge (? Dudbridge) put in £55 for The Spout, being backed by Thomas Cooper, and William Browning offered £65 for the Light Pill Gate, naming Isaac Browning as his security. Payment was to be made by monthly instalments, the notes of hand of the sponsors being handed over to, and held by, the Treasurer.

Parish Composition.

Tolls provided the main source of revenue for turnpike trusts to repair their roads, pay interest on bonds, and perhaps repay capital loans. It seems unlikely that all these were frequently achieved. But there was another, minor, source of income. This was from parish contributions, based on the legal obligation to perform statutory labour on the repair of roads in the parish.

It seems unfair that parish rate-payers should have had to pay not only for their parish roads but also for such roads "improved" by trusts: even more on new roads such as those of the Nailsworth Trusts, which had not previously existed. Nevertheless, statutory labour (or a cash equivalent) remained a legal obligation until 1835.

Of course, the burden of wear and tear on parish roads might be eased by the concentration of traffic on the toll roads; and there does not seem always to have been resentment or a lack of co-operation between the two road bodies - especially perhaps when it is realised that both were run by the same class of people, sometimes by the same people.

Here it may be noted that when Nailsworth bridge was to be widened as a by-product of the Trust (Minute of 20 February 1781), the Nailsworth division of Avening parish roads proposed that the covered archway in front of the George Inn should be extended, and offered to pay half the costs of enlargement.

The Nailsworth Trust was certainly not prepared to forego its entitlement to parish assistance. On 13 November 1781 instructions were issued that notices should be served on the various surveyors of the parish roads to give in lists at a meeting on 7 December of all those who were liable for road statute duty. These lists duly arrived (two parishes somewhat later than the others) and the parish surveyors were then given the option whether to have their share done by statute labour, or whether the rate-payers would prefer to pay a composition instead. The latter course was invariably followed.

The system worked like this. In the later summer or early autumn, the Clerk sent notices to the parish surveyors for their lists. During December, these surveyors agreed with the Clerk of the Trust on the proportion and amounts to be

paid. The money thus received was sometimes recorded in the annual financial statement on Lady Day, or perhaps given in a Minute, or at the back of the Minute Book. Occasionally no specific detail was entered. The Minute for 22 December 1783 stated that, after agreeing on the proportion of the parish rate to come to the Trust, the surveyors were given fourteen days to pay, though it seems possible that this took rather more time.¹⁷

The situation seems as formal and clumsy as that by which in the earlier part of the century the JPs had enforced road repair on reluctant parishes. The revenue from this source seems small, but the arrangement illuminates the way local affairs were run in the absence of an elected council and a general rate.

Table VI.iii shows the income (or part of it) that the Trust got from the various parishes and tithings through which the main road passed. Note that Nailsworth was not a separate authority until late in the nineteenth century, and also that while part of Nailsworth itself extended into Minchinhampton parish, as Lower Nailsworth, the main road did not.

At Lady Day 1783, the parish surveyor for Nailsworth (Avening) Tithing was Mr Day; for Rodborough (Minchinhampton) Tithing, Mr Webb; for Rodborough parish Mr John Cooper; and for Woodchester Parish Mr W Hill and Mr W Merrett. Usually the names of the parish surveyors were entered, but this proves the point that both organisations might be run by the same people. Mr Day

is presumably of Day's mill, and Mr Webb of Egypt;¹⁹ Mr Cooper was a trustee, Mr Hill is recorded by Tann at Inchbrook mill in the 1750s, and Mr Merrett is likely to be of the family of Merrett's mill - he was also recorded as surveyor for Barton End (Horsley) Tithing in 1782. Nailsworth Tithing (Horsley) had a Mr Thomas Finch as surveyor, but his name does not occur elsewhere in the Minutes.

TABLE VI.iii. Parish Composition - payments to the Nailsworth Trust.

Tithing or parish	Agreed rate in 1781.*	Amount, by years ending 25 March.				
		1782	1783	1784	1785	1786
Barton End (Horsley)	1s 9d	4.9.0½				4.8.4
Nailsworth (Horsley)	1s 6d	1.0.10½			1.2.6.	1.2.6
Nailsworth (Avening)	1s 6d	3.12.0 ¹⁸	3.0.2		3.14.6	3.14.6
Rodborough (M'ton)	1s 6d		3.14.7		5.1.0	5.1.0
Woodchester Parish	1s 8d		4.0.3		3.17.1½	3.8.6
Rodborough Parish	1s 3d		5.10.10		5.10.8	6.6.2

On 2 April 1784 the total Statute Duty 19.5.11½ was recorded in toto.

Note the rate agreed would vary somewhat from year to year.

Meeting Places of the Committee.

The Committee of the new Trust first met at The Lodge on Minchinhampton common. For the first few months this was their most frequent meeting place. At other times they might meet at the residence of a trustee, as for example at Mr Nathaniel Peach's on 23 June 1780, at Mr Wade's on 11 December, and at Obadiah Paul's house (presumably Grig-

shot House) on 20 February 1781. Several meetings were recorded at "Walter Smith's house at Woodchester" which is likely to have been the Ram Inn still there in South Woodchester. When the trustees walked on 30 May 1781 the whole length of the road from Tiltups Inn to Dudbridge, they met (for dinner and congratulatory drinks?) at the Golden Cross at Cainscross. It is to be expected that their carriages would be waiting to take them back afterwards to their homes.

On Friday 1 June 1781 their meeting was at the house of Mr Biggs in Nailsworth. Thus they seem actually to have inspected places where there was a problem, or a dispute to be settled.

It was obviously inconvenient to meet in this semi-nomadic fashion at different places, and on 29 January 1782 there is the first mention of the "new building for an Inn". This was to be built on a plot of land (No. 95 on Rice's Plan) at The Spout, where the road down-hill from Rodborough common joined the newer road near Grigshut. This land had been donated by G O Paul.

The Committee continued to meet at Walter Smith's up to 16 December 1782, but the next meeting was held at James Elderton's "house" in Rodborough, that is Rodborough parish. This was the Fleece Inn, of which Elderton was the first inn-keeper (see Appendix 14). The building is still there, though now called Highgrove. The name of Fleece occurs on 31 March 1783 when the Minute recorded that the next meeting would take place "by the sign of the Fleece

Inn situated in Rodborough". Thereafter the Fleece became the recognised meeting-place of the Trust, and was where the parish surveyors would bring their accounts of parish composition. It was not till 1858 that meetings transferred to the George Inn in Nailsworth, and this may well be due to the construction of the branch line of the Midland Railway from Dudbridge to Nailsworth, as well as the fact that then the chief Trustees lived there or just up the valley towards Avening. G O Paul, Obadiah Paul, Peach, Cooper and Wade by contrast had their residences much nearer to the Fleece itself.

Comment.

The genesis and development of a completely new road has now been followed, from its inception as an "improvement" of existing roads and tracks to the construction of an entirely new alignment where previously no road had existed, except for short stretches. From the membership of the Committee, and from the record of attendance at meetings, it appears that the impulse and driving force came from the mill-owners or managers of the middle portion of the valley - between Inchbrook and Rooksmoor. Some millmen or clothiers appear to have shown little interest, but these were mostly at either end of the road, and reasons for this have been tentatively suggested.

It is worthy of emphasising again that this road seems to have had little to do with the other valleys of the Stroud-water area, and these valleys did not receive new roads for at least another twenty years. The Nailsworth road

seems to have arisen from debates within the Tetbury group, and it was certainly linked at its southern end with the road west from Tetbury, and also with the Gloucester-Bath road a little further to the south. And it is also worth remembering that one of the declared intentions was to "facilitate the Communications between Bath and Gloucester" and other places to north and west. In the other, later, new valley roads of the Stroudwater area, the connection with mills is not obvious: the need to open communications is the main motive, doubtless with the transit of manufactured goods and raw materials in mind, but only in the case of the Stroud-Chalford valley is the convenience of manufactories obviously of major importance.

After the first flush of enthusiasm, the management of the Nailsworth Trust appears to have been similar to that of other trusts, such as are noted by Booker, where attendance was sparse and the affairs often run almost single-handedly by clerk or treasurer. But in the case of the Nailsworth Trust in its formative years, the central core of the Committee was very much in control, for which see Table VI.iv. It may also be noted that those who took the most active part were also those who sought change in the clothing industry. This association will receive only brief mention in this study, but enterprise and innovation went hand in hand from, say, the 1770s to the 1820s, when the clothing industry in the Stroudwater area was undergoing fundamental change.

FIG VI.ii. Attendance at Committee meetings,
 March 1780 - October 1781.

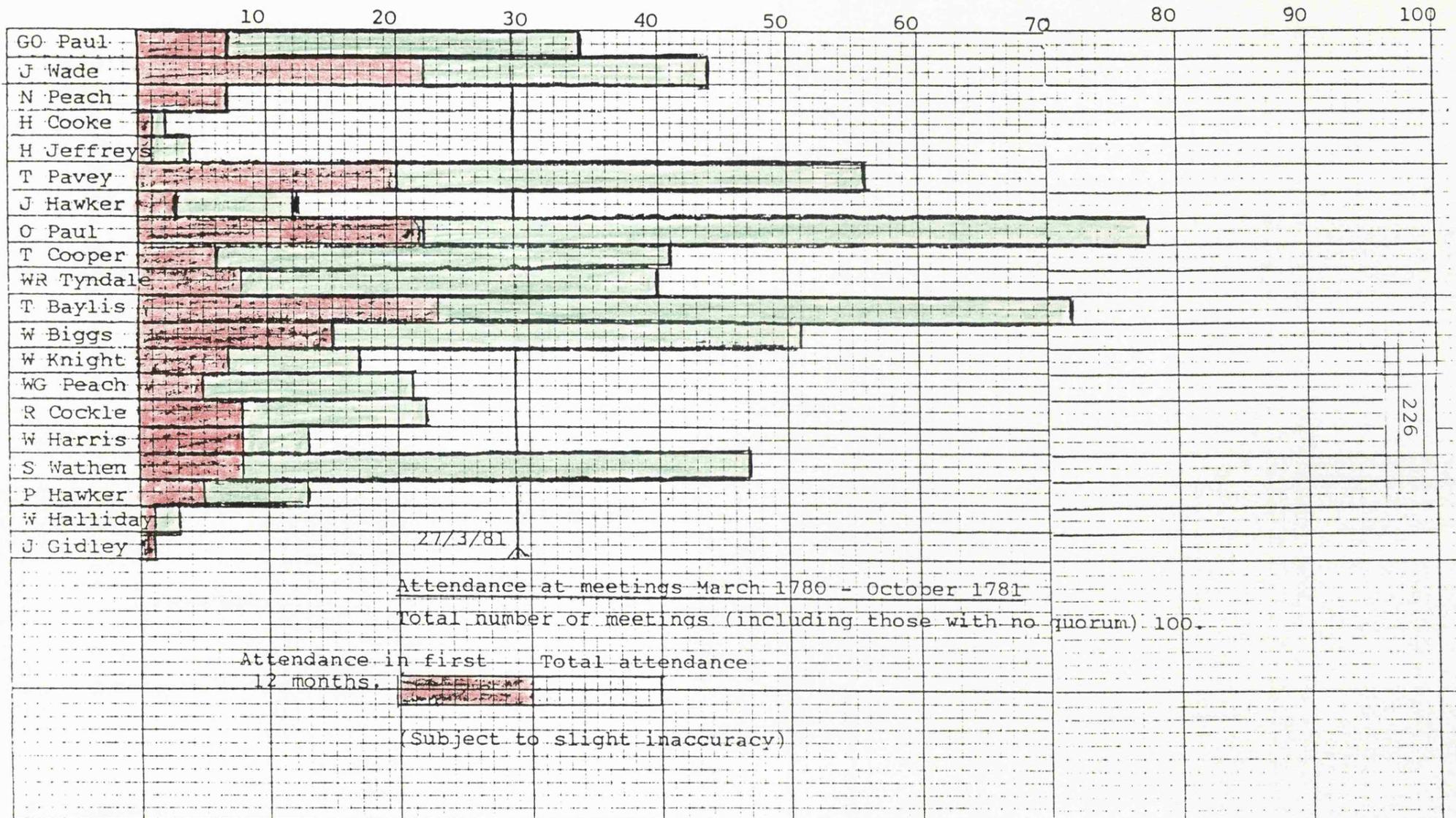


TABLE VI.iv. Attendance at the first 100 Committee meetings. (taken to 29 October 1787)

financial year ending 25 March	1781	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786-87*	Total
GO Paul	7	5	6	4	5	7	34
J Wade	22	11	4	2	2	3	44
N Peach Snr.	7						7
N Peach Jnr.				3	4	6	13
H Cooke	1	1					2
H Jeffreys	1	1	2				4
T Pavey	20	10	7	4	5	10	56
J Hawker	3					9	12
O Paul	22	20	7	8	9	13	79
T Cooper	6	9	4	6	5	11	41
WR Tyndale	8	14	7	4	2	5	40
T Baylis	23	15	5	8	7	14	72
W Biggs (Treasurer)	15	11	5	4	6	10	51
W Knight	7		2	6	1	1	17
WG Peach	5	8	3	5			21
R Cockle	8	3	2	3	1	5	22
W Harris	8	3	2				13
S Wathen	8	13	5	7	6	8	47
P Hawker	5	5	2			1	13
W Halliday	1	1		1			3
W Frost		4	2	2			8
J Gidley	1						1
R Webb		3	2	5	2	1	13
R Aldridge		1		1		2	4
S Remmington		3		1			4
J Day		1					1
W Smith		5	3	1		3	12
R Farmer		1					1
T Shurmur		1					1
R Saunders			1				1
R Capel			1	1	1		3
E Wilbraham						3	3
J Cooper						2	2
T Wathen						1	1

No. of meetings
(including no quorum) 38 24 10 11 10 17 100
to 29 Oct 1787

* The figures for this last column are distorted by the inclusion of meeting past the annual Lady Day meeting: this is for the convenience of obtaining a % in the Table.

(Note: the figures are subject to human error, both then and now: for example, on 28 May 1781 no one seems to have signed the book.)

Notes to Table VI.iv.

- 1 The extra number of meetings in the first year is to be expected, when numerous matters concerning construction, purchase of land, etc. needed speedy resolution. Thereafter the number of meetings diminished to rather less than one a month. (The last column comprises eighteen months' duration.)
- 2 The Table clearly shows the solid core of active members: and again the weight of persons from the middle part of the valley. Those above the ruled line were at the first meeting on 30 March 1780 - clearly they were among the most concerned.
- 3 The names are of those who signed the Book. Not all were members of the Trust. For example, W Halliday attended when matters arose concerning the purchase of his land; J Day came to lodge his objection to the siting of a toll-gate by his mill; Thomas Shurmur to claim compensation for loss of water (i.e. power) owing to road works, and so on. The reason for the attendance of R Farmer is not known, but J Gidley's one appearance must be because no other member of the firm of Peach & Gidley could come on that day.

The absence of some was due to death (for example Nathaniel Peach Junior took the oath on 20 October 1783 after the demise of his father) or disqualification from refusal to act - the two categories are not separated in the Minutes.

The illiteracy of William Frost has been referred to, but on 26 May 1783 his name appears neatly written: at the next meeting the Committee took steps to bring him "to justice, so that he might be convicted" for evading tolls. Perhaps he had walked out in a rage, and another entered his name. It is perhaps a little surprising to find in the minute of 23 September 1793 that the list of Trustees recorded as dead includes not only such strong supporters as Thomas Pavey, John Wade and Richard Cockle but also William Frost - all said to be "gentlemen".

- 4 On some occasions only 2 or 3 members turned up, so there was no quorum, but on two occasions at least business was done: on one occasion for the exchange of bonds between Biggs and Bailey, who were both there, and on another to hear the accounts of parish surveyors.
- 5 Trustees came, and went - either through death or refusal to act. The Minute for 28 September 1795 refers to the "annual Trustee election"; that for 13 August 1792 reminded the meeting that notice for the election of new Trustees had to be given.
- 6 But the Minute Book can be used to throw more light on the affair of the dismissal of William Wilkins, the first Clerk/Surveyor.

(See Appendix 4.)

Chapter VI. REFERENCES.

- 1 It was on 31 March that the Surveyor was told to get a "proper wall" made against Mr Sheppard's wood in Barley Hill Grove "with the untmost Expedition".
- 2 Meikle W P, Highway Repairs in the eighteenth century, Newcomen Soc. Trans., 1940-41, 123, has details of road maintenance and parish accounts, including the mention of a road plough in 1769.
Chibnall J, The Roads of Buckinghamshire ... op cit., has a list of typical road repair tools in the early nineteenth century.
- 3 Howard did the report on the New Road from Forwood to Trapend Gate in 1801. In 1813 he was surveyor for Woodchester parish, succeeding Thomas Dauncey. Dauncey had become surveyor for the Trust on Howard's resignation in 1803, but though his contract was renewed in 1811, he too resigned in 1818, and Howard again took the repair contract. Howard finally resigned on 6 September 1826, having been surveyor for the Trust for a considerable length of time.
- 4 Grigshut in the Minute Book: elsewhere it appears as Grigshot.
- 5 A few measurements of former turnpike roads in the Stroud area gave road widths from 33 to 36 feet, of which the centre 12 feet had been "stoned". Parish roads, usually to be distinguished from turnpike roads by their lack of verges, were usually 12 to 14 feet in width; and tracks uphill were 6 to 9 feet wide. The turnpike eastwards from Minchinhampton had wider verges (since found useful for widening) than others, perhaps because it was the main route for cattle driving from the Severn to the east.
- 6 Cob's stone has not been located on a map. It may possibly have been a mounting block when the level top of the common was reached: this is a suggestion only.
- 7 Though the Selsley road was regarded as a separate district, Stanley Gate was included for auctions with those of the main Nailsworth roads. No reference however has been found to an auction for the Buckholt Wood gate, nor for the very temporary early bar at Grigshut - this of course was the private property of the Paul firm.
- 8 The site of the Hayward's Field toll-bar is now a roundabout, the site having long since been moved eastwards to the turning to Ryeford and Stanley (King's) mill.

- 9 These two roads are not marked on Fig VI.i.
- 10 Nathaniel Dyer, architect of Nailsworth, and land surveyor, designed St George's chapel at Nailsworth in 1794: he charged no fee. VCH xi, 209, 215, 218.
- 11 Information supplied by the late Mr Mortimer of Nailsworth.
- 12 It is not understood how gate-keepers managed to subsist on such low wages. Perhaps they had other jobs as well, or a family in work, or perhaps they defrauded travellers, and the Trust?
- 13 GRO Signal pamphlet, Turnpikes, H 17. This teaching booklet has many very telling reproductions of turnpike, and other, material.
- 14 There is a difference unaccounted for of ½d.
- 15 Toll receipts for the year ending 25 March 1784 were given as £213. 1s., and for the following year as £269. 13s. At least this was a rise in income: it is likely that it took time for the advantages of the new road, as well as its existence, to become well-known, or for coach routes to be adjusted.
- 16 The Crown Inn, a handsome building, still stands as a hostelry in the market square of Minchinhampton.
- 17 On 2 July 1810, William Neall of Minchinhampton, parish surveyor, refused to pay his £6. 10s. composition money. Still refusing by 25 February 1811, he was to be summoned to a petty sessional court at The Fleece; by this date he was no longer the parish surveyor.
- 18 The sum of £3. 12s. for Nailsworth (Avening) in 1782 excluded 2s. 4½d., deducted by reason of the property of Mr Yeates being void. The Yeates family had held Freames mill in the earlier 18th century. VCH xi.
- 19 Neither Mr Day nor Mr Webb seem to have supported the Trust in any positive way. However, Richard Webb later took part, and became a trustee.
- 20 For a fuller account of the vicissitudes of an 18th century innkeeper, see Cox C, Bankruptcy at the Bull (Fairford) in Gloucestershire Community Council Local History Bulletin, No. 40, Autumn 1979. This deals with the bankruptcy proceedings against George Phillips of The Bull in 1790s.
- 21 It is ironic that when James Dalby, second Clerk to the Trust, died in 1794, his place as Clerk was filled by Peter Leversage who had earlier been such a strong opponent of the Trust.

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Chapter VII. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW SYSTEM OF TURNPIKE
ROADS IN THE STROUDWATER AREA.

Introduction

The Nailsworth Trust built its new road in 1780-81, but it was to be another twenty years before the other valleys of the Stroudwater system got their 'new' alignments. In chronological order, these were:

- 1 Lightpill-Stroud; Stroud up the Slad valley to Foston's Ash inn, where it met the existing road from Bisley to Birdlip.
39/40 G iii c.43, 1800/01.
- 2 A road partly 'new' from Nailsworth through the village of Horsley, thence through Latterwood to meet the Old Bath Road at a spot to the north of the existing pike.
39/40 G iii c.75.¹
- 3 From Stroud up the main valley of the Frome to Chalford, then up the hill-side by the now customary sweeping curves to join the existing turnpike to Cirencester "at or near the 7th milestone".²
5⁴ G iii c.⁸⁰2, 181⁸4.
- 4 From Stroud to Pitchcombe, on the opposite side of the valley from the existing Wick Street, turning up-hill to cross the scarp edge at the col of the Horsepools, then down to Brookthorpe, where it met the existing track to Gloucester.
58 G iii c.1, 1818.
- 5 From Pitchcombe the road was continued up the valley through Painswick to meet the existing scarp-rim road to Cheltenham at Prinknash Park Wall (Cranham Corner).³
59 G iii c.42, 1819. and continuing on from Cranham Corner a new alignment was constructed down the scarp face to the Vale and on in a straight line through Shurdington (where the only previously existing stretch of road pre-dated the new road) to Cheltenham.

The complete road from Cheltenham through Painswick and past Pitchcombe to Stroud now forms the A46, linking beyond Stroud with the A46 along the Nailsworth valley.

1 G iv c.16, 1820.

- 7 A road close to the valley bottom from Nailsworth to Avening.

3 G iv c.16, 1822/23.

- 8 A road from Cainscross across the level river terrace to the lower end of Stroud; and from Stroud up the steep side of Rodborough common to meet the existing Cirencester turnpike near the Bear Inn.

6 G iv c.64, 1825.

All these roads were new wholly or in part; and all exhibit the serpentine curves athwart the contours in the way first employed in this area by the Nailsworth Trust. In addition the ancient route up Stroud Hill to Bisley was improved under turnpike authority, by 4 G iv c.23 of 1823, and various additions or alterations were made to existing turnpikes; for example, the New Road to Minchinhampton mentioned previously, while a direct link was made in 1822 from the Buckholt Wood toll-house of the Selsley road to the road to Uley near Hetty Pegler's Tump - a Neolithic long-barrow.

An alteration of considerably more importance was that incorporated into the 1814 Chalford Road Act, 54 G iii c.80. An exchange of land was made with Earl Bathurst of Cirencester Park whereby he gave up some land at Hermitage Bottom (south of the Park) to shorten the way from the Tetbury road toll-site towards Minchinhampton, in return for getting the former public road

through the Park grounds closed. This was confirmed by 58 G iii c.23 of 1818, and virtually ended the use of the ancient track from Cirencester to Bisley (and Painswick) called, in this study, the Bisley Path.

A number of other turnpike proposals were made in the 1820s which did not reach the statute book. For example, a proposal was made to put under toll the parish highway from Foston's Ash through Miserden, Edgeworth and Sapperton parishes to the Cirencester turnpike road; and an extension of the Nailsworth-Avening road onward to join the Fosse Way at Trull Farm. Another proposal was for a road from Avening church along the edge of Gatcombe Park to Minchinhampton, or alternatively a road from Minchinhampton common cross-roads (Tom Long's Post) to Griffins mill in the Frome valley. None was undertaken. The authors of the scheme were not named - Petitions usually were from "inhabitants, gentlemen and land-owners" etc., but these schemes seem likely to have been in the almost exclusive interest, and for the convenience, of those gentlemen who lived in mansions on the proposed route. The map outlining the first proposal would have taken the new road right past Miserden House - the only 'new' section that side of the valley of the Frome.⁴

Another proposal of greater public importance was that to build a new road from Dudbridge through or past King's Stanley, Leonard Stanley and Frocester, to join the main Gloucester-Bristol road (the A 38) at a place

called Broadlam Pitch. Nothing apparently was done about this, but it is of interest that the existing road, which passed through these villages a little higher up the gentle slopes than the proposed new road, was shown by David Ricardo junior on his map of local turnpike roads in 1847,⁵ and the route appears as in use by stage-coaches on various contemporary maps; but no enabling Act has been traced, nor any sign of toll-house or milestone found by the present writer. Strictly speaking, this route should not be counted as one of the Stroudwater system, though it was certainly 'local'. Another peripheral road received a late Act, in 16/17 V c.xi of 1853. This was the remaining part of the former road from Painswick to Cheltenham via Birdlip, also rather outside the scope of this study. The section of this scarp-rim route from near Painswick Castles to Prinknash Park Wall had been discontinued when the new road to Cheltenham has been built, but the remainder was given theoretical renewed life as a turnpike from Upton St Leonards to Birdlip. However, it does not appear that the Act was actually put into effect.⁶

It may also be noted that the road north from Tetbury through Avening to Tayloe's mill pond in Chalford Bottom had its authority extended, by 41 G iii c.85 of 1801, to Foston's Ash there to link with the new Slad valley road.

Thus by 1825 all the main, and some tributary, valleys

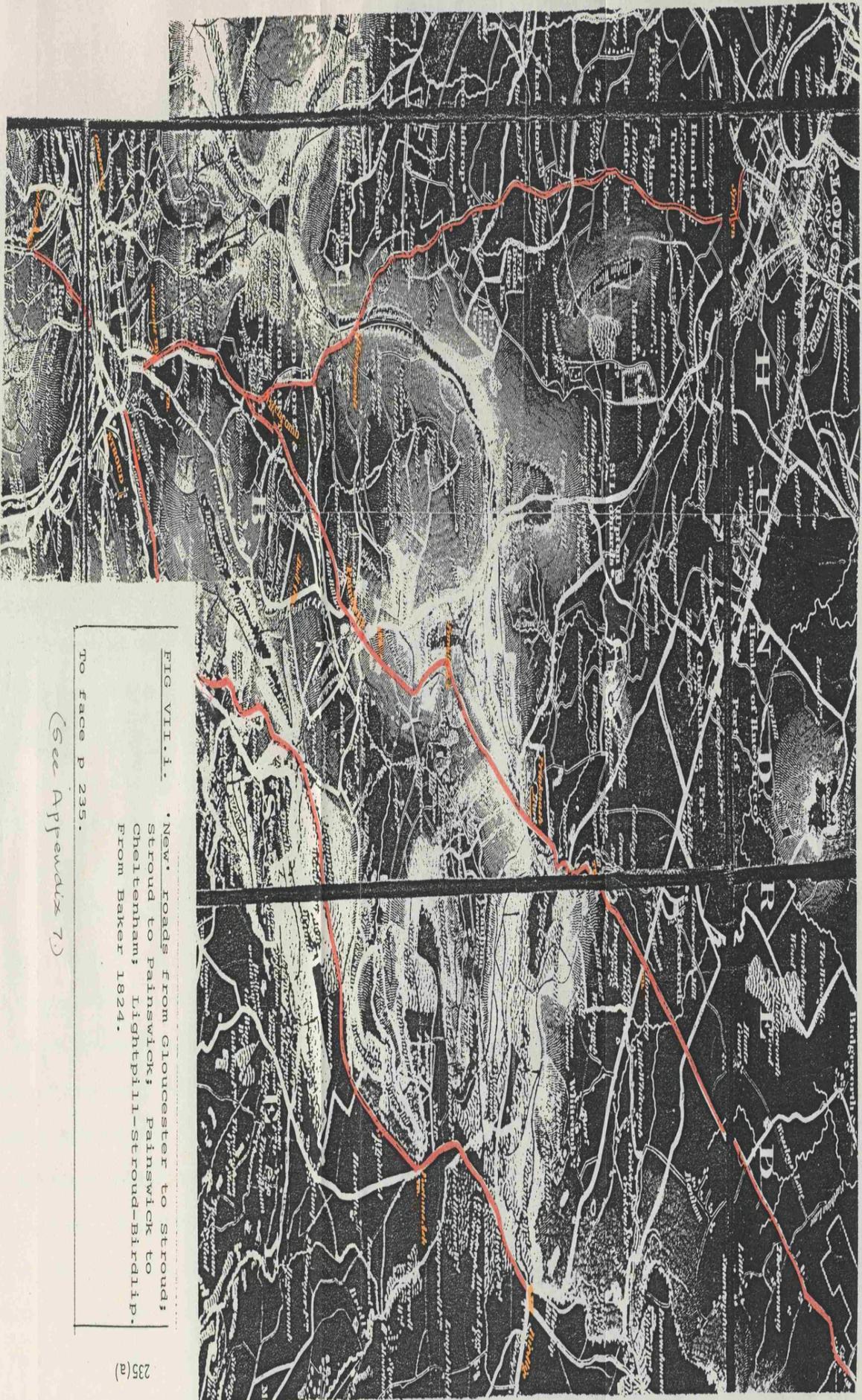


FIG VII.1. New Roads from Gloucester to Stroud; Stroud to Painswick; Painswick to Cheltenham; Lightpill-Stroud-Birdlip. From Baker 1824.

TO FACE P 235.

(See Appendix 7)

of the Stroudwater system had received new alignments. These may now be considered in individual detail, valley by valley.

Stroud-Pitchcombe-Gloucester: the Horsepools road.

(No. 4) The Petition for a new road between Stroud and Gloucester was presented to the House of Commons on 31 January 1818, but few details appear in that House's Journal.⁷ However, a preliminary leaflet put forward the case for this road, claiming that it would open a safe and easy communication between Gloucester and Stroud "not more than Eight Miles and a Half in length", and that very great accommodation would be afforded to all the line of country through which the road would pass, "which is at present almost inaccessible, on account of the badness of the Roads". It also claimed that "In the whole Course of the proposed Road, hardly one Land-owner dissents, and the Trustees of the Old Line of Road through Painswick are perfectly satisfied". (That is, Wick Street.) A somewhat crude plan of the proposed road, and a comparison with the existing roads along Wick Street, and through Stan-dish and Stonehouse, were attached to the leaflet.

There are no signs in the House of Commons Journal of counter-petitions, though the leaflet said "some Gentlemen, who have an Interest in the line through Cains-cross, have determined to offer every opposition to the measure, with a view to compel the Inhabitants of Stroud and of the populous District between that place

and Cirencester to submit to the inconvenience of travelling upwards of Four Miles out of their Course, merely to increase the Tolls of the Cainscross district of Roads".

The more sophisticated Plan deposited with the Clerk of Peace of the County was produced by Charles Baker, who was also responsible for many excellent maps of local parishes about this time.⁸ This Plan of 1816 shows the whole route, completely new as far as the village of Brookthorpe at the base of the scarp. Its characteristics may be briefly noted here:

From Stroud to Pitchcombe the road follows the course of the Painswick stream, but on the right flank of the valley where the slope provides much visual evidence of hill-slip and slumping. (A cutting where the road from Pitchcombe itself was slightly diverted where it joined the main road showed exposures of layers of down-wash, blue clay, gravel and sands and fragments - some of a good size - of rock. Lack both of time and a camera prevented a fuller record than a sketch.)

Wick Street lies on the other side of the valley, mostly on a broad shelf above the heads of small tributary brooks. In the section as far as Pitchcombe, there is virtually no valley floor and the road ascends at a gentle gradient. The original intention seems to have been to take the road up to and round Pitchcombe village, but in the event it was instead taken across the side combe on an embankment, and

then up the slope of the hill-side by a not-unreasonable gradient (with two steeper portions) to the col at the Horsepools, from where it descended by the now normal sinuous curves to Brookthorpe. Here it joined the 'existing' turnpike road to Gloucester. This is the present easiest - and shortest - route between Stroud and Gloucester.

The Petitioners' leaflet referred to the "Populous Manufacturing District in that neighbourhood", but Baker's map clearly shows that only a handful of mills could receive any advantage from the new road: those named as Drews, Paper, Rock, and Messrs. Beard & Co., known to-day as Salmon Springs, Grove, Rock and Lower Pitchcombe mills, though most of the mill buildings have been demolished. In fact, mills up the valley as far as Painswick were adequately served by short links with Wick Street, and only the three lowest named here would derive better advantage from the new road.⁹ Quite clearly the real intention was to achieve a better communication between Stroud and Gloucester, and in this the Petitioners were successful.

Pitchcombe-Painswick-Cheltenham.

The trustees of the existing Gloucester Eastgate Turnpike (the road through Painswick and along Wick Street to Stroud) were said in the Petition to support the new route, though it could deprive the old road of much of its revenue. Presumably the reason for such support is to be found in the succeeding year

(see Appendix 8.)

when, by 59 G iii c.42 the new alignment was continued beyond Pitchcombe up to and beyond Painswick. The Plan for this new road was drawn up by Charles Baker.¹⁰ The projected route had to keep to the lower slopes of the hill-side until the deep and steep cleft of the tributary Washbrook had been passed, and then it could ascend rather sharply over the break of slope into Painswick itself, after which it climbed gradually to the col at Cranham Corner (Prinknash Park Wall), where it crossed not only the Portway but also the existing rim road to Birdlip and Cheltenham. As with the Nailsworth Trust road, this new route cut across many existing 'vertical' tracks, one result being that the (former) Adam & Eve Inn at Paradise was left facing away from the road, as it had been built on an existing hill-side road.

The Preliminary Drawings for the OS 1 inch 1st edition depict milestones on the old rim road from The Castles to beyond Cranham Corner, and there are various references to its former status as a turnpike road, including one on Baker's Plan at the approach to Cheltenham.

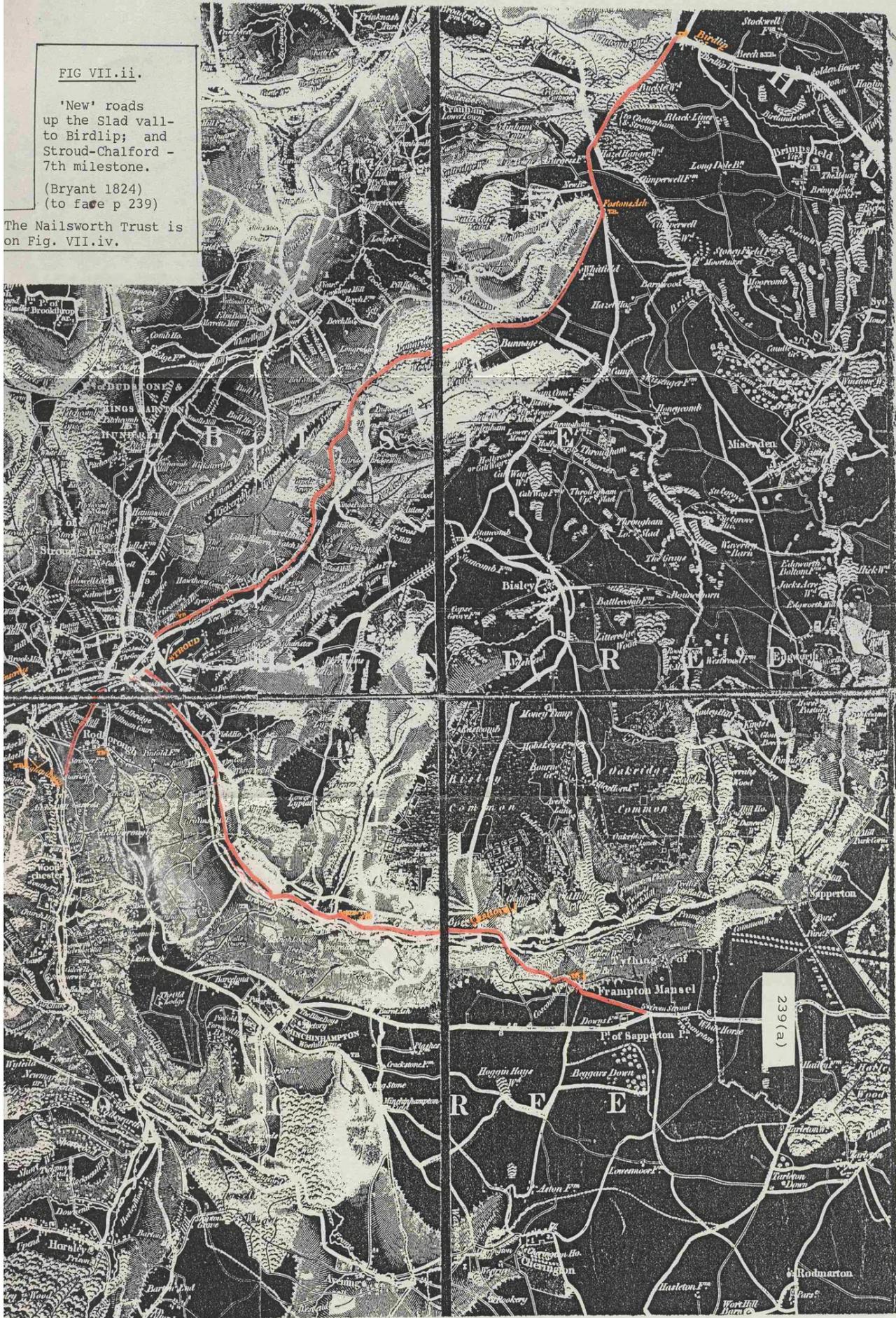
The next, and immediate step was to continue this new road down the scarp from Cranham Corner to Cheltenham itself. This was done by 1 G iv c.16, and the Plan shows that apart from the village of Shurdington, the road was an entirely new construction, running dead-straight across the Vale - and so at times being mistaken for a Roman road. The gradient is not impossible down the

FIG VII.i.

'New' roads
up the Slad vall-
to Birdlip; and
Stroud-Chalford -
7th milestone.

(Bryant 1824)
(to face p 239)

The Nailsworth Trust is
on Fig. VII.iv.



scarp face (though with one or two rather steep ascents, and one great hair-pin bend called Fiddler's Elbow). Clearly here was no direct connection with valley industry, nor can it really be termed a 'valley' road, as most of the route within the Stroudwater system is in fact well up the hill-side. But it certainly did provide a much improved line of communication between Cheltenham and Bath, and no doubt this easier route was of great benefit to the carriage-trade owners of property, as well as to travellers from more distant parts. The finished cloth of the district, however, was destined not for Bath or Cheltenham, but mainly for London.

Lightpill-Stroud; Stroud-Slad valley-Birdlip.

The neighbouring Slad valley has even less of a flood-plain or floor than the Painswick valley, being sharply cut into a V except where two head combs meet above Steanbridge - which was the valley crossing-point of the Bisley Path. The sides of the valley are steep, the right flank showing much land-slip and slumping, while the left flank has a fairly wide shelf, but one much more deeply incised by side brooks than that of the Painswick valley.¹¹ The high ground between the Slad and Painswick valleys seems to have had a trackway along the top, though inferior to the more convenient Wick Street, and apparently little used in later historical times. The Slad valley was, and remains to-day, curiously isolated and with far less settlement than any of the other valleys of the Frome system.¹²

There were some cloth mills, mostly near Stroud, one of which - the Vatch - was of considerable size;¹³ but their access tracks were mostly up the left flank to Stroud and its working population.¹⁴ The proposals in the Petition and the Bill were for a road from the turnpike gate at Lightpill (on the Nailsworth Trust road) across the foot of Rodborough hill to join the Cirencester turnpike close to Wallbridge, thus for the first time providing direct public access for vehicles between the Nailsworth and the Stroud valleys. Hitherto wheeled traffic had to make the circuitous journey to Cainscross and through Paganhill to reach the lower end of Stroud. The new road left this lower end of Stroud at Badbrook on the Slad stream, then gradually snaked up the steep hill-side of the Slad valley on the western, or right-hand, flank, as with the new Pitchcombe and Painswick roads. It crossed the Bisley Path at Bull's Cross,¹⁵ from where it had a short, rather steep, ascent to the level ridge-top; from here it headed for Foston's Ash to join the existing route north from Chalford for Birdlip. There was a pronounced hair-pin bend on this road too, on the Stroud side of the village of Slad, and the inn in that village, like that at Paradise above Painswick, now faces the 'wrong' way.

The Bill claimed that it would "be a great Benefit ... Petitioners ... owners of Estates ... or Inhabitants, within or near the said Parishes and Places, which are very populous, and in which many very considerable

Clothing Manufactories are carried out ..." This however applied only to the relatively short stretch from Lightpill to Stroud and to the stretch from Badbrook to The Vatch, and it was still a very steep pull up from most of these mills to the new road. The succeeding sentences of the Bill probably gave the more compelling reason, where it was stated that it would "open a shorter and better Communication than at present between Bath and Cheltenham, and will also be of Public Utility".¹⁶

So it looks as if the remarks about populous places and considerable manufactories were really conventional phrasing, and it is noticeable that when the Painswick valley roads were proposed, some fifteen or more years later, little that was positive was said about the advantage to industry. It would seem that here too the paramount concern was that of communication between Bath and Cheltenham, perhaps an indication of increased traffic between these two towns.

The scheme quickly gained approval and received the royal assent on 30 May 1800, only three months after presentation of the Petition. There is no hint of opposition, nor were there visible signs of opposition in the later Acts for the roads up Painswick valley. The proceedings seem to have been virtually a formality, few interests being affected other than those of the owners of land through which the road was to pass. Some roads or tracks up to the top of Wickridge were to be stopped, but the new road in these places gave better access to offset the cost of tolls. In the Painswick

valley, for the most part the mills had better access to Stroud by ascending to the existing Wick Street.

It is to be noticed that the route from Cheltenham to Bath across the Stroudwater hills was moved twice. At first there was the road north from Tetbury through AV-ening, Chalford Bottom and Bisley to Birdlip. Then came a better route down the Slad valley, though few settlements were passed on this road. Finally came the present A46 from Cheltenham up the scarp to Cranham Corner and then down the Painswick valley. One important consequence of these latter two roads was that for the first time there was a direct route from Stroud itself towards Bath; the earlier route along Wick Street had turned right just before Stroud, and had reached the Nailsworth road through Cainscross. Now the link through Lightpill enabled travellers to take a more direct route.

Stroud-Chalford-7th Milestone: the Chalford road.

It was not till 1813 that a Petition for a new road up the Frome valley was presented to Parliament, on 18 November. This proposed a route very similar in character to that of the much earlier Nailsworth valley road. The new road ran alongside and close to the valley bottom which here, as in the Nailsworth valley, had greater width than in the other valleys of the river system. Having reached the virtual limit of industry at Chalford (there were one or two mills higher up), it then climbed the steep hill-side in typical serpentine fashion to join the existing Cirencester turnpike on top, in much

(See Appendix 9.)

the same way as the Nailsworth road south of Tiltups Inn met the turnpike road for Bath; but the Stroud-Chalford road headed eastwards for Cirencester and London, the Nailsworth road for Bath, with close access to Tetbury. The Chalford road too was to have side-roads, though fewer than those of the Nailsworth Trust. One was from The Bourne (where, as noted earlier, a side-road came down from the Tetbury-Bisley-Birdlip turnpike) up the Toadsmoor valley and the mills there as far as Burcomb Bottom, from where it could join the Tetbury-Bisley road. Another side-road was to go up through Brimscombe to the "Cross Ways" on Hampton common;¹⁷ While the exchange of land nearer Cirencester with Earl Bathurst has already received notice.

This proposed road did encounter opposition, though from the humbler inhabitants of the valley, and this will be mentioned below. Other points of interest are that the original scheme was to take a route between Stroud and Bowbridge (one mile above the town) rather different from the one finally built. Secondly, the Plan contained a direct route from Cainscross to Stroud, but which in fact was not taken in hand for another ten years. The odd thing is that another Petition, also on 18 November 1813, is recorded in the Journal of the House of Commons: of the "Cainscross & Cirencester Roads" petitioners. Whether this was a rival group, or whether there was a confusion of titles, cannot be ascertained. Traffic however had to continue to use the road through Paganhill from Cainscross to Stroud for several more years.

Four counter-petitions were recorded, from Inhabitants of (the parishes of) Tarleton & Rodmarton; Rendcombe, North Cerney & Bagendon; Daglin^gworth & Stratton; Coates & Sapperton. At the second reading of the Bill for "certain roads from the Town of Stroud", these Petitions were referred to committee with the remark that people concerned could appear and "are to have Voices", but in the end only Daglinworth and Stratton parishes were represented.¹⁸

It is far from clear how some of these parishes were concerned with this new road. Daglin^gworth might possibly have suffered from the suppression of the Bisley Path (Stratton too), while owners of property in Coates might hope to gain compensation for land compulsorily acquired. But nothing further is heard from the other petitioners, though one person did apparently appear, in person or through counsel. This was Elizabeth Gregory, widow, with her infant daughter Elizabeth. What her grounds of complaint were is not stated: presumably it was settled as nothing further was recorded, and the Bill gained the Royal Assent on 27 May 1814.

So it seems that this new road resembled, though in lesser degree, that of the Nailsworth Trust in having some opposition to surmount. It also resembled the Nailsworth road in being of direct and positive advantage to the numerous mills, and a great improvement on the existing hill-side settlement tracks. But no opposition from the Cirencester Trust was recorded. This may be

because the Nailsworth road had already pre-empted traffic and tolls in the stretch between Minchinhampton and Rodborough, but that the new Chalford valley road might increase toll revenue between the 7th milestone and Cirencester.¹⁹ This road became, and remains, the chief way from Stroud to Cirencester and places east, and the old Bisley Path decayed, much of it no longer existing as a road.

Another similarity to the early years of the Nailsworth Trust is in the opposition from the less articulate members of the public. The Nailsworth Trust had had to offer rewards (providing conviction resulted from the laying of information) against those who had removed the stakes outlining the proposed alignment. The opposition in the Frome valley was more vigorous. It is recorded that the workmen initiating the construction had to start before daylight to circumvent those who would physically have objected, and there is a tradition of stone-throwing.²⁰ But built it was, and the only wonder is why it had taken so long to get such a useful road constructed - over thirty years after the building of the Nailsworth Trust's road.

Cainscross-Stroud; Bowbridge-the Bear Inn.

The direct straight link between Cainscross and Stroud was not made until 1825, as the Lower Division of the Stroud, Cainscross and Minchinhampton road. The Upper Division was to be the up-hill stretch from Bowbridge through Butterrow to Rodborough common near the Bear Inn.²¹

Notes to Fig. VII.iii. Cainscross-Stroud;
Bowbridge- Bear Inn.

(GRO Q/RUM 93, 1824.)

The proposals shown here differ from the actual execution. This plan envisaged turnpiking the road from near the (then) top end of Stroud, along Lower Street and Bowbridge Lane, there to link with a short stretch of new road cutting across the canal from the Chalford turnpike of 1815. In the event, the section through the town was not turnpiked, but authority for the Upper Division began at Bowbridge, and the road then snaked up-hill as shown, to the Bear Inn. Two small branches led off, one to Bagpath, the other to Mount Vernon: probably for the convenience of local residents - hardly for use of the public at large.

The Lower Division cut a straight link over the river terrace from Cainscross to the lower end of Stroud, at last bring a considerable improvement on the existing Cainscross-Paganhill route.

The Chalford turnpike is shown in orange, and the canal in blue. The original red lines here show up as black. The usual hair-pin bend is shown, to the right of the words Rodborough Common: there is another now where the road was diverted to cross the railway bridge, right-hand of plot 30: the former 'vertical' hill-track lies between plots 30 and 32.

In the early 1980s a new road was cut through existing properties from the junction of the Old Bisley Rd. and Nelson St. (marked by arrow) to the London (Chalford) road: there is currently a plan to drive a by-pass from south of Stroud to cross the canal - in the opposite direction from this Plan.

The Petition of owners of estates in early 1825 included branches to Bagpath, and to Mount Vernon: both were short stretches of road from Butterrow; the turnpiking of Bowbridge Lane from Bowbridge to the further end of Lower Street in what was then the upper part of Stroud; while the Plan shows the intention to cut the road across the existing Chalford turnpike, to take it over the Thames & Severn canal and so up the slope of Rodborough hill. In the event, Bowbridge Lane was omitted, and the turnpike road itself began at Bowbridge. The Royal Assent was given on 31 March 1825.

One old road to be stopped was the 'vertical' track from Bowbridge to Rodborough common past the dwellings known as The Bannets, part of which remains as a footpath over the railway, while the rest is a hollow-way on the upper side of the new road.²²

The pike house at Cainscross, replacing a much earlier one, on the site of the 1734 riot, still survives, though now empty and in danger of dereliction.²³ The pike house at the Butterrow cross-roads bears the toll-charges board, restored in 1931, with charges agreeing with the ones set out in the Act. There are some steep stretches on this road and the usual sharp hair-pin bends, and it is now the main road from Stroud to Minchinhampton. Its construction brought to completion the new alignment of turnpike roads built in the Stroudwater valleys.

Nailsworth to Avening.

The earlier route between these two settlements had

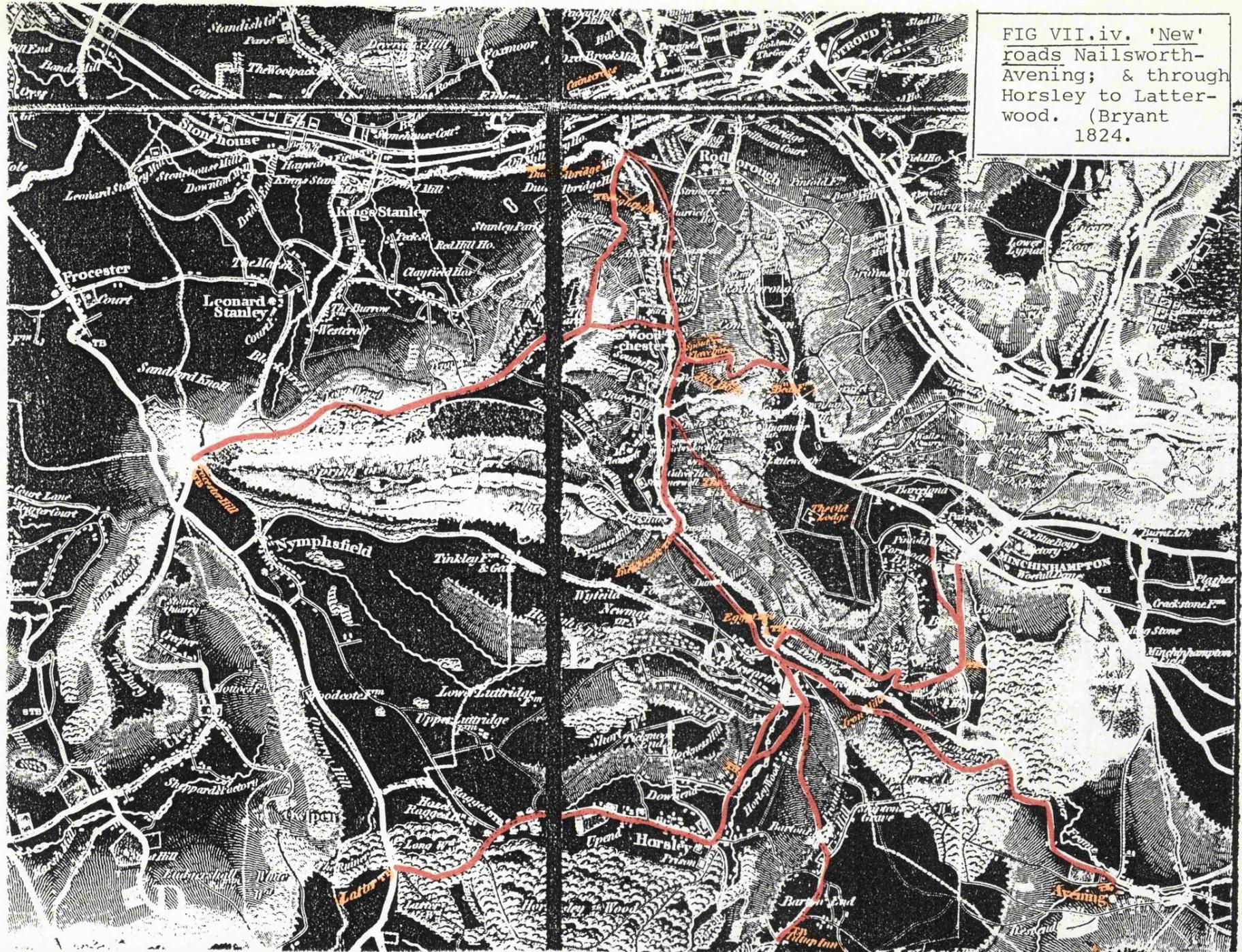


FIG VII.iv. 'New' roads Nailsworth-Avening; & through Horsley to Latterwood. (Bryant 1824.)

climbed the southern slope out of Avening, then circled round to the upland above Nailsworth.²⁴ It is not clear why it took so long to build a valley route here, except that there were few important mills at Avening, and the left-hand side of the valley is very steep indeed, with little in the way of a valley floor. It was one of the last valleys to have its 'new' road, one perhaps with less justification than the others as the only really important mill, that of the Playnes at Longford, already had a link both with Nailsworth, and to Minchinhampton by the Iron Mills road. It was never in any way a financial success.

Stroud-Bisley.

This was mainly a refurbishment of the ancient track to the mother village of Bisley. It was the one road which included no valley section, the 'new' stretch being a gentler gradient to the plateau top, avoiding the steep route on the long ridge of Stroud hill, that is the Old Bisley Road.

There had been a short-lived proposal in 1819 for a "Stroud-Cheltenham" road up the side of Stroud hill to join the existing Old Bisley road and continue past Stancombe Cross to Birdlip,²⁵ meeting the Tetbury-Birdlip road near Bisley, but it looks as if the rival route to Cheltenham up the Painswick valley prevented further action. The scheme was revived on a far more modest scale four years later, as the turnpiking improvement of the road to Bisley.

The Petition of several owners of Estates, and Inhabitants, claimed that the existing road was very narrow, steep and incommodious, which was certainly true for the section up from The Cross to the 'top of the town', but it looks very much as though these owners of property wished the improvements to be paid for from tolls rather than through an increased parish highways rate, a convenient way of 'spreading the load'.²⁶ But with this last Act, counting the Avening road as an extension of the Nailsworth system rather than as an independent, new, conception, the turnpiking of roads in the area of the Stroudwater hills and valleys seems to have been completed. An overall view of the new network may now briefly be considered.

Recapitulation, & some Questions.

It will be convenient at this point briefly to recapitulate the development of the Stroudwater turnpike road system.

Phase I.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century a network of radial turnpike roads was developed centred on Gloucester as the major market town of the lower Severn vale - and the county town as well; while similar networks were growing for other major towns, as Pawson effectively shows.²⁷ Of special interest to the subject of this study was the Great Road from Gloucester to Stone (and so on to Bristol), which was

put under turnpike authority in ¹⁷²⁶~~1826~~. Several cross-roads were also put under that same authority, from the Severn to certain named towns, and to the Hills, in a rather ill-phrased Act which later had to receive more precise definition.

Two of these cross-roads are of significance in this study. One was that from Newnham Passage to the top of Frocester hill (which also took traffic from Gloucester to Bath on to the plateau route). The other was that from Framilode Passage to Stroud itself, but no further. These cross-roads would seem to underline the importance in the eighteenth century of the Severn as a major traffic artery, and the second provided an improved road from the Severn, and also from the road south from Gloucester, to the point where several manufacturing valleys and their associated hill-side areas of cottage industry converged. But later turnpike development did not build on this opportunity to extend a road network from Stroud - not, that is, until the start of the nineteenth century.

Phase II.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the market towns on the Cotswolds also acquired their networks, both as market centres and also for the long-distance through-routes from London and Oxford to Birmingham, Worcester, Gloucester and South Wales, and also to Bristol. The two such centres which concern this study were those of Cirencester and Tetbury. These plateau roads then linked up with the earlier roads across the Vale to the top of the

scarp, as at Crickley hill, Birdlip and Frocester hill. The Stroudwater valleys were conspicuously avoided, and the town of Stroud did not gain the benefit of becoming a centre for local roads, remaining in fact off-centre. If there were a meeting place for through roads, it was at Cainscross, a mile to the west of Stroud, and as has been seen a direct link with Cainscross, as with the Nailsworth valley, was late in arriving.

Minchinhampton lay on the Great Road from the eastern parts of the county: before 1800 the branch from Rodborough down to Stroud led to that town, and only to that town. Painswick also was on a local road from Gloucester to the general area of Stroud. though the road met only the existing road from Stroud through Paganhill to Cainscross. Bisley was on a recognised through-route - the old road from Cirencester to Painswick and Gloucester, which even took traffic between Stroud and Cirencester, though by the eighteenth century this route was little used and most inconvenient.²⁸ Bisley lay also on the northward road from Tetbury to Birdlip, though it was not till 1801 that turnpike authority was extended beyond Chalford Bottom, and then only to Foston's Ash, where it met the new turnpike road to Birdlip. It does not seem likely that this route was heavily used.

It may well be that until late in the eighteenth century this lack of direct turnpike communication with the town of Stroud was no great matter. Industry was still very much a cottage industry, and the mills were thronged on

(Owing to incorrect pagination, there is no page 254.)

24 pages ? It looks as if Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 might
~~miss-numbered.~~ be transposed. R.P.B. Yes!

the river both above and below the town, and up the tributary valleys, not concentrated in Stroud itself. As one (rather late) writer put it:

The proper view to be taken of the district in question is to consider it as a large town, the several habitations belonging to which are not, for the most part, placed side by side in rows, and front to front in streets, as is usual in cities, but are scattered throughout an extensive tract of ground, in single houses, groups of houses, hamlets, villages and small towns, of which towns Stroud is the most considerable, and in reference to the other parts of the district, the most central.²⁹

This, however, was written in 1817 and as far as communications went Stroud was not "central" until the new road network had been developed.

Phase III.

The change began, somewhat prematurely, with the building of the Nailsworth Trust road. This was an entirely new alignment, not (as with all the previous turnpikes) an improved parish highway. It utilised the bottom of the valley, in itself an innovation, and when it headed south for the plateau to Tetbury and Bath it ascended the hill-side in broad sweeping curves to make the gradient usable for horse-drawn vehicles, no doubt with special concern for the increasing volume of coach and private carriage traffic between Cheltenham and Bath, as indeed was stated in the Act.³⁰ It did not look to Stroud, but rather south to Tetbury: no direct link with Stroud town existed till 1801 and this intense 'localised' outlook was to persist as a feature of the system right up to the middle of the nineteenth century. But it was a

completely new venture, the first of its kind in the area. What does seem rather puzzling is that it took so long for similar roads to be constructed in the other valleys of the Stroudwater area.

One possible answer has been suggested earlier, namely that until the new machinery was installed in the mills on the watercourses in significant numbers, there was no great advantage to be gained by going to the expense of building new roads, especially when the nature of cottage industry meant that transport costs were to a large extent borne by the out-workers themselves, while the carriage of finished cloth, mainly to London, was along the plateau-top roads, which had been turnpiked in the middle of the eighteenth century. At least there is some coincidence in date between the introduction of machinery and the completion of the new road network in the area. In this case perhaps another question might be posed: why did the Nailsworth valley get its new road twenty years earlier than the other valleys?

At the moment this cannot be answered with any certainty. That valley might have had a greater need for better communications than the others, which does not seem particularly likely. It might of course come down to a matter of personalities, the initiative and drive of a small handful of men, who were almost entirely engaged in the manufacture of cloth, and perhaps to the influence of G O Paul himself. The question must remain open.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give yet another account of the West of England cloth industry, especially in the Stroudwater area. This has been thoroughly dealt with in numerous articles and books, most fully in the work of J de L Mann which can be regarded as the definitive study.³¹ What emerges from her commendably cautious account is that there was no one simple, general view which could comprise the whole of the West of England cloth trade and its vicissitudes: it was far too varied. Not only were there differences in location; there were differences in the type of product, the application of machinery, the relations between masters and workers, and between clothiers and land-owners.³² There were differences in places (in one area mills would be in the towns, elsewhere well away from towns), in individual firms and in the size of undertakings, in supply, product, methods. There were differences, not only in area but in time, in the effects of government, such as taxes or duties; differences in the way different areas were affected by foreign tariffs, by the effects of wars, by the change in markets with some lost, others gained. Especially important were the effects of competition, not only between areas in the West of England but also from overseas manufacturers, and especially from Yorkshire. There is no one, simple answer that conveniently fits all places and all firms - or all times.

According to Mann the eighteenth century was for the West of England cloth industry rather a period of stagnation,

perhaps of some decline, though certain families remained in business for more than one generation. Instances in the Stroud area were Peach, Wathen, Paul, Capel, Packer, Baylis, Loveday - and many more.³³ There were of course many considerable fluctuations in trade, due not only to the dislocation of war, but also to what were then called the "annual vibrations" of trade. The growth in population, or bad harvests, could cause distress among the working population, and it should also be remembered that the masters themselves could encounter disaster. The interests of the clothiers did not always march with those of the gentry - the JPs who had to administer the law and incidentally prevent over-exploitation of the work-force by the capitalists. An oft-quoted example appears in the "State of the Case", the author of which has some astringent remarks to make about those in authority who sided with the workers: the date was 1757.

After Adam Smith, and more so after the French Revolution, gentry and clothiers tended to find themselves on the same side, and indeed clothiers had for long moved upwards into the ranks of land-owners, their places as manufacturers being taken by new men.³⁴

Despite difficulties caused by the long French wars, and also and especially in the Chalford area by the ending of the monopoly of the East India Company, and despite the pressure of increasing population and the lack of available work, it would appear that in the Stroudwater area the industry held its own against fluctuating demand and

competition until at least the 1840s. There was contraction - in the number of mills, and those mills in particular which had been built in almost inaccessible corners of valleys to take advantage of the opportunities provided by a war-time demand went out of business or were converted to other trades.³⁵ But in the years from the 1790s onward, other mills, larger in size, were built and existing mills often extended upward, and despite the disclaimers in the 1802-3 Enquiry into the Woollen Industry made by various mill-owners, machinery was generally installed, though power looms did not come into general use till the 1840s; the use of steam engines was also later here than, say, in the North of England.³⁶

The indications are that business on the whole prospered, and that capital was available: Mann has some interesting things to say on this aspect of the trade. But undeniably too there was a faster, and more wide-spread, turn-over in ownership. Among the newer names must be mentioned that of the Marling family,³⁷ which had originated as farmer-weavers near Frocester, but from the mid-nineteenth century onward bought up many mills including the cast-iron and brick fire-proof Stanley mills (new in 1813) near Stonehouse.³⁸ It is hard to be certain, and injudicious to guess, but it may at least be said that the period of new road construction coincided with the changes in industry - and with the prosperity? - of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but whether this was coincidental, casual or consequential, it would be safer not to spec-

ulate. But without doubt the improvement in communications must have been a factor in this economic quickening.

Roads of course were not the sole factor in the improvement of communications. There had been several attempts during the eighteenth century to develop better water-navigation between the Severn and the Stroud valleys, culminating in the construction of the Stroudwater canal from Framilode to the lower end of Stroud, and which was followed by the less-successful Thames & Severn canal from Stroud to near Lechlade on the Thames.³⁹ It is also worthy of attention that an attempt was made to interest people in the building of a "rail-way" from Framilode to Stroud and beyond as far as Brimscombe Port (on the canal), with a possible branch up the Nailsworth valley as far as the Iron Mills.⁴⁰ But as William Marshall said (in his Review of Agricultural Reports): "Railways may in numerous situations be formed in preference to canals. But let not a rage for railways succeed that for canals". When the steam railway was eventually built down the main valley of the Frome, it effectually removed from the toll-roads the revenue previously derived from long-distance and through traffic.⁴¹

The growth of Stroud in the early nineteenth century.

But in one respect the influence - should it be counted as a cause? - of roads was important. By 1825 Stroud had become a centre for routes. By about 1800 the single, narrow (and dirty) hill street was being supplemented by new streets on the lower, and gentler, slopes south of

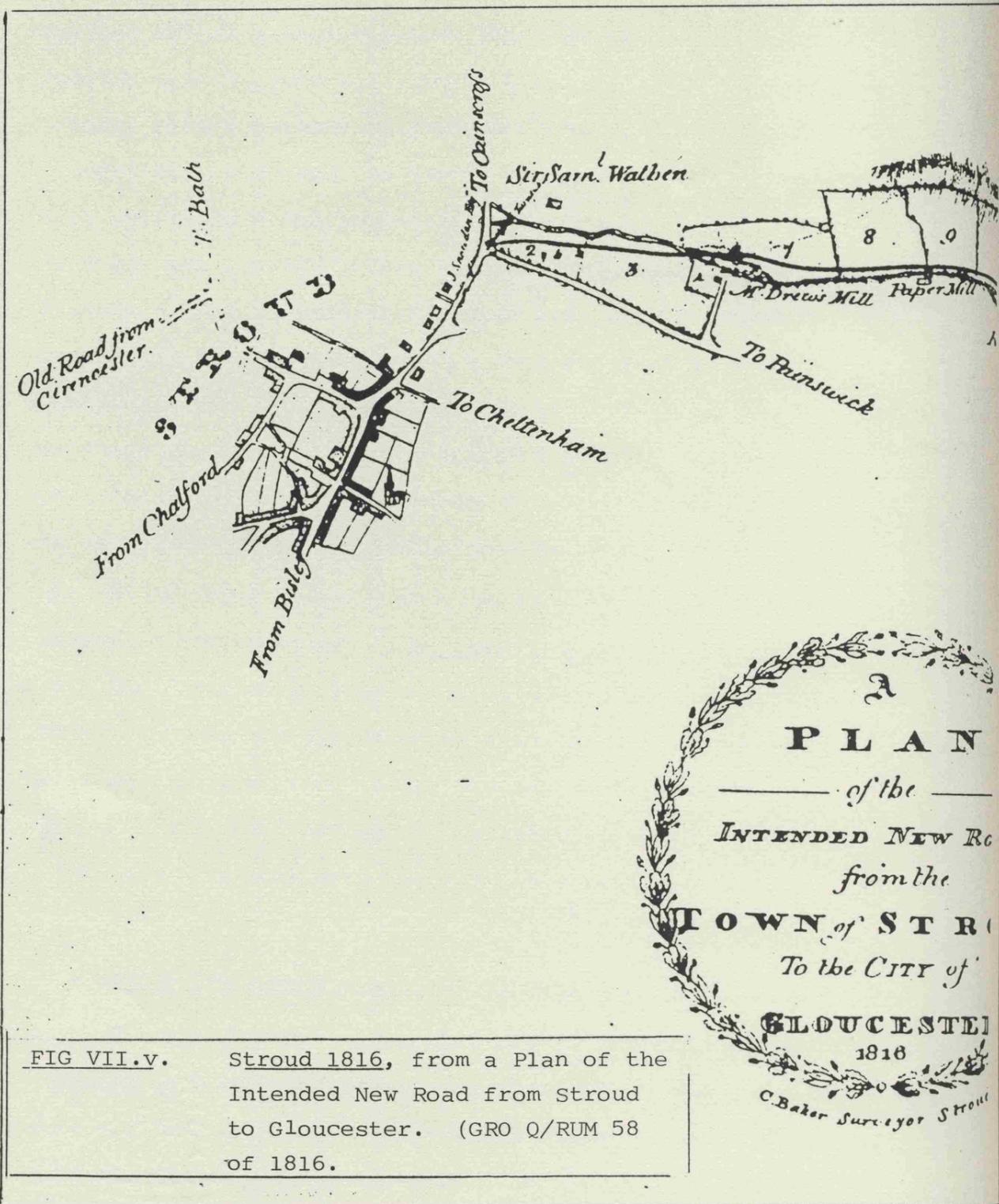


FIG VII.v. Stroud 1816, from a Plan of the Intended New Road from Stroud to Gloucester. (GRO Q/RUM 58 of 1816.)

the town. A good account of this growth is given in the early chapters in Fisher's "Notes & Recollections of Stroud". In the eighteenth century the major inn of the town was The George, about two-thirds of the way up the High Street, and nearly opposite the church. Fisher recalls having seen the local coach with its rear end still in one lane, the leading horses making a complicated sharp turn to the left to reach the inn. But The George ceased to be an inn in 1819, and a new inn - the Royal George - took its place, situated on the level stretch of road which connected the old routes to Rodborough (and the new shortening of the way through Lightpill to the Nailsworth valley route to Bath), with the new Chalford road to Cirencester and London, with the new roads up the Painswick valley to Gloucester and Cheltenham, and soon afterwards also with the new direct way to Cainscross and the Severn Vale.⁴²

Gell & Bradshaw's Gloucestershire Directory of 1820

lists names and occupations in several settlements in the area.⁴³ Painswick, Minchinhampton and Nailsworth had many diverse occupations, but it looks as if Stroud was fast becoming the servicing centre, over-taking the older settlements. For example, in Stroud there were several watch- and clock-makers, boot & shoe makers, tailors & drapers, milliners, hair-dressers, cabinet-makers. a china & glass warehouse, a chemist & druggist, several surgeons, and more significantly several academies for young ladies (and others), several attorneys, and more than one banker. While some though not all, of these occupations appeared in the other small towns, it would seem that Stroud was becoming the main professional centre for the valleys.⁴⁴

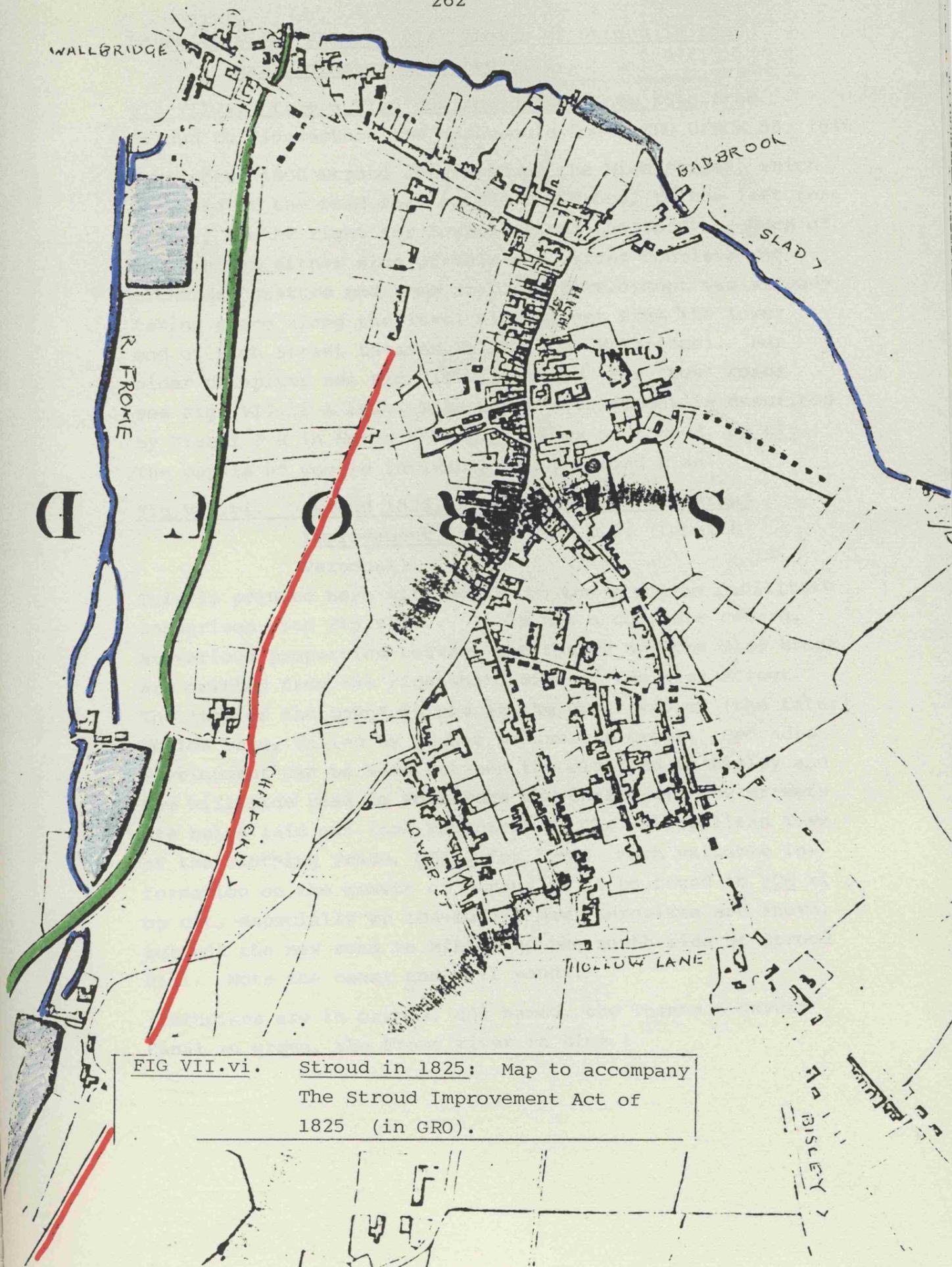


FIG VII.vi. Stroud in 1825: Map to accompany
 The Stroud Improvement Act of
 1825 (in GRO).

(Compare with air photo Appendix 11.)

Notes to Figs. VII v & vi: Growth of Stroud in the
early nineteenth century.

Fig VII.v. from a Plan for an intended new road from
Stroud to Gloucester (the Horsepools Road) GRO Q/RUM 58, 1816.

Just after 1800 Stroud consisted of the High Street, which branched at the road fork called The Cross, to the left for Bisley, to the right for Bowbridge and Chalford. Much of the land on either side of this one street consisted of orchards, pasture and some arable. Development was already taking place along the level King Street from the lower end of High Street towards Wallbridge (Walbridge). For older turnpikes see Fig VII.viii & ix. For 'new' roads see Figs VII.ii & iii. This urban development is described by Fisher P H in Notes & Recollections of Stroud, op cit. The map is of course incidental to the road plan.

Fig VII.vi. Stroud 1825, from a map for the Stroud
Improvement Act. 6 G iv c.6, (Local &
Personal).

This is printed here with north to the right to facilitate comparison with Fig VII.v. It is not a complete record, as various properties between the Church and the Slad brook are omitted from the right-hand side of the High Street. The 'top of the town' is now at the upper end of (the later) Hollow Lane, called by Fisher Nounsell's Cross. Sporadic development can be seen between the old road to Bisley and the hill-side road to Bowbridge and Chalford; new streets are being laid out (see Macintosh I, The Metropolitan Town of the Clothing Trade, GSIAJ for 1986; much valuable information on the growth of Stroud is to be found in VCH xi op cit, especially pp 104-107) 'New' turnpikes are shown, but not the new road to Bisley up the south side of Stroud Hill. Note the canal and mill ponds.

(Turnpikes are in orange, and named, the Thames & Severn Canal in green, the Frome river in blue.)

The Nailsworth area, which had pioneered the new roads, was now at a disadvantage, for while Stroud was a parish, and in 1825 had obtained a private Improvement Act, Nailsworth was not only in two separated halves - Upper and Lower Nailsworth - but lay in three separate parishes, and lacked a distinct urban identity until 1894. Rudder had suggested that "the present undertakers of the Stroud navigation purpose to join their canal with the Thames at Cricklade" by way of the Cherington stream (the headwaters of the Nailsworth stream), but this must surely be an error on his part.⁴⁵ The railway came down the main valley of the Frome in the 1840s: Nailsworth did not get a railway until much later, and then it was only a branch from Stonehouse, with a junction for Stroud at Dudbridge, and not a through route in any case; Nailsworth was also end of track as the Great Western company had pre-empted the route to Tetbury by a branch from Kemble. In addition, the Nailsworth valley seems to have had to undergo some sort of re-orientation. Instead of looking to Tetbury and the way to the south, with its back as it were turned on Stroud, now it looked north by the 1801 Lightpill link with Stroud to which it had direct and short access instead of the earlier circuitious roundabout road through Cainscross and Paganhill. Thus the Nailsworth valley had become not a rival, but a sort of inferior relation of the larger Stroud-Chalford valley, which in any case had communication with Cirencester and London rather than with Tetbury and which, with its new road network, had good communications with Gloucester and

Cheltenham nearer than had the Nailsworth valley. Another blow was that the railway would have taken the Bath traffic which previously had used the route along the Nailsworth turnpike.

The sustained growth of Stroud, and the lessening importance of older settlements, can be seen from the Census Abstracts of the first fifty or seventy years of the nineteenth century. Stroud became the growth centre of the area, attracting businesses and commercial undertakings more strongly than did the other settlements. One powerful factor in this change was obviously the new road system which favoured Stroud at the expense of the other parishes.⁴⁶

But the question still remained: what could happen once the new road system had been completed? From the 1820s on the local problems were also those of the county as a whole, and the problems of the county were also those of the whole national road system. These problems will be examined in later chapters; but first the later history of the Nailsworth Trust 'in maturity' may be looked at.

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Figures to Chapter VII.

The following pages are intended to illustrate the contrast between 'old' and 'new' turnpike roads in the Stroud area. The maps range from Taylor 1777 to Bryant 1824: certain Plans by Charles Baker are too bulky for insertion here, and accordingly have been put as Appendices.

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Fig VII.vii From Hardwicke Four Mile Elm towards Stonehouse, and from Gloucester through Whaddon and Brockthorpe to the top of the scarp at Huddingknoll hill.

(Source: I Taylor 1777 (2nd edition, which depicts the Gloucester & Berkeley canal, not completed till 1827.))

The Gloucester-Stone road (red); the earlier presumed road from the Elm to Standish and Stonehouse (for Stroud) is in green: it is thought to have skirted the lower slopes of the scarp, but much of it has ceased even to be a track. In red, is the present road to Standish and Stonehouse. Also shown, in green, the road from Gloucester Southgate through Whaddon and Brockthorpe to the top of the scarp at Huddingknoll hill, where it met the scarp rim-road which followed the ridge past the 'Beacon' (just discernible on Taylor, shown by red arrow) to Prinknash Corner for Birdlip and Cheltenham.

FIG VII.vii, 'Old' turnpike roads south from Gloucester; and to Painswick.

Note Hardwicke Four Mile Elm, Painswick Beacon. (Source: Taylor 2nd edn, which shows the Gloucester & Berkeley canal, completed 1827.)

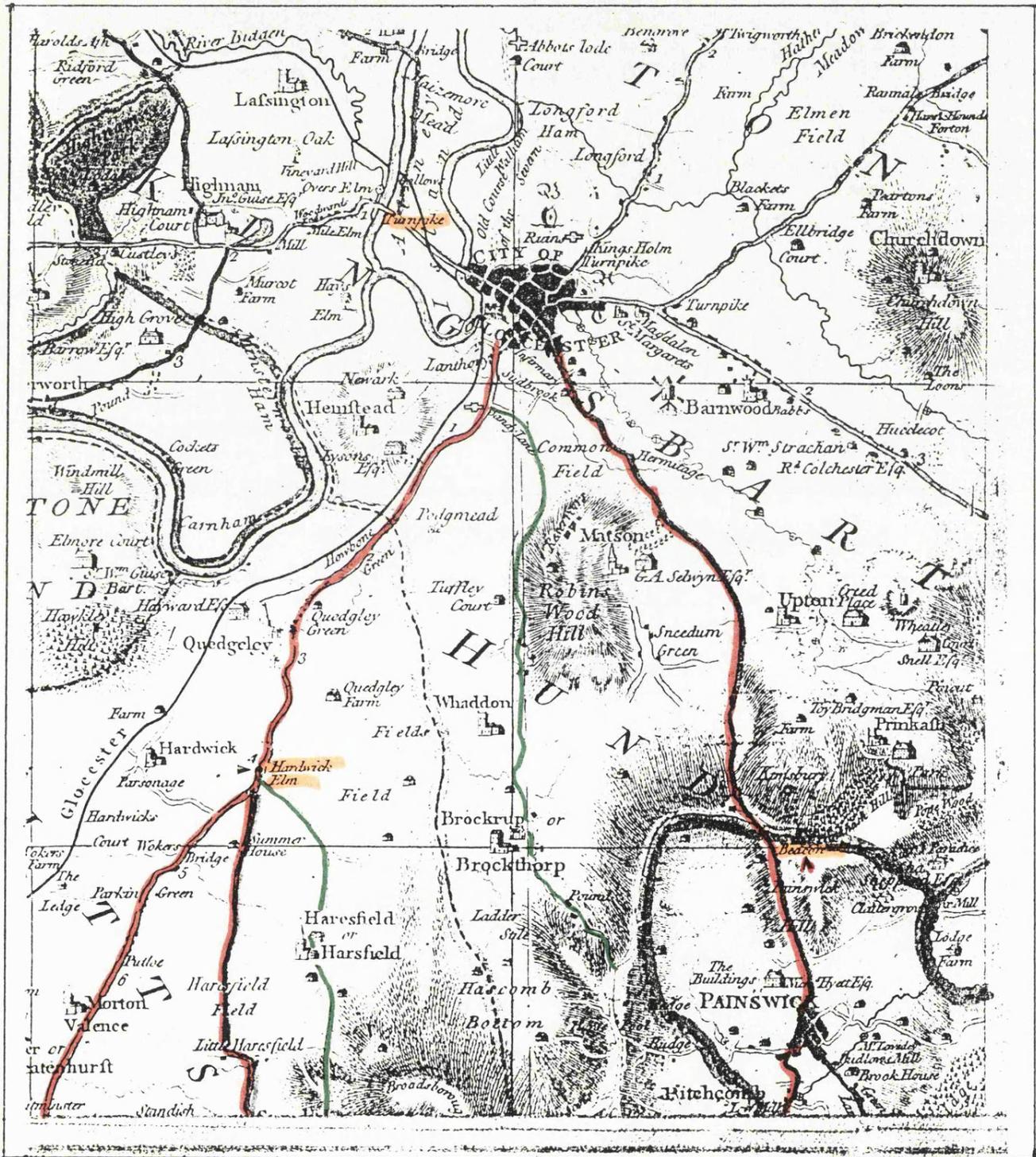


FIG VII.viii.

'Old' turn-
pike roads
up the
Pains-
wick
valley

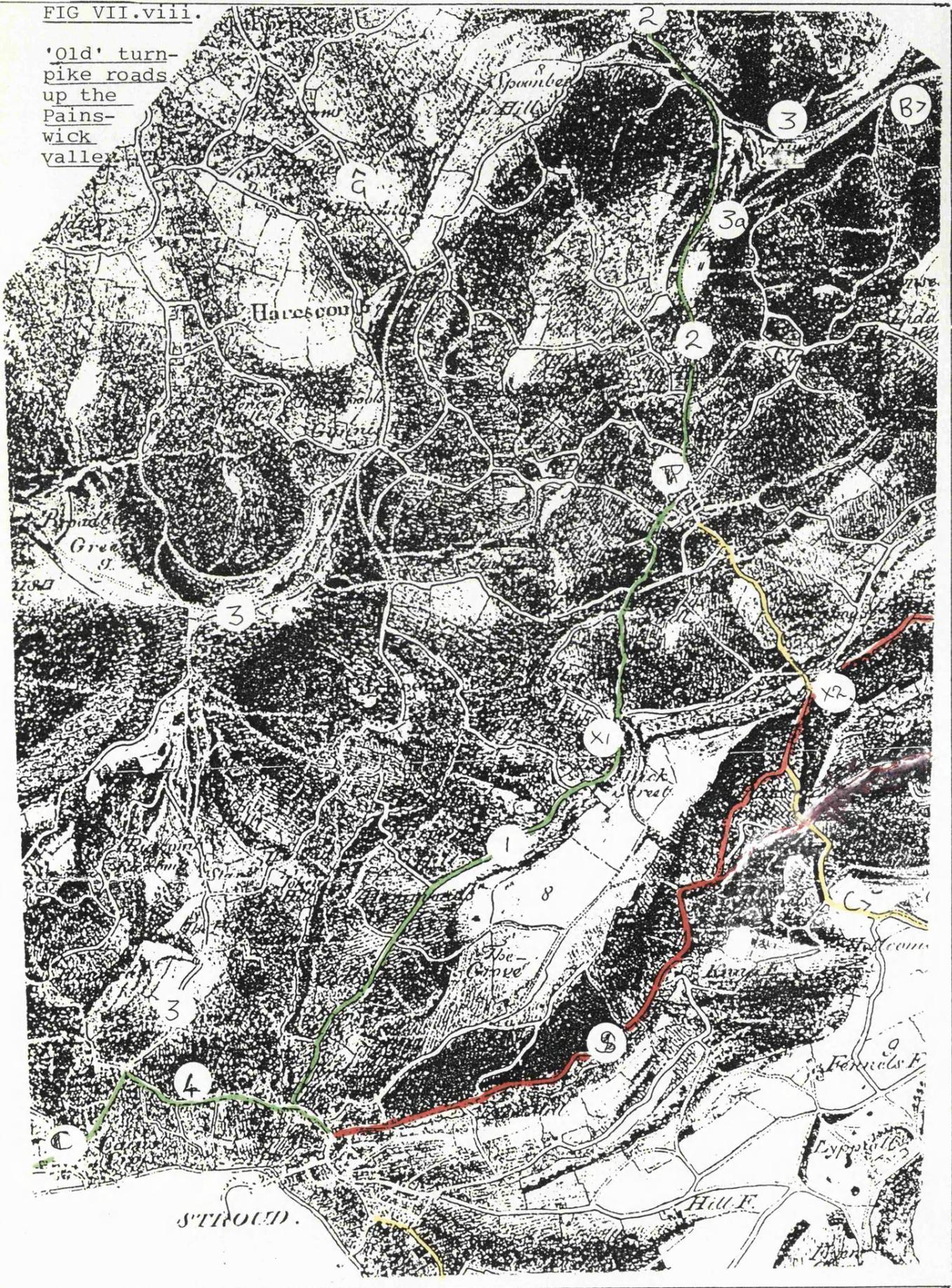
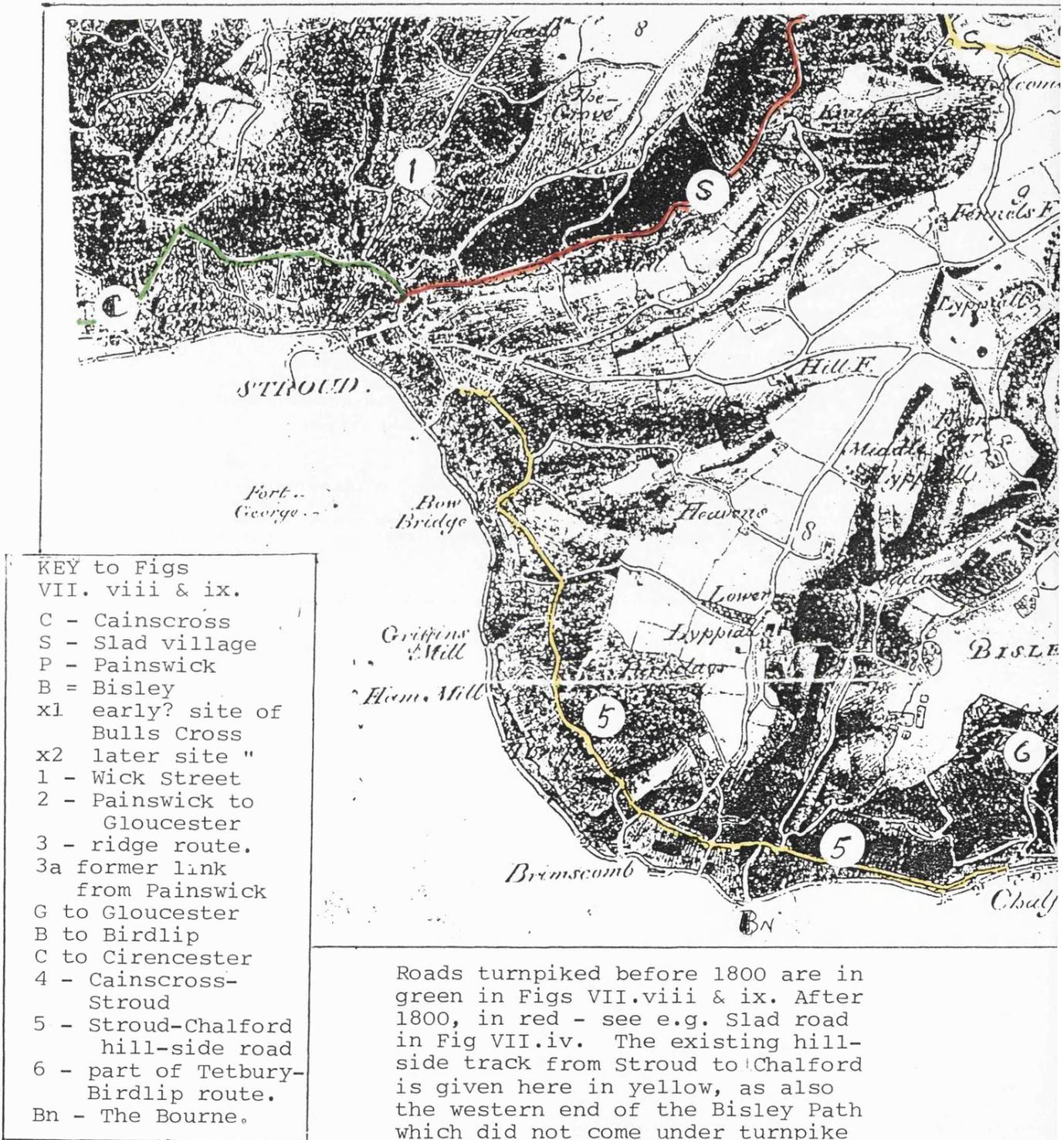


Fig VII.ix. Former Stroud-Chalford road (not turnpiked.)

(Source: OS Preliminary Drawings).



Milestones along Wick Street and from Painswick to Gloucester were located in the 1960s (though only one then still retained its cut iron plate). Milestones shown on the Preliminary Drawings along the ridge road from the Beacon to beyond Prinknash Park Wall (Cranham Corner) could not be found on search in the 1960s.

Notes to Figs VII. x & xi.

(Sources: OS PDrawings;
insets from Taylor.)

Fig VII.x. Road changes on the Cirencester-Stroud road, through Cirencester Park.

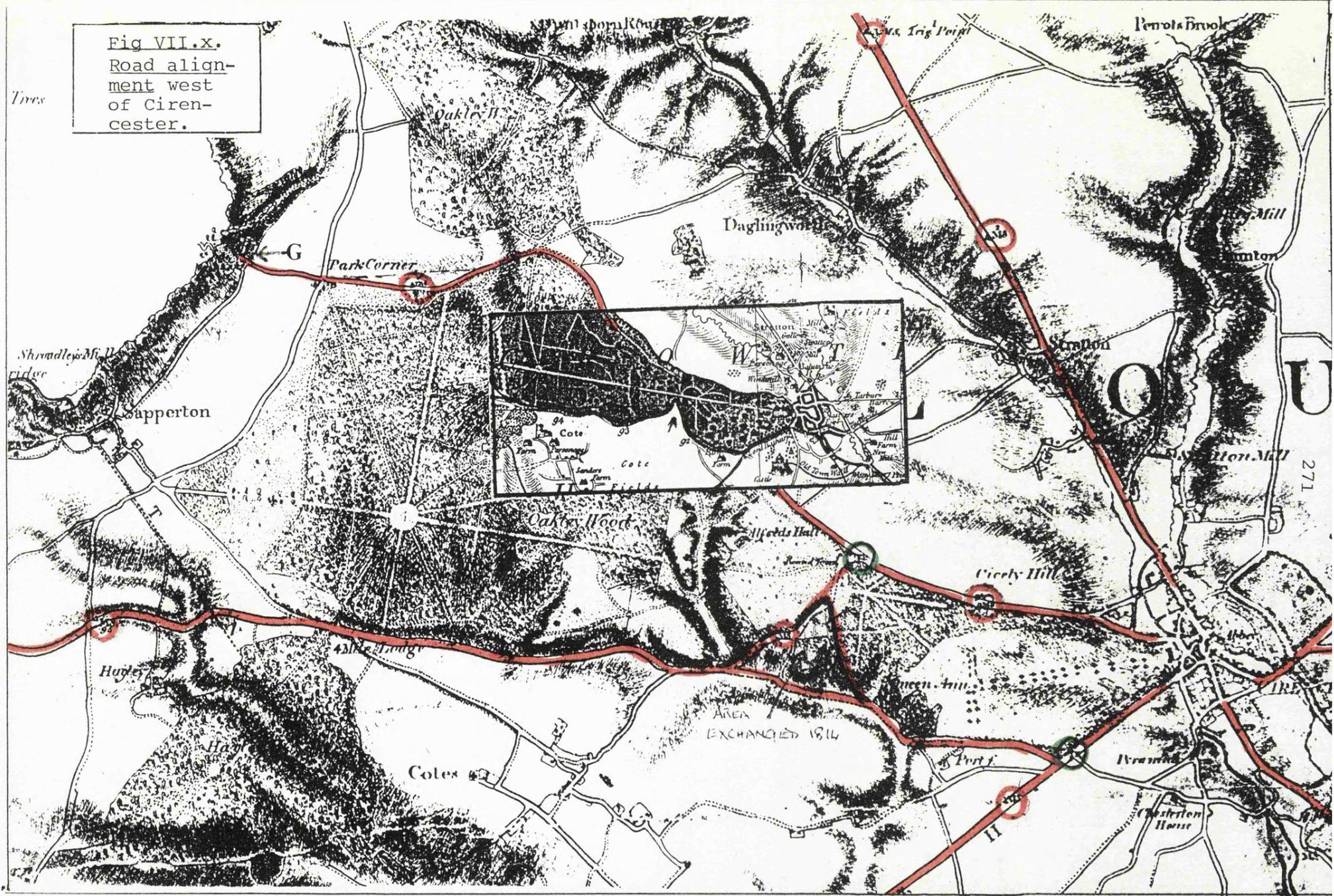
Turnpiked roads in orange: Ermine Street from Cirencester north-west to Birdlip and Gloucester, the Fosse Way south-west for Tetbury (and Bath), the Bisley Path, and the Minchinhampton-Stroud road. The Bisley Path was turnpiked only as far as Gulph Bottom. It left Cirencester by the main gate to the Park (Cecily Hill), edged between that Park and Stratton Field, turning west for Park Corner and Gulph Bottom - marked G.

The road to Minchinhampton turned off the Bisley Path by the Round Tower pike gate, towards Coates, and right for Minchinhampton. This section was exchanged with Lord Bathurst by a straightening of the way south of the Park. Toll-sites are outlined in green, milestones in red: none could be found on search before the other side of The Gulph. Milestones along the Minchinhampton road today are almost certainly replacements of the original markers, though one possible earlier stone (with a replacement plate) can be seen on the north side of Minchinhampton common.

Fig VIII.xi. Road changes on the Cirencester-Stroud road, east of Minchinhampton.

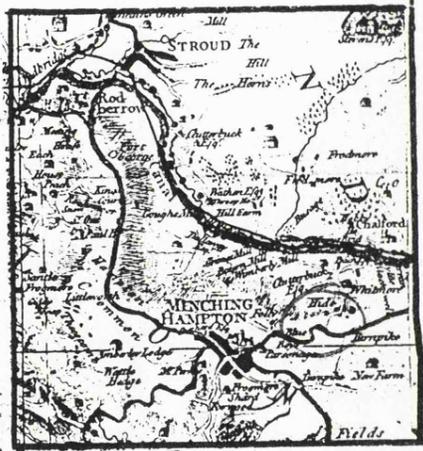
Taylor (inset) shows loops and meanderings of the road east of Minchinhampton, the probable explanation of which is that in the 1770s most traffic still went from farm to farm and settlement to settlement. Increased traffic in the later eighteenth century would require a shorter and straighter route. A section of road turnpiked before then (i.e. in the 1750s) can be seen near Upper Hyde, emerging from Old Common near the Blue Boys inn. The 100th milestone from London is circled in red. Also shown is the 7th milestone from Stroud - this section of road was truncated by the enlargement of Aston Down airfield in the 1930s. According to the Rev S Shaw, "From hence the road is flat and unpleasant and instead of the verdant block of hedge-rows, the eye is continually disgusted with the unsightly objects of loose stones heaped in strait lines and angles".

Fig VII.x.
Road align-
ment west
of Ciren-
cester.

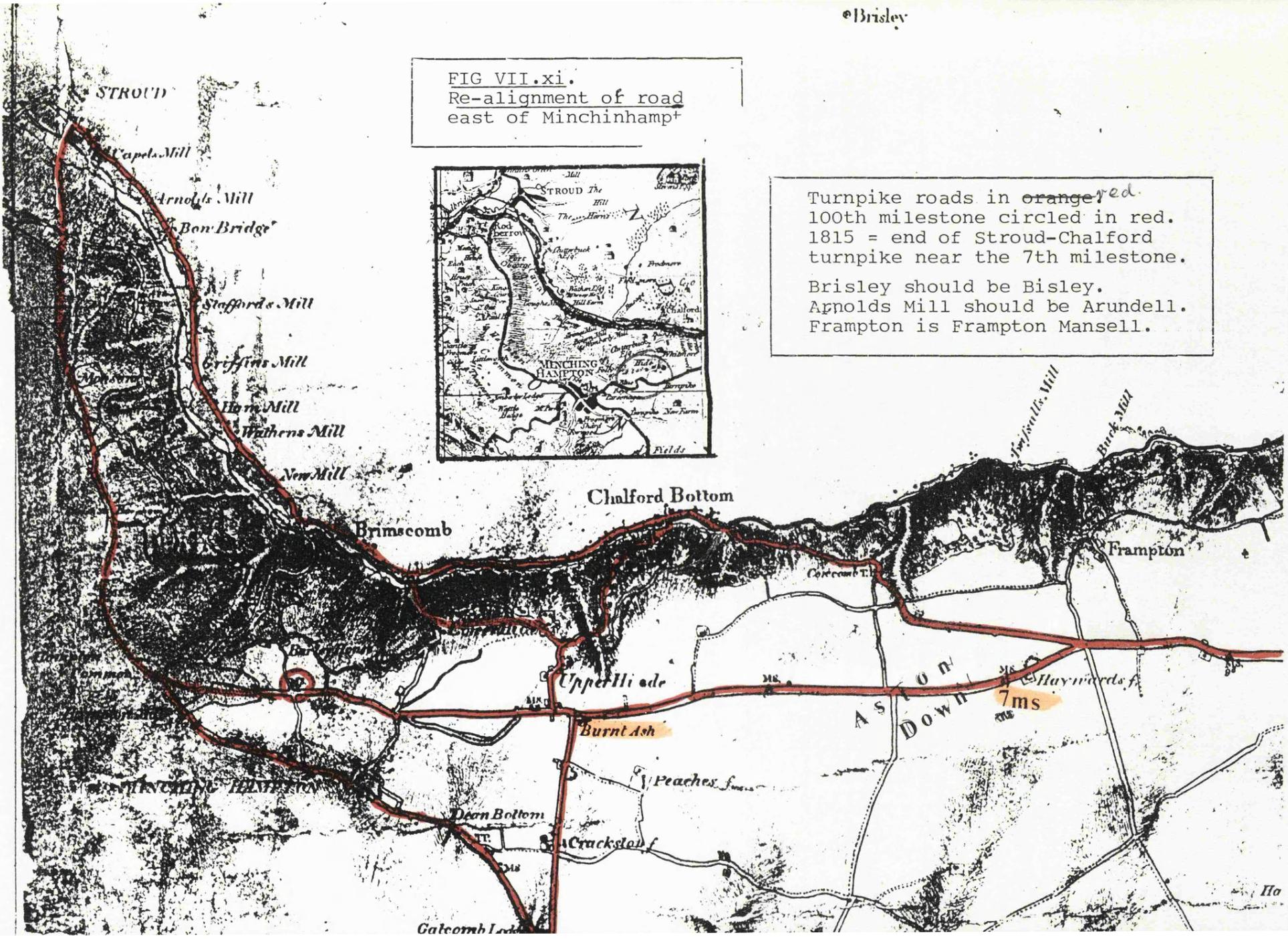


•Brisley

FIG VII.xi.
Re-alignment of road
east of Minchinhampt



Turnpike roads in orange/red.
100th milestone circled in red.
1815 = end of Stroud-Chalford
turnpike near the 7th milestone.
Brisley should be Bisley.
Arnolds Mill should be Arundell.
Frampton is Frampton Mansell.



Chapter VII. References.

- 1 For the earlier Latterwood toll-site, see Cox C, TrBGAS 86 op cit.
- 2 The Rev Stebbing Shaw, Tour of the West Country ... op cit, refers to the "new serpentine" road down the hill to Broadway in the north Cotswolds: the date was 1788, later than that of the Nailsworth road.
- 3 Cranham Corner: SO 882 130 . VCH vii points out certain re-alignments of the roads here.
- 4 GRO Q/RUM 56 of 1815. For a turnpike road not far from the Stroudwater area which was treated virtually as a piece of private property, see BPP 1833, xv, 499-518: the Third District, the Crudwell & Minety road. Joseph Pitt, former MP for Cricklade, was the treasurer, received the tolls, was the only person to get interest on his loan, for which no accounts were publicised, and paid little or no attention to letters from the Clerk, John Bevir. (BPP op cit 536-552). This road was part of the Cirencester & Wotton Bassett Trust.
- 5 David Ricardo, the younger, and his pamphlet "Rebecca at Stroud", are dealt with in succeeding chapters.
- 6 16/17 V c.126 of 1853, which included a road up the hill from Upton St Leonards to the existing ridge-top turnpike to Birdlip.
- 7 HCJ 73, 31 January 1818, 14.
- 8 GRO Q/RUM 58 of 1816 and 61 of 1817.
- 9 Colleen Haine in GSIAJ for 1985.
- 10 GRO Q/RUM 63 of 1818 and 66 of 1819.
- 11 See Figs I.ix and x.
- 12 Laurie Lee, Cider with Rosie, (Hogarth, 1959).
- 13 Tann op cit 123-4; VCH xi, 127.
- 14 The writer's grandfather managed a mill in the Slad valley at the turn of the nineteenth century, and walked daily over the ridge of Stroud Hill to the works.
- 15 The name Bulls (or Bull) Cross may originally have been applied to the road junction where Wick Street turned down-hill for Painswick, while the track to Bisley and Cirencester (the Bisley Path) continued over the col: there was no turnpiked Slad road then. The Bull Inn was close to this spot, and so the name may have been transferred up the hill to the new crossroads after 1801. This is conjectural, but the OS Preliminary Drawings sheet 172 (1811) lends some support to this. (See Figs. VII. ii & viii.)

- 16 The Bill is in G. Coll JF 9.64. See also JCH 55 of 1800, 242.
- 17 The "Cross-Ways" is better known as Tom Long's Post, reputed as the burial place of a highwayman or of a suicide. The road junction has recently been altered and re-aligned.
- 18 JHC 69, 18 November 1813, 42.
- 19 The 7th milestone was verified in the 1960s, on the road now cut off by Aston Down Airfield. See Cox in TrBGAS 83 op cit, 131. Grid SU 914 015.
- 20 Fisher op cit 152. Family tradition of the Mann family, one-time shop-keepers at Chalford, agrees.
- 21 GRO Q/RUM 93 of 1824; JCH 80, 13.
- 22 Fisher op cit 152. "The ascent of this long lane from Bowbridge to the hill top, was an incline of somewhat more than one in six; and it may seem strange that it could ever have been traversed by horses and carriages. But ... it was much used ..."
- 23 There is a water-colour of the Cainscross toll-house by Paul Smith, c.1900, in the Stroud Museum, showing it prior to later alteration.
- 24 Playne op cit; the road from Avening to Nailsworth lay over the top of the intervening hill.
- 25 GRO Q/RUM 69 of 1819.
- 26 HCH 78, 21 February 1823, 54; GRO Q/RUM 79 of 1822.
- 27 Pawson op cit.
- 28 Even in the eighteenth century travellers might take the hill road from Stroud to Bisley for Cirencester. VCH xi, 101.
- 29 The Gloucestershire Repository, No. 9596 in G. Coll: a short-lived periodical edited (and largely written) by P H Fisher.
- 30 For Stroud coaches, see Fisher op cit, passim; Jackman op cit 609, 690; Herbert N, Road Travel & Transport in Gloucestershire op cit; and many issues of the Gloucester Journal. See also Bates A, A Directory of Stage Coach Services 1836, (David & Charles, 1969). For other types of transport, see Crofts J E V, Packhorse, Wagon & Post, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), and Turnbull G L, Provincial Road Carrying in the eighteenth century, JTH new series iv, 1977.
- 31 Morris J H, The Gloucestershire Woollen Industry, 1750-1840, PhD, London 1947, also in TrBGAS 66 of 1945; Moir E, The Gentlemen Clothiers, in Gloucestershire Studies op cit; Tann J, Gloucestershire Woollen Mills op cit; Ponting K G, A History of the West of England Cloth Industry (Macdonald, 1957). Most of all, Julia de L Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880s. (Ox. Clar., 1971). Lawrence W, Stroudwater a Poem (Stroud, 1824) is a contemporary description of milling, mills and the valley of the Frome; see also Marling W H, The Woollen Industry of Gloucestershire op cit.

- 32 See "The State of the Case", 1757, anonymous but possibly by William Dallaway - on weavers who would not return to work at the old rate,

"... thereby occasioning great trouble, and continual hindrance to the clothiers in their trade, which is too much encouraged and promoted by some of the neighbouring justices of the peace, who appear resolved not to be convinced of the inexpediency and impropriety of putting such laws (i.e. wage rating) into execution ..."

See Mann J op cit chapter iv on Capital & labour, also Dean Tucker, Instructions to Travellers, 1757, on industrial relations.

- 33 VCH xi passim; also Haine C, GSIAJ op cit, 1972-4, a series of articles on the cloth trade along the Painswick stream.
- 34 Moir E, in Gloucestershire Studies op cit 242-6.
- 35 For an example of small mills on a minute stream, see Cox C, A Walk up the Washbrook, GSIAJ for 1984.
- 36 Mann J, op cit; Ponting K, op cit. See also the evidence of E Sheppard in the House of Commons Report on the Woollen Industry 1802-3, v, 257, where he is quoted as saying -

"the manufacture in Gloucestershire is carried on to a much greater extent in villages than towns ... it is necessary to carry it on in villages in consequence of the advantages of water and falls";

while John Jones of Bradford-on-Avon agreed that

"the introduction of machines and the erection of mills upon water falls were but recent ..."

- 37 Information from a lecture by Peter Griffin on the Marling family, to the Stroud Museum Association, c. 1982.
- 38 On iron-framed buildings, see Skempton A W & Johnson H R, The First Iron Frames, (Architectural Review, March 1962).

Tann and others point out that the cloth mills in the Stroud valleys were either rebuilt or extensively enlarged in the early years of the nineteenth century, which emphasises both the concentration of manufacturing processes in the mills, and also the availability of cash (or credit) at a time of economic opportunity. According to Prof. Skempton, the first mill completely constructed of iron columns and beams was Jones' Maltings (as it is at present) at Shrewsbury, originally built as a flax mill. See Rimmer W G, Castle Foregate Flax Mill in Trans. of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, lvi pt I, 1957-58.

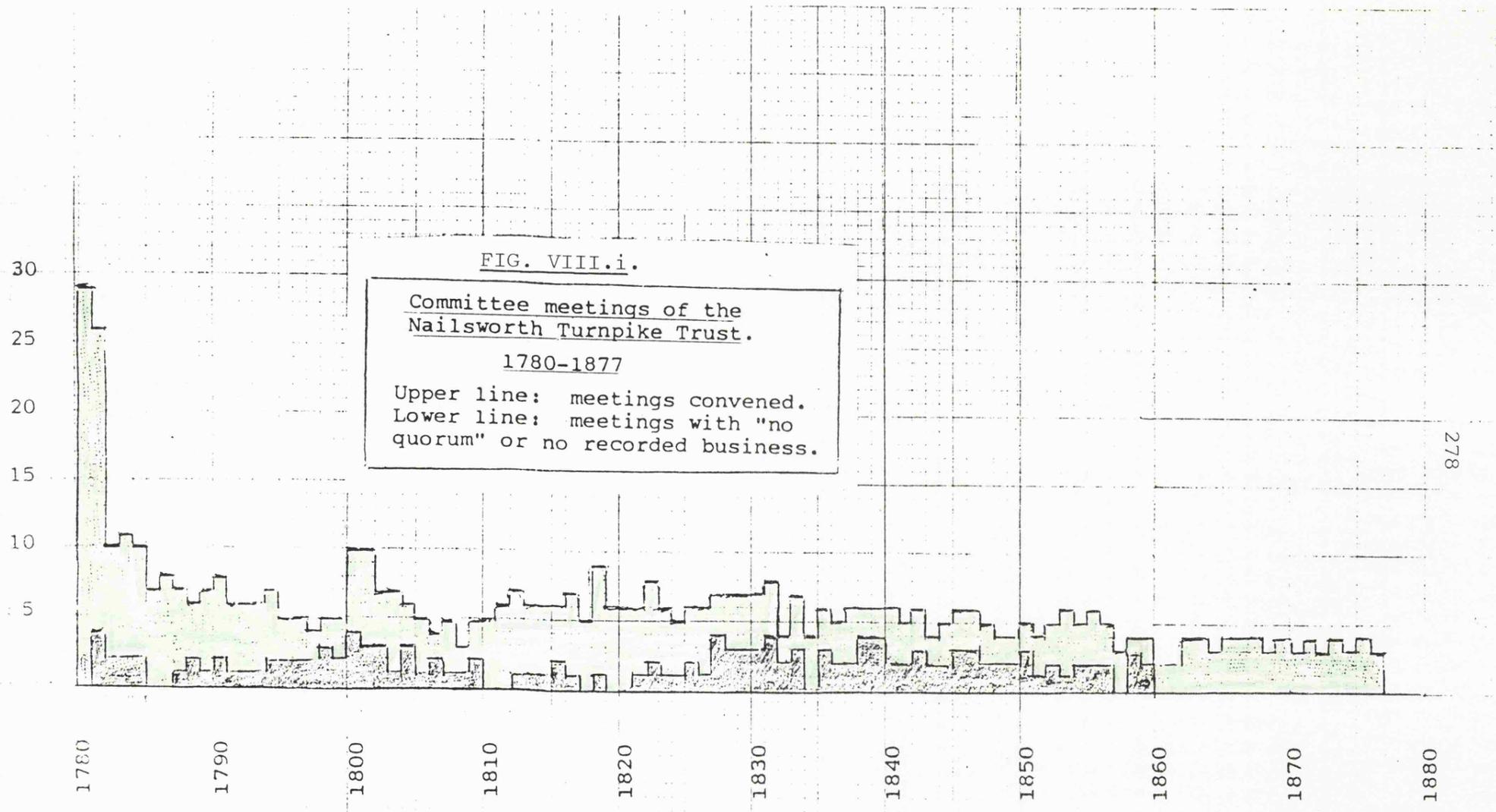
- 39 Handford M, and Household H, op cit. Handford in his chapter 2 refers to the social status of clothiers.
- 40 GRO Q/RUM 100 of 1824.
- 41 The GWR line was opened down the Stroud valley in 1845 (as the Cheltenham & Great Western Union), VCH xi, 103. The Nailsworth valley line was opened in 1867. VCH xi, 103.
- 42 GRO Q/RUM 63 of 1816, plan of an intended new road from Stroud to Gloucester, has a small-scale map of Stroud; a much fuller, and more developed, map accompanied proposals for the Stroud Improvement Act of 1825, though with gaps. A later, much better produced, map is that of John Woods of 1835.
- 43 Gell & Bradshaw, Gloucestershire Directory, 1820.
- 44 An ancestor of the present writer, Charles Cornwall Keene, was described on his grave-stone in Chalford churchyard as "gentleman" - he had however been a master-tailor, his clientele presumably being among the clothiers, managers and better-off people of the area; but Stroud was fast becoming the main centre for such services.
- 45 Rudder op cit, 338.
- 46 Compare John Wood's map of 1835 (qv above) GRO D1180, 10/40, with the two earlier maps, but especially that for 1816 (GRO Q/RUM 58).

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Chapter VIII. THE NAILSWORTH TRUST IN MATURITY.Introduction.

The possibility remains that once a turnpike road had been established, interest might slacken off and the affairs fall into the hands of one or two trustees, with the consequence that the trust might come to be regarded as a private concern, as indeed did happen with the small branch of the Cirencester & ^{C&D}Wotton Bassett trust referred to earlier.¹ Albert suggests that by the early years of the nineteenth century "to more than one local attorney a turnpike trust virtually presented a personal vested interest".² Clerks were usually attorneys, but elsewhere Albert says that the surveyor was probably the most important official. He also says that few trusts maintained a consistent control over repairs. In many, if not most, cases a bank acted as treasurer, but while this was general in the Stroudwater area, it is to be noted that for very many years the treasurer of the Nailsworth Trust was a local shop-keeper - William Biggs - who in his turn was succeeded by an assistant. Albert also says that there was "indifferent participation at most meetings", and that the inactivity of smaller provincial trusts was very pronounced. On the other hand, Pawson asserts that there was no general decline with time in attendance at meetings and Booker points out, with regard to the office of clerk, that it did not provide much profit to the holder.

Some of these remarks may be tested against the middle years of the Nailsworth Trust.



Administration: Committee, Clerk, Treasurer.

Fig. VIII.i, a record of the number of committee meetings of the Nailsworth Trust, does indeed show that there was a falling-off in attendance once the road was built and in use. But the number of meetings called thereafter remained fairly steady until the final years when the Trust was slowly being wound down; and it would be quite natural for fewer meetings to be called once the business of putting the road into operation had been done. What does manifest itself is the number of meetings^s convened, but insufficient members attended to form a quorum: sometimes no one attended, and suggestions for these uneven attendances will be advanced later. However, the fact that attendances were small in numbers does not necessarily mean that there was mal-administration. The three officials were Clerk, Treasurer and Surveyor and, provided their work was supervised, and at appropriate intervals, the trustees might well feel that routine attendance did not call for large numbers - with the exception of the Annual General Meeting.

In a local trust like that of Nailsworth, Clerk and Treasurer were not salaried officials who could be dismissed (though the case of William Wilkins, first Clerk, shows that this was not impossible). In fact it was not until 1862 that the Clerk was paid a "salary" instead of presenting an annual bill for his services. These two officials were also trustees and, with the exception of George Wathen (who lived just outside Stroud, and officiated for several trusts) very much 'local'.³ The

Surveyor was perhaps in a different position. Nevertheless, a perusal of the Minute Book after 1800, when the system of roads was well-established and furnished with side-roads, shows that there was definitely less activity at monthly meetings.

Committee Meetings. (and see Fig. VIII.i.)

TABLE VIII.i.

Decade	Meetings convened	"No Quorum"
1801-1811	62	10
1812-1821	63	5
1822-1831	64	18
1832-1841	59	18
1842-1851	51	23
Total	304	74

Fig. VIII.i,- Committee meetings during the ninety years and more of the existence of the Trust is subject to slight error and deserves some comment.

Sometimes "No Quorum" was entered, on occasions with the words "no business". At other times only one name appeared, possibly that of the current Chairman, as at the AGM of March 1841 when only E Dalton signed, while in July 1858 only the word "Chairman" was written down. This does not mean that no one else was there, though in May 1850 and July 1850 no names at all were entered, and in June 1801 and again in 1841, the record has "insufficient trustees". The first two Clerks, Wilkins and Dalby, both "attested" signatures of trustees, but the

custom seems later to have been discontinued. Occasionally the Clerk's clerk signed the Minutes.

Minutes in the 1840s tended to be recorded in a casual fashion, at times neither the date nor names being entered. In the 1860s the Committee seems to have consisted mainly of Messrs Playne, Kimber and Smith (which supports Albert's remarks), who all had a special concern for the road to Avening, particularly with the reduction of the debt on that branch. A tightly-knit 'local' group, they did not neglect their duties as trustees; it must be remembered they held office at a time when the life of the Trust was seen to be limited.

On occasions, a reason for the absence of a quorum was given, one instance being when the Committee was attending the meeting in London on the proposed Nailsworth valley railway. At other times weather may have hindered attendance, and on one occasion it looks as if the Clerk had failed to notify members in time. It also became customary for trustees not to attend the meeting following the Annual General Meeting.

The peak of 1800-1801 was partly due to meetings held to discuss renewing the original Act, with the addition of one or two extra roads, including the proposed discontinuance of the "W" road. It was also reported that by then, after twenty years, the roads had become dilapidated, and the Committee had to meet to discuss applications from would-be repairers of the roads. In 1801 one John Picton offered to repair all the roads for seven years for £2750, but this was not accepted. Howard,

who was Surveyor at the time, said it could be done for £200 a year, with an extra £100 in the first year. The work of the Surveyor will be considered later.

It is not clear why meetings should have been better attended from 1810 to 1821. It might have been due to there being a 'new' Clerk, George Wathen, but as he had taken office in 1803 on the death of Peter Lever-
sage, this is unlikely; moreover, Wathen remained Clerk until 1847, and attendance was particularly poor in many of those years. Tentatively it might be suggested that the improved attendance at Committee meetings was due to this being the period when most of the Stroud area vall-
eys received their 'new' turnpike roads, and it would be in the interests of the Trustees to keep well abreast of events, and to safeguard the affairs of the Trust. It may also be noticed that George Wathen held the office of Clerk for several of these trusts; it is also poss-
ible that during his long tenure of office he tended to regard the concern as rather a 'private' matter, as Albert suggests. There is certainly an impression of a brisker approach in the Minute Book after Wathen ceased to be Clerk, but ths cause is a matter of conjecture.

The following list is a random sample of attendance records at Annual General Meetings.

early 1820s	7 members or less
early 1830s	usually 3
early 1840s	usually 3
early 1850s	5-6
early 1860s	4-6

and until final dispiiking a small group of about five

trustees attended regularly, which gave some continuity to this small board of management.

It must be remembered that the written record may not be completely reliable; and also that much business might well go unrecorded, members perhaps meeting informally, or writing to one another.

At the December meeting with the parish surveyors to settle the amount of parish composition for the year, often only one signature appeared, and this also happened, though not invariably, at the annual auction of the tolls. Both these occasions were matters concerned with finance, and it does not seem likely that these matters were left solely to the discretion of the official, whether Clerk, Treasurer or Surveyor. The possibility exists that the Clerk, or other trustees, was carrying out instructions previously agreed, and the annual meeting for the accounts was the occasion when formal approval in writing was recorded. Moreover, from the 1824 annual accounts had to be forwarded to the Clerk of the Peace, who then had them printed and distributed to the "active members".⁴

The accounts at the Annual General Meeting on 29 March 1802 can serve to introduce some other aspects of the business of the Trust. Under the heading of "Accounts of the 1st District" (that is the main line of road from Dudbridge to Tiltups End, with branches) are:

£5142. 10s. (capital borrowed)

£771. 7s. 6d, interest due at 25 March 1802.

The Balance was crossed out, and a table written underneath, given in the Table below.

TABLE VIII. ii. Accounts for year 9/4/1801 to 29/3/1802.

<u>9 April 1801 - 29 March 1802</u>		£
Received from Gate Keepers		588. 3s. 1d
Treasurer of Nurls Gate		
Division - 1/10 of cost of		
the Act.		28
Sale of land		15
Parish duty		10.19s. 3d
		<hr/>
		642. 2s. 4d.
Paid out for road repairs		219. 2s. 2d
Surveyor's salary		20
Debt to Treasurer on		45. 8s. 7½d
balance of last year's account		
Balance of expense in getting		
the Act	79	(i.e. renewal)
"Clerks Bills and other		
Contingent expences"		16. 13s. 9d
Interest to Mr. Hort,		3. 5s.
Transfer to Treasurer to		
discharge year's interest		<u>357. 2s. 6d.</u>
		640. 12s. 0½d
Balance in Treasurer's		
hands		<u>1. 10s. 3½d</u>
		<hr/> <hr/>
		£ 642. 2s. 4d

In addition the Treasurer had to pay Peter Leversage a bill for £15. 10s. 9d. (included in the accounts above), and it was recorded that Robert Evans, gatekeeper at Tiltups Inn, and William Wathen were in arrears, the former for £14. 15s., the latter for £3. 13s. The Clerk was told to write to them saying they would be prosecuted unless they paid before the next meeting, and included with Robert Evans was his security, Isaac Harvey.

Thus over 90% of revenue came from receipt of tolls; and of the total income for the given year about 35% went on road repairs, and 55% on paying interest to bond holders. This underlines the dilemma of all such trusts: how to maintain the roads on which tolls were collected, and how to pay interest on the sums borrowed (as well as repayment of capital). On the whole the Nailsworth Trust does not seem to have done too badly at this stage. The Annual General Meeting on 15 March 1864 records that all interest on the main road had been paid to 31 December 1863. The great burden was the problem of liquidation on the Avening road branch, and the resolution of this debt was a yearly and major item of the last twenty years or so of the life of the Trust. But road repairs were certainly not neglected, and later some items will be given to substantiate this.

The Surveyor; repair and maintenance.

At the start the offices of Clerk and Surveyor had been held by the same person - William Wilkins. On his departure, the two posts were separated (though when George Wathen became Clerk one condition was that he should resign if the two posts were amalgamated). The matter is complicated by the occasional appointment of a "working" surveyor under the "superintending" Surveyor. While after Wilkins' departure there are references to the "Surveyor", it was not till September 1782 that Samuel Heaven was made Head Surveyor, as noted earlier. On 27 September 1784 William Howard was engaged to keep the roads in

complete repair - reference has been made above to his appointment. On and off he did much of the necessary practical work of the Trust for a number of years. In 1803 he resigned, being replaced by Thomas Dauncey under the same terms. Dauncey got £20 bonus in 1804, and a seven-year contract for £258. p.a. His working surveyor was one Thomas Cox. The Agreement was renewed in 1811 with an increase of £35 p.a., for another seven years, and he was also to get an increase in 1813 if the road repairs were found to be satisfactory. But in December 1813 Dauncey was questioned on the roads - the Trustees thought he had done his best ("exerted himself"), but in September 1815 the contract for building the extension to the road up from Little Britain was taken by William Howard, who appears to have resumed the post of Head Surveyor until his second, and final, resignation in 1826. Dauncey did not give up his Agreement until 1818, and it was decided that no action should be taken against him "in case he do hereafter pay", but why he should be owing money is not recorded - perhaps there had been a penalty clause for some failure or other. It could not have been a very severe lapse as he had held the post for some time, though not perhaps with the highest degree of satisfaction.⁵ But at least this shows that the Trustees were keeping an eye on road repair.

In 1826 Howard was succeeded by one Thomas Smart. He was the son of Moses Smart of Beverston, and had been at one time inn-keeper at Tiltups Inn. The Smart family were engaged in road repair and also in the renting of

tolls, as will appear later. So here may be seen the emergence of a 'professional' class of contractors in the business of toll-roads, perhaps a late example in a small provincial area of the practice that had already developed in London. The 1834 Abstract with the Clerk of the Peace gave Moses Smart as "General and superintending Surveyor for the Minchinhampton, Tetbury and Bisley Trust" and named him as General Surveyor for the Nailsworth Trust in that year also, with Thomas Smart as Superintending Surveyor. He had charge also of the Avening branch, under the name of Messrs Moses & Thomas Smart. It may be noted from the 1834 Abstracts of Income & Expenditure of Turnpike Trusts that one or two of the local trusts did not have a surveyor, the work instead being done by a trustee.

In 1846 Richard Barnfield became Surveyor and retained the post until his death in 1868. By this time there were only nine years left to the Trust, and it would have been difficult to find another full-time or professional surveyor. Though the Trust agreed to advertise for a surveyor, in fact repairs from now on were done by two men - Gardner and Fletcher, the one for the main and side-roads, Fletcher for the Avening road, and both worked under John Potton who was named in 1870 as Surveyor. Some of their work for the repair of the roads may now be looked at.

Samuel Rudder's tart remarks about the remissness of commissioners and the unavailability of proper road materials back in the 1770s may be recalled. The first re-

ference in the Minutes to better road material than the local limestone came in 1818 on 11 April with the mention of "Bristol" stone. Bristol, blue or Clifton, stone was ordered at regular intervals from then on, presumably from the quarry of St Vincent's Rocks on the Avon below Bristol, though on one occasion Chepstow stone is named. For example, on 12 April 1855 the Trustees agreed to buy 500 tons of Bristol stone for the repair of the main road; in 1858 the Surveyor was told that he could repair roads with Bristol stone and could apply to the parishes for £65 or so. In 1857, on a complaint from W Marling, blue stone was ordered to be put on the lower stretch of the Dudbridge-Selsley road;⁶ and 130 tons of blue stone were bought in 1862 for general repair, which included the Avening road to beyond Playne's Longfords mill. As late as 1872, the Committee was informed that Messrs Eaglestaff could supply broken stone from Clifton rocks for 4s. 6d. a ton at Dudbridge wharf. So it would appear that up to the final dispiking, the Trust was using good road metal as it became available, but the side-roads continued to be repaired with the local stone.

The Annual General Meetings reports contain a good deal of information about maintenance and repair, neither of which was neglected whatever critics might claim in the Stroud Roads Bill controversy.⁷ In 1818 Richard Jones of Bussage (on the Bisley plateau) offered to take over repair of the whole system for seven years: he was described as a "roadmaker", another example of the growing

businesses or professions connected with roads. He offered to do the work for £60 a mile for the main road, £30 for the up-hill stretch to Tiltups End, and £20 a mile for the other roads. He was later granted £150 compensation for putting the roads in complete repair, but the sum was not to be paid till the Committee had been satisfied the work had been done. This was the year when Dauncey gave up his Agreement.

In 1829, when Thomas Smart was Surveyor, his father, Moses Smart, offered to take repairs of both districts - Nailsworth, and the Avening road. In March 1848 Daniel Neale took over repair of the road to Avening and the Iron Mill hill road (for £85, in monthly payments), John Walkley was to do the main and side-roads for £227. Other small stretches were to be done at Trust expense under the direction of the Surveyor, Barnfield.

In 1856 road repair contracts were bid for by: Daniel Neale, John Walkley, Benjamin Jones, Simon Cox and Jasper Gardiner. The first named must have got the main task as in March 1857 he complained of the Balls Green road (the middle stretch of the road from the Iron Mills to Minchinhampton) having been damaged by heavy weights of stone being carted from the quarry and stone-mine there, and as a result his contract was increased to £33 from £28, and the Surveyor was told to pay, for the past and the future, the damages caused by Mr Chambers' quarry.⁸ Jasper Gardiner had the Selsley hill road repairs for three years at £60 a year.⁹ Jones got the road from Nailsworth to Longford mills at £20, while

the rest of this road to Avening Cross was taken up by Samuel Humphries at £40 for one year.

In 1872 Gardner had the job of repairing the end stretch of the road near the railway bridge at Dudbridge, and the Avening road to Longfords mill also, for £245.

S Fletcher was to continue the latter road to Avening Cross for £36, but on 18 March 1873 it was reported that he had refused to take up this contract. Mr Kimber, one of the Trustees, and Mr Potton the Surveyor, had to arrange for its repair, but Fletcher later agreed to do the work and to keep also the footpaths in repair. As late as March 1876 W Gardner was allowed about 960 tons of stone but, at this late stage in the life of the Trust, payment was not per annum but per month, Gardner getting £17. 10s. a month for the work.

The Trust saw to the maintenance of footpaths not infrequently, and a certain amount of alteration was done, for example to the bridge at Dudbridge, while toll-houses still required repairing. In other words, the Trust was active in maintenance right to the end.

It may of course be said that the interest shown, particularly in the upper end of the road and in the road to Avening, was because it was convenient to the active trustees. The Playnes had Longfords mill, Edmund Kimber was at Avening, where the Smiths also had interests, and P P Smith himself was a partner of W Playne.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the work was done, which at least was to the general benefit as well as to the particular. Better, perhaps, a personal local interest than no interest at all.

Changes on the way.

The possibility that the Trust was somewhat somnolent in the first half of the century has been mentioned, but signs of change were becoming clear by the 1850s. One event that made the Committee seriously consider the present and future status of the Trust was the proposed Stroud Roads Bill, which will be the main topic of the succeeding chapter. Briefly, the Trustees and Mortgagees were unanimously opposed to the provisions of that Bill, and at the meeting of 14 February 1854 it was stated that the Bill "would reduce by Arbitration the amount of the Bonded Debt". Ironically, in December of that same year it was resolved to simplify the accounts so as to pay 1% interest only on the debt of the Avening road - and that too was reduced!

Another sign of changing times was the abandonment of the Fleece Inn as the meeting place for the Committee. For a while the Crown Inn in Minchinhampton was used but from 1851 the Committee met at the George Inn by Nailsworth bridge. This was probably for the convenience of Playne, Kimber and Smith; but the Fleece had been convenient for G O Paul and for several other early members of the Trust, such as Obadiah Paul and other millmen of the middle stretch of the valley.

The decision to install a weighing-machine at Lightpill toll-gate was behind the times, in 1852. In 1857 the Stroud Gas Company sought permission to dig up the road in order to lay gas mains, and in 1862 William Powell,

engineer to the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company, applied for leave to erect a poled telegraph line, which was agreed provided no damage or obstruction to traffic resulted, and for a payment of 1d. per pole per annum.

The Annual General Meeting scheduled for 17 March 1863 had to be postponed a week owing to the "unavoidable absences of nearly the whole of the Commissioners in London attending the 'Select Committee of the House of Commons' respecting the proposed 'Stonehouse and Nailsworth Railway'". The Committee had received notice of this proposal in June of the previous year. The line was only a branch from the Birmingham-Bristol main-line at Stonehouse (with a later junction at Dudbridge for Stroud, when it was the Midland Railway). Its suggestion of a continuation to Tetbury was frustrated by the building by the GWR of a branch from Kemble: the GWR likewise built a branch line from Kemble to Cirencester. The GWR had been active well before this. The proposals for the Cheltenham & Great Western Union Railway had been made in 1836:¹¹ and by the mid-1840s that line had been opened down the main Frome valley through Chalford and Stroud to Stonehouse for Gloucester and Cheltenham. This is a little ironic when it is remembered that the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust had been an early innovator in 1780 - now that valley was becoming a sort of backwater. The opinion of the Committee was divided on the railway, which would certainly seem likely to drain off much of its revenue.

Certainly enterprise had not been lacking in the valley. The Playne firm had been the first to install steam-power - not to drive machines but to pump water back to the mill-pond.¹² The family also had been instrumental in helping the bank at Tetbury to survive in the financial crisis of 1825, and was also among the first to search out new areas of wool-production. The minute for 13 March 1849 recorded that William Playne attended but did not sign: he had had to leave immediately for Germany, presumably the wool area of Saxony. The activity of the last few years may be self-interest on the part of those who lived, or had works, near the town of Nailsworth and up the Avening road, but at least there was activity. The problem now was how to liquidate the debt owed to the bond-holders without causing them too much loss, while at least the repair of the roads was not to be wholly neglected. It is now the moment to examine the toll-system on the roads of the Nailsworth Trust, which provided the greater part of the revenue.

Revenue from Tolls.

The Trust at first sought to rent out the tolls in the way then usual: the last entry in Volume I of the Minute Book recorded that Peter Smith, "timber merchant of Woodchester", and William Howard offered £315 in the autumn of 1785. Jackman goes into some detail on the way rings of toll-farmers kept the bidding down at the annual auctions. He also says that trusts very often set the rent of the past year as the base for the bids for the succeeding year, remarking "it is evident that, by these means, the

(continued on p 297)

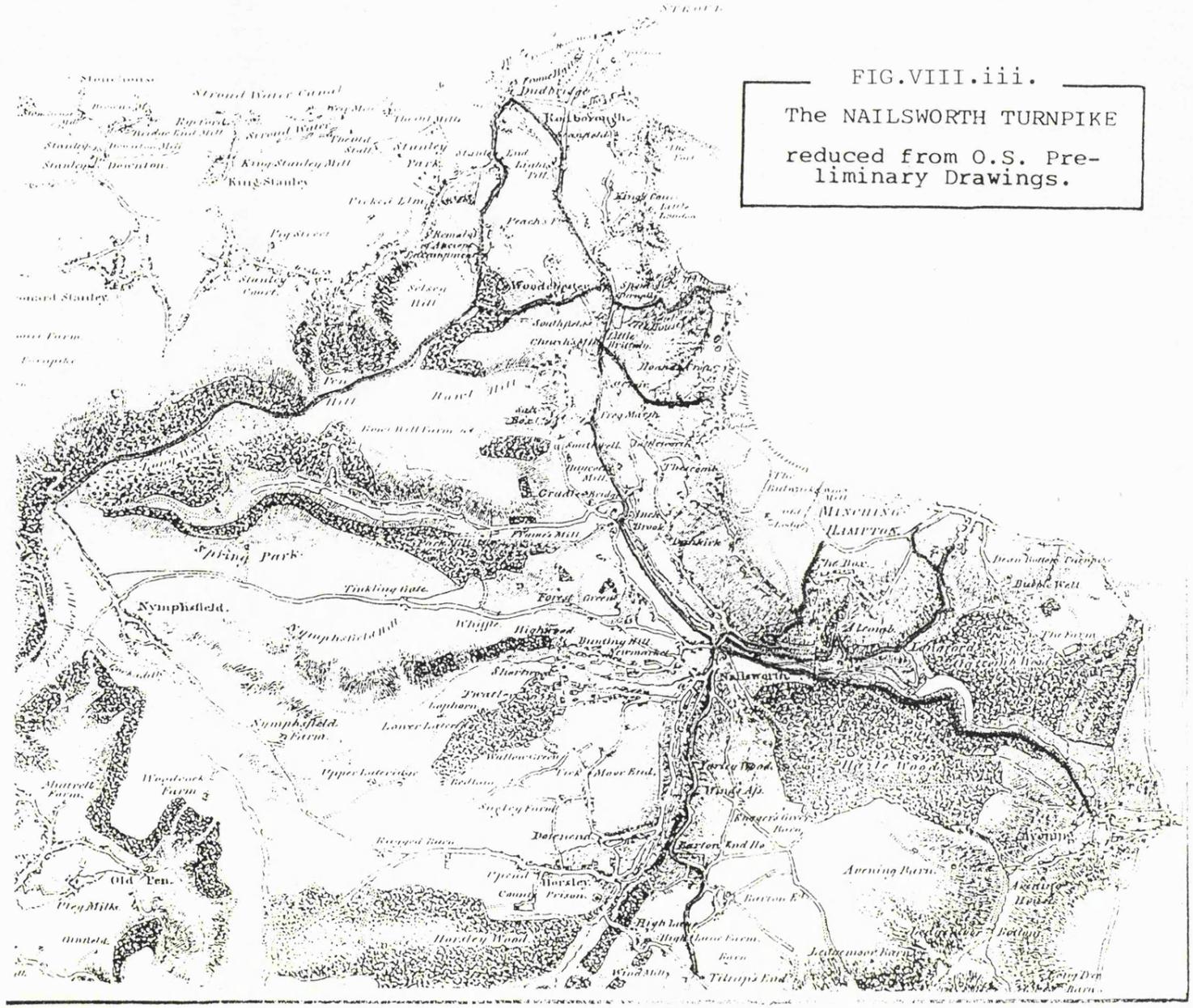
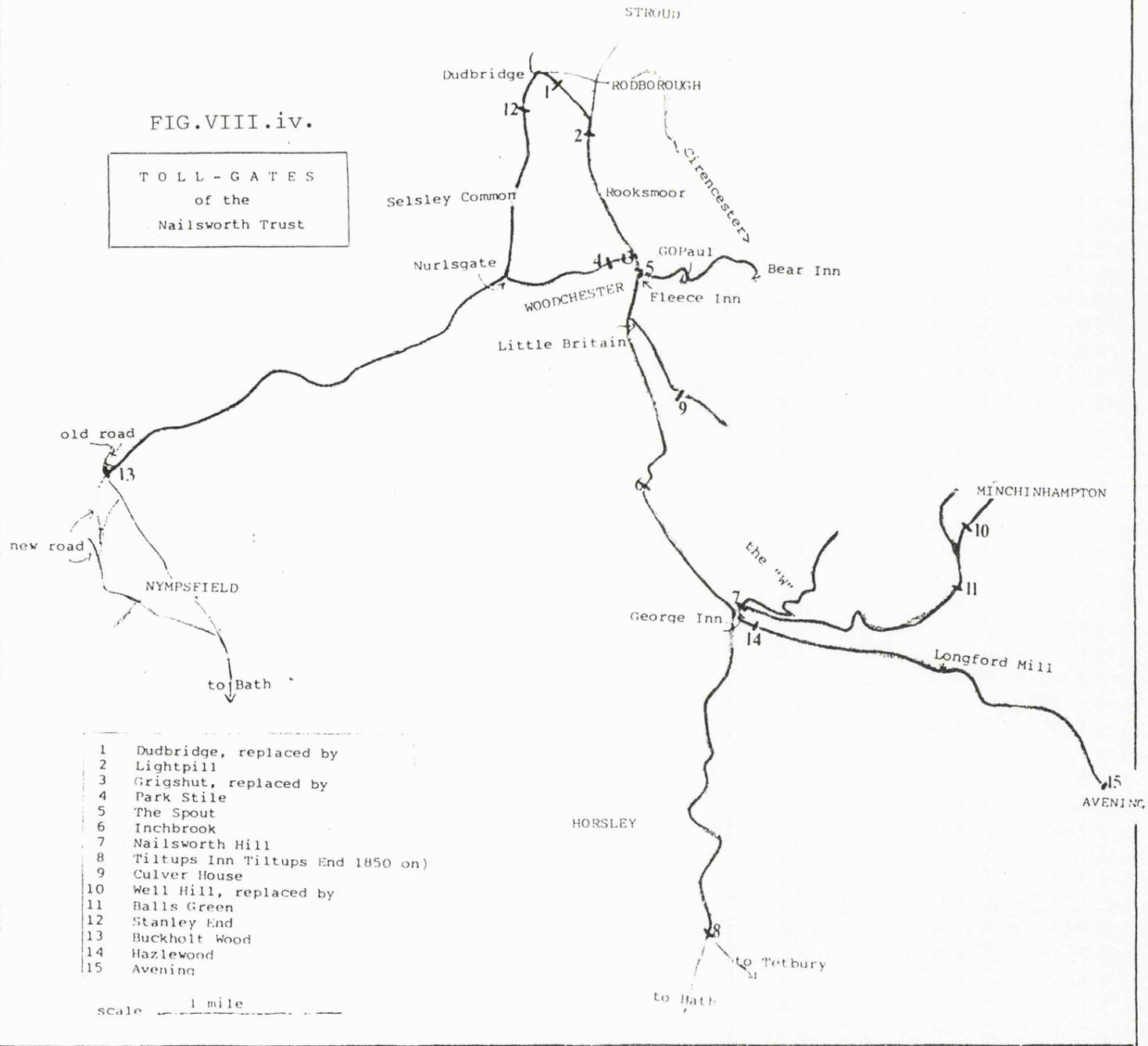


FIG.VIII.iii.
 The NAILSWORTH TURNPIKE
 reduced from O.S. Pre-
 liminary Drawings.

FIG.VIII.iv.

TOLL-GATES
of the
Nailsworth Trust



Notes to Fig.VIII.iii. The Nailsworth Turnpike.

(Source: OS Preliminary Drawing sheet 171, n.d., probably c.1810-12.)

Roads of the Nailsworth Trust are depicted in ~~red~~^{black}.
The new short link from the Buckholt Wood gate (no. 13 on Fig. VIII.iv) with the new road up Frocester hill and the road to Uley, is ~~depicted in yellow~~^{also emphasised.}.
There is no evidence that it was ever included with the Nailsworth group. Nor is the Horsley-Bath Road turnpike road shown: this too did not belong to the Nailsworth Trust but was part of the Coldharbour District of the Berkeley-Dursley (etc.) group of roads.

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Diagram of the roads of the Nailsworth Trust, to show toll-sites. Fig. VIII.iv.

Based on the OS Preliminary Drawing sheet 171: see Fig. VIII.iii.
The "W" road was regarded as redundant when the Pensile-Well Hill road to Minchinhampton was built; and an improvement was later made to the Minchinhampton end of that road to east the gradient (and still called New Road), hence the change from site 10 to site 11. Site 9, the Culver hill gate, was probably not in use for very long. Site 13 too was regarded as redundant, though it was revived when Mr Leigh of Woodchester Park was carting stone from a nearby quarry. It is probable that site 1, Dudbridge, was redundant when site 2, Lightpill, was put into use. The Nailsworth railway Dudbridge-Stroud viaduct passed over, or very close to, the Dudbridge toll-house. There is now no trace of it. (The viaduct has also been demolished...)

.....

tolls would tend to progressively increase from year to year" - assuming, of course, that the renters actually made bids.¹³ But in fact often the Nailsworth Trust Minutes recorded "no bidders", and a second auction had to be held. Sometimes only some of the gates were let, and the Trustees then had to make other arrangements, either letting them by private tender, or themselves seeing to the appointment of gate-keepers.

Originally gates were put under the charge of whomsoever seems to have been the nearest available person, such as Martha Wellstead at The Spout; others mentioned are Kezia Temple and William Window. Tolls were let out to a local person, often to a trustee. This was the normal practice for the first few years of the Trust, as can be seen when in 1786 John Cooper, with Nathaniel Peach as his surety, bid £303, and in 1787 when Miss Ann Pierce, spinster of Rodborough, offered £310, being backed by John Cooper, whose residence was also in the parish of Rodborough.

From 1788 to 1800 the gates were let individually for a year at a time, though for two-year periods from 1801 to 1807. In 1808 the Trust reverted to annual letting and in 1811 the bid of William Nicholls, gate-keeper of Gloucester, was recorded. This seems to be the first bid made by someone other than a local inhabitant, but it was not long before both bidders and sureties came from a much wider field. In September 1814 Richard Hooper, baker of Tetbury, stood as a surety, and in 1815 James Bliss of Bisley, gate-keeper, and T Norris of Barnsley,

gate-keeper, were named.¹⁴ A bid for the three gates of The Spout, Woodchester and Tiltups Inn was made by Robert Meek, yeoman of Sapperton, backed by David Meek, labourer, also of that parish. Robert Meek, who had made a bid for The Spout in 1814, could not sign his name, which makes one wonder how an illiterate person could keep accounts. There may have been a local connection in his case as the successful bid in 1814 for the Woodchester gate was made by Sarah Bailey for her husband James Bailey of Minchinhampton, and her surety was - David Meek. Minchinhampton and Sapperton parishes are close neighbours. Thus people outside the immediate area of the Trust were now making bids, and both gate-keeping and toll-farming were becoming recognised occupations. This is borne out by Appendix VIII.i, which shows not only the social spread of bidders and sureties but also their places of residence and their occupations. It can also be seen that to a considerable extent certain families were in the business, and it can be noticed that while in the early years (when both bidders and sureties were locally known) only one surety was required, later on two sureties were asked for, and one month's rent had to be paid in advance. It is perhaps a little surprising that victuallers and inn-keepers were allowed, not only to act as sureties, but even to bid for the tolls since turnpike acts expressly forbade inn-holders for holding any position of trust. But it seems natural that inn-keepers on the line of a stage coach route, or where waggons and private vehicles frequently passed, should have a personal interest in the business of tolls and traffic.

One family frequently mentioned was that of Lediard. Charles Lediard was named as of Rodborough in 1818. Both Charles and Benjamin were in arrears in 1819; Edward was at Cheltenham in 1835, and John was then a farmer of tolls in Gloucester. In 1823 John was at Cheltenham (he made a bid during that year for Tiltups Inn gate), while in 1839 Philip Lediard was at Cheltenham.

Another family in that line of business was that of Davis. In 1845 Richard Davis of Whitminster made a bid, John then being at Gloucester Southgate turnpike gate. In 1846 Richard was at Inchbrook gate, and John at Lightpill, and no doubt they would keep in close touch with each other in the matter of the collection of tolls. Yet another family in the toll-renting business was that of Evans, several of which, besides being cordwainers or shoe-menders in various parishes, also took over gates, such as Tiltups Inn and Inchbrook. The Atkins family also appears as one of the professional gate-keepers. James Webb Atkins made a bid in 1852 for the whole of the tolls of the Trust, naming as his sureties Joseph Atkins of the Spa gate (Gloucester, on the Stroud road) and David Atkins of Salmons gate near Stroud.¹⁵ In 1854 Joseph Atkins was at Dowdeswell gate east of Cheltenham, and in 1856 he was at Black Bourton gate. This somewhat rapid transit from gate to gate and from trust to trust contrasts with the career of John Hyde, the original keeper of the Nailsworth gate, who made bids for that gate at various times from 1794 to 1812, and probably on other unrecorded occasions. Robert Evans too bid for

Tiltups Inn gate throughout the 1790s, though at one time he was in arrears and threatened, as has been seen, with prosecution.

By the 1820s the early practice had been altered. Families of professional gate-keepers and toll-farmers had come to the fore. The work of a 'ring' seems apparent in Appendix 4, when so often the tolls needed to be put up for auction a second time, and it also seems to show when in 1850 J Barnett and P Berry of Cirencester backed J Snowswell of Cirencester to take the tolls, while in 1851 J Snowswell and P Berry were the backers for J Barnett. Another interesting family was that of Rickards (or Richards or Ricketts). In 1819 Thomas was gate-keeper at Cirencester, and John a yeoman at Wotton-under-Edge. In 1824 John was at Charville (probably Charfield near Wotton), and Thomas at Nubbis Ash not far away. In 1872 Thomas Rickards, watch-maker and toll-farmer of Wotton-under-Edge, Charles Rickards, farmer of the same place, and John Rickards, watch-maker of Dursley were all mentioned. The Evans family similarly seem to have combined shoe-making with toll-farming, though the combination of tolls and watches is a little more exotic.

Special mention must be made of the Smart family. The father Moses Smart of Beverston was named as surveyor and road contractor, and worked for more than one local trust, as will later appear. Richard Smart was named as road contractor at Stratton (north of Cirencester), and in 1836 Thomas Smart was inn-keeper at Tiltups Inn. In 1841

Moses Smart the younger was at Dunkirk, the junction of the present A46 with the road from Tetbury to Bath. In the same year Thomas Smart produced not only his brother Moses, but also Ezekiel Evans, toll-renter of Cirencester, as his sureties. So it is possible that the families were connected by business, if not by marriage: the same sort of relationship prevailed of course among the clothiers' families. There might also have been a relationship between Richard Ebsworth and Henry Hodges, both turnpike-renters, who provided sureties in 1834 for Berkeley Hicks of Maidenhead.

This marks a significant new development. The Trust had had some difficulty in the late 1820s in letting tolls, and Hicks came from a very considerable distance away: his sureties too were from Gloucester and Bristol respectively. This points to a network of information among these business men, more extensive and certainly more professional than the way in which gatekeepers and toll-farmers had originally been selected. Finally, the combination of the last renter of the tolls of the Trust, Benjamin Lawrence of Stroud (his business was that of hay and corn dealer) with both an earlier bidder - his father Benjamin Lawrence senior, then of Weston-super-Mare but ten years earlier a bidder for the tolls, and with David Jones, farmer of Minchinhampton, implies not only a family link but a 'chain of allied interests in the business of the roads. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Trustees did not always find it easy to let the tolls at the price first asked.

Gates were still being let individually up to 1824, but in 1825 Thomas Ricketts/Rickards of Wotton-under-Edge (who at the time could not sign his name) made a bid for all combined gates. One surety was a cooper, but the other was Edward Bloxsome of Dursley, gentleman, and sometime Clerk of the Peace for the county. The sum of £1720 was the highest to be recorded (allowing for defective or missing returns) and seems to have been rather an anomaly. The point, however, was that it was made in the year of financial crisis, 1825.¹⁶ By October of 1826 Rickards had backed out, not even having been able to carry out some promised repairs. The Committee recorded an indignant Minute.

For the next few years tolls were not let at the annual auction, and often the Clerk was told to find a private bidder. This may explain why, perhaps in desperation, a renter had to be found, in 1834, from as far away as Berkshire: that is, Berkeley Hicks, turnpike-renter by profession. The later 1820s were poor years, not only for the Nailsworth Trust in particular, but also generally for the clothing industry; it is not possible to estimate how closely one reflected the fortunes of the other.

The Minutes for 1844 and for 1847 provide evidence of further difficulties: the tolls were rented to George William Saunders of Stroud - accountant. A lot of repair work was necessary; this was near the end of the long tenure of office of George Wathen as Clerk. Gates were also out of repair and there were complaints of "drift" accumulating on the road or against various properties.

It is possible - it can be no more than supposition - that Saunders came in as a sort of efficiency expert in accountancy, and it may be no coincidence that about this time the local newspaper carried complaints about the state of the road up the Nailsworth valley.

Barnfield the Surveyor had reported in 1848 that many toll houses were in great need of repair, and Saunders took the tolls again in that year. Tenders for the repairs were received from Percy Taylor of Littleworth (Gloucester) for £12, and from John Burford for £8; but the Surveyor said he himself could get the work done for £12 and he got the contract. However, in March 1853 it was said that the toll-house on Culver hill was "untenable, and ... no one could live in it".

From the late 1840s income slowly increased. In 1839 the tolls had been let at £1201, but dropped each year afterwards to a low level of £750 in 1848. After this they rose despite the fact that in most years the first auctions, and sometimes even the second auctions, attracted no bids. In 1855 the total stood at £920, after which it fluctuated, but generally about £900. It may be remarked that while the Frome valley had its railway by 1845, the Nailsworth Trust was not "devastated", but may actually have benefited by increased trade created by the railway in a neighbouring valley. (See Fig. VIII.ii.)

This Figure shows, with possible errors and some gaps, the yearly rental of tolls between 1785 and 1875.

Though incomplete and subject to error, the graph shows

trends of significance. There was a good recovery from the disappointing start, and the increase was most marked in the years immediately after the end of the long French wars, despite the distress of the immediate post-war years. The period from 1790 to the second decade of the nineteenth century saw the great re-building - or building - of cloth mills in the valleys,¹⁷ and as it is assumed that the yearly rentals were based either on the total for the previous year, plus £1 as a rule, or on the expectation of what the next year might fetch (as in the abortive bid of 1825), the period from about 1812 to 1825 seems to reflect a feeling of optimism, of increased trade and of rising income, and perhaps of spare capital seeking an opening. The drop in 1816 and 1817 must represent the agricultural depression caused (presumably) by the explosion of the volcano Tambora in the East Indies in 1815. But the fall from the peak year of 1825 is most marked, as also the decline in the 1840s until about 1850. The recovery from about 1850 to 1864 has been mentioned above. Short-haul traffic might well have increased, though long-distance traffic and the coaching services were heavily hit. But the drop after 1864 was probably due to the construction of the branch railway from Stonehouse to Nailsworth, though it might have given an increase in short-haul traffic, the effects for the general public possibly outweighing the bad effects on the Trust. In 1875 the rents brought in only £821, and the last rental, for 1½ years, was for £1250.

These matters have been dealt with in some detail in order to show the actual working of such a trust. There were considerable fluctuations both in income received from tolls as well as from the difficulties of collection through the failure, obduracy or inadequacy of gatekeepers. In the early years of this Trust, both keepers and sureties had been local people, but as time went on both came from a much wider area, and from very varied social groups and occupations.

It was obviously a considerable advantage to a trust to have an assured income for the year, and one coming in every month, hence the acceptance of the system of toll-farming, even though had control been retained by the Trust a higher income might - at times - have accrued. But turnpike trusts were not profit-making concerns, though toll-renting was, which may be a main cause of the Stroud Roads Bill controversy in the early 1850s, when toll income had for many of the local trusts, and particularly the Chalford road trust, been drastically curtailed by the advent of the railway down the Frome valley to Stroud and beyond.

This controversy raised other important points apart from a certain resentment at excessive tolls being charged by a distant entrepreneur. Matters financial and administrative were called into question by David Ricardo the younger, and the episode neatly encapsulated the problems of who was to control local roads, and how were they to be paid for?

Such matters will be examined in the succeeding chapter, for while all trusts shared the common problem of declining revenue and a heavy burden of debt (once again raising the dilemma of the early years of the turnpike system), they differed one from another in several respects: in management, purpose, financial satisfaction or embarrassment, efficiency. Also to be considered is whether the Nailsworth Trust was typical of the local system. The turnpike roads had been developed as a corrective to the system of the repair of parish roads instituted in the great reforming years of the sixteenth century. Both parish and turnpike road systems were to change in the great administrative reforms of the middle nineteenth century, but perhaps more unevenly and with greater hesitation. But the crux of the problem remained the same - finance. It is this particular aspect which must now be examined.

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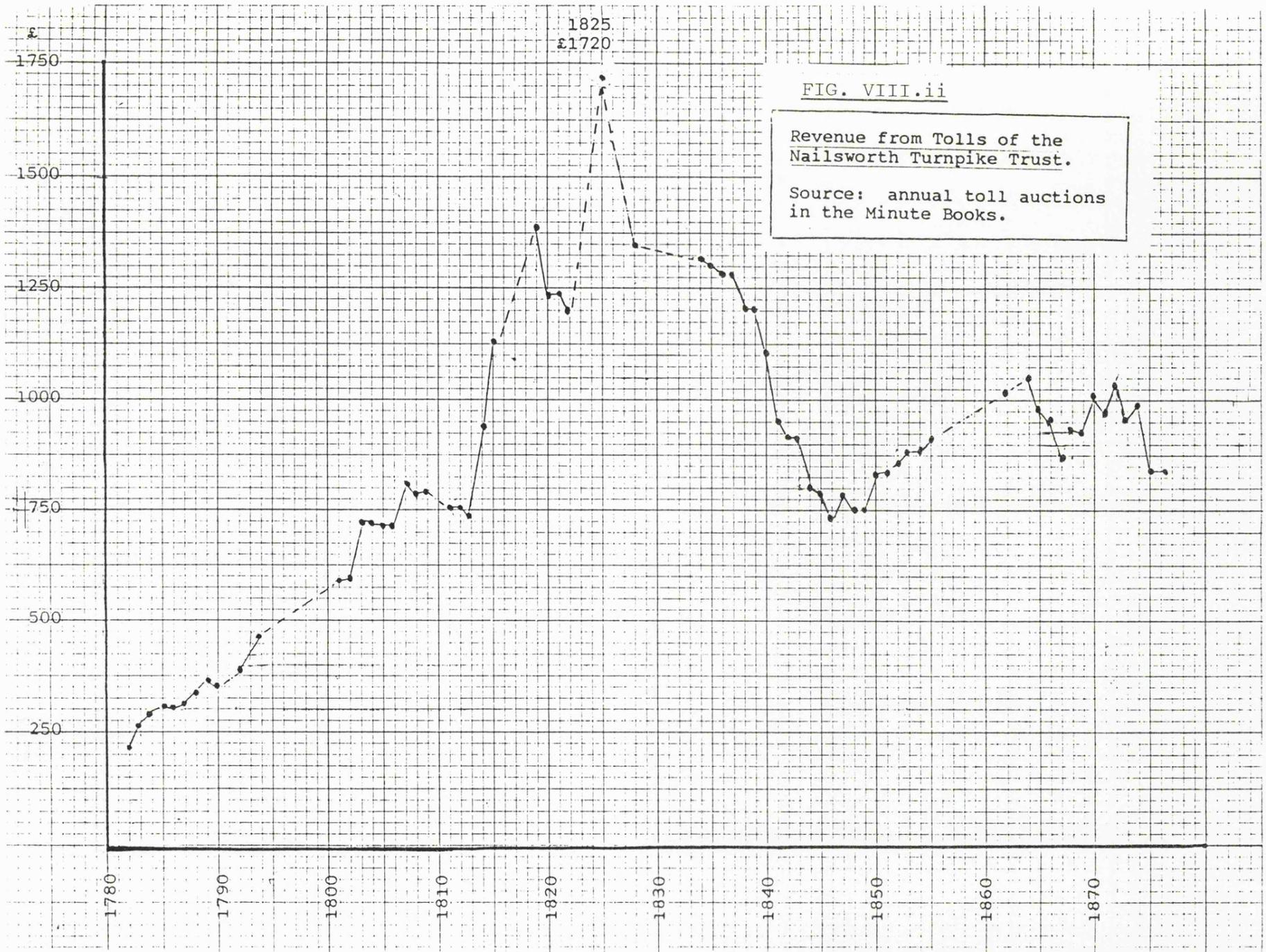


FIG. VIII.ii

Revenue from Tolls of the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust.
 Source: annual toll auctions in the Minute Books.

Notes to Figure VIII.ii: Revenue from tolls....

- 1 The figures are taken from the record of annual toll auctions (and so are subject to error - the sums were not always forthcoming. There may also be slight errors in transcription from the pages of the Minute Books.). Where tolls were not let by public auction, they had to be negotiated privately, or taken by a trustee, and such details were not always entered.
- 2 In the early years ^{income from tolls} tolls increased as (a) the road became known, and (b) new gates were added.
- 3 The large increases between 1813 and 1825 may reflect increased prosperity in the area, though the economic depression of 1815-17 does not show. Expectations also might have helped to raise the figures above the previous year's returns. The highest total bid was in 1825, but the bidder had later to withdraw. The Webbs give 1837 as the year of highest tolls generally, but it is noticeable that the revenue of the Nailsworth Trust dropped sharply and steadily from 1830 to 1849.
- 4 Thereafter there was a fairly steady increase to 1864. This period coincides with the opening of the GWR down the main Frome valley. Though income from long-distance travel and stage coaches would have all but vanished, it seems likely that the railway stimulated traffic locally to the stations at Stroud and Stonehouse. The drop in the middle 1860s seems to coincide with the building of the branch line up the Nailsworth valley.
- 5 The final drop is obviously due to the forthcoming demise of the Trust.

REFERENCES. Chapter VIII.

- 1 BPP 1833 (24) xv, 409, 536. This enquiry revealed a chaotic variety of management. Albert refers particularly to the witness of John Bevir, clerk to the Crudwell & Minety Third District of the Cricklade & Wotton Bassett Trust: "meetings have been so indifferently attended that sometimes for months together we have not been able to get a Commissioner to pass the Account". The road was regarded by Joseph Pitt, sometime MP for Cricklade, as rather his private domain. Mr Pitt himself admitted he was the only person to receive interest from the tolls.
- 2 Albert op cit 74.
- 3 George Wathen will receive attention in the next chapter: the Abstract Statements of turnpike trust revenue, expenditure and debts, and especially the 'raw' statements for 1834, give much useful information on finance, and also on the officials of the various trusts. GRO Q/Rut 2. Wathen was also returning officer for the Stroud constituency in the election of 30 June 1841: SFP 21 May 1852.
- 4 4 G iv c.126.
- 5 Dauncey became Surveyor on the first retirement of William Howard, but his first mention (in 1803) is as inn-keeper at Horsley, perhaps at Tiltups Inn which before 1780 had been a convenient stopping-place for carters coming from Frocester hill (after climbing the precipitous slope up from the Horsley valley) before continuing on to Tetbury. After 1780 it lay on the new main road to Bath.
- 6 For the influential Marling family, see Mann, Tann, Ponting etc. The family settled at Stanley Park at Selsley, where Samuel Stevens Marling had Selsley church built in the Tyrolean style in 1861, having visited a village in the Tyrol then called Marling. VCH xi.
- 7 See letter in Stroud Free Press of 17 February 1854.
- 8 Balls Green quarry was also a stone mine, with galleries into the hill following seams of good freestone.
- 9 Gardiner or Gardner: names of several people, as of places, have varying spellings in the Minute Book and other contemporary records.

- 10 For Kimber, Playne, Smith see VCH xi, 157, 160. According to SFP of 3 June 1853, the late W Playne was also parish roads surveyor for Minchinhampton and Avening.
- 11 For the parliamentary committee of enquiry into the Cheltenham & Great Western Railway Bill, see: G. Coll Box vii, 21, and JF 14.79 (1).
- 12 The Playnes at Longfords mill were the first in the county to install a steam engine: not to drive machinery, but to return water back to the mill pond. VCH xi, 198 gives the date as 1815.
- 13 In point of fact, while the Nailsworth Trust set the base price for an auction at that of the previous year + £1, the bidders often refused to bid and the price had to come down. Thus this method resulted in less, not more, income.
- 14 Norris or Morris: the handwriting is unclear.
- 15 Thomas Atkins had been ckerk to the governors of the Stroud Union workhouse, but had been dismissed. SFP February 1852.
- 16 Playne op cit 136 records that the Tetbury Bank was saved from the fate of many other banks in 1825 by the sight of William Playne senior ostentatiously depositing several bags of gold in that bank. This incident was used by Mrs Craik in John Halifax, Gentleman; and by Stanley Weyman in Overton's Bank.
- 17 See Moir in Gloucestershire Studies op cit 240-241.

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Chapter IX. THE TROUBLE WITH TURNPIKES: THE STROUD
ROADS BILL.

PART I. Turnpikes in Trouble.

One basic innovation of the turnpike system was, as Pawson writes, "the transfer of the cost of repairing main roads from parishioners to road user through the levy of a toll".¹ This expedient certainly made funds available from private sources when the system was under development, but with maturity - that is, when the great roads and the major cross-roads had been put under toll - it was to preclude the finding of any way out of the financial morass in which turnpike trustees found themselves well before the construction of railways withdrew a major source of revenue from the roads.

The flaw in the system was clear from the start, as has been seen in the affair of the Over Turnpike riots in 1734. Where revenue was insufficient both to repair a road and also to pay the interest on loans made for that repair, what could trustees do? Too often a trust, unable to satisfy both needs, added the unpaid interest to the capital sum, which on paper might avert the immediate difficulty, but only by postponing a greater problem to a later time.² Numerous parliamentary commissions in the first half of the nineteenth century wrestled with this problem, but to no avail.

Discussions and opinion concentrated on four main difficulties.

1 The number, and size, of trusts.

2 The lack of public control over administration.

3 The relationship of turnpike trusts with the parish roads system.

4 The problem of indebtedness.

It was this last difficulty that was to prevent any real revision of the system other than a complete change imposed from above.

In the early years of the nineteenth century Richard Lovell Edgeworth, civil engineer, had written that ... "nothing but a general system for all the roads of the kingdom can be effectual".³ He asserted that some trusts had failed, that many were deep in debt and were insolvent, and that when interest had been paid little was left for the repair of roads. He suggested in addition that tolls should be used only for repair and improvement, and that the accounts of trusts should, after examination by the county authority, be passed to a Commissioner in London for scrutiny. Part of this suggestion was eventually to reach the statute book - 3 G iv c.126 of 1822 laid down that the accounts of trusts should be sent to the Clerk of the Peace of the county, and various commissions of enquiry in the 1820s and 1830s were able to use consolidated abstracts to compare one county with another over England and Wales.

Problem 1: was consolidation the answer?

Reports to Parliament on turnpike roads from the 1820s to the 1850s show a very wide agreement among the witnesses called that there were far too many trusts, especially small trusts, and that consolidation would increase

efficiency and reduce costs.⁴ In the 1833 Report for example, Michael Irish, who stated that he had arranged the Turnpike Road Returns, was strongly of the opinion that there were too many trusts; James M^r Adam and others agreed, both at this and at later enquiries. Mr Irish, referring to the returns of 1821, said "hardly a column is stated correctly", and added that the accounts varied in period and in content, and he made a point of deprecating the action of some treasurers who had used large balances to make up for their lack of salary. Most witnesses in the 1836 Report agreed that consolidation would be of great advantage, the opposition coming from small trusts mostly in the country districts.⁵ George Dacre, clerk to Middlesex and Essex turnpike roads, pointed out that plans to consolidate turnpikes had come before Parliament on many occasions, even as early as 1775.

The 1840 Report said ... "it is absolutely necessary to resort to some system of consolidation" and drew attention to the advantages that it had brought in the Metropolis, as also in Scotland and the Isle of Wight.⁶ It was also thought highly expedient to put highways and turnpike roads under the same control - the Act of 1835 had dealt only with the parish highways.⁷

Problem 2: the need for firmer control.

Several witnesses at enquiries put forward schemes not only for consolidation but also for some form of centralised control, on lines similar to the contemporary reform of the poor law system. Mr Irish had suggested in 1833 a separate Board of Management for all turnpike roads

in England and Wales, with the kingdom being divided into 34 districts, each of 600 miles of road, with a clerk and assistant, 5 surveyors, and 2 foremen for each district, all to come under the control of a Board in London.⁸ In 1836 Robert Fuge proposed a plan to divide the kingdom into 5 districts, also with a Central Board in London. James M'Adam, ^[sic] also in 1836, strongly advocated a Central Board but thought the running of local affairs best left in the hands of local gentlemen, the London Board acting as a sort of referee in matters requiring an outside opinion. He mentioned "The Turnpike Consolidation Bill" then before the House of Commons but, in the event, little was done. Trusts were continued on a somewhat temporary basis with annual renewal Acts, and the only mandatory consolidation was that of parish highways, and that not till the 1860s.⁹ All this effort was nugatory.

Problem 3: Pikes and Parishes.

Turnpike roads should not be considered in isolation. While they had been instituted mainly in the interests of the main or 'great' roads, it should not be forgotten that the upkeep of all the many other roads remained the responsibility of the local parishes, which were usually small territorial units within the county; and this dualism was never really resolved until near the end of the nineteenth century.

Many proposals for a closer link of turnpikes with the parish roads were put forward over the years. In the 1833

(Continued on p 316.)

TABLE IX.i. To show the increase of liabilities
of turnpike trusts between 1821 and 1829.

ON TURNPIKE ROAD TRUSTS.

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PAPER (A.)—continued.

1821 and 1829.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS of the above Years.

1821.		1829.		
Trusts	- - - - 1,025	Trusts	- - - - 1,119	Increase, 94.
Miles *	- - - - 20,875	Miles	- - - - 19,798	Decrease, 1,077.
Acts of Parliament	- - - - 2,485	Acts of Parliament	- - - - 3,783	Increase, 1,298.
Debts	- - - - £5,330,493	Debts	- - - - £7,785,171	Increase, £2,454,678.
Income	- - - - £1,088,767	Income	- - - - £1,455,293	Increase, £366,526.
Expenditure	- - - - £1,034,124	Expenditure	- - - - £1,678,054	Increase, £643,930.
Income above Expenditure	- £54,643	Expenditure above Income	- £44,276	—
Debts per Mile	- - - £255	Debts per Mile	- - - £392	Increase, £137 per Mile.
Income per Mile	- - - £52	Income per Mile	- - - £73	Increase, £21 per Mile.
Expenditure per Mile	- - - £50	Expenditure per Mile	- - - £85	Increase, £34 per Mile.

* Miles. — From the Manner in which the Account of 1821 was made up, it is not improbable that the Distance was computed, instead of being taken by Admeasurement.

Report J L Bicknell suggested that the branch roads of the trusts should revert to the care of parishes, with turnpikes being retained only for the "main lines of communication". J A Stokes thought it desirable that turnpike and parish roads should offer each other mutual aid.¹⁰ In fact in many cases trust roads were repaired in part, sometimes in whole, by parish authority, with tolls being reserved for the payment of interest on debt. This was not quite what the witnesses had advised. As the Report of 1840 pointed out, parish inhabitants were not exempt from the common law liability to maintain a roadway in repair, and it referred to a judgement of the Court of King's Bench that Turnpike Acts were not for the relief of parishes from the burden of highway repairs, but had been intended to improve the roads for the general benefit of the public, by imposing a pecuniary tax in addition to the existing legal obligation. (It is not clear what parish obligation should be for a 'new' road where none had previously existed.)¹¹ If a highway converted into a turnpike road were out of repair, the parishes "are the only parties who are liable to be indicted" while all that a parish could do in such a case was to seek remedy in law against the turnpike trustees.

Problem 4: the Burden of Debt.

Of all problems the one, greatest and most intractable, was that of indebtedness. The following Table taken [IX.iv.p32] from BPP 1833 xv, Appendix, shows in brief form something of that problem.

The Abstracts, such as those prepared by Mr Irish, show that this problem was insuperable by ordinary methods well before the arrival of railway competition. The 1840 Report remarked on the "enormous amount of the existing debt, and the rapidity with which, of late years, it has increased - the precarious condition of a large portion of the property invested on road securities - the great and unnecessary expense of management under the present system", and went on to add "unless some remedy be applied to arrest the growth of the existing evil, it will become one of overwhelming magnitude". In an attempt to analyse this problem, trusts had been asked to return answers to a questionnaire which included questions as to whether railways had as yet affected the revenue of trusts. A previous Report, that of 1836, though unanimous "to a certain extent" on the benefits of consolidation, agreed that the main obstacle to consolidation was the state of the funds, especially those of small trusts.¹² Some of these were in debt beyond their capacity to pay, while others were affluent but were reluctant to see their funds taken to equalize the difference between solvent and insolvent trusts. One witness was "strongly of opinion, that until the mode of securing the debt upon an equitable apportionment be made, no effective course of consolidating the Trusts can be accomplished". It is to be noted that this was before railways had made more than a local, and initial, impact on some turnpike roads; and indeed even in the 1840 Report the Committee, after considering the answers to their questionnaire,

could offer no opinion as to the effects of railways and steam communication on trust finances - as such effect could not be ascertained. In other words, the parlous condition of the finances of the trusts was not due to the railways which, by diverting revenue and potential investment away from roads, merely made it impossible to rescue the system as it then was.¹³

The question remained: how to reduce or liquidate these debts without depriving those who held bonds of their just returns? It is perhaps relevant to note that while those who had purchased bonds in the original turnpiking of a road may well have done so for the benefits that an improved road would bring (as in the case of the Nailsworth Trust), the original subscribers were now for the most part long since dead, and the bonds and securities were probably held for the sake of such interest as could be obtained, and in the hope of a repayment of capital in the future: a vested interest it might be said.

Among suggestions as to how this problem might be dealt with was that of Viscount Lowther in 1833 - the institution of transferable bonds, while Mr Irish suggested an issue by the government of bonds or debentures of £100 or less, with guaranteed interest. John Allen Stokes, surveyor to several trusts in the west Midlands, recommended an uniform system of taxation, while keeping turnpike and parish roads under separate legal authorities. In the 1840 Report it was suggested that the cost of road maintenance "must be defrayed by the parishioners (out)

of the Parochial Highway Rate". If parish highways and turnpike roads were put under a consolidated control, and the counties divided into districts and sub-divisions with a general board of management for each district (as was indeed attempted for parish roads in the 1860s), there could then be a common fund for tolls, though separate accounts for each district and parish would still be maintained. This was intended to put the accounting system on a more efficient basis but did nothing to resolve the problem of turnpike debt.

The over-riding obstacle to bringing turnpike and parish roads within the same system was thought to be the system of tolls, "which forms the necessity for keeping up the separate establishments ... without which all highways might be made subject to the same regulations". Sir Henry Parnell clearly recognised this difficulty in 1843.

If rates on the land had been resorted to, the measure would inevitably have failed, because the landowners would, beyond all doubt, have preferred bad roads and low rates to good ones and high rates ... If the roads had been vested in the hands of government, it may safely be said that this plan would also have failed, for government would never have been able to obtain the consent of Parliament to vote upwards of a million and a half a year for those roads only which now are turnpike roads ..."¹⁴

The 1840 Report brought together the evils of the existing state of affairs, which may be summed up as follows:

too many trusts - the expense of renewing Acts - law charges - the number of officers and aggregate of salaries - the number and often unjust

position of toll-gates - the high rates of toll - the vast amount of bonded debt - the high rate of interest - the need to pay interest from toll revenue, while the burden of repairs was borne by parishes - the "total absence of all control over the power of trustees to borrow and to expend money" - the lack of sufficient check and authority to compel the keeping of regular, correct and just accounts of funds - the employment of "incompetent, unskilful, and inefficient persons as surveyors ..."

and added "it is absolutely necessary to resort to some system of consolidation".

This advice was not followed, and trusts continued for another thirty years or more, their extended life being maintained by the need to liquidate somehow the burden of debt.¹⁵

Table IX.ii following, taken from BPP 1854-55 xlix, summarises the situation from 1837 to 1852. Brief discussion follows this Table, showing the parlous state of turnpike administration and finances. It may be noted in passing that the equally disastrous condition of the old poor law was reformed (at a stroke), but that the resolution of the turnpike difficulties was slow and difficult. But of course the burden of the new poor law was to be carried by the poor themselves, while the debts of the turnpike trusts were due to those who made the law and administered it locally.

TABLE IX.ii. Extract from BPP 1854-55 xlix
General Report on Turnpike Trusts.

TURNPIKE TRUSTS.						
ENGLAND AND WALES.						
<u>Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's Command.</u>						
GENERAL REPORT made by direction of the SECRETARY OF STATE, under Act 3 & 4 Wm. IV. cap. 80.						
UPON presenting to Parliament the General Abstract of Returns from Turnpike Trusts for the year 1852, transmitted to the Secretary of State by virtue of the Act of the 3rd and 4th of Wm. IV. cap. 80., it is satisfactory to observe, from the annual Returns, that a progressive improvement is taking place in the financial condition of the Turnpike Trusts generally, under the regulations and arrangements which have, during the last few years, received the sanction of Parliament. The following account shows the comparative state of the Trusts in England and North Wales in 1837 (when the highest amount of revenue from tolls was received), 1847, 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852 respectively:—						
ENGLAND AND NORTH WALES.	1837.	1847.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
RECEIPTS.						
Tolls	£ 1,509,985	£ 1,214,709	£ 1,097,482	£ 1,082,616	£ 1,079,122	£ 1,074,826
Parish aid	24,952	30,882	27,714	25,486	24,822	24,562
Money borrowed	134,044	6,026	11,662	11,939	4,451	16,702
Other Receipts	30,447	32,261	41,123	39,808	50,359	26,502
TOTAL RECEIPTS	1,699,428	1,283,878	1,177,981	1,159,849	1,158,754	1,142,592
EXPENDITURE.						
Repairs	958,940	692,894	609,200	580,591	578,891	574,656
Improvements	202,799	31,317	41,900	41,503	31,994	36,140
Salaries	93,684	87,416	87,432	85,516	84,276	83,447
Law charges	32,133	21,250	26,323	23,244	25,184	29,757
Interest of debt	291,726	262,530	254,490	245,712	235,082	225,961
Bonded debt paid off	121,261	149,424	120,297	133,933	113,288	131,070
Other payments	61,694	52,630	49,381	46,040	45,509	45,353
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	1,742,237	1,297,461	1,188,993	1,156,539	1,115,124	1,126,384
BONDED DEBT	7,011,989	6,483,081	6,382,647	6,236,496	5,993,621	5,813,728
UNPAID INTEREST	1,019,568	1,493,734	1,587,010	1,574,560	1,412,842	1,126,507

By the foregoing account the several items of 1852 may be compared with the returns for the previous years. The toll receipts in 1852 were reduced 4,296*l.*, compared with 1851, in which year they were 3,49*l.* less than in 1850, showing but a very trifling reduction during the two years of 7,790*l.*, an average diminution of about 1*l.* per annum out of 277*l.* The aid obtained from the parishes in 1852 was 24,562*l.*, being 260*l.* less than in 1851; but in addition

[1.] A

Mr Irish had handed in to the 1833 Enquiry some statistics taken from the general summaries of returns presented to the House of Commons in 1821; his revised figures differed somewhat from those given in Table IX.i, but he pointed out that the returns were not accurate. These 1821 figures preceded railways by a decade and a half, by more for many parts of the country, and show (if there were any further need) the magnitude of the financial task that was facing the turnpike trustees. The 1854-55 Report summarised in Table IX.ii, also noted that 1837 was the year when toll revenues were at their peak (as the Webbs pointed out), though these were figures for the country as a whole and the many individual variations were ironed out in the summarising process. Moreover, the tables prepared by the Clerk of the Peace for Gloucestershire noted that each year "balance carried forward" was included in the column headed revenue, so it would not be safe to rely on the final national, or indeed county, Abstracts as giving an absolutely true and accurate figure. One example, that for the Nailsworth Trust, is included as Table IX.iii. Printed 'official' figures are fallible, and it is not reliable to erect too commanding a structure on such an insecure foundation. Taking the figures given in the 1854-55 summary at face value, it would appear that toll revenue declined from £1,509,985 in 1837 to £1,214,708 in 1847, and in 1852 to £1,074,826. This revenue in 1847 was down by nearly one fifth on that of 1837 (presumed to be the year of highest revenue) and that for 1852 down on 1837 by almost

(Continued on p 324.)

*e Nailsworth
Woodchester &
Dudbridge Roads*

TABLE IX.iii. Returns of the Nailsworth Trust to the Clerk of the Peace for 1833.

(Source: GRO Q/Rut/2.)

Year	Total income	Total expenditure	Debt of any	Acct of Surplus	Balance of income of any	General Remarks
5 th April 1823						
5 th April 1824	1217 1	1239 11 0	5247 17 4	5 th April		The Debt includes the balance of £225.0 due to the Treasurer on the account.
5 th April 1824						
5 th April 1825	1152 9 4	1171 17	5145 11	6	145 1	The expenditure includes the balance due to Treasurer on account of the preceding account.
5 th April 1825						
5 th April 1826	1657 11	1284 18 8	5294 10	6		
5 th April 1826						
5 th April 1827	1636	1377 6 4	5254 1 10	11	43 15	The income includes 1772 10 6 interest on loan hands.
5 th April 1827						
29 th April 1827	658 1 8	583 7 3	5937 18 10	11	315 16 8	The income includes 258 12 8 of the proceeds of sale of the accounts includes the balance of the preceding account remaining in the Treasurer's hands.
29 th April 1827						
29 th April 1828	162 14 11	1145 8 6	3429 5 3	11	315 16 8	
29 th April 1828						
29 th April 1829	1320 5 11	1089 13 8 1/2	5840 16 9	11	315 16 8	The income includes 217 10 6 interest on loan hands.
29 th April 1829						
29 th April 1830	1352 10 8 1/2	1199 9 7	5631 17 3	11	315 16 8	The income includes 258 12 8 of the proceeds of sale of the accounts includes the balance of the preceding account remaining in the Treasurer's hands.
29 th April 1830						
29 th April 1831	1251 16 1 1/2	1127 7 7	5529 7 3	11	61	The income includes 217 10 6 interest on loan hands.
29 th April 1831						
29 th April 1832	1247 11 5 1/2	1089 4	5440 12 3	11		The income includes 217 10 6 of the proceeds of sale of the accounts includes the balance of the preceding account remaining in the Treasurer's hands.
29 th April 1832						
29 th April 1833	1323 13 5 1/2	1211 2 3 1/2	5338 2 3	11		

7
dilat.

one third. To balance this loss in long-distance main-road traffic, revenue from lesser turnpike roads must in some cases have been maintained, perhaps increased, as in fact will be found for more than one trust in the Stroudwater area in the controversy over the 1853-54 Stroud Roads Bill - and as also can be seen below in Table IX.viii p 340.

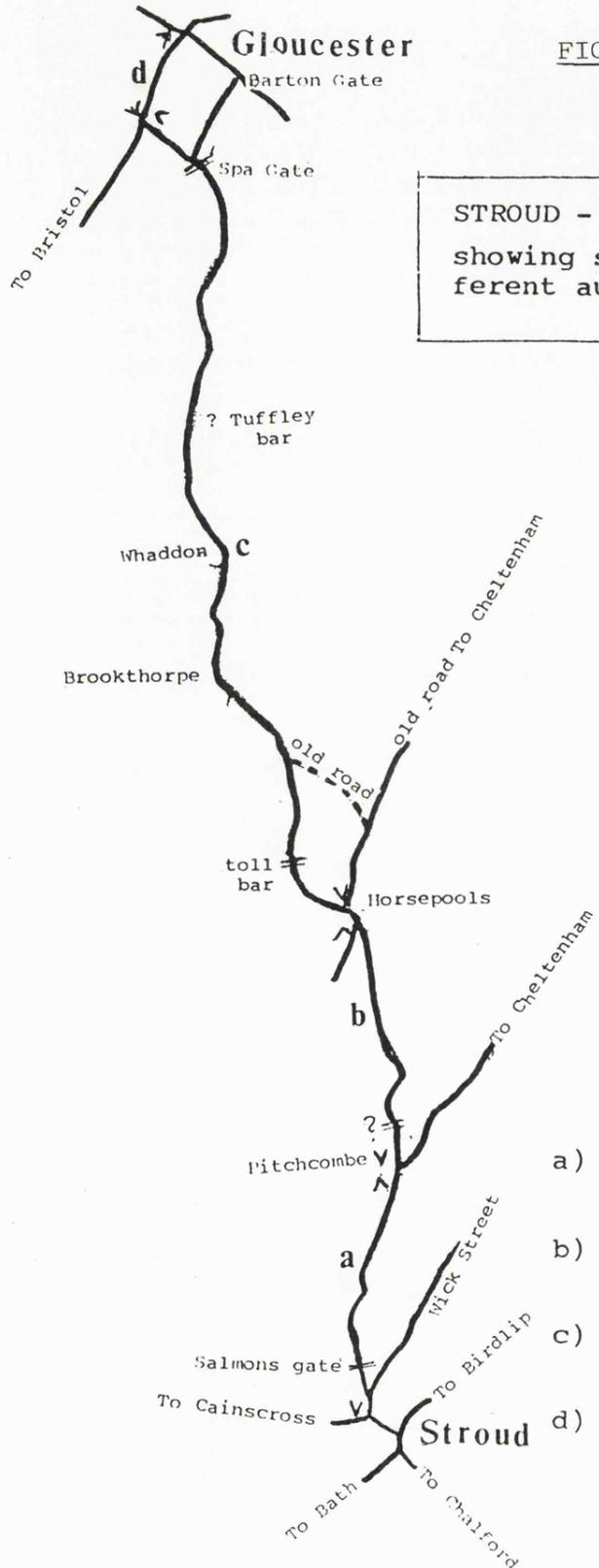
The national summary shows that the amount of money spent on Repairs was cut drastically: from £938,940 in 1837 to £609,200 in 1849, and to £574,656 in 1852 - a decline of over one third in fifteen years. But again, less repair work would have been needed on roads which had lost traffic. "Improvements", whatever this might mean, had certainly fallen very heavily, from £202,799 in 1837 to £31,317 in 1847, thereafter fluctuating about the same figure to 1852. But it must be noted that, though a great deal of bonded debt was paid off each year, unpaid interest had risen to 1849, but then declined from the "extinction of accumulated arrears of interest" or by arrangement with creditors: this last is given in the bottom row of figures of the General Summary - as debt interest paid in 1837 was £291,726, and in 1852 £225,961, it is clear where the priorities of trusts really lay. But obviously turnpike roads were no longer regarded as a good 'investment'; money borrowed in 1837 was given as £134,044, but only £6,026 in 1847. This might perhaps be taken as the result of spare capital being put into the shares of railway companies offering good returns on investment, while the bonds of turnpike trusts (with their

fixed, and often declining, interest (even when paid) were decidedly less attractive, and of course there was by that time a much wider opportunity for profitable investment in company shares.

It is of course not possible from these very general figures to determine which trusts faced financial extinction, and which were able to continue as viable enterprises, if perhaps with difficulty. An examination below of trusts in the Stroudwater area will perhaps elucidate some more detail. It is however clear that the turnpike system did not immediately collapse on the advent of the railways: like Charles II, the system was an unconscionable time a-dying. What remained could perhaps hardly be distinguished from the 'ordinary' parish roads, and in many cases the parishes were already bearing the burden of turnpike repair, while the tolls went to pay interest on the never-ending annual charges.

It will be relevant here to sharpen the focus, from the national figures to that of the county of Gloucestershire (though briefly), and then to examine some of the individual trusts themselves. Table IX.iv gives the county summary in 1833 from Mr Irish's evidence, Table IX.v is the list of questions to be answered in 1840 by trusts and Table IX.vi gives details of toll revenue and bonded debt for Stroudwater trusts for 1837, with a short comparison with revenue for 1853. Figure IX.i shows how much of the Stroud-Pitchcombe-Gloucester road was actually repaired at the expense of parishes, not by the trust.

FIG IX.i.



STROUD - GLOUCESTER TURNPIKE ROAD
 showing stretches repaired by dif-
 ferent authorities, 1834. Source:
 GRO Q/Rut 2.



1 mile

Repairs done -

- a) by Painswick district (of roads, ie road Gloucester-Painswick trust) by agreement.
- b) by trustees, contracted: but tithings of Painswick exempt from parish repair at the top.
- c) parishes: Harescombe, Brookthorpe, Whaddon, Tuffley or South Hamlet.
- d) final stretch from the Sudbrook to Gloucester, by the Southgate trust.

(from Answer 5 to the 1838 questionnaire).

Gloucestershire statistics: county & individual trusts.TABLE IX.iv. County summary 1833, presented by Mr Irish.¹⁶

Acts of Parliament	95
Number of trusts where Income exceeds Expenditure	30
and where Expenditure exceeds Income	15
and where Income and Expenditure are equal	2
Not ascertained	4
	<hr/>
Total number of trusts	51
Total Distance	840 miles

Income

From tolls (etc.)	£50,414
from parish composition	52
	<hr/>
Total	£50,466

Expenditure

	£46,154
Surplus of Income over Expenditure	<hr/> <hr/> £4,312

Debts

Mortgage	£176,601
Floating	5,873
Unpaid interest	6,426
Balance due from trusts	1,308
	<hr/>
Total	£190,208
Net Debts	<hr/> <hr/> £183,342

The difference of £6866 is set down as Balance due to trusts. (i.e. between Total and Net Debts)

According to these figures (and it must be recalled that Mr Irish had a poor view of the accuracy of county returns), expenditure had been kept roughly within income, but the burden of debt seems insuperable with a total income of about £50,000 and a mortgage debt of about £176,000. The revenue from parish composition was contemptibly low. At the original 5% rate of annual interest, £8800 would be needed each year to meet obligations.

But for the county as a whole, only a little over £4000 remained after the necessary expenses had been seen to, and presumably the unpaid interest of over £6000 would accumulate to the following year. In fact much of this would often be transferred to the heading of capital, with bonds (still bearing interest) taking the place of actual cash. A further device was to include capital from subscriptions, when a new trust was begun, under the heading of "income" for the subsequent year.

In 1838, detailed questions were sent to the clerks of turnpike trusts, and the county Abstract or summary gives the number of trusts as 50, a drop of 1 on the figure for 1833 perhaps due to further amalgamation, or perhaps the result of an error ... According to the 1838 Abstract, in 31 trusts the roads were in good repair, in 9 in tolerable repair, and in bad repair in 10. In 32 trusts the roads were wholly repaired by the trustees, in 15 partly by the parishes, and wholly by the parishes in 3 trusts. The mortgage or bonded debt was given as £327,820, an increase of £151,219 in only five years - and this when few of the trusts had been at all affected by railway competition in the county. And ominously, £30,741 had already been converted from interest into 'capital'.

Individual answers from Stroudwater trusts to this questionnaire may next be examined, firstly setting out the schedule of questions as Table IX.v.

TABLE IX.v.

Questionnaire to be answered by individual trusts.

(Source: BPP 1840 xxvii.)

Earlier returns of accounts, 1821-1833, are in GRO: also the original individual returns for 1834, with much interesting detail, though several particulars are often omitted in the returns of some trusts.

The original papers were consolidated by the Clerk of the Peace, for transmission to London, where the county abstracts were then made up.

Name and Residence of Clerk
Name of Trust
County or Counties in which situate

QUESTIONS.

1. What is the estimated Extent of the Turnpike Road within the Trust of which you are Clerk, computing the aggregate length of such Road in Statute Miles of 1760 Yards to a Mile?

2. How many Gates and Side-bars are erected on such Road or the sides thereof?

3. What are the Number of Parishes or extra-parochial places, and Names of each, through which such Turnpike Road passes, and the Extent of Miles in each such Parish or extra-parochial place?

4. What is the present Condition of such Road, and is any part under Indictment for want of Repair?

5. Whether the whole of such Road is repaired by the Trustees, or in part by any Parish; and, if so, how much?

6. To what Extent (if any), in your opinion, have the Securities held by the Creditors on Turnpike Road Bonds (or Mortgages) in your Trust been affected by the introduction of Railroads?

7. To what Extent (if any), in your opinion, have such Securities been affected by the abolition of Statute Labour?

8. By what Statute (or Statutes) is your Trust regulated; and at what period will such Statute (or Statutes) expire? State the Year of the Reign in which each Statute was passed, and the Chapter?

9. What was the Total Amount of the Bonded or Mortgage Debt on your Trust, on the 31st December 1838?

10. At what period or periods was the Money borrowed?

11. How much of the Bonded or Mortgage Debt consists of unpaid interest converted into principal; and when, and by what Authority, did such conversion take place?

12. What was the Total Amount of Interest paid to the Holders of Bonds, or Mortgages, in each of the Years?

13. At what rate per cent. was Interest due on such Securities, and at what rate per cent. was Interest actually paid in each of those years respectively?

14. Are there any matters which you think it necessary to remark in explanation of your Answers to any of the preceding Questions?

The following trusts of the Stroudwater area have been selected for the answers to the 1838 questionnaire.

The Cainscross & Frocester Divisions of the Berkeley (etc.) group.

Cheltenham-Painswick.

Coldharbour (part).

Gloucester-Painswick.

Lightpill-Birdlip.

Minchinhampton, Tetbury & Bisley.

Nailsworth, Woodchester & Dudbridge; and the branch road to Avening.

Stroud-Bisley.

Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Lower Division).

Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Upper Division).

Stroud-Chalford.

Stroud-Gloucester (via Pitchcombe).

Ricardo, as will appear later, chose roads within the Borough of Stroud, with slight differences from the list above, and his map is reproduced for convenience here as Fig. IX.ii. The mileage he records for trusts does not agree precisely with that in the questionnaire in one or two instances, but there is a gap of ten years between the questionnaire and his pamphlet *Rebecca at Stroud*.

One puzzle in both is the considerable length given to the Stroud-Painswick-Gloucester road, which to date the present writer has not resolved. Another misfit is in Ricardo's 64 miles for the Cirencester-Minchinhampton road, which might include the other roads of that group. Nor did he include the Painswick-Cheltenham road, though he did include the roads to Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge.

TABLE IX.vi.

TABLE in explanation of the adjoining MAP, showing the Length of each Turnpike Trust, and the different Trusts with which the Turnpikes are connected.

		Length of Road.			Name of Trust.
		M.	F.	Yds.	
I.	<i>a</i>	15	5	70	Minchinhampton, Tetbury, and Bisley.
II.	<i>c</i>	9	5	16	Stroud and Chalford.
III.	<i>d</i>	2	2	22	Nailsworth and Avening.
IV.	<i>e</i>	14	4	88	Nailsworth, Woodchester, and Dudbridge.
V.	<i>f</i>	1	1	344	{ Upper Division of the Cainscross, Stroud, and Minchinhampton.
VI.	<i>g</i>	8	3	209	Lightpil and Birdlip.
VII.	<i>h</i>	8	6	81	{ Stroud and Gloucester (through Pitch- combe).
VIII.	<i>i</i>	18	1	0	Stroud and Painswick.
IX.	<i>j</i>	11	2	74	Cainscross Division.
X.	<i>k</i>	0	6	211	Stroud, Cainscross, and Minchinhampton.
XI.	<i>l, m</i>	23	3	38	Cold Harbour.
XII.	<i>s</i>	3	5	60	Stroud and Bisley.
XIII.	<i>b</i>	64	0	0	Cirencester and Minchinhampton.
XIV.	<i>n, o</i>	33	4	0	Cirencester and Bath.
XV.	<i>p, r</i>	26	7	31	Wotton-under-Edge.
XVI.	<i>q</i>	34	4	28	Dursley.

No evidence, documentary or otherwise, has been found to verify the coach-route to Berkeley through King's Stanley to Frocester as a turnpike route.

Sackment's Bottom = Jackament's Bottom (where the road to Tetbury diverges from the Fosse Way). John Long's Post = Tom Long's Post. Nymphsfield = Nympsfield.

A summary of the position at the end of the 1840s can be made from the answers to the 1838 questions.

- 1 Length of trust road varied from under 1 mile to over 17 miles (the Coldharbour road is omitted here).
- 2 The number of gates and bars varied from time to time, but it seems strange that the clerk of the Minchinhampton-Tetbury-Bisley trust wrote that there were no gates or bars on the road, which makes another puzzle - how were the tolls collected?
- 3 The number of parishes crossed by trusts varied from 1 (Rodborough) to 10.
- 4 Road conditions were given as generally good or tolerable for travelling, with a few short stretches in need of repair; except that the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Upper Division) road, that from Bowbridge to the Bear Inn, was described as "not in the best repair", which probably means "very bad".
- 5 On the question of who did the repair of roads, most replied that this was done by the trustees. There were exceptions. On the Cheltenham-Painswick road the parishes found materials and did the hauling, and the trust paid for the labour, provided the funds were available. A similar situation existed on the Gloucester-Painswick road. The Stroud-Gloucester road (the Horsepools road) even in 1834 was repaired almost entirely by the parishes. The stretch along the valley from Stroud to Pitchcombe was done at the expense of the Painswick district "as per agreement about 1½ miles ... by trustees let by contract at £20 per mile", and most

of the rest of the road was done by the parishes through which it passed, the trustees being responsible for only about 1 mile's repair. This was the clerk's statement in 1838; Fig IX.i, taken from the original reports sent to the Clerk of the Peace in 1834, shows that this arrangement was already in existence.

- 6 On the question of whether railways had affected the securities, the trusts gave a negative answer, as in no case had a railway yet been built near their roads. For the Upper Division of the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton road the answer was that though the Cheltenham & Great Western Union was to be built along the valley close by, the effect was not known "but cannot be much worse than at present"; while the Stroud-Gloucester trust reported that tolls had increased due to hauling materials for the railway then building at Gloucester.

(Other trusts outside the Stroudwater area thought the railways then being built - the Birmingham & Gloucester, and the Great Western Union near Cheltenham and Gloucester - would be likely to lead to a reduction in toll income: the Southgate Trust - the present A38 - thought the projected railway from Gloucester to Bristol would destroy most of the traffic with tolls likely to drop by half.)

- 7 On whether the abolition of statute duty three years before had affected securities, most replied that it had not, but the Cheltenham-Painswick trust said this now meant that the hauling of stone for road repair had to be done by parishes, and the condition of their

roads was worsened. The Tetbury-Bisley road through (near) Minchinhampton had lost about £30 a year, the Nailsworth trust about £50, and the Avening road about £9 through the abolition of statute duty. The Upper Division of the Stroud-Minchinhampton road (the road which traversed only one parish) commented that Rodborough parish was so heavily rated that road creditors had agreed to take a nominal £3 in lieu of statute labour. In the remarks column, No. 14, Philip Wathen, clerk to that trust wrote: "The abolition of statute labour is so severely felt by thousands of road creditors, that I think Government ought either to make some compensation, or take all the roads, and thereby save the exorbitant charges of clerks of the peace, clerks to the commissioners, surveyors, etc., etc." This comment seems at variance with the answers given by the other trusts.

The answers to the questions on Debts etc. have been dealt with above and need not be repeated here. But it may be noted that in answer No. 12, the total amount of interest paid yearly, much variation was recorded, not only between trusts but from year to year in any one trust. Thus from 1832 to 1834 the Cheltenham-Painswick road paid out about £70, but thereafter about £600; the Coldharbour group likewise usually paid between £30 and £70, but in 1833 the sum of £175. The Lightpill-Birdlip trust paid sums varying from £232 to £481, and the Tetbury-Bisley road sums from £59 to £209. The main Nailsworth road paid a fairly steady £200 with a few fluctuations.

The Stroud-Bisley trust made no payment of interest.

The clerks of the various trusts made careful account of these financial matters as they also did for answer No. 13 on the rate of interest. With many there were considerable arrears of unpaid interest, which when paid was seldom the nominal £5 per cent. However, the Nailsworth Trust paid its correct interest in each of the years recorded in the answers to the questionnaire.

The final answer, No. 14, contains some interesting details. The Cainscross Division recorded that the four trusts within the Berkeley group joined forces in 1821 to save expenses, though each running their own finances within the general grouping; and they had not used statute labour since 1823.

The Cheltenham-Painswick trustees had made a distribution of cash to the parishes since the abolition of statute duty; while in the Coldharbour group, the large payment of interest in 1833 (referred to above) was attributed to the accumulation of arrears of interest for several years until the parties concerned could establish their entitlement to the distribution. The Nailsworth Trust recorded that the main road had benefited from the interchangeability of tickets with the Avening branch, and the trustees had paid off about £2000 of capital debt - a contrast it may be noted with most other local trusts.

Three clerks reported difficulties in having taken over in 1838 from Henry Newman, deceased, who (like George Wathen) had been clerk to several trusts. W T Paris of

the Stroud-Gloucester trust said he had answered the questions after perusal of the books and accounts and from enquiring of different people, having been clerk only since 30 January.

It seems certain that a tightening up of the way trusts were being run was well overdue. For example, on the question of what interest had been converted to capital, and on what authority, Philip Wathen (who had taken over on the Upper Division of the Stroud-Minchinghampton road from the late H Haycraft) reported that the cost of that road had been over £2479, reduced by some early toll-taking to £2380, and that interest to the value of £526 had been added to that capital sum "by order of the creditors". George Edwards, having taken over as clerk to the Lower Division of that road, reported that the "principal money" had been £3010, and that interest to 27 October 1830 was £512; and that Richard Jones had received a mortgage for £130 for his services of "work and labour" on the road, while Charles Newman for his professional services as collector had received £60. The only authority which Mr Edwards (who also had succeeded the late Henry Newman) could find was a resolution in the minute book of the trustees on 27 October 1830 to this effect - "Ordered, that the securities on the tolls be prepared, and that all arrears thereon be included up to this date, and that the stamps shall be paid for by the respective shareholders".

Thus during the 1830s it was apparent that the affairs of at least some of the local trusts were not in the

best of financial health, well before railways were built in the county; that some trusts could not even afford to keep their roads in repair but had to get this done by the parishes (which, as seen above, still had the legal obligation to do this); that the burden of debt could not conceivably be redeemed; and that this burden was actually being increased by the conversion of unpaid interest to "principal". (See Table IX.vii p 339.)

Ten years and more later David Ricardo the younger tried - in desperation it would seem - to obtain reform of this chaotic system on lines suggested for twenty years past by numerous expert witnesses to numerous Parliamentary enquiries. This well-meant attempt led to the controversy in 1853 and 1854 over the Stroud Road Bill, which is the subject of the second half of this chapter. Ricardo made much use of official figures, and produced several tables of his own for publication in the Stroud Free Press, especially comparing the costs of trusts and parish roads. One such table, taken from county Abstracts, is given in Table IX.vii below. For a brief comparison, revenue in 1853 is given as well as that for 1838. In most cases there is a decrease in revenue; in a few a small increase. Some attempt at a comment on this table is given in Notes to accompany it. Any discrepancy in arithmetic must be due to compilation at the time of publication...

TABLE IX.vii. Money borrowed; unpaid interest to principal.

(From answers 10 and 11 to questionnaire of 1838. BPP 1840 xxvii)

Trust	10	11
Cainscross	1800, 1801, 1802, 1818, 1819 (amount of £2400)	None
Frocester	Sept 1829	None
Cheltenham- Painswick	1820, 1821	Arrears of interest of £5320 converted to principal 1834 by consent of mortgagees
Coldharbour	First 1802, last 1821.	None.
(A full statement sent to James M'Adam in 1838.)		
Gloucester- Painswick	1819, 1821,	£2581 converted in 1834 with consent of mortgagees.
Lightpill- Birdlip	mostly 1800 and 1801, some 1812-13.	None
Minchinhampton- Tetbury-Bisley	1788, 1793, 1803, 1825, 1827, 1828	None
Nailsworth- Woodchester & Dudbridge Avening branch	1780, 1781, 1782, 1817, 1818, 1823 1823, 1829	None £1045 converted Sept 1829, trustees with consent of most of creditors at the time, later of all.
Stroud-Bisley	1823, 1824.	None
Stroud, Cainscross & M'ton (Lower)	1825, 1826	See text Chap IX.
Ditto (Upper)	from Oct 1829 to June 1833.	See text Chap IX.
Stroud-Chalford.	1814, Mortgages granted 1812-17, 1821-22, 1834.	March 1834, £2983 converted by trustees, with consent of most creditors. A meeting was called to borrow money to pay the interest unpaid, but this unpaid inter- est was later secured to the original mortgagees as principal money by separate mortgages. The creditors raised no objections.
Stroud-Gloucester.	£10,400 when the Act was passed.	The residue added by mort- gages for unpaid interest and debts due 1 Jan 1837. £9000 unpaid interest had been converted by authority of a special meeting of the trustees on 19 July 1836, and the residue for land not yet paid for by securities, with interest at the rate on the original valuation.

TABLE IX.viii.

Toll Revenue & Bonded Debt in 1838

(a) Trust	(b) Toll Revenue £	(c) Bonded Debt £	(d) Mileage	(e) Revenue per mile £	(f) Debt per mile £	(g) Revenue in 1853 £
Cainscross Division		2400	11½		208.6	
Frocester Division		250	11¼		22.2	
Cheltenham-Painswick	929	14,194	7½	123.8	1892	440
Coldharbour District	769	1670	23½	32	71	374
Gloucester-Painswick	823	8688	17¼	47	503	770
Lightpill-Birdlip	474	5662	8½	55	666	483
Minchinhampton-Tetbury- Bisley	348	4917	15½	22	317	266
Nailsworth-Woodchester- Dudbridge	} 1162	4184	17½	} 58	239	743
& branch (to Avening)		5694	2½		2277	120
Stroud-Bisley	100	1700	3½	28	485	77
Stroud-Cainscross- Minchinhampton (Lower Division)	173	3783	0¾			185
Ditto (Upper Division)	41	2906	2¼	18	1291	53
Stroud-Chalford	675	14,999	10½	64	1428	491
Stroud-Gloucester (via Pitchcombe)	288	21,923	8¾	33	2505	352

Sources: Columns (a) (b) from County Abstracts in BPP 1840 XXVII; columns (c) and (d) from the Statements of individual trusts, also BPP 1840 XXVII; column (g) from BPP 1854-55 XLIX.

Notes to Table IX.viii.

- 1 The individual trust statements for the Cainscross and Frocester Divisions do not here record revenue, but the county Abstracts give the aggregate for the whole group - the Berkeley, Wooton-under-Edge & Dursley, the Frocester, and the Cainscross Divisions. Likewise, the consolidated Cirencester District of roads only records their aggregate, not the revenue of the individual roads, and in any case only the road to Stroud in that District concerns this study. Revenue per mile for the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Lower Division) road is not included here, as the distance was less than one mile.

- 2 Column (f), debt per mile of road, can be utilised to produce a three-fold break-down of the trusts listed here. Firstly, those former parish highways put under turnpike authority in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, such as the Frocester hill road, the roads west from Tetbury (the Coldharbour District), the road from Tetbury through or rather past Minchinhampton to Chalford, which was later extended to Bisley. The second, and small, group is that of 'new' roads round the turn of the century: the Nailsworth Trust, and the Slad road from Lightpill to Birdlip, the debt per mile of which is somewhat higher than for the first group. The third group is also of 'new' roads, that is along valley bottoms and slanting up-hill to the plateau top, from about 1810 to 1825. The debt per mile here was considerably greater than for the other groups, especially on the branch road from Nailsworth to Avening, and that from Stroud to Gloucester via Pitchcombe (the Horsepools road). The Stroud-Bisley road was only partly 'new', following the old parish highway once it had reached the level top. The amount of bonded debt for these roads seems disproportionately high: over £14,000 for the Cheltenham-Painswick road, and for the Stroud-Chalford road, and as much as £21,000 for the road from Stroud to Gloucester which used the old parish road once the Vale had been reached at Brookthorpe.

- 3 A curious anomaly is the high revenue of the road from Cheltenham to Painswick. It is suggested here that this is because it formed part of the route to Bath (now the A46) through Stroud, passing the Anchor Gate on the short Lightpill stretch south of Stroud, and thence along the main road of the Nailsworth Trust, and crossing or using part of the Coldharbour group before joining the Cirencester-Bath road at Dunkirk. The relatively high revenue per mile on the Stroud-Chalford road may be from the conveyance of goods to and from the mills on the Frome, where after 1800 most of the manufacturing processes were concentrated. The low returns on the Tetbury-Minchinhampton-Bisley road, the Stroud-Bisley road and the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Upper Division) are well marked.

- 4 The damaging effects of railway competition are clearly shown by the figures for 1853. The A46 Cheltenham-Bath route lost heavily, as had the Stroud-Chalford road. But the Cainscross Division had gained from the traffic to the stations at Stroud and Stonehouse (as will also be pointed out later in this chapter). The Lightpill-Birdlip, and the Tetbury-Minchinhampton-Bisley road do not appear to have suffered overmuch, presumably because they were not in direct competition with railway routes; their traffic in any case had not been heavy. The Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton roads had gained a little, probably through 'natural' increase in traffic flow while the Stroud-Gloucester road had actually increased its revenue by no insignificant proportion.

It may also be noted that a distinction can be made between earlier turnpike trusts and the 'new' roads constructed after 1800. Existing parish roads put under toll would appear to have borrowed money as and when various stretches of the roads needed repair, apart from the 'normal' repair done out of revenue or by parishes. 'New' roads had of course to borrow their capital sums on or during construction. The Upper Division of the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton road (the Butterrow road) seems to have been built after the Lower Division, from Cainscross to Stroud, had been finished. It is not clear how the 'new' trusts envisaged repayment of the very considerable costs of construction, though an optimistic forecast might have thought interest could have been paid at the due dates. But the conversion of unpaid interest to capital seems not only an act of desperation but downright irresponsible and reckless. It was even proposed on the Stroud-Chalford road to borrow money, at interest,

to pay unpaid interest!

The Nailsworth Trust main road once more shows up as comparatively well-run in comparison with several other trusts.

These are inferences, and it should be borne in mind that the figures are not necessarily reliable enough to act as completely acceptable indicators of economic and financial change. But what is quite clear is that within this relatively small and compact area of Gloucestershire, the turnpike system contained considerable variety, in length of roadway, in revenue, in capital debt, and was also much subject to change.

It is also of interest to note that the Nailsworth Trust - discounting the rather ill-advised Avening branch - had a creditable record not only in its period of construction, but also in keeping down capital costs as compared with other roads in the valleys and up the hill-slopes. This trust was prompter and more reliable in the payment of interest to bond-holders, and in some repayment of capital, and while its revenue was diminished after 1815, a steady if lower level was maintained until the building of the Midland railway branch up the valley. Its through coach-traffic must have vanished by the 1840s, if not before,

but it may be thought that local traffic, especially in the movement of stock, prevented its tolls from declining as sharply as those of some other trusts. The final twenty years or so of this trust will be dealt with in the succeeding chapter.

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PART II. Ricardo and the Stroud Roads Bill.

David Ricardo of Gatcombe Park near Minchinhampton, son of the great economist (another David) was, like G O Paul, a public benefactor and a man with a keen sense of public duty. He had been one of the two first MPs for the new Borough of Stroud, a JP, and was on the Board of Guardians for the Stroud Union workhouse, from which he resigned in May 1855.¹⁷ He gave generously for the construction of workers' houses in Minchinhampton, to the building of more than one local church, and for the foundations of local schools, and in 1849 he helped to start a (short-lived) local board of health.

His family background may well have predisposed him to attempt the reform of out-dated institutions and to the elimination of financial and administrative inefficiency, but he had a more personal reason for the onslaught he mounted against the local road systems. As early as 1847 he published a pamphlet entitled "Rebecca at Stroud", in which he suggested that the burden of both parish highways rates and of turnpike tolls might give rise to civil disturbance.¹⁸

His personal reason was this. With the loss of through traffic and revenue for some trusts due to the completion of railways - in particular that down the Frome valley from Swindon to Gloucester with stations at Brimscombe, Stroud and Stonehouse - toll-farmers found themselves forced to extract the last penny from road-users in order to maintain their income.¹⁹ What Ricardo termed "illegal" gates had been set up where previously passage had been more relaxed.²⁰ The fourth part of the Road Report in 1854-55 (see Appendix 6) had pointed out that the Chalford Bar between Bourne and Chalford was the only remaining toll-gate on that valley road, and had been set up expressly to catch travellers from the Minchinhampton plateau heading for Brimscombe station; there were also some bars on side-roads, such as that for the Toadsmoor valley, the road there having been diverted when the railway was built.²¹ No. 18 of this Fourth Report was on the Stroud & Chalford Roads, and gave the debt of that trust as £14,999 5s., including £2983 arrears of interest converted into principal (in 1834, more than ten years before the railway had been completed). The full interest at 5% could not be repaid; by 31 December 1854 arrears stood at £7768 6s. 1d. With such a reduced income, repair was done wholly by the parishes. The tolls had produced £661 in 1834, £659 in 1845 (the year of building the railway) and £491 in 1853. Expenditure for 1834 was given as £811, as £906 in 1845, and as £453 in 1853; but bonded debt was only £2 down on the 1834 sum of £15,001 5s. This was far from a healthy state of affairs.

Ricardo was incensed at the existence of the catch-gate at The Bourne. Here there was during the day a chain across the road (except in wet weather) and what he called "ragged little boys on every corner" who would run up to the traveller with a charges board and a bundle of tickets. It cost him, wrote Ricardo, 2s. 4d. to travel by carriage to Stroud, and on at least one occasion he refused to pay. For this he was taken to court and fined by his fellow magistrates the sum of two guineas, and 17s. costs for failing to pay a toll of 2d.²²

Ricardo was not alone in suffering such petty inconveniences. Mr Godsell of Salmon Springs mill, just outside Stroud on the Gloucester road, had been brought to court for a similar offence by the gate-keeper there, one D H Atkins.²³ (Another Atkins, J W, was keeper at the Anchor Gate where the Lightpill-Slad road joined the Cirencester road at the bottom of Rodborough hill; another Atkins, Thomas, had been clerk to the governors of the Stroud Union workhouse, but had been dismissed.) Among those who suffered at Salmons Springs toll-site was John Bucknall who claimed that the ticket he had taken at Pitchcombe should have cleared both gates both ways.²⁴ Joseph Bowstead also put a letter in the local newspaper, though one John Gurney wrote from London to counter his complaint.²⁵

The columns of the Stroud Free Press & Trade Reporter for the West of England Clothing District (founded in 1851) from now on contained numerous letters, both of

grievances about tolls and the bad repair of local roads, and also other letters refuting these claims, usually on personal grounds. The Stroud Free Press also printed editorials urging reform.²⁶

In December 1851 Ricardo announced that he had sent a "memorial" to the Home Secretary about the bad state of the Chalford road, as his complaint directed to the trust had been without effect.²⁷ In an earlier letter, in the issue of the Stroud Free Press of 31 October 1851 he had pointed out the re-opening of the catch-gate at Chalford, and reminded readers that Samuel Clutterbuck, a commissioner and trustee, was also toll-collector and in charge of road repairs; the tolls were not handed to the trust's treasurer but spent directly on repair, and Mr Clutterbuck was also chairman of the "audit meeting".²⁸

This is a perhaps typical example of how the administration of trusts had come into the hands of a very small group of local people of influence (and money) who might well combine different functions. An extreme example was that of the Minty (sic) & Crudwell branch of the Cirencester ^{ok} & Wotton Bassett trust, where at the 1833 committee an amazing piece of administrative exclusiveness was revealed. The clerk, John Bevir, did not know if the road was 'improved' or 'new', had never seen any account until given one a few days before, had signed a return about a year earlier when the Clerk of the Peace had demanded one (but he knew nothing, he confessed, about it). He was ignorant of the rate of toll and told the committee that meetings had been "so indifferently attended that sometimes for

months together we have not been able to get a Commissioner to pass the Account".²⁹

It transpired that the money to set up this branch road had been supplied by Mr Joseph Pitt, formerly MP for Cricklade, who owned most of the land through which the road ran: He was in fact the only creditor, but said the road was so inconsiderable, producing hardly more than £15 a year in tolls, that he had not complied with the General Turnpike Act; the gates were to prevent people from using the road. No one, he claimed, had yet had any interest, but on questioning he admitted "With the Exception of myself". Here then was a public toll road being treated as a piece of private property; an extreme case no doubt but showing (if it were needed) how the rights of property were at times taking precedence of the idea of public utility, though it is likely that this occurred only for minor cross-roads, not for the main or great roads. Roads such as the new Stroud-Bisley turnpike, or the abortive Miserden scheme, were not of great public interest.

A letter sent by Charles Stanton to the Stroud Free Press, printed on 7 November 1851, took the point of view of the bond-holder. Stanton was both commissioner and mortgagee of the Chalford trust and thought some consideration should be given to the "poor Mortgagees". He put the blame on the letting out of tolls and the system of toll-farming, which had divided responsibilities between trustees and toll-farmers.³⁰ In the same issue, "Vindex"

made a personal attack on Ricardo: the way of the well-intentioned reformer is seldom other than thankless.

More than one person of local standing wrote to the paper advocating change, in particular the abolition of tolls and the amalgamation of all trusts in the Borough into one general trust.³¹ One such correspondent was Thomas Clutterbuck Croome of the firm of Croome & Harris of Cainscross, solicitors, who were later to be given the task of piloting the proposed Bill through the Houses of Parliament. The Stroud Free Press supported moves for reform, and at a critical moment of the gathering storm published, on 8 April 1853, an editorial referring to the "enormous and crushing evils ... bad and dear roads ... matters of life and death to our commercial and social prospects". This was countered by Charles Stanton on the grounds that the proposed new system would not tax the road user, but would throw the whole cost of repair on the parish ratepayers.

It is likely that a great deal of private discussion went on throughout 1852 which would not be printed in the paper, but it was announced that several "notables" had met to try to draw up a plan for change. Names were: Ricardo, Winterbotham, Dorington, Capel, S Marling and T C Croome, though W Playne and C Stanton declined to attend.³² (Identities of named persons are given below in Appendix 5.) But, wrote Ricardo, they could not agree on a plan suitable to all and he thought it would be necessary to have recourse to Parliament.³³

In October a leader in the Stroud Free Press urged action - "it was time to get moving". Several local turnpike Acts were due for renewal about this time, and in November the Secretary of State postponed such renewals for a year to give time for local matters to be sorted out locally.³⁴ On 11 March 1853 the Stroud Free Press started to publish details of the plan for an Act of Parliament: the document was signed by D Ricardo, C Stanton, N W Marling, S Marling, J E Dorrington (usually spelt with only one 'r'), W H Withey, R Winterbotham and T C Croome, and a public meeting was arranged for the afternoon of 13 April in the Subscription Rooms for the plan to be presented and discussed. A summary of the plan is given here.

- 1 All the public roads, both parish and turnpike, within the Borough of Stroud, should come under one General Board of Management. This Board would consist of:
 - 2 Waywardens elected by parishes with resident JPs as ex-officio waywardens.
 - 3 One member would retire each year (presumably one from each parish) but could stand for re-election.
 - 4 The qualification would be actual residence and payment of the poor rate on an annual rent of £30 or more.
 - 5 Waywardens would have all the existing powers of parish highway surveyors and turnpike commissioners.
 - 6 Meetings should be held monthly.
 - 7 The usual officers would be appointed: i.e. chairman, vice-chairman, clerk, treasurer, surveyor.
 - 8 Five members would constitute a quorum.
 - 9 All appointed officers would have fixed salaries.
- 10 An independent auditor would be appointed by the Home Office.

- 11 There would be two separate and distinct funds: (1) Toll revenue would be used to extinguish the bonded debt within 30 years at 3% interest; and it could also be used for the salaries of officials and road repair (assuming there would be a surplus). (ii) A new highway rate would pay for road repair, but would not be used for the payment of interest or the repayment of bonded debt.

In addition there should be only one toll, clearing all gates. If the tolls proved insufficient for interest payment, sinking fund and management, a second toll would be allowed if the journey was of more than four miles from the site of the first payment.

When both debt and interest had been cleared, the road in question would be dispiked.

The question of the payment of the proportion of debts on roads extending beyond the boundaries of the Borough of Stroud would be settled by arbitration.

Such proposals had been suggested many times by many people, especially to the various committees investigating the conditions of the national roads. In a letter to the Stroud Free Press in April 1853, Ricardo added statistics which he hoped would underline the impossible situation then existing and bring public opinion to back the plan. On local turnpike he gave, for the year ending 31 December 1849, these figures:

For the 13 trusts wholly or partly within the Borough of Stroud -

Income from tolls was	£7261
with other income, a total of	£7741
Spent on road repairs	3275
and on debt interest	2477
with other expenses, a total of	6717
Debts: bonded	94,077
floating	479
a total of	<u>£95,407</u>
and unpaid interest	26,553
making a total of	<u>£121,96)</u>

(Shilling and pence omitted: his letter has a few minor discrepancies which do not materially affect the result.)

These suggestions mirrored the pattern being adopted in local administration: his principles, wrote Ricardo on 2 December 1853, were "election and public audit". 59 G iv c.12 of 1819, an Act to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor, had required select vestry committee to be appointed to report twice a year to the parish as a whole, and to maintain (and make public) proper minutes. It has already been noted that turnpike trusts should submit annual accounts to the Clerk of Peace (a formality not carried out by Mr Joseph Pitt). The strongest expression of "election and public audit" may be seen in the Poor Law Amendment Act, 4/5 W iv c.76 of 1834, with boards being elected by ratepayers, with several parishes forming a union (not necessarily with one set rate), and with salaried officials appointed and supervised by the Board of Guardians. The Public Health Act, 11/12 V c.63 of 1848, with which the Town of Stroud was also concerned at the time of the Roads Bill, also made provision for the election of committees, for a system of general rates and for a board of health.³⁵

Permission had been given by 12/13 V c.46 of 1849 for turnpike trusts to form unions, as had already been done earlier by many groups of roads of major importance. 5/6 W iv c.50 of 1835 had abolished statute duty on roads, but owing to the near insolvent state of many trusts, parish contributions had had to be retained: one slightly later law - 4/5 V c.59 - confirmed that parishes might have to contribute rates to trusts which lacked funds, though this normally took the form of repairing turn-

pike roads out of the parish rate, not the handing over of cash. Thus the Stroud Roads Bill might seem to its proposers to be merely in line with changes in parallel institutions, and unlikely to meet great opposition.

However, in April 1853 Ricardo, setting out the income and expenditure on trust and parish roads, had referred to "vague rumours of opposition" - it all, he said, depended on public opinion. He may have forgotten the saying that those who appear to Caesar must abide by Caesar's decision.³⁶ *Voc populi, vox dei* - with a vengeance.

Opposition erupted with volcanic suddenness at the public meeting held to inaugurate the proposals for the Bill. In the early eighteenth century resentment of the classes without public voice had manifested itself in rioting, disguise (to avoid detection leading to arrest) and destruction of property.³⁷ In 1853 the working people of the Stroud area were able to make their feelings known in more democratic ways - perhaps a result of men like Ricardo trying to use democratic methods, and very likely also due to the existence of a weekly local paper. This meeting, reported on 15 April, was a significant one. Ricardo was in the chair, while Charles Stanton (rather surprisingly in view of his previous opinions) emphasised the need for unanimity of action, and also the power of local electors. "Anyone," he remarked, "travelling through Stroud and making a circuit of half a mile would ... pay five or in a circuit of a mile eight tolls". The People's Voice (unidentified in the crowded hall) called out, "Not by a labouring man!", and this set the tone of

the meeting. Mr Croome tried to suggest that labouring men had to pay more for their goods because tolls raised prices. This was not accepted, and the meeting was a very unhappy experience for Ricardo and his supporters.

This, and other meetings, was reported in the Stroud Free Press almost verbatim, and these reports give an excellent view of the way public opinion could defeat a proposal that was unwelcome to the majority (most of whom had no votes), and also how public opinion could fix on certain sore points, imagined or not, totally discarding other arguments. Both the workforce and the tradesmen of the Town of Stroud were fiercely opposed to the plan, seeing it as a means of transferring the cost of tolls from the purses of those with carriages (and the money to pay tolls) to the pockets of those who paid rates, or had little beyond an uncertain wage. It seems possible too that Ricardo had not expected the 'carriage folk' to reject his proposals, but Captain Townsend of Steanbridge, at the head of the Slad valley, was one of his most vociferous opponents. Townsend pointed out from the floor that rates would rise so that others could benefit, and repeated the oft-expressed opinion that "those who used the road should pay for them", a sentiment greeted with cheers from the body of the Rooms. On behalf of the plan Mr Winterbotham said the poor should carefully consider it, adding "If any burden was created by the plan it was one that would be felt most injuriously by the very gentlemen who had submitted the particulars for their consideration";

but when he mentioned rates he could not be heard for the constant interruptions. His remark that "They were not proceeding without some warranty, for in the first place the bill that was introduced by a former government - which was a bill for the whole country - provided for the regulation of turnpikes by the very system they proposed to adopt in this district", caused "great confusion".³⁸

It is of interest that a factory operative, one J Harper, was permitted to address the meeting from the platform. He said that a great deal had been said about the working class by the worthy gentlemen "in order to put a worthy tax upon them", adding later that thousands thought the plan would shift the burden from rich to poor. It is also of interest that complaints were made that a meeting in the afternoon prevented working people from attending, and later meetings were in fact held in the evening, as was the final meeting in the next year called by William Ranger, Home Office Inspector investigating sanitary conditions in Stroud, and expressly so that working people might be able to attend.³⁹

Other meetings were in fact held, at one of which Ricardo absented himself, sending in a note to say that discussion would be freer without his presence. But Mr Winterbotham, who again spoke for the Bill, was again shouted down and two resolutions were passed against the plan.

One read as follows:

The Meeting views with alarm and disapprobation the project called "The Stroud Roads Bill" as involving principles utterly subversive to the laws of property, and tending in detail to impose great additional burdens on the Ratepayers, without any corresponding benefit to the Public at large.

The second resolution, proposed by the Rev Thomas Peters, Rector of Eastington, and seconded by R S Davies Esq., was that -

The proposed Bill be opposed in Parliament, and that Petitions against the same be forthwith prepared and signed by the Ratepayers of the Town of Stroud and of the respective Parishes in the Borough.

The townspeople of Stroud had clearly shown their opposition to the proposals, and in November 1853 Croome & Harris were to meet in a roads committee to discuss possible amendments with the Town Commissioners, the trustees of the Stroud-Gloucester turnpike, and Major Newman (who had chaired a meeting of opposition), and matters were not improved by the backers of the plan agreeing to exempt the Town from the provisions of the Bill - thereby, of course, imposing the full cost on parishioners outside the 1-mile radius of the 1825 Improvement Act.

How many worthy gentlemen came down against the Bill when they had seen which way the winds of opinion were blowing, and it appeared their pockets might be affected, cannot be ascertained, but it is noticeable that after the first disastrous meeting many previously silent people came out strongly against the Bill. Parishes met to discuss - that is, to oppose - the Bill. At a meeting in

the New Inn, Avening, the chairman of that parish was Edmund Kimber of the Nailsworth Trust. Mr Freston, of the firm of Freston & Edwards, solicitors, who acted as clerks for more than one trust, wrote a series of bitter letters against Ricardo and the plan.⁴⁰ In a letter of early December he claimed that landowners in Bisley parish were now against the Bill. "Independently", he said; but their numbers were not given, nor all but a few names recorded.

In February 1854 the indefatigable "Viator" wrote to the press that the Bill would be unjust to proprietors and those who did not travel, while a group of parishes north of the village of Stonehouse also decided on a petition. These parishes were: Standish, Haresfield, Eastington and Morton Valence, and most of them were not even within the Borough boundaries.⁴¹ They were alarmed lest toll revenue and bond interest would suffer. Prominent in this group were the Rev T Peters and F Eycott, and it is noticeable how regularly the same names turn up in different capacities, such as landowners, parishioners, trustees and mortgagees. Most of the petitioners of this group were gentlemen and farmers, with few tradesmen. They thought the Bill would involve their parishes in subsidising turnpikes even more than they already did, and the proposals were termed "unprecedented".

These same points were made by trustees of other turnpikes. In July 1853 the trustees of the Cainscross Division of the Berkeley group had pointed out that of the 84 miles in their District, only 6 would come within the

proposed new Stroud turnpike area, and this was the most profitable stretch, taking the traffic to Stonehouse railway station, and the deprivation of this revenue would be unjust to the group as a whole.⁴² Trustees and mortgagees of the Berkeley group claimed that the Bill was a breach of faith, "unprecedented and inexpedient", members signing this petition including H W Newman, the Rev T Peters and F Eycott ...

Another protest came from the Coldharbour roads group, that is the roads west from Tetbury to the top of Frocester hill, including the road through Horsley to the Old Bath Road.⁴³ Identical words were used: breach of faith, unprecedented, inexpedient. Signators included R C Paul, R W Huntley of Boxwell Court, William Tyndall of Leighterton. Eleven trustees and one mortgagee signed the petition, but an additional sheet added more names. It may be noted here that Ricardo's earlier "memorial" to the Home Secretary had contained 62 names, and a similar one from Chalford had 25 names.

Finally, the action taken by the Nailsworth Trust should be considered. A policy meeting was held on 31 January 1854; no venue was named, and perhaps it was held at a private residence. The Bill was considered by E Dalton, R Bamford, W Playne and J Wight - a small group indeed. Adjourning to 14 February to allow the attendance of mortgagees, the meeting on that date recorded these names: E Dalton, W Playne, R Bamford, C Ballinger, the Rev G Williams, J Wight, - Ward Esq., W T Newzam Esq., C J Little and E P Westley Esq.

The Rev Williams proposed, seconded by W Playne, that the Trust should oppose the Bill as likely to damage the mortgagees' interest, for it would "reduce by Arbitration the amount of the Bonded Debt" as well as the rate of interest without giving the mortgagees as good a security as they already held, and this resolution was carried unanimously. Mr Wight then proposed, with Mr Ballinger as seconder, to record a statement (hardly a 'resolution') that under the Bill road repair would be no better or cheaper than it already was. "Throughout this trust they have always been maintained by the Tolls without calling upon the Ratepayers for any contribution". Whether accurate or not (and the Minute Books show that parish composition was taken), this was certainly not true of other trusts of the area. This motion too received unanimous support.

Mr Kimber, seconded by Mr Newzam, then proposed:

That independently of the above the extreme and general dissatisfaction which the proposed Bill has excited throughout the Borough of Stroud appears to this meeting an insuperable objection to the passing of the measure and that a petition to Parliament embodying these resolutions be prepared and circulated for the signatures of the Trustees.

Mr Freston, who had emerged as perhaps the most vehement opposer of the Bill in letters to the Press, had well publicised such opinion during the latter part of 1853. He claimed that the scheme would increase rates, tax farmers and others for the benefit of gentry and townspeople, and would in any case not get rid of the toll gates. The proposed new highway rate would come out of

the Poor Rate, and it would also be difficult to determine what proportion should be paid by parishes whose turnpikes lay outside the boundaries of the Borough. He also denied that tolls were numerous or vexatious, saying that, for example, Painswick parish was large enough to form a district of roads by itself, with its own surveyor, and so control its own rate.⁴⁴ In any case, the Bill would upset measures then in hand for Town Improvements - this presumably referring to the health enquiry of Inspector Ranger.

In a letter to W H Hyett dated 12 December 1853, Ricardo wrote "I am not quite beat yet", but (as a leader in the Stroud Free Press put it on 10 February 1854) the various parish meetings had been statements of opposition only - "The Bill hasn't been discussed". This was certainly true.⁴⁵ Throughout this bitter controversy, a few people had to bear the odium of unpopularity: Ricardo, Winterbotham, Croome. Little support seems to have come from the more than eighty people who had signed the two memorials, yet the problems - and possible solution - of turnpike trusts in the Stroudwater area in 1853 were the same as those discussed at national level for more than twenty years past: namely, too many, and too small, trusts, too little public control, the clumsy relationship with the parish highways system, and the problem of indebtedness. Ricardo and his like-minded colleagues had attempted to provide a rational, and reasonable, solution to all four problems. The obduracy of public mistrust of change, the entrenched position of trustees and mortgagees, a

dislike of solutions imposed from above, and perhaps some personal factors, had combined to defeat his best efforts at reform. Ironically, far from tolls causing Rebecca-type civil disturbance, as Ricardo had forecast in his pamphlet of 1847, it was the prospect of reforming the system that had aroused strong and wide-spread opposition and resentment. By February 1854 the Stroud Roads Bill, having achieved only a first reading in the House of Commons, was abandoned.

The problems however remained, and the answers were only to be found in what may be called 'natural wastage' of bonded debt, the rising tide of change in local administration, and a belated acceptance of the fact that it was impossible to retain the existing system. But this slow retreat to reality took another twenty years; and this is the subject to be examined in the following chapter, a subject which seems to have been given no more than cursory attention in studies of the turnpike system as a whole. As before, the process may best be seen through the pages of the Minute Book of the Nailsworth Trust.

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Chapter IX. References.

- 1 Pawson E, The Turnpike Trusts of the eighteenth century: a study of innovation and diffusion. (Ox. University School of Geography Research Paper 14, 1985. .
- 2 Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of the Roads in England (BPP xxvii) noted that some trusts had paid no interest for several years; with others the rate had been reduced, while several had converted unpaid interest into capital, thus annually increasing their difficulties. (See Table IX.vii.)
- 3 Edgeworth R L, An Essay on the Construction of Roads, op cit.
- 4 BPP 1833 xv p 409 et seq.
- 5 BPP 1836 xix.
- 6 BPP 1840 xxvii.
- 7 5/6 W iv c.50, 1835: An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Highways in that part of Great Britain called England.
- 8 The 1833 Report was not in favour of a "general Central Board" for all payments, but preferred a Board of General Superintendence. BPP 1833 xv, 436. Returns to the Clerk of the Peace had been included in 3 G iv c.126 of 1822.
- 9 By 25/26 V c.1 of 1862, parishes were required to group themselves into Highway Districts. The Stroud area not only had alterations made to its proposed constituent parts, but also delayed formation well beyond other Districts in the county.
- 10 By 4/5 V c.59 of 1841, General Turnpike Act, JPs could order parish surveyors to help turnpike roads in need.
- 11 The situation of a 'new' road, such as that of the Nailsworth Trust, which had not previously been a parish highway is not clear, but presumably the same applied as to roads already in existence.
- 12 Even large and 'successful' trusts might be heavily in debt. J L Bicknell pointed out, in the 1833 Report (p 434), that the Shrewsbury-Holyhead roads were "most excellent" but had debts of £376,000, with tolls producing only £6000 a year, with the consequence that there was no prospect of the debt being paid off.

13 Pawson, in Turnpikes and their Traffic: an agenda for research (Journal of the Railway & Canal Historical Society vol xxvii, no. 7, March 1983) says the impact of railways on turnpike trusts was swift (and deadly); but Booker op cit points out that in Essex, while long-distance routes suffered, short-haul roads feeding railway stations benefited. This was true also of the Stroudwater area.

14 Sir Henry Parnell, Treatise on Roads (London, 1843) quoted in Pawson, Turnpike Trusts ... (Academic Press op cit) p 12.

On the vexed question of who should pay for road repair, Benjamin Wingrove, manager of roads for the Chippenham, Bradford (on Avon) and Trowbridge trusts stated in the 1836 Report that those who wore out the roads should pay for their repair: the alternative was "taxation", presumably an increase in the parish highway rate, or property tax on the owners or occupiers of land. Against this the Report had: "The observation often made, that those only who use the roads should pay for such use, can scarcely be applicable in a civilized community, where every individual must more or less be benefited by facility of communication". (p 335). Both arguments were to be put strongly in the controversy over the Stroud Roads Bill in 1853-54.

15 Annual Renewal of Turnpike Road Acts, see 1/2 W iv c.6 of 1831. In the Stroud area the legal life of trusts at the end of their 21 years of existence was annually extended till the 1850s, when finally a definite period was laid down for them to sort out their financial difficulties, after which they would be dispiked. In the answers to the 1838 questionnaire, the following trusts needed renewal: Cainscross in July 1842, Frocester in 1842, Cheltenham-Painswick in 1841, Coldharbour in 1842, Gloucester-Painswick in 1840, Lightpill-Birdlip in 1841, Minchinhampton, Tetbury and Bisley in 1843, the Nailsworth Trust in 1843, the Stroud-Bisley road in 1844, both Divisions of the Stroud, Cainscross & Minchinhampton road in 1846, the Stroud-Chalford road in 1841, and the Stroud-Gloucester road in 1839 or 1840.

16 In BPP 1833 xv.

17 VCH xi; Fisher op cit.

18 Ricardo wrote a pamphlet Rebecca at Stroud, published in 1847: the map in Fig IX.ii refers. G.Lib (G. Coll 10801).

- 19 SFP 28 November 1851. "Egroeg" wrote that with the cessation of through traffic there was a need to keep up the tolls. See also Thomas Parsons of Stroud in SFP 27 May 1853: "The Railway system having thrown many roads on the parish".
- 20 SFP 31 October 1851 has a long letter from Ricardo on the re-opening of the toll bar at Chalford. The Tetbury-Bisley road had a bar or gate at Chalford, though in the 1838 return the clerk of that trust said there were no gates or bars on the road. This was an error, see Cox C., Turnpike Houses ... op cit.
- 21 BPP 1854-55 xlix Fourth Report No. 18 on the Stroud and Chalford Roads gave 5 gates, 4 bars (but only one currently in use - presumably the "Chalford Bar" opened after the railway was built to catch people travelling to Brimscombe station). (See Appendix 13.)
- 22 Ricardo's case was reported in SFP 17 October 1851, the fine being reported in the issue of 31 October 1851.
- 23 The Godsell case was reported in SFP 17 December 1852.
- 24 J Bucknall's letter was in SFP 5 March 1852. The SFP reported on 10 October 1851 the refusal of a driver of a 3-dog cart to pay toll at Paganhill.
- 25 J Bowstead's letter, on the Chalford gate being "casual", appeared in SFP on 28 November 1851; the contradiction by N Gurney, barrister in London, was on 19 December 1851.
- 26 The SFP contained many letters deploring the state of road repair in support of Ricardo. E.g., in the issue for 31 January 1851, "A Conservative" complained of bad drainage; "Viator" wrote (17 February 1854) the Nailsworth road was "bad, very bad, wretchedly bad, almost dangerous". Other letters on roads are in SFP for 28 March 1851 from "A Commercial Traveller", 20 June 1851 from "A Thinking Man", 24 September 1852 on the road from Stroud to Bowbridge being out of repair, and so on.

Letters against Ricardo include: 30 January 1852 from N Partridge complaining about Ricardo's comment on the scandal at the workhouse (not on the roads, but Partridge was a dyer at Bowbridge), 7 November 1851 from "Vindex" attacking Ricardo, and one on 21 November 1851 from "Conservator Legis" accusing Ricardo of rudeness and bad driving (relating to his court case). More telling perhaps were several letters from W A Freston on the matter of the Roads Bill, particularly a long one published on 9 December 1853 saying Ricardo would not answer objections, and that the people best able to point out errors were those with experience, i.e. trustees and clerks. The job of the trustees, he wrote, was to look after the money invested (he did not mention that the trustees were usually those holding bonds). He himself, he said, was clerk to four trusts and

solicitor to a fifth. This was not exactly unprejudiced, but it is true that some of his points could not easily be answered by Ricardo.

- 27 SFP 12 December 1851. BPP 1854-55 p 108-9 refers to Ricardo's Memorial but gives it the date of 16 October 1854, by which time of course the Bill had been abandoned and the postponed renewal Act renewed. The discrepancy is not understood, as in the SFP for 17 September 1852 Ricardo referred to the letter he had written to the Home Secretary.
- 28 Ricardo qualified as a trustee for the Chalford road, see SFP for 12 March 1852, perhaps hoping to reform it from the inside.
- 29 BPP 1833 xv, p 499, evidence of John Bevir, and p 536 evidence of Joseph Pitt, who said "Oh yes, the clerk has regularly written to me ... but I did not feel much interested in either Road, indeed, because my own is made perfectly good, and the Ashton Keynes and the other People are more interested in it than I am, and therefore they have attended to it".
- 30 BPP 1836 xix p 457, evidence of Robert Pitcher of Lambeth, collector of turnpike tolls and employed by several lessees of tolls. He said their profits must be "wonderful, for the lessees have all sprung from nothing since I have known them", and he also gave details of how bidders at toll auctions had schemes to keep down the bidding. Also the lessees, he said, took more than they were entitled to.
- 31 Edgeworth R L, op cit, in the early years of the nineteenth century had said "nothing but a general system for all the roads of a kingdom can be effectual" and added that tolls should be exclusively for repair and improvement, while control should be exercised firstly by the county, then by a London Commissioner. He thought however that turnpikes were the fairest method of repairing the 'great' roads, and advocated the putting of toll gates at entrances to towns. This particular practice was condemned by Inspector William Ranger in 1854 at the Stroud Health Inquiry, but in the 1970s was being considered in Bristol to try to limit the number of cars entering the centre of that city. Methods of charging vehicles have even been discussed in recent years as a way of reducing congestion in other cities, for example London.
- 32 SFP on 17 September 1852 referred to a "most respectable meeting" some months before, when a committee was appointed (self-appointed?) to consider how to reform the roads system. Ricardo reported back, in the SFP, on 24 September 1852.
- 34 For the Secretary of State holding back on Provisional Orders for turnpike Act renewal, see SFP for 12 November 1852.

- 35 The Stroud Improvement Act of 1825, 6 G iv c.6, Local & Personal, was a private Act for cleansing, lighting etc. etc. the town, and for the supply of essential services. It drew a circle of 1 mile radius from the parish church (which of course did not include the tongue of Painswick parish on the other side of the Slad stream). By the 1850s it had become unworkable, and in 1854 the Town Commissioners invited William Ranger from the Home Office to conduct an inquiry into the state of health and sanitation in Stroud. The Stroud Journal (newly published) reported the matter very fully, and it makes evident the professional and very searching inquiry conducted by Ranger. His final public meeting was deliberately held in the evening so that working people could attend, and diplomatically, while he exposed the appalling weaknesses and indeed incompetence of the Town Commissioners, he pointed out that they had done the best they could with a bad Act. Especially he thanked the working people who had opened their doors to him and had so readily answered his questions. This was greeted with loud cheers: and his inquiry, and his method of holding public meetings - and the treatment and behaviour at these meetings - is in marked contrast with those of the Stroud Roads Bill affair.
- 36 The Holy Bible, Acts ch 25 v 11 and 12 (New English Bible, Oxford & Cambridge Universities, 1970).
- 37 For disturbances in the clothing trade in the eighteenth century, see Dean J Tucker of Gloucester, "Instructions to Travellers", and an anonymous pamphlet "A State of the Case", possibly by William Dallaway, on an unruly meeting at Minchinhampton on 18 December 1756, when Nathaniel Peach and Joseph Wathen, "clothiers of distinction", were interrupted and contradicted. As the pamphleteer wrote: "Here was a specimen of that rancorous and incorrigible kind of spirit, which rages in the hearts of our late rioters! ..." For industrial troubles in the nineteenth century, see e.g. Mann, Ponting op cit.
- 38 Presumably referring to J M'Adam's remarks about a "Turnpike Consolidation Bill"; see BPP 1836 xix.
- 39 See note 35 above. Ranger ended his report to the assembled inhabitants with the words - "I do thank you all most heartily!", which were greeted with much applause. Much of his inquiry was reported almost verbatim in the Stroud Journal in 1854.
- 40 W A Freston, SFP 9 December 1853, repeated his accusation that the Bill was "nothing but a device to lessen the tolls at the expence of the Ratepayers".
- 41 G.Coll JF 9.193 (3).

42 G.Coll JF 9.193 (1).

43 G.Coll JF 9.193 (2).

44 W A Freston in SFP 11 November 1853. In his letter printed in SFP 18 November 1853, he pointed out that the highway rate came out of the poor rate. His denial that Painswick needed a general trust for the Stroud area was in SFP 25 November 1853.

45 G.Coll JF 9.78. See also pencilled comments on a poster opposing the Stroud Roads Bill in Appendix 12, which may possibly be by W H Hyett.

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Chapter X. THE END OF THE ROAD.

I Aftermath to the Stroud Roads Bill.

The rage and resentment of the ratepayers and less well-off inhabitants of the Stroud area against the Roads Bill were no doubt genuine enough, even if misguided in the prejudices against the payment of higher rates for the benefit of those who could afford carriages. This feeling was well expressed by Thomas Baldwin in a letter to the Stroud Free Press, when he wrote, "Who wanted turnpike roads in the first place? The rich with their carriages, and opulent clothiers who wished to have good approaches to their houses and factories".¹

This was an over-simplification, as one of the chief reasons for the institution of tolls had been to ease the burden on the parish rates by transferring the expense to those who used the roads, but the suspicion still remained that the Bill would have shifted the road-costs from the road-user back to the parishes. The more literate antagonism of trustees and mortgagees seems a little spurious. Their objections can be grouped under three heads. Firstly, the Bill would lessen the current rate of interest on bonds; secondly, it would tend to diminish the security of those bonds; and thirdly, they objected to the proposals to group all the local turnpike trusts (together with the parish highways) into one unit under an elected Board, though they presumably had not objected to a similar amalgamation into one Poor Law Union.

To take the last point first. The amalgamation of trusts was not a new concept. As Ricardo himself pointed out,

in 1827 the trusts round London had been consolidated into the Metropolitan Roads North of the Thames.² Bristol and Bath had both long had unified organisations, while Telford had been made Surveyor of the whole Holyhead Road (but with consolidation of trusts only beyond Shrewsbury). Locally, similar moves had already been undertaken. In 1824 the Cirencester District had been formed out of roads to Gloucester, to Stroud, to Cricklade, and to London.³ The Berkeley group had the long title of the Berkeley, Dursley, Wotton-under-Edge, Frocester and Cainscross District, with Divisions within the group such as that of "Cainscross".⁴ Also united, in 1824, were the Cheltenham & Birdlip Districts I and II. This type of consolidation was to continue. In 1865, for example, came the Cirencester & Bath Turnpike Trust with the Sodbury Division as one of its constituent parts.⁵ So Ricardo's proposals were not only not new (as the many similar proposals in Reports to parliamentary committees have shown) but not new even for Gloucestershire, and it is a little difficult to see why so strong an opposition was made against them. But as Mr. Freston openly wrote, the job of trustees was to look after the money subscribed and held in bonds: the Bill he wrote was "nothing but a device to lessen the tolls at the expence of the Ratepayers", as has been noted earlier.

With regard to the rate of interest on trust mortgages, 14/15 V c.38 of 1851, an Act to facilitate Arrangements for the Relief of Turnpike Trusts laid down that trustees of insolvent trusts could, with the consent of holders of two-thirds of the value of the debt, apply for a Provis-

ional Order for the Reduction of the Rate of Interest, or for extinguishing of Arrears.

It is worthy of attention that several of the trusts opposed to Ricardo were to do this very soon afterwards, as some had done even earlier. The Lower Division of the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton trust held a special meeting on 14 September 1852 to try to reduce its rate of interest; and the clerks were - Edwards & Freston.⁶ Even before this, in 1851 the Stroud-Pitchcombe-Gloucester road had reduced its rate to 2%.⁷

For several trusts one problem was the necessity to renew their legal authority. Various Continuance Acts had been passed for this purpose, such as 17/18 V c.58 of 1854, an Act to continue certain Turnpike Acts in Great Britain and to make further Provisions concerning Turnpike Roads in England.⁸ In 1853 the authority of certain local roads had been renewed for one year - to 1 October 1854, or the end of the Parliamentary session - mainly to allow them to sort out their problems, that is to see if the Stroud Roads Bill would do the sorting out.⁹ These roads were named in a Bill of 16/17 V. as: the Stroud-Chalford road, the Stroud-Gloucester road, the Lightpill-Birdlip road, the Nailsworth Trust itself, the Minchinhampton-Tetbury-Bisley road (referred to in Chapter III, Section 3, p 92; as Tetbury Roads North), and the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton road.¹⁰ When the proposals for consolidating these trusts failed, the authority for these roads was renewed for the customary twenty-one years, that is until the mid-1890s. After which they were to be dispiked.¹¹

The discrepancy between the public outcry against Ricardo's proposals and the hard reality can be seen in a notice sent to the mortgagees of the Minchinhampton-Tetbury-Bisley road by the clerk, Robert Clark Paul junior of Tetbury. He wrote that it had been decided under 14/15 V c.38 to reduce the rate of interest to 2%, provided holders of two-thirds of the invested capital were in agreement:

I am also to inform you that in passing the above Resolution and in making this application to you, it must be understood that the Commissioners have only complied with the requirements of the above Act of Parliament, and that they can hold out no advantage to you from such an Order being made, beyond that of having a more certain and marketable security for the future, and of your probably securing better terms than may be granted by a Renewal Act or General Turnpike Act, and you will certainly be giving up nothing that you have any chance of ever receiving.¹²

The debt on this road then stood at £3754 17s., with gross annual revenue of £303 10s. The date of this notice was 31 January 1855. This was a smaller rate of interest than that envisaged in Ricardo's scheme, and Mr Paul had been one of those signing for the Coldharbour Division, describing the Stroud Roads Bill as a "gross breach of faith ... unprecedented and inexpedient".

II Dispiking the Nailsworth Turnpike.

As would be expected, the Minutes of the Nailsworth Trust give further detail of this dilemma. It will be remembered that the committee (including the attendance of mortgagees on 14 February 1854) had claimed that the Bill would reduce by arbitration the rate of interest without maintaining the security of those who held bonds. This motion had

been proposed by the Rev G Williams, seconded by W Playne. But on 10 October of the same year, the Minute Book recorded that a copy of a letter from the Secretary of State for the Home Department had been circulated to all those concerned. In this it was pointed out that both time and expense could be avoided if arrangements were made with creditors to wipe out arrears of interest and reduce the future rate of interest. This would be allowable if the Home Department could be shown that there would be a yearly surplus to discharge the mortgage debt, when a Provisional Order could be granted under 14/15 V c.38.

Quite contrary to their resolution of seven months earlier, the Trustees agreed on three courses of action. Firstly, they would wipe out arrears of interest on the Avening branch, amounting to £3630 2s. 5d. Secondly, they would write off interest of £1045 17s. 10d. due in 1829 and since capitalized, which would reduce the Avening road debt from £5694 6s. 8d. to £4648 8s. 10s. Thirdly, the rate of interest would be reduced to 1%! It was also proposed to simplify the accounts between the main road and the Avening branch. £150 was to be appropriated each year to the Avening branch, given a fair average of toll receipts after deducting the cost of road repairs. This £150 was to go to paying the 1% on the reduced debt, and the balance applied annually to debt reduction, in accordance with 12/13 V c.87. It may be noted here that road repair was given priority over debt repayment.

It was also proposed that the interest on the debt of the main road should be reduced from £5 to £4, and the surplus

FIG X.i. Copy of letter from the Home Office,
dated 16 August 1854.

Source: Nailsworth Trust Minute Book 10 October 1854.

Crown Inn Minsterhampton

10 October 1854

The Trustees met pursuant to adjournment to their last adjournment

Present The Rev. George Withers
Jost. Wright Esq
Edmund Thimble Esq
and several of the mortgagees

Respectable was

read a letter from the Secretary of State of the Home Department
of which the following is a copy was read to the meeting

Home Office Whitehall
16th August 1854

Sir

I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acquaint you for
the information of the Trustees and other parties interested in the
Nailsworth Woodchester and Branch Turnpike Trust that the
term of the Local Act for the Trust has been limited by the Turnpike
Continuance Act of the present Session (the 17th and 18th of Vict.
cap 58) to the 1st of November 1855 unless Parliament in
the meantime shall continue the same

I am the same time to point out to the Trustees that the
necessity of applying to Parliament for a continuation of
their powers as well as the costs of such application may
be avoided if such arrangements are made with the Creditors
to extinguish the arrears of Interest and reduce the future rate
of Interest ~~and reduce the future~~ as will enable the Secretary
of State on its being shown that there will be a yearly surplus of toll
to the discharge of the mortgage debts to grant a Provisional Order
under the Turnpike Trusts Arrangement Act (the 14 and 15 Vict cap 38)
I am therefore to request that you will call a meeting of the Trustees to
consider what arrangements can be made and unless there are any
matters in the Local Act which urgently require revision Lord
Palmerston will be ready to receive as early as convenient copies of any
Resolutions and proposals which the Trustee Creditors or other persons interested
may wish to submit for his Lordship's consideration with a view of obtaining
a Provisional Order or of making other arrangements in respect of the
by which the expenses of renewal may be avoided

To William Little Esq
Clerk to the Trust

I am Sir
Your obedient Servant
George Fitzroy

Mr. William Smith our Clerk having reported to us the persons entitled to two thirds of the money charged or on the tolls or revenues of the said Avening Branch as unpaid viz —

		£. s.
William Playne	a creditor for	1102. 10.
The Executors of David Ricardo	creditors for	671. 16.
Elizabeth Browne	a creditor for	612. 10
Sarah Brit	a creditor for	612. 10
Elizabeth George	a creditor for	490. 0.
Eleanor Wood	a creditor for	367. 10
George Playne	a creditor for	367. 10
William Barnard as Executor of Edward Bliff	a creditor for	245. —
The Executors of Peter Playne	creditors for	245. —
The Executors of David Smith	creditors for	122. 10
Edward Purford Westley as Executor of Fanny Day	a creditor for	122. 10
		4959 .. 6 ..

I have signified in writing under their hands their consent to application to one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for a Provisional order for the reduction of the rate of interest on the mortgage debt charged on the Tolls of the said Avening Branch from and after the 31st day of December last to the

FIG X.ii. Two extracts from the Nailsworth Trust Minute Book, 5 December 1854.

These relate to the elimination of debts due to bondholders. See text for explanation.

Note to Fig. X.ii.

The first sheet shows creditors, less four "executors" of deceased persons, and the sums owing to them.

Unpaid interest has been added to the capital, due in 1829. The amount owing in 1853 is in the 4th column, while the 3rd column shows sums owing in 1854.

The second sheet shows that the named creditors have given their consent in writing to the proposed reduction in interest: the sums shown are those for 1854.

left after repairs would go to reduce the remaining debt. The names of only three trustees appear at the end of this minute: the Rev G Williams, J Wight, E Kimber - and the Rev Williams did not in fact sign his name. However, a note at the top of the relevant page recorded that several mortgagees were present at this meeting, which is corroboration that written records are not always complete.

At a special meeting held at The Crown, Minchinhampton, on 5 December 1854, it was resolved to accept the simplification of accounts, approval having been given to reduce the rate of interest for the main road debt to 4%. A portion of the relevant pages is reproduced as Figs X.i & ii to show the names of those who held bonds on this road. Those who held two-thirds of the value of the total debt signified their consent in writing, and the Clerk was instructed to prepare an application for the required Provisional Order. A note at the side recorded that a copy of this Order, signed Palmerston, was included, but this note has been crossed out, and dated 16 December 1854. The Annual General Meeting on 6 March 1855 recorded that the new rates were being applied, and the costs of obtaining the Order were also entered. The Clerk's bill came to £43. 11s. 7d. Messrs Walmisly were to be paid £11 6s. for "Agency in getting the order".

Thereafter the trustees were annually to receive tenders from the mortgage holders of the Avening road for a "composition on their securities", for which annually the sum of £150 had been set aside. This apparently means that

the lowest bid for cashing-in of a holding was accepted. The Minute for 1 January 1856 recorded that £46 8s. 9d. was paid in reduced interest, a side note, perhaps of a later date, corrected this to £46 9s. 8d; and £103 11s. 3d. was available for debt reduction.

Offers on this occasion were received from:

	<u>Capital debt</u>	<u>% offered</u>
John Paine, Stroud	£100	35
George Playne, Forwood	300*	42
William Smith, Nailsworth	500*	45

* or any part.

John Paine (Fisher in his Notes & Recollections mentions John Paine of Corbett House, Stroud, who died 1862 aged 77 - p 333) accordingly received £35, his £100 share being handed over for security, and written off the bonded debt. The balance available of £68 11s.3s. was to go to Mr Playne's share, at 42%, and so £163 4s. 10d. was written off his holding. The total of £263 was thus written off the total debt, which came down from £4648 8s. 10d. to £4385 4s.

The Stroud Journal for 4 January 1858 carried a notice inviting tenders for the Avening mortgages, £108 10s. 8d. being available. The lowest bid was from Mr Halliwell (sic) at 44%, and he got £44; the next lowest was from W Smith which gained him £64 10s.8d. The Minute Book recorded that £143 8s. 1d. was paid off and the debt reduced from £4146 19s. 4s. (which in a side note was given for the previous year) to £3903 11s. 3d. The apparent discrepancy of £100 is because the debt of Mr Smith written off would be about £140. Interest at 1% would also have to be paid.

This somewhat slow and tedious method of reducing the capital debt on the Avening road continued year after year. It may be thought the bond-holders would at least have fared no worse had Ricardo's scheme been adopted.

The winding-down process for the Nailsworth Trust began at the Annual General Meeting on 17 March 1874, held at The George, Nailsworth. Notice had earlier appeared in the local papers that creditors should offer a composition for their securities. W Playne had offered 75%, P P Smith 20%, E Kimber 40%, Charles Playne 19%. Other offers were received from Charles Hill for Mrs Bannaster and J A Cooke, but the offers of P P Smith and Charles Playne were accepted for which the former received £400 (leaving only £80 outstanding), with C Playne getting the rest of £142 17s., the sum still owing to him being £19 13s. For the Avening branch, Mr Kimber accepted £99 19s. for his debt of £101 18s., the balance of £42 7s. (from the fixed £150) going to the executors of Mr Ricardo who were left being owed the residue of the debt on that road of over £505.

The same Minute of 17 March 1874 recorded, with reference to the Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 36/37 V c.90 of 1873 section 7, that the existing legal powers of the road, under 3 G iv c.61, would continue to 1 November 1877 only, and that no bond debt would be paid after 1 November 1873, any surplus after that date going to the reduction of the bond debt. The Clerk also reported that the capital debt on the main road was then £3259 3s., and the Avening debt £505 13s. 3d.

On 17 March 1875 the Annual General Meeting of the next year, the £150 on the Avening road went to the executors of Mr Ricardo. Tenders for the reduction of debt on the main road included the following:

Mr Kimber	@	£40
C Playne		39 19s.
G F Playne		38
West Awdry ¹³		33 6s. 8d.
Mrs Aldum		29

Sums so paid amounted to £199 14s. 9d. for debts of £643 8s. An octavo sheet of calculations was pinned to the relevant page of bond-holders on the main road, and dated March 1875. Omitting the calculations, which are somewhat complex and include a discrepancy of no small size, it would appear that at that date the debt on the main road stood at £2615 15s., that for the Avening road at £355 13s. 3.

TABLE X.i. Bond-holders on the Avening road 1875.

Edward Kimber, Avening.
 Miss C Aldum, 2 Oxford St., Cheltenham.
 Mr G B Smith, Nailsworth.
 Mrs Walter Paul, The Close, Exeter.
 William Playne, Minchinhampton.
 Miss Beardmore, 3 Addiscombe Terrace, Croydon.
 Charles Playne, Minchinhampton.
 West Awdry Esq., Chippenham.
 Isaac Cook, Bristol.
 Executors of D Ricardo.
 Mrs Henry Paine, Stroud.
 G F Playne, Nailsworth.
 St Chloe Trustees, Minchinhampton.
 and on the Avening branch, the executors of the late D Ricardo.

Mr Kimber dealt with the affairs of Miss Beardmore, E W? Paul with those of Mrs Paul, E C Little with those of Isaac Cook; the executors of Mr Ricardo were L N Crosse of 26 Bloomsbury Square, London W.C., and of G H Banaster,

C Hills Esq., of Sansome Walk, Worcester. It may be assumed that these more distant creditors had either moved away from the area or were the relicts of former Bond-holders.

It should be noticed that tolls were still being let, and in May 1874 Joseph Spire of 23 Villa Road, Handsworth, took them for £990, and in May 1875 for £821, which shows that traffic on the road was still producing revenue. But the Minute for 8 December 1875 recorded the termination of the Avening road as a turnpike, with deeds of conveyance as follows:

Avening turnpike house to Mr Daniel White, £25.

Hazlewood turnpike house to Mr Albin Tabram, £25.

(A short stretch of road close to this latter site is still called Tabram's Pitch.)

The sum of £125, that is 10/12 of £150, went to the executors of D Ricardo who by now were the only remaining bond-holders. £51 12s. from the sale of the toll houses went to the trustees of the main road.

Road repairs continued to be done under the auspices of the trust, by Mr Gardner, but on a month-to-month basis at £17 10s. per month. At an extraordinary meeting on 1 December 1877 the remaining toll houses and adjoining premises were disposed of after notices had been sent to the parish surveyors and highway authorities. The Woodchester gate was not required by that parish, and was sold for £25 to E Wise, who lived next door. The parish surveyors of Minchinhampton took over the Culver Hill

and Nailsworth pikes in order to have them demolished and the ground added to their roads.¹⁴ Rodborough parish did not require the toll-house at Lightpill, and it was sold to a Miss Gobey for £40; but The Spout was required so that its area could be added to the road. The toll-house at Tiltups End was sold to George Blackwell for £10 and survived until the 1960s, but was then demolished for road widening.¹⁵ The highway authority of King's Stanley parish took over the Stanley gate site, but Thomas Cox was told to dispose of the materials of the house and to make fences required, presumably to rail in the ensuing road-side gap.

The final and last Minute of the Nailsworth Trust was dated 12 December 1877. P P Smith was named as Treasurer, G B Smith as Clerk. The Treasurer's Accounts with vouchers and papers were produced, and the balance sheet forwarded to the Local Government Board, which now was in charge of local roads. The Clerk was "to do all he thinks necessary to complete the winding up of the Trust" and the Minute was signed by W Playne as chairman, and by Edmund Kimber, Charles Playne, P P Smith and G B Smith.

The last toll-farmer, Benjamin Lawrence, claimed £5 for his stock of unsold toll-tickers, but this claim was disallowed.

Debt still unpaid was given as follows:

TABLE X.ii. Bond-holders 1877.

Total debt £1423 13s. 9d.
 Available for distribution 748 19s. 10,
 to be paid in proportion to
 bond-holders on the surrender
 of their bonds.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Amount owing</u>	<u>Paid</u>
E Kimber	£728 14s. 4½d.	£383 7s. 11d.
Executors of Walter Paul	300	157 16s. 9d.
Executors of the late David Ricardo	100	52 12s.
Dr W H Paine	100	52 12s.
C Hills, executor for ..		
G H Banaster	100	52 12s.
G B Smith	94 19s. 4½d.	49 19s. 2d.

The Trust had been in existence for just under ninety-seven years.

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III A Change of Authority.

All attempts to re-combine turnpike and parish roads had come to nothing, but in the 1860s parish highways at least were at length consolidated after the manner of the Berkeley group of turnpike roads. By 25/26 V c.61 of 1862 parishes were instructed to join together for better efficiency and the reduction of costs, into Highway Districts.¹⁶ Five or more JPs could divide the county into such districts, in each of which would be waywardens (elected annually from each parish), treasurer, clerk, district surveyors with assistants - all reminiscent of Ricardo's proposals. But, as with the Poor Law, parishes were still responsible for their own finances, and some

of the cast-iron posts ordered from J M Butt & Co. of Gloucester are still to be seen marking the junction on highways of parishes within a particular District.¹⁷ Typically perhaps, in view of the fuss made a decade earlier over the Roads Bill, the Stroud District was well behind other county districts in formation. In the event, and after some changes, it consisted of the parishes of Cranham, Painswick, Pitchcombe, Rodborough and Stroud, but that part of Stroud which had been delimited by the Improvement Act of 1825 succeeded by the Local Board of 1856, was not included. The Wheatenhurst (Whitminster) Highways District included:¹⁸ King's Stanley, Leonard Stanley, Randwick and Stonehouse (as well as other parishes outside the Stroudwater area proper), while the new Cirencester Highways District took over the parish of Sapperton with Frampton Mansell. Bisley, like the town of Stroud, formed its own highways board, as did Avening, Minchinhampton, Horsley and Woodchester. Parishes, hundreds, Stroud Borough - such administrative units, ancient and modern, were being displaced and superseded by more recent divisions.

These new arrangements formed part of the great administrative upheaval of the nineteenth century, comparable with and more extensive than those of the Tudor period which witnessed the birth of the parish roads system.¹⁹

The problem of roads, parish and turnpike alike, should of course not be regarded as being isolated from other

aspects of administration. The first great breach in the ancient system of parish autonomy - under the county magistrates - had been the Poor Law Reform of 1835. Other acts of Parliament, particularly in the area of public health, were also destroying the old authority of the parish; but these need not be detailed here except to enumerate a few steps by which roads were re-absorbed into one system. This took time, and the route was circuitous.

For example, in 1872 urban and rural sanitary districts replaced both parish authorities and the recent boards of health.²⁰ In 1876 the civil and ecclesiastical functions of parishes were uncoupled,¹¹ and in 1882 the Divided Parishes Act removed from the Stroudwater area many of the complexities that had developed in parish boundaries.²² Of great importance was the Highways & Locomotives (Amendment) Act,²³ whereby the county rate was to cover half the cost of repairing former turnpike roads, while in 1888 the newly-created county councils took over maintenance of all main roads,²⁴ the minor roads becoming the responsibility (in 1894) of the new urban and rural district councils.²⁵

Booker, in his study of turnpike roads in Essex, suggests that the dispiking of turnpike authority was in some senses a retrograde step in that the trusts had instituted longer and more uniform control than parishes (with their small and separate areas) over roads - in some cases, as with the early nineteenth century consolidations in London, round Bath and Bristol, over a considerable area.

Support for this suggestion can be seen in the Highways & Locomotives Act for Gloucestershire, which had:²⁶

- 21 Highway Districts, under the 1862 Act.
- 15 Local Boards, under various Public Health Acts.
- 29 independent parishes, electing surveyors under various Highways Acts.

Four hundred and eighty four miles of former turnpike roads were to be designated main roads - some were downgraded - with the county paying half the costs of maintenance.

It is a small coincidence that the then Clerk of the Peace was Francis Edward Guise: the family which had been concerned in the Over trouble of 1734. And another coincidence was that the last gate round Gloucester to be dispiked was that at Over (and nearby Maisemore), which was removed on 31 October 1879.

When F E Guise was Clerk of the Peace, the County Chairman was John Dorington of Lypiatt Park near Bisley. About this time (his letter has no year date) he wrote to W H Hyett of Painswick House that in his opinion the present expenditure on roads was not extravagant. Formerly, he said, the surveyor had "only mended his own way", and of the road past Middle and Lower Lypiatt in his own parish of Bisley he wrote that when the farmer was surveyor, he did only that bit, but that now it was fit for a carriage. In addition, costs had been kept down, the rate per mile for repair in 1867 having been £11 13s., in 1868 £10 11s., and in 1871 only £9 10s. When the Whitminster Highway District had begun in 1864 its costs (in the clay vale stigmatised a century earlier by Samuel Rudder) had been £22 per mile, but "now" they were £14.²⁷

David Ricardo died in 1864. The lengthy and roundabout route to re-combining turnpike and parish roads within the one system had just begun. Perhaps he had been right after all in his prediction that the highway system he had proposed would not increase the rates over much. Though the process of change took another forty years from the demise of his Roads Bill in 1854 to reach completion, the result was not very dissimilar from that set out in his Plan. The whole process of parish, then parish and turnpike, and then back to local authority, had taken just about three hundred and forty years.

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REFERENCES. Chapter X.

- 1 SFP 6 May 1853. For a "good approach to their houses", see the abortive attempt to turnpike the road from Foston's Adh to Sapperton past Miserden House - plan in GRO Q/Rum 561.
- 2 See evidence in BPP xv, 1833, especially of Viscount Lowther on the Metropolitan roads, 463.
- 3 GRO Q/Rut/2, and Paine M J op cit, GRO D2637.
- 4 G.Coll JF 9.82; a Bill (20 V of 1857) to transfer the management of the Cainscross Division of the Berkeley roads group to the trustees of the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton road. Earlier, at the time of the Stroud Roads Bill controversy, there had been strong protests at the possibility of detaching this solvent Division from the Berkeley group to the well-nigh insolvent Stroud-Minchinhampton (Lower Division). The Cainscross Division included the road from the (former) Four Mile Elm at Hardwicke through Standish and Stonehouse towards Stroud (see Ricardo's map Fig IX.ii p 331), the road from Alkerton (near Claypits at the 9th milestone from Gloucester) to Stonehouse Cross, and the short stretch from Cainscross to Puddbridge where it met the road from Cirencester (this stretch however may well have remained outside turnpike authority: much of it is now a dead-end owing to the construction of a new piece of road and a roundabout at Cainscross). The Berkeley Roads Act is 1/2 G iv c.82.
- 5 The United Sodbury and Cirencester & Bath Turnpike Trust, GRO D568.
- 6 SFP 10 September 1852.
- 7 SFP 28 March 1851.
- 8 See G.Coll JF 9.74, 5, 6.
- 9 SFP 12 November 1852.
- 10 G.Coll JF 9.74.
- 11 G.Coll JF 9.83. The renewal Act for the Cirencester District is 25 V c.13 of 1862.
- 12 G.Coll JF 191 (2). (And see Fig X.i.)
- 13 A relative of the Rev W Awdry, author of the Thomas the Tank Engine books.
- 14 According to the late Mr Mortimer of Nailsworth, the Nailsworth Hill toll site was moved more than once (and the road re-aligned at that point). There is a toll-house type building attached to Chamberlain's mill on the corner of the Pensile Road (omitted from Cox, Tollhouse sites... op cit) but likely to be the latest site of the Trust.

- 15 The toll-house at Tiltups End, one of the earliest of the Nailsworth Trust, survived until the 1960s.
- 16 By 12/13 V c.46 of 1849, turnpike trusts could unite: this was permissive only, and the Stroud-water trusts did not take advantage of the Act, though some outside the area had done so well before.
- 17 See Road Works, in GSIAJ for 1983, 43-44. These cast-iron posts are triangular in section, hollow-backed, with parish names on the side panels, and on the small sloping top the initials of the District, e.g. WHD for Wheatenhurst Highway District, GHD for Gloucester ...
- 18 The first meeting of the Wheatenhurst Highway District Board was on 2 April 1863. One of the applicants for the post of assistant surveyor (of which there were twelve) was one Thomas Spire, who did not get the job. For details of the financial arrangements of this District, see GRO H M1/1 and Q/AH6.
- 19 Moir E, The Justice of the Peace, (Pelican, 1969). She describes the administrative changes as "fundamentally new principles of paid officials dependent upon a central government department" - Ch.5.
- 20 35/36 V c.79. G.Coll JF 9.2 has interesting discussion of the relevant county committee.
- 21 39/40 V c.61.
- 22 The Divided Parishes Act, 45/46 V c.58. According to VCH xi, there were forty-two detached parts of Randwick parish alone before re-organisation.
- 23 41/42 V c.79.
- 24 51/52 V c.41.
- 25 56/57 V c.73. One surviving cast-iron post (similar to the Highway District posts of thirty years earlier) stands against the wall of the railway bridge at Bowbridge above Stroud. It marks the shift of parish boundary from the River Frome to the railway line. It has the parish names of Stroud and Rodborough on the sides, and SUDC, for Stroud Urban District Council, on the top.
- 26 Clause 13 of the Highways & Locomotives (Amendment) Act.

- 27 J. Dorington's letter in G.Coll JF 9.78 is dated 26 March, but no year is given.

John Edward Dorington the elder bought Lypiatt Park in 1847 from Samuel Baker, father of the explorer of Africa, and died in 1874. His son, also John Edward, was made a baronet in 1886; he was variously JP, chairman of the Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions and chairman of the (new) County Council, and in 1874 was elected MP for Stroud. He married the sister of another celebrated explorer of Africa, Speke. VCH xi, Rudd op cit 240-241.

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Chapter XI. SOME CONCLUSIONS.

While there is a great volume of literature on this subject, our basic knowledge of the turnpike system as a whole firmly rests on the four pillars of: The King's Highway by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, The Development of Transportation in Modern England by W T Jackman, and the more recent works of W Albert and E Pawson - The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840, and Transport & Economy - the Turnpike Roads of eighteenth century Britain respectively.¹

The Story of the King's Highway is a monumental work of great value, but deals solely with 'paper' sources and, as one reviewer of the 1963 reprint remarked, it is "a study in administration", and as such highly to be praised, but out of one thousand trusts the records of only three or four were actually consulted.² Jackman's book is also of great value, particularly useful for students seeking to shorten the work necessary in finding out which central record to consult, and where to find it. On one point at least he acts as a corrective to the rather sweeping judgement of the Webbs when they wrote that the building of the railways brought about a "sudden" collapse in the turnpike system.³ Jackman shows that, while railways diminished drastically the revenue from road tolls as a whole, they could also serve as a stimulus to traffic:⁴ nor did all roads suffer a permanent set-back. This point was also made by the Trustees of the Cainscross District of Roads in the 1850s controversy.

The two later books deal more especially with the turnpike roads themselves, though administration is certainly not neglected. Both are indispensable for any study of the subject. That of Albert is a full and straight forward account of the trusts, including the means by which capital was raised, the use of sub-contractors and toll-farmers, the work of surveyors, relationships with the parish road system, road repair - and other valuable chapters, for which see especially his chapter 4. In another chapter, 3, he says that the system developed outwards from London and emphasises the early importance of the Metropolis: but this generalisation perhaps needs some qualification. There are chapters on the inadequacies of road repair, and he points out that the more important innovations in this aspect of turnpike roads date from the nineteenth century. In one of several Appendices he provides a list of Turnpike Acts between 1663 and 1836; but he does not include all the roads of the Stroud area, for example, and he refers to the "Horsley-Rodborough" trust, meaning the Nailsworth road trust, though this was never the title, nor does he mention Stroud as one of the Gloucester-Stone cross-roads, yet the other towns listed in that Act are mentioned. One or two small errors have been noted above. Nevertheless, it is a comprehensive and necessary book for any study of turnpike roads, whether of a local trust or from the point of view of the country as a whole.

Pawson's book is more ambitious, with a definite and provocative theme. This theme is the place of the development of the turnpike system in the economic pattern of the eighteenth century, and his earlier paper has the sub-heading of "a study of innovation and diffusion".⁵ He includes some informative maps and histograms, though these, as with all such aids, give a static picture at one fixed moment (like a still from a moving film) in a period of often rapid change.⁶ Like Albert, he too claims that the system in the early eighteenth century was "London-oriented", though his maps do not altogether support this asseveration.

For example, while his Fig 6 - the turnpike road network in 1720 - shows a growing radiation of roads into (or out of) London, with smaller, more local, roads elsewhere, this is a little deceptive. In Gloucestershire during the 1720s a considerable network was developing, focussed on the county town quite independently of, and hardly directed towards, the capital. His Fig 7 - the network in the south in 1750 - shows the extensive thick webs of roads centred on the larger towns of the lower basin of the Severn: Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester. Certainly major turnpike routes linked with others towards London, but the network immediately round London is not greatly more extensive than in 1720. His Fig 8 on the network in 1770 reveals a very heavy concentration of turnpike roads from the North and the West Midlands all the way south to Bristol, while in the eastern half of England there is certainly a marked orientation of turn-

pike roads on London, though this is surely to be expected with the growth in population and importance of the capital. It does not look as though London had led the rest in innovation or accomplishment. The western half of England south of the Mersey shows a very strong local emphasis, while those roads obviously aligned on London would appear to be more long-distance routes of national importance. There is surely a marked difference here, which hardly supports the statement that in the early years the distribution of turnpike trusts was "random".⁷

Of course, Dr Pawson qualifies the impression he might have given of the overwhelming importance of London. In his Oxford Research Paper he points out that "Roles and relations" have barely been considered at the local level.⁸ Elsewhere however he rejects locally-based studies, which he claims are not of wide interest. He places a lot of stress on turnpikes as "innovative".⁹ In an article in the Railway & Canal Historical Society Journal he writes: "... it appears that the turnpike system was responsible for initiating many of the social, economic, and geographical changes traditionally ascribed to the railways".¹⁰ He is also somewhat scathing about earlier, slighter works, namely the local studies of (for example) turnpike roads within a county. It is true that a county may not be a suitable area for examining trusts which (apart from the very early days when they were administered by local JPs) had no discernible connection with the territorial unity of the county as such. As he says, there

has been an "almost total lack of concern with research at anything other than the local scale". His book is said (on the jacket cover) to differ radically from "previous and more traditional studies ... by concentrating on the geographical aspects of transport and economic change rather than administrative history". This is fair comment; but as far as 'local' studies are concerned the motives for their being written are surely 'local' in their very essence - that is, as studies of local history per se, and so different in conception, intention and approach from that of both Albert and Pawson.

In fact it does not always appear that the distant, bird's-eye view is the only, or most, satisfactory approach in all respects. References have already been made in the text to one or two slips (such as the location of Lawford's Gate in Bristol, and the "only easy way" up the scarp at Birdlip hill) and, like Albert, he refers to the "Horsley-Rodborough" trust - incidentally its only reference. Indeed it seems surprising that he did not study the extensive (and complete) Minute Book of the Nailsworth Trust, nor so much as mention the Stroudwater area apart from the 1726 map reference, and in his Fig 7 the vital link of the Stroud Turnpike with the Severn does not appear though this may be due to the small scale of the printed map. Booker cautiously remarks that both Albert and Pawson contain local errors and some omissions, and states that "some key issues in

modern turnpike analysis have little reference in the "Essex context".¹¹ On the other hand, M.J Freeman in a useful article finds that Pawson's model fits well into the example of south Hampshire.¹² But there is some disparity between that model and the example from the Stroudwater area, for example in the timing of local Acts, which does not coincide with the general "boom" postulated by both Albert and Pawson. As Mrs Buchanan has pointed out, they deal only with initiating Acts and so miss a great deal of change that took place under various extending or continuing Acts.¹³ Pawson also tends to discount the influence of geology and topography, at least in relation to the approaches to London: "Although this factor has often been claimed ... to be of importance in understanding the location of turnpike trusts, this was not so, except in a few cases of very early adoptions ... Even in the 1720s the turnpike routes to the north and west of London showed little respect for the junctions between the clay and limestone belts".¹⁴ However, Chibnall, in her thesis, devotes considerable space to the influence of geological conditions on the roads of Buckinghamshire; Dr Fuller lays emphasis on these influences in the Sussex Weald; and in Gloucestershire itself the research done by this writer shows that there was considerable response both to the type of soil (the geology) and to relief in determining where and when turnpike routes in the chosen area were built.¹⁵

A more trenchant criticism is that made by Mrs Buchanan. Pawson claims that "Income and expenditure ... (have) never been examined in anything but a very general fashion".¹⁶ Buchanan however notes that the earlier work by Albert showed concern with the financing of turnpike roads.¹⁷ She suggests however that the books of both Albert and Pawson are limited by their "self-contained nature" and points out that both writers tend to ignore renewal Acts, and to rely heavily on the initial trust Acts. However, renewal and amendment Acts "played a significant role in the developing profile of each trust, and ... their neglect inevitably produces distortions in the national picture".¹⁸

The present writer would also note certain apparent contradictions in Pawson who writes "... separating the effects of improved transport from those of improvements in other sectors of the economy is not possible, nor would it be realistic", but later claims he "has endeavoured to show how changes in the eighteenth century affected and altered road services and the road network, and how these alterations themselves affected and assisted change in the economy".¹⁹ It would indeed seem difficult to give precise weight to the effects of one factor on the whole economy when there are so many shifting factors: of agriculture, of industry or other and different types of travel, all of which (and more) react and interact on each other and on the whole, in different places and over different periods of time, and it seems therefore to the present writer that while the book is of great value, it does not wholly fulfil the claims that have been made for it.

Written records may seem definitive, and factual, but they may well be subject to misinterpretation, error - or in themselves, falsification. One example of how an Act of Parliament may be misleading is the 1853 Act for a turnpike road from Upton St Leonards to Birdlip, using as part of the route the existing scarp-rim road. It does not appear that it was ever put into effect. The use of receipts of takings at toll-gates may also prove deceptive. Firstly, these do not take into account those who were exempt from paying toll; nor do they record those who took another route past the gate, such as that given by Godwin & Toulson for drovers from South Wales on reaching the Cotswold scarp.²⁰ Nor can they record the purpose of journeys, unlike modern questionnaires put to road users actually on the road in question: where to? where from? how often? purpose? Obscure or humble traffic may pale into insignificance compared with the more flamboyant stage coach services. Moreover, the relationship between turnpike and parish roads and traffic would be almost impossible to unravel.²¹ And even when records are available, consensus may be lacking. See, for example, the exchanges between Professors Chartres and Wilson in the *Economic History Review*.²² As the Rev Thomas Malthus put it in chapter 1 of his *Essay on the Principles of Population*: "In this ... contest the cause of truth cannot but suffer. The really good arguments on each side of the question are not allowed to have their proper weight. Each pursues his own theory, little solicitous to correct or improve it by an attent-

ion to what is advanced by his opponents".²³ This of course is rather too harsh to be fully applied to academic discussion where, it is to be hoped, argument will in the end provide some measure of agreement, but the point is that it may not be possible to arrive at a well-focussed image of 'truth' - and opponents may remain convinced that their version is more correct than that of others: this is a product both of the insufficiency of fact, and also stems from the points of view taken of the topic in question.

Such criticism should not be taken as disparaging the important and valuable work of Drs Albert and Pawson. But on one or two matters the present writer would disagree with - or at least dissent from - the method used by Pawson.

In his article in the Railway & Canal Historical Society Journal he asserts that milestones and toll-houses are "not sufficiently reliable indicators of the turnpike network of an area. A much more accurate and orderly appreciation of the sequence and extent of turnpiking will always result by working downwards from the central Parliamentary record". And again, "once the initial goal of a map has been reached, this can be used as a spring board into more important issues. It is a necessary basic framework for research, but not a sufficient objective, ..." ²⁴ This would follow from his remarks that historical geographers should try to find answers to major problems of history, (down the) "relatively unexplored path of macro-level problem-orientated work

in British historical geography", which would seem to dispose of future local studies.²⁵

The present writer worked on a local, restricted (and "small") scale, in quite the opposite way. His study was begun as a survey of surviving milestones in the Stroudwater area, which led on to a similar survey of toll-sites. Documentary search came after the work on milestones was done, and much of it after an investigation of toll-house sites. In this pursuit maps were of the greatest importance: firstly, the 1950s provisional revision of the OS six-inch maps, which could be checked against older maps, such as that of Taylor (1777), Bryant (1824), and various Tithe maps and award books (late 1830s-1840s) which all were well within the turnpike period; and later by the first six-inch OS map of the 1880s together with some records of the parish boundaries survey done in preparation for that issue. Records, such as Acts of Parliament, the Journal of the House of Commons and so on, were consulted, as also were maps by Cary, Tunnicliff and other cartographers. 'Time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted'; the initial, and major work was the actual survey on the ground of roads and sites. It does seem that some learned articles (not necessarily on turnpike roads) rely over-heavily on maps, often of small scale, and betray ignorance of the actual configuration of the ground itself. ²⁶

This is not to decry the work of either Albert or Pawson who deal with the whole period of the turnpike age (or most of it) and on a country-wide scale. Merely, that the approach is from a different angle, but surely of equal validity in its own right. As Buchanan puts it, "The case study is no longer of only minor importance ... It has now acquired significance as a corrective to the distortions and over-simplifications which may arise from the formation of national assessments on the basis of inadequate historical evidence".²⁷ And, finally, to quote one review of Transport & Economy, "Any theorising about the growth of the turnpike system which is based only on parliamentary records must rest on the most insecure of foundations."²⁸

.....

It is easy enough to criticise the work of others, and it must be pointed out again that conclusions from a country-wide survey are not necessarily invalid, as the article by M J Freeman shows. But the point surely is that there is no one, single and ineluctable answer to a very varied subject. It is only right then that this writer should seek to justify his approach and findings on the vexed topic of the development of turnpike roads.

Apologia.

The object of this paper has been to describe the actual development of turnpike roads in a virtually self-contained area rather than an 'artificial' administrative unit such as a county; an area moreover which was avoided, owing to the nature of its relief, by through traffic from Roman times to the nineteenth century. There were thus from the start two aspects of travel here: firstly, those routes from outside the area - the through-, or long-distance routes. Secondly, there were the local tracks and roads used within the area itself or by those needing to leave it, or enter it from outside. These remained distinct for a very long time - the former tended to come under turnpike authority fairly early, say by the mid-eighteenth century, while the latter had to await more urgent reasons for improvement, which have been suggested in the text.

The Stroudwater area was also a virtually self-contained industrial area, separated from other similar, but not identical, areas.²⁹ Industrial conditions and location did not essentially alter from late medieval times until the end of the eighteenth century.

Rock type and relief did play an important part in determining where tracks and road went - the suggestion in the text is of three 'phases' of turnpiking in this part of Gloucestershire. Part of the reasons for this 'phasing' was the immediate need to improve a road for whatever purpose, but part also was the factor of local geology and of the local relief.

Differences and dissimilarities between various trusts are strongly marked. The first Stroud Turnpike of 1726 seems obviously designed to improve communication from the Severn to the junction of various Stroudwater valleys. In the middle period of the century, emphasis is given to the improvement of long-distance routes, which would appear to indicate a change in, or an increase of, traffic (but of what kind?) from, say, Cheltenham to Bath or from the industrial Midlands to this part of Gloucestershire. One of the motives behind the building of the Nailsworth turnpike was precisely to offer a better communication between the two spas (though Cheltenham was only then beginning its development). But the connection between the proposed 'new' road and the clothiers of the valley is also strongly marked, so this trust spans the period between through routes and the re-designing of communications in the industrial valleys, from 1800 to 1825. Other aspects of turnpiking which may be mentioned are the attempts to put under toll very minor roads that really led nowhere in particular except to or past the residences of gentlemen.

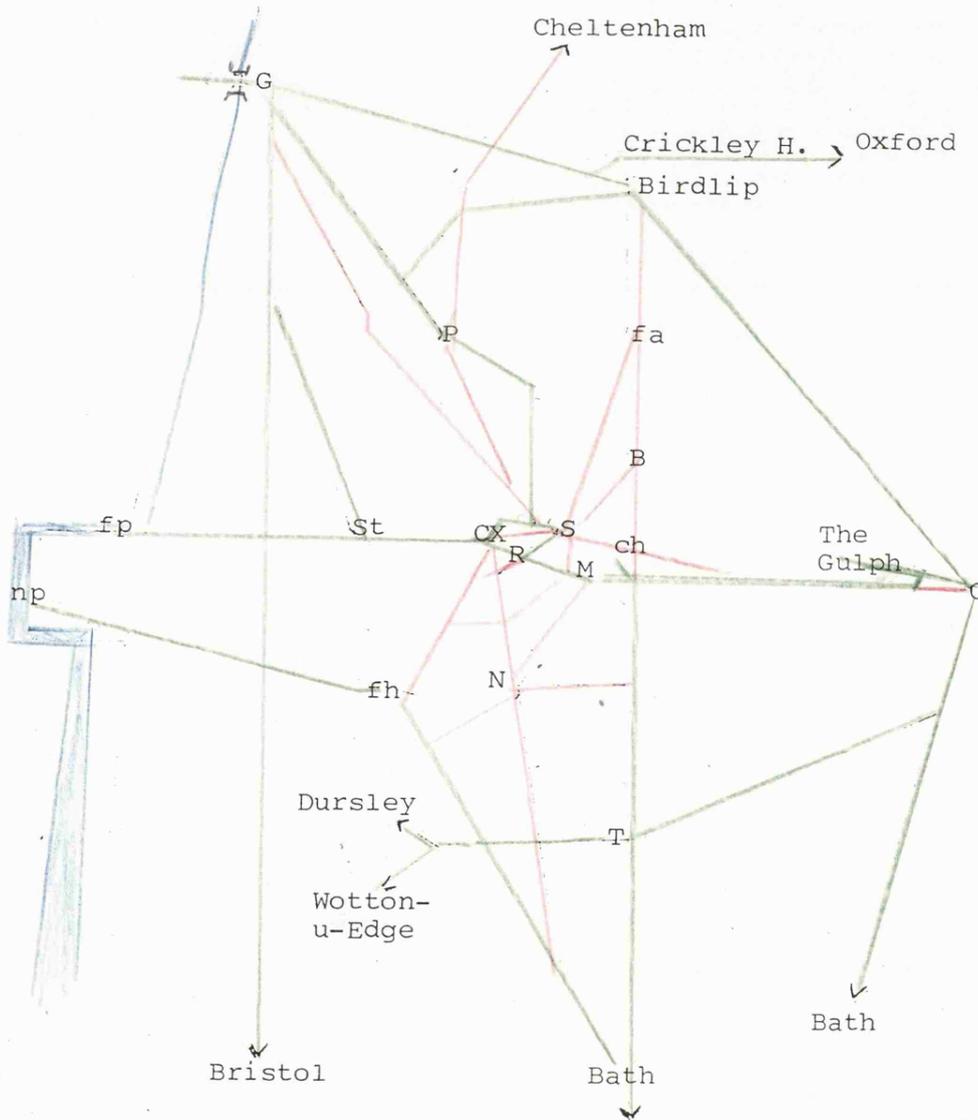
The problem of finance was complex, and crucial, and in the end virtually insoluble. The growing concern of Parliament with turnpike finances as a whole is well shown in the numerous (and inconclusive) committees of enquiry from the 1820s onwards: but this was well before the advent of railways, not as a result of that rivalry.³⁰

The local attempt to reform the dual systems of parish and turnpike roads well merits attention, both as a 'rational' attempt to resolve the confusion, and also as an example of local democracy, not only of gentlemen and prominent manufacturers, but also of the working population, industrial and commercial.

Many articles and theses present conclusions. This study makes considerable display of contemporary documents, in an attempt to show the evidence on which the conclusions are based. Space is given to a discussion of the identities, occupations and interests of the men who promoted, and administered, the new Nailsworth road. Also listed are various lessees of tolls and toll-farmers, with their occupations also, which interestingly show change over the years. The same attention is given to those who opposed the 1853 Stroud Roads Bill; and finally this thesis carries the story beyond the usual terminal date. Turnpikes were not suddenly extinguished in the 1830s with the coming of the railways. The main road services, in particular the coaching firms and inns, indeed could not face the competition. But many local roads survived, in some cases with increased traffic by reason of the railways, and the turnpike system in the Stroudwater area did not come to an end until the 1870s.

So this study tries to show change and diversity; as well as the distinctive character of one particular trust. It is not intended to contravene 'national' studies, but to show that local studies can be, and are, necessary parts of the examination of the whole turnpike period.

Diagram to show relationship of 'old' (pre-1780) and 'new' (post-1780) turnpikes in the Stroudwater area.



KEY Places indicated by initials: Gloucester Painswick
 Stroud Rodborough Minchinhampton Cirencester Bisley
 Stonehouse Nailsworth Tetbury Fostons Ash Chal-
 ford Frocester hill Framilode Passage Newnham
 Passage Cainscross.

'new' turnpikes ——— 'old' turnpikes. ———

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- 2 Payne P L in JTH vi of 1963-4.
- 3 Webb op cit, 215.
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- 5 Pawson E, The Turnpike Trusts of the Eighteenth Century, (Oxford School of Geography Research Paper 14, 1975).
- 6 See Buchanan B, The Evolution of the English Turnpike Trusts: Lessons from a Case Study, (ECHR 2nd series, xxxix, 2, 1986, 223).
- 7 Pawson, Transport & Economy ... op cit, see chap. 6 on "spatial diffusion of the turnpike system".
- 8 Pawson, The Turnpike Trusts of the Eighteenth Century op cit: he suggests that individual studies of the transport sector have done little to illuminate the relationship between transport and development.
- 9 Pawson, Transport & Economy, op cit. In his chap. 4 he discusses especially "The Nature of the Innovation" and see also his Turnpike & their Traffic; an Agenda for Research, (Journal of the Railway & Canal Historical Society xxvii, no. 2, 1983.).
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- 16 Pawson, Transport & Economy op cit, chap 8, 199.

- 17 Buchanan op cit, 224-226.
- 18 Buchanan op cit, 226.
- 19 Pawson, Transport & Economy op cit, 303; 338.
- 20 Godwin F & Toulson S, The Drovers' Roads of Wales, (Wildwood House, 1977), describe the route taken by drovers to avoid the gate on Birdlip hill. Names between Birdlip and Fairford also show these un-tolled drivers' ways, such as the Welsh Way - Ready Token near Barnsley has five roads meeting, and two houses, where formerly there were inns and a concourse of cattle. See also Colyer R J, The Welsh Cattle Drovers, (Cardiff, University of Wales, 1986) similarly.
- 21 Pawson, in Turnpikes & their Traffic op cit refers to an article by Wilson R G in ECHR 2nd series, ix, 1966 on Transport Dues as Indices of Economic Growth, 110-123, as "the only successful regional study of toll traffic". It should not be forgotten that toll receipts record traffic through turnpike gates, and that much traffic was either not subject to tolls, or avoided the gates (see 20 above), and therefore cannot be a full indication of all road use.
- 22 See for example the disagreement between Professors Chartres and Wilson in the pages of the Economic History Review (2nd series) from 1977 on, starting with Chartres J A, "Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century - Myth and Reality", followed by Wilson R G with "Land Carriage in the Seventeenth Century", to which Chartres replied with "On the Road with Professor Wilson". One comment was that there was a "very serious conflict of the evidence of the road services with that of the contemporary chroniclers as used by economic historians". (ECHR 2nd series, 30 of 1977, p 87).
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- 23 Malthus, the Rev T R, An Essay on the Principle of Population, (1798; Penguin 1970), p 68 of the 1970 edition).
- 24 Pawson, Turnpikes and their Traffic, op cit.
- 25 Pawson, Transport & Economy, op cit.; see his introductory remarks in chap. 1, and similar remarks in the other papers written by him on this subject.

- 26 See remarks in this chapter 1 on the "Jurassic Way". However, both Mrs Clifford and Mrs O'Neill certainly did their field-work, and suggested possible pre-Roman routes without claiming their hypotheses as final and without contradiction.
- 27 Buchanan op cit, 243.
- 28 The publication in which this quotation appeared has been (temporarily) mislaid by this writer: however, the remarks were at the time copied carefully verbatim - the reviewer was not named. This note is one of opinion, not of fact, but it was thought better to leave it in the words of the anonymous writer, not to transcribe it and give a false idea of its provenance.
- 29 See Ponting, and especially Mann, op cit. See also various articles on cloth mills in the Painswick valley by Haine C, in GSIAJ from 1982 to 1985.
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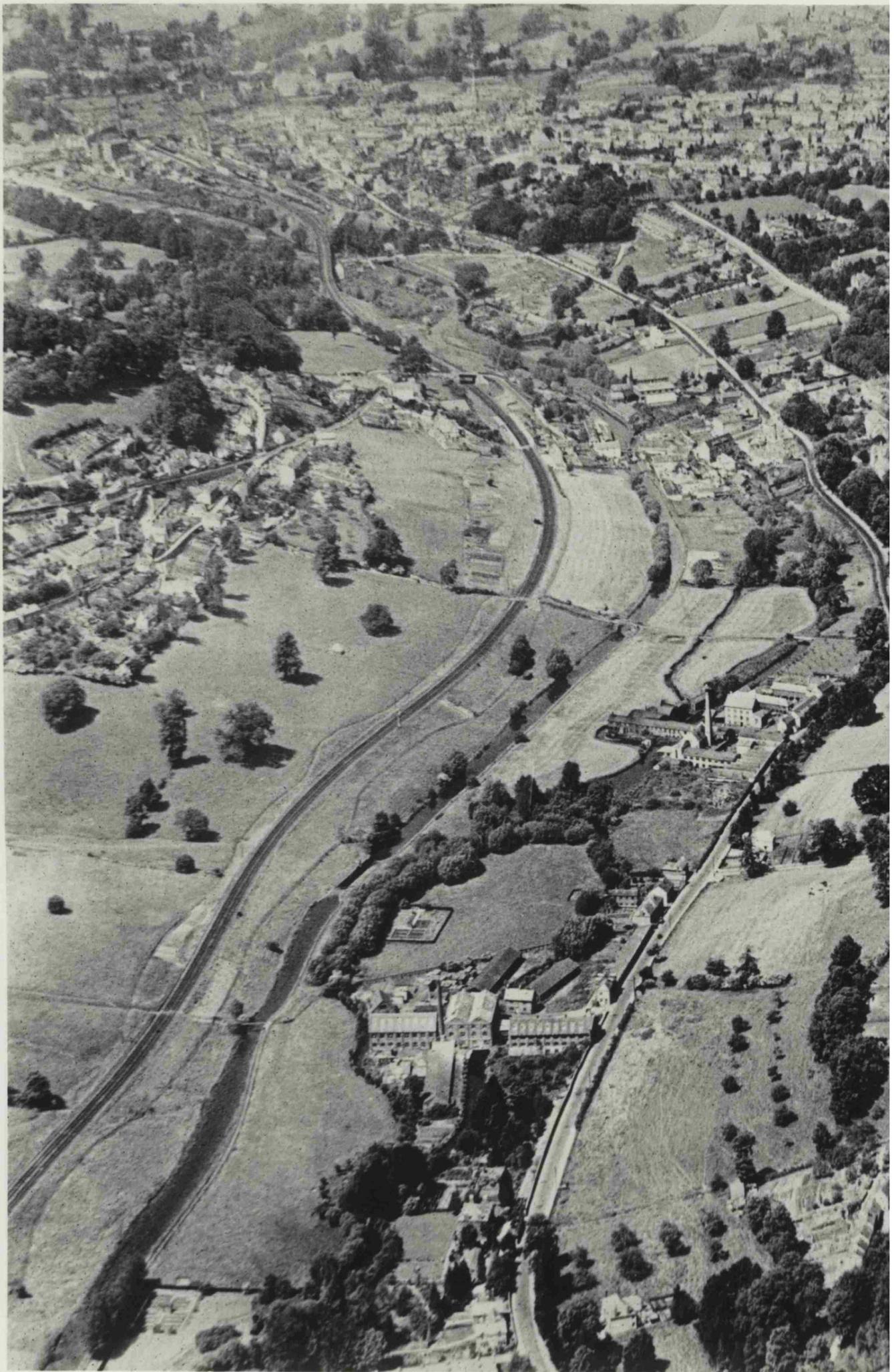
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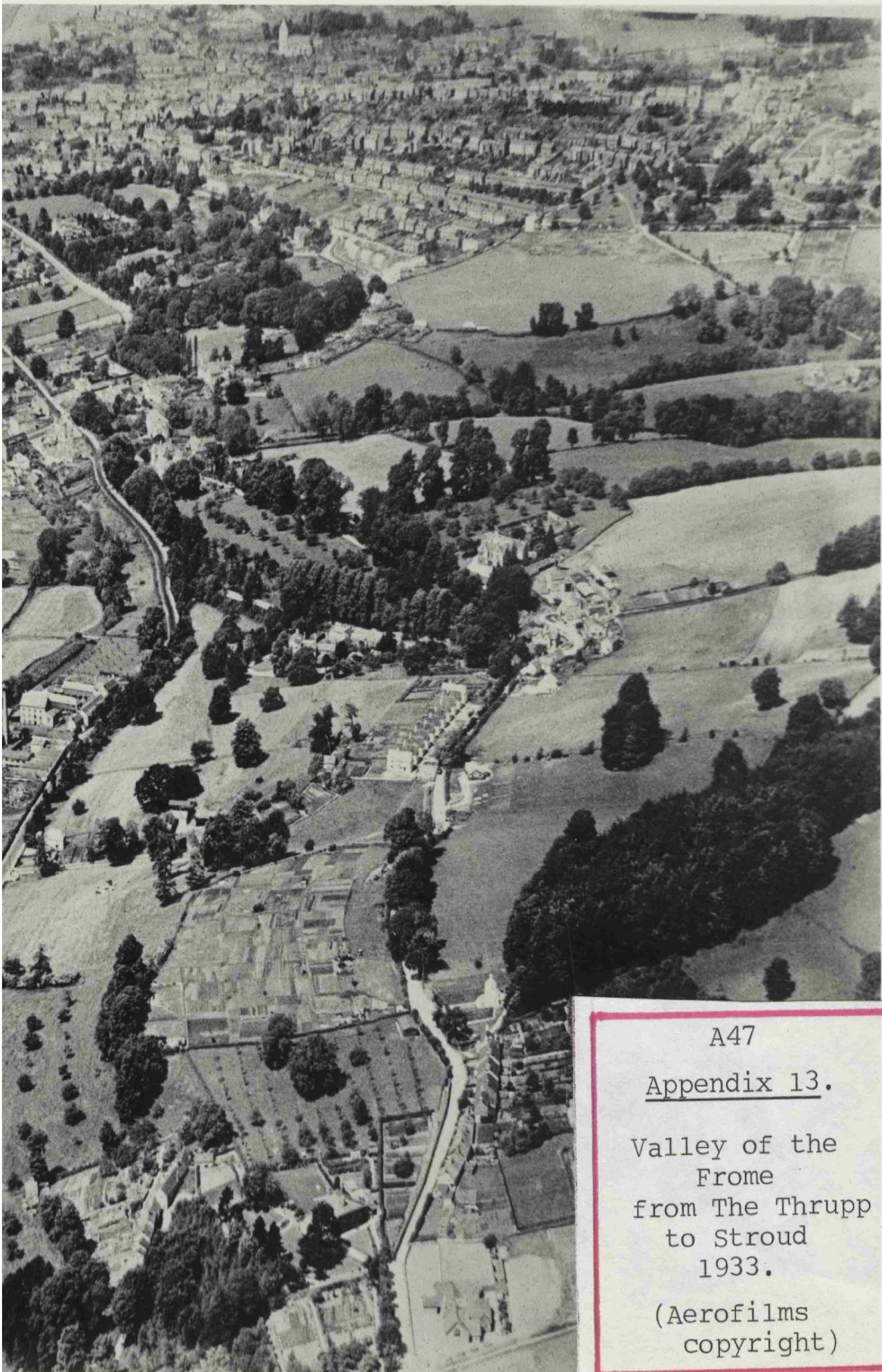
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Stroud District Museum.

THE DEVELOPMENT & DECLINE
OF THE
TURNPIKE SYSTEM
IN THE
STROUDWATER AREA OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE
1725 - 1875
APPENDICES.

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A47

Appendix 13.

Valley of the
Frome
from The Thrupp
to Stroud
1933.

(Aerofilms
copyright)

(In the Gloucestershire Collection.)

Stroud Roads Bill

Stroud Roads Bill.

The attention of the RATE-PAYERS is requested to a few points connected with the above Bill, on which every man can form a judgment for himself.

The object of the Bill is to confer a benefit on persons riding in Carriages, and using Waggon, Carts, &c. at the expense of those who do not. That is the meaning of the Bill in plain English. // To do this, Mr. Ricardo proposes to raise the Poor Rates 6d. in the pound AT ONCE // and in Stroud the Ratepayers will HAVE TO PAY THIS IN ADDITION to the PAVING AND LIGHTING RATES. // The Money thus raised is to be spent by a Board of Waywardens, to be elected like the Guardians and to sit like them with CLOSED DOORS, // but who will not be subject to annual re-election. // This Board will have power to levy Rates on you and your Property, ON THEIR OWN AUTHORITY, to the extent of half-a-crown in the pound, *the duty is already paid, but the bye* without question. // The management of every Road in the Borough, the Streets as well as High-ways and Byeways, to be given to this Board, who are to employ paid Surveyors and manage every thing. // The Public are to be allowed to LOOK at the Accounts, but the POWER OF STOPPING UNNECESSARY OUTLAY is taken from them. // *how their Representatives, will be the*

gentle Halliers
Mr. Ricardo states that the greater part of the wealth, intelligence, and influence of the Borough of Stroud, have agreed to all this !!!

At the MEETING on FRIDAY next, at the VICTORIA ROOMS, NEAR THE GEORGE HOTEL, STROUD, AT SIX O'CLOCK, you will be called upon to say whether Mr. Ricardo's Statement is true, and also solemnly to decide the question whether or not you THE RATE-PAYERS are willing to be taxed in order that Mr. Ricardo and other Gentlemen may ride about in their Carriages for less Toll, and in order to save the pockets of the Brewers, Manufacturers, and Halliers?

Also, whether or not it is expedient that the controul of all the Roads should be placed in the hands of a few persons with Mr. Ricardo at their head, and with uncontrolled power to tax your pockets?

BAYLIS, PRINTER, LONDON ROAD, STROUD.

(This poster in the Gloucestershire Collection is among the Hyett papers: the indignant annotations may be by Hyett or possibly by Ricardo.)

Daniel Spring,
Painswick.

In the 1820s Mr Spring had much to do with the Painswick parish survey for the poor rate (GRO P244 VE 2/17).

John Sutton,
Stroud.

A cloth merchant who bought Uplands House, in Stroudend tithing, Painswick parish, in 1865.

Robert Lawrence Townsend.

There were two of the same name, father and son, at Steambridge House in the upper Slad valley: mill-owners and land-owners.

J H Warman.

Of Ebley House; owned a "ruined" mill.

The Rev G Williams.

Of Mugmoor House, Amberley - now Moor Court. This house had belonged to Joseph Hort, a former major bond-holder in various trusts.

John Wise,
Woodchester.

He took over Day's mill and also Woodchester mill.

E Witchell,
Stroud.

Clerk to the Town Commissioners, and noted local geologist.

George Young,
Througham.

Occupied Lower Througham Farm near Bisley.

.....

Other names, not recorded at that meeting, include: Arthur Capel of Capel's mill just above Stroud, J E Dorington of Lypiatt Park, the Rev T Peters, rector of Eastington, Rayner Winterbotham, who came of a local banking family. (Lindsey Winterbotham owned Spillmans Court, Rodborough, but sold it in 1864: he is recorded as clerk to a Tewkesbury turnpike trust). Also recorded are: Charles Stanton, brother of W H Stanton, sometime MP for Stroud (1841-52), who ran Stafford mill above Stroud. Charles was commissioner and mortgagee for the Chalford trust.

The Stroud Free Press started in 1851 but did not last beyond 1855. The more successful Stroud Journal began in 1854 and still survives as part of the Stroud News & Journal.

Sources: Tann, VCH, SFP, Fisher and others.

- John Mills,
Miserden.
Land-owner. The 1847 Turnpike Abstracts name a John Mills as surveyor for the Light-pill-Birdlip road; the locality would suit.
- William Mills,
Stroud.
Of New House, Thrupp. The family in the late 18th century were attorneys. The firm acted in 1834 as clerks for the Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton trust. W H Newman chaired this meeting and was a strong opponent of the Bill.
- W H Newman
- W H Paine, M.S.,
Stroud.
Eminent local surgeon: he took a prominent part in the 1854 Health Enquiry, and also owned a good deal of land in the parish.
- Nathaniel Partridge,
Bowbridge.
His dye-works straddled the Frome boundary between Stroud and Rodborough parishes.
- R C Paul,
Tetbury.
Clerk to the Minchinhampton-Tetbury-Bisley trust.
- W Playne
Of the family firm based at Longfird's mill above Nailsworth: also much concerned with the Nailsworth Trust.
- Marshall Rowles,
Bisley.
Of Avenis (= Avenage) tithing.
- John Young Sandys.
Of Slad Lodge. In 1842 a Richard Sandys owned Newcombe's mill in the Horns valley by Bowbridge.
- C B Smith,
Backhouse.
Unidentified.
- G Smith,
Nailsworth.
Presumably he of the Nailsworth Trust.
- P Smith,
Field House, Bisley.
Unidentified.
- W Smith
Possibly the contemporary clerk of the Nailsworth Trust.

Appendix 11. Opponents of the Stroud Roads Bill:

present at the meeting at the Royal
George, Stroud, 18 November 1853.
(One or two were in favour of the Bill.)
(Source: Stroud Free Press.)
.....

Name & parish.	Occupation.
Charles Baker, Painswick.	Estate agent, auctioneer, surveyor: surveyor in 1847 to the Cheltenham- Painswick road trust.
William Bishop, Stroud.	There were Bishops at the Dyeworks near Capel's Mill, Stroud, in 1819.
Thomas Clutterbuck Croome.	Of Croome & Harris, sol- icitors, Cainscross. He bought the manorial rights of Painswick.
The Rev Henry Cripps.	Vicar of Stonehouse.
R S Davis, Stonehouse.	
William Davies, Stonehouse.	
George Edwards, Stroud.	Of Edwards & Freston, solicitors.
Frederick Eycott, Stonehouse.	
C H Fisher, Stroud.	Of the family of Paul Hawkins Fisher, the historian of Stroud.
W A Freston, Stroud.	Of Edwards & Freston.
George Hazle, Bisley.	Probably of Hazle House, The Camp, north of Bisley.
Charles Hooper, Eastington.	Mill-owner.
W H Hyett.	Of Painswick House: had been MP for Stroud, with Ricardo. A potted bio- graphy appears in F A Hyett, <u>Glimpses of the History of Painswick</u> (2nd edition) (Gloucester, 1928/1957.)
E C Little, Stroud	Clerk to the Stroud- Chalford trust.

Joseph Atkins, Spa Turnpike, Gloucester & David Atkins, Salmons Gate, Stroud in 1852; in 1854 Joseph was at Dowdeswell turnpike gate (between Andoversford and Cheitenham.).

Joseph Spire, junior (a change from "the younger") & Thomas Spire, builder, Eastington.

C Rickards, farmer, Wotton-u-Edge & A Rickards, watchmaker, Dursley.

B Lawrence, Eva Farm, Weston-super-Mare & David Jones, farmer of Minchinhampton.

Other sureties included: Charles Forty, stonemason & W Jaques, stonemason, both of Cheltenham (Jaques in 1847).

In 1855 Joseph Atkins was at Black Bourton gate, oxon.

The names are taken from the Minute Books in order of appearance, though they are here not dated: in some years no details were entered. The Abstract Statement of Income & Expenditure of 1834 supplies a few details, as also does BPP xxvii of 1840, with useful information on gates, length of roads and clerks. Thomas Lediard of Cirencester appears elsewhere as clerk to the Bibury Trust. Note the change in 1834 when Berkeley Hicks becomes toll-renter.

TURNPIKE TOLLS TO BE LET.

MINCHINHAMPTON, TETBURY, AND BISLEY TURNPIKE ROADS.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the TOLLS arising at the following Gates on the said Roads; viz. TETBURY, WOEFIELD-DANE-BOTTOM, HYDE, BURNT-ASH, CHALFORD-HILL, BISLEY, HOLLOWAYS, CALFWAY, and the CAMP GATES,

WILL BE LET BY AUCTION,

At the CROWN INN, MINCHINHAMPTON, on TUESDAY, the 6th day of MARCH next, at 12 o'Clock at Noon, for the Term of ONE YEAR, commencing on the 1st day of MAY following, at 12 o'Clock at Noon; which Tolls were Let last Year at the Sum of £270. and will be put up at such Sum as the Trustees then present shall think fit.

Whoever happens to be the best Bidder, will be required immediately (on his being declared such) to pay One Month in Advance of the Rent at which the Tolls may be Let, and give Security with sufficient Sureties to the Satisfaction of the Trustees of the said Roads, for the Payment of the Residue of the said Rent by equal monthly Instalments in Advance, and also for the Performance of such Covenants and Conditions as the Trustees shall think proper.

At the same Meeting, new Trustees will be elected in the place of those who may be deceased, and such other Business transacted relating to the said Roads as may be deemed necessary.

ROBT CLARK PAUL, Jun.

TETBURY, 1st February, 1855.

Clerk to the Trustees.

J. G. GOODWYN PRINTER, TETBURY.

Your's most obediently,

Poster advertising auction of tolls for the Tetbury, Minchinhampton & Bisley trust, in 1855. (G. Coll.)

Appendix 10. (d) Selected names, occupations, and
place of residence of sureties
for toll-farmers of the Nailsworth
Trust, 1801 to 1874.

Thomas Dauncey, innkeeper,
Horsley.

Messrs Cooper Wathen & Co.
W Burford, clothworker,
Woodchester.

Joseph Woodfield, clothier,
Painswick.

G & J Thomas, grocers,
Nailsworth.

Joseph Horwood, mealman,
Park Mill (Woodchester).

Isaac Clift, victualler,
Horsley.

J Pickard, victualler,
Stroud.

James Morley, schoolmaster,
Stroud.

George Pavey, mealman, Tiltups
Inn, Horsley.

W Clissold, Mealman, Inch-
brook.

R Evans, cordwainer, Boxwell.

J Thomas, clothworker,
Lightpill.

Elijah King, The Fleece.

T Brinkworth, clothier,
Inchbrook.

H Trollip, innkeeper,
Nailsworth.

A Dickman, innholder,
Cainscross.

R Hooper, baker,
Tetbury.

D Meek, labourer,
Sapperton.

R Pool the younger, farmer,
King's Stanley.

W Blackwell, mason, Stroud.

Francis Hoare, woolstapler,
Cirencester.

Thomas Copner, mealman,
Cainscross.

J Rickard, yeoman, Wotton-
under-Edge (for T Rickards,
1919, see left-hand column).

S Jenkins, baker, Nailsworth.

T Knee, gardener, Laycock,
Wilts.

W Wise, gatekeeper, Stour-
bridge & J Wise, yeoman, Ampney
St Mary.

T Richards, gatekeeper, Nubbis
Ash (variant of Rickards).

J Wood, yeoman, Rodborough.

T Rose, cooper, Wotton-under-
Edge.

Cornelius Gregory, gatekeeper
of Minchinhampton.

Edward Bloxsome, gentleman,
Dursley.

J Fry, Charlton near Malmes-
bury.

Moses Smart, road contractor,
Beverston.

Thos Simkins, blacksmith,
Beverston.

R Ebsworth, turnpike renter,
Gloucester, and H Hodges,
turnpike renter Bristol.
(sureties for Berkeley Hicks,
1834.)

Ephraim Close, tentleman,
Gloucester and J Lediard,
toll farmer, Gloucester.

Moses Smart, surveyor,
Beverston & Isaac Silk,
timber dealer, Cranham.

Hodge Ebsworth, gatekeeper,
Gloucester & Henry Hodges,
gatekeeper, Bristol.

Moses Smart & Isaac Silk,
timber dealer of Fostons Ash
(for T Smart, 1838).

Appendix 10. (c) Selected names, occupations, and
place of residence of toll-farmers
of the Nailsworth Trust, 1801 to 1874.

Chapel Davis, yeoman/
broadweaver, Painswick.

Bartholomew Elms, gentle-
man of Rodborough.

W Nicholls, gatekeeper,
of Gloucester.

J Heaven, gatekeeper,
of King's Stanley.

Robt Meek, yeoman of
Sapperton.

J Bliss, gatekeeper, Bisley.

T Norris, gatekeeper, of
Barnsley (his "mark").

W Bell of The George,
Nailsworth.

Robt Evans, gatekeeper of
Longash Turnpike (1817; but
1811 he was cordwainer,
Boxwell, though this latter
might be R Evans, junior,
shoemaker, Inchbrook).

Michael Morris, shopkeeper,
Barnsley (it was noted that
in one instance the name
might be Morris or Norris).

Charles Lediard, gatekeeper,
of Cirencester.

Allen Evans, cordwainer, of
Cirencester (apparently
another family trade).

T Osborne, cordwainer, Min-
chinhampton.

T Rickards, gatekeeper,
Cainscross.

W Hooper, gatekeeper, Mal-
mesbury.

£ Pimbury, for Messrs Tanner
& Baylis, carriers of Rod-
borough (whose depot was
at either The Bear or The
Road House).

J Harvey, innholder, Nails-
worth.

R Smart, road contractor,
Stratton near Cirencester.

Berkeley Hicks, turnpike renter,
Maidenhead, Berks.

E Lediard, tollgate renter,
Cheltenham.

George Wathen for T Smart,
innkeeper of Tiltups Inn.

W Let, gatekeeper, Chelt-
enham.

W T Paris, gentleman, of
Stroud.

W Davis, turnpike gatekeeper,
Whitminster (1845), and of
Inchbrook in 1846.

J Jaques, turnpike gate-
keeper, Northgate turnpike
gate, Gloucester.

J White, farmer of tolls,
Worcester (1848).

G W Saunders, accountant,
of Stroud (1849).

J Snowswell, renter of
tolls, Cirencester.

J Barnett, renter of tolls,
Cirencester.

James Atkins, toll collector,
Stroud.

J W Atkins (who took the tolls
in 1853 by private treaty).

Joseph Spire, Selly Oak,
Birmingham (1862). In 1847
he was at 23 Villa Road,
Handsworth.

T Rickards, watchmaker and
toll farmer, Wotton-u-Edge
(1872).

B Lawrence the younger,
hav~~g~~ corn dealer, Stroud.
The last renter of the tolls.

Appendix 10. (b) Toll Charges set out in 1780
for the Nailsworth Trust.

Tolls originally were farmed out from early October, but in the 1820s the auction was advanced from September to August, probably to comply with the return to be made to the Clerk of the Peace after the Annual General Meeting.

Records are incomplete, and even where figures are given, some may have been omitted, if for example a certain gate was not then left: details do not always appear where tolls were let by private treaty.

Toll Charges

On 16 October 1780 a temporary list of tolls had been drawn up for the two bars ordered that day for The Spout. The official list was approved on 11 May: it would seem to have been drawn up on 7 May, but only Obadiah Paul and Thomas Pavey had attended that particular meeting.

For every Horse Mare Gelding Mule Ass or Ox or other beast or Cattle drawing any carriage	4d.
For any Horse etc. not drawing	1d.
For every drove of Oxen or other neat cattle	10d. a score.
For every drove of Calves Hogs Sheep Lambs or Swine (and so in proportion for a greater or less Number)	5d. a score.

Additional charges were made in respect of certain vehicles. Thus on 24 August it was laid down that broadwheels of 9 inches widdy, or other wheels "rolling a surface of 11 inches", should be charged at 3d. a horse. Vehicles of 6 inches wheel width, rolling a surface less than 11d., were charged 3½d a horse. Carts of 6 inches wheel width were let through at 3d a horse, while carriages going empty to Coalpitheath and returning with coal on the next day need pay only the one toll.

On 10 September the same year vehicles with wheels less than 6 inches width would pay 4½d in summer, 6d in winter, while vehicles with wheels over 6 inches would pay the same if drawn by fewer than 5 horses, but if by 5 or more, they would pay an extra 3d. a horse. Vehicles rolling 16 inches width on the roads would be charged 2d a horse in summer, 3d in winter.

While the toll charges were approved on 10 September, they were dated 24 July: notices were ordered for the gates on 13 August.

1846	727	Let at 2nd auction.
1847	788	
1848	750	Let at 2nd auction.
1849	750	ditto.
1850	831	
1851	828	Let at 2nd auction.
1852	860	ditto..
1853	880	No bidders, let to private tender.
1854	881	
1855	920	
1856		No bidders: toll money collected by R Earnfield the Surveyor.
1858		No bidders.
1859		No bidders. Culverhouse & Buckholt gates dispiked.
1860		No bidders.
1861		no bidders.
1862	1020	
1863		No bidders, even at 2nd auction.
1864	1050	
1865	976	Let at 2nd auction.
1866	960	ditto.
1867	860	ditto.
1868	941	
1869	938	
1870	1016	
1871	960	Let at 2nd auction.
1872	1035	
1873	951	Let at 2nd auction.
1874	990	
1875	821	Hazlewood & Avening gates dispiked.
1876	1250	Let for 1½ years to 1 November 1877.

Trust wound up, all remaining gates dispiked and sold.

A37

1816		Record incomplete.
1817	1090	Culverhouse gate added.
1818		Record incomplete.
1819	1393	Frauds denounced.
1820	1244	Balls Green gate replaces Well Hill Gate.
1821	1247	
1822	1200	
1823		Record incomplete.
1824		Hazlewood & Avening gates added.
1825	1720	Single bid for all gates.
1826		No bidders.
1827		Ditto - 2nd auction necess- ary.
1828	1350	No bidders at auction, let by private tender.
1829		No bidders.
1830		No bidders.
1831		No bidders.
1832		No bidders.
1833		No bidders.
1834	1320	Twice at auction but no bidders. Finally taken by Berkeley Hicks; see Appendix 10 (b).
1835	1300	No bidders, let to E Lediard at 2nd auction.
1836	1280	Let at 2nd auction.
1837	1384	Let at 2nd auction.
1838	1200	ditto.
1839	1201	ditto.
1840	1100	ditto.
1841	950	No bidders, let to private tender.
1842	920	ditto.
1843	921	ditto.
1844	801	ditto.
1845	793	Let at 2nd auction.

Appendix 10. Toll Revenue of the Nailsworth Trust(a) 1782-1876.

(Source: Nailsworth Trust Minute Book.)

Auction held in October.	£	s.	d.	Remarks.
1782	213	0	11½	Collected by gate-keepers.
1783	269	13	0	ditto.
1784	290			Farmed P Smith.
1785	315			Farmed P Smith & W Howard.
1786	303			Farmed J Cooper. Grigshut gate excluded from farming.
1787	310			Farmed Miss A Pierce. Stanley Lane & Park Stile gates added.
1788	340			Bids made for separate gates.
1789	370	10		Gate ordered for Buckholt Wood, not named in toll lists till 1820s.
1790	352	10		
1791				Record incomplete.
1792	395			Well Hill gate added.
1793				Record incomplete.
1794	473	10		
1795 - 1800				Record incomplete.
1801	581			
1802	588	3	1	
1803) 1804)	726			each year. Two-year letting contract.
1805) 1806)	714			each year. ditto.
1807	816			
1808	795			
1809	790			
1810				Record incomplete.
1811	756	10		
1812	756	10		
1813	740	15		
1814	948			
1815	1132			

No. 15.—STROUD AND BISLEY ROAD.

The original Act (the 4th of George 4. cap. 14.) was obtained in 1823, for widening, improving, diverting, and making turnpike the present common public road from the town of Stroud to Bisley, several parts of which were very narrow, steep, and incommodious. The term of the Act would have expired with the session of 1845, but has been continued by the several General Turnpike Acts Continuance Acts until the 1st of November 1852.

The sum of 1,700*l.* was subscribed by several gentlemen of the neighbourhood for the purpose of altering and improving this road, in addition to which the sum of 988*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* was advanced by the treasurer for the completion of the road. Although it was understood that mortgages of the tolls would be granted, no securities have been executed for the subscriptions, and the whole amount remains unpaid, with accumulations of interest thereon amounting to 2,200*l.* The toll income has very seldom exceeded 100*l.* per annum, and has been applied chiefly in paying the interest on the treasurer's balance, also the clerk's salary, repairs of toll-houses, and the incidental expenses of the Trust. The small surplus has been applied to the liquidation of the treasurer's balance, which has been reduced about 115*l.*, the sum of 823*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* remaining due on the 31st of December 1850, of which, 802*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* was owing to the representatives of the late treasurer, and upon which interest has been punctually paid. A total sum exceeding 800*l.* has been charged as interest of debt in the returns since 1833, the whole of which (except the increased sums charged in the years 1847 and 1848, which were probably paid to the subscribers,) was paid for interest upon the Treasurer's balance, although it appears that the late treasurer held no security for the same, the representatives being satisfied so long as the interest was paid thereon. There is also a floating debt of 340*l.* entered in the annual statements, which it is believed consists of various sums ordered by the Trustees several years since, to be paid by the treasurer, "when in cash," but being always overdrawn, these debts have not been paid, and are now stated to be barred by the Statute of Limitations.

The length of road is less than three miles and three-quarters, upon which there are two toll-gates and one bar. One gate is about a mile from Stroud, and the other is at Stancombe Ash, about half a mile from Bisley. The toll-bar is at Whitehall, near the terminus of the road at Stroud. The full rate of toll is levied, but one toll payment clears all the gates. The whole of the road is repaired by the parishes of Stroud and Bisley, aided by the Commissioners under the Stroud Improvement Act. The traffic appears to be very small, as the average receipt is less than 6*s.* per day at all the places of payment, after deducting the expenses of collection.

The Trustees in their present application propose to repeal the existing Act, and to take more effectual powers. Clause 9 continues the present tolls until fourteen days after the first meeting of the Trustees. The scale of tolls proposed in Clause 10 is similar to the present Act, with an additional toll of 1*d.* for every dog drawing any carriage. The toll is 6*d.* per horse or other beast drawing any carriage, and 2*d.* per horse, mule, or ass, not drawing. By clause 12 only one full toll is payable "for passing and repassing any number of times in the same day" through all the toll gates. Clause 17 is to prevent any mortgagee from seizing the toll gates, without any restriction; but no mortgages appear to have been granted. Clause 18 declares the total debts to be 1,700*l.* subscriptions, and 802*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* due to the executors of the late treasurer. The money is proposed to be applied by clause 19 as under:—

- 1st. In paying the expenses of the Act.
- 2dly. In repairing toll-houses, &c., and in the expenses of management, but not to exceed 20*l.* in any year.
- 3dly. In paying off the late treasurer's debt of 802*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, "but without any interest thereon." (The representatives of the late treasurer are said to be not satisfied with this arrangement.)
- 4thly. In paying off the sum of 1,700*l.* original subscriptions, "but without any interest thereon." (The subscribers consent to this arrangement. The mode of payment is regulated by clause 20.)
- 5thly. In repairing the road.

[Read on to page 60.

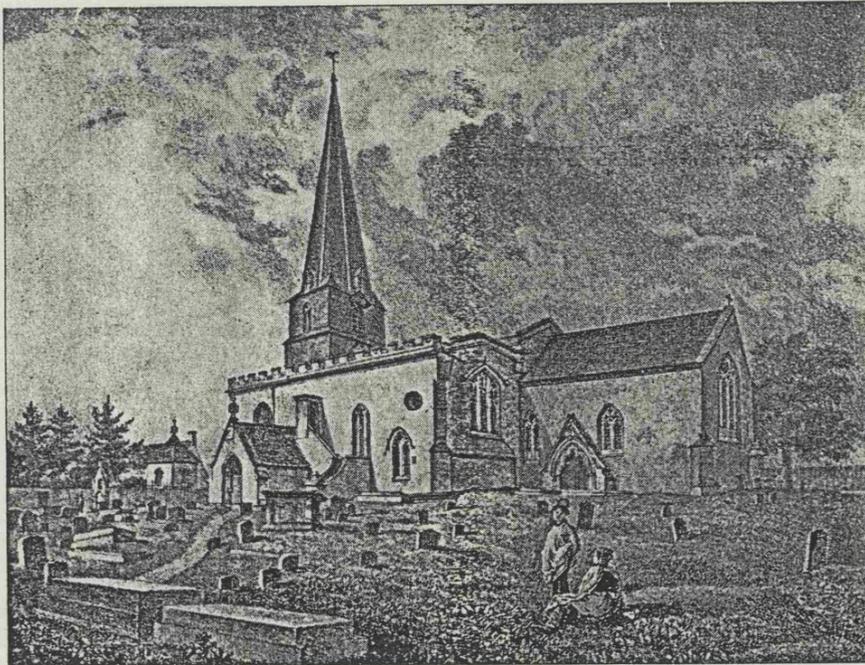
Clause 20 regulates the payment of the subscribed debt by instalments of 100*l.* Clause 21 will prevent any further sum from being borrowed. Clause 22 relates to towns with a special exemption as regards the limits of the Improvement Act for Stroud, until the whole debts are paid off. Clause 24 proposes to continue the new Act for thirty-one years, instead of the usual term of twenty-one years.

In consequence of the balance due to the Treasurer and the state of the debt, there appeared to the Trustees insurmountable obstacles against bringing this road under the Turnpike Trust Arrangement Act; it was therefore deemed advisable to apply for a renewal of the Act upon the terms set forth in the proposed bill, by which the arrears of interest are extinguished, and all interest in future disallowed.

The Stroud-Bisley turnpike. An unnecessary turnpike?

It is difficult to see why the ancient road from Stroud to Bisley should have been made into a turnpike. To be sure, an easier route up Stroud Hill was built, but the number of people in Bisley parish who could benefit by it were few: there were few dwellings beyond the point where the new road began, and the manufacturing workforce of the parish lived round the edges of the commons overlooking Chalford and the Toadsmoor valley, and presumably walked down-hill to the mills below. As a perusal of this report shows, there was no 'profit' in the road, the financial arrangements were extremely sketchy - practically non-existent, and in any case it was not long before the two parishes involved undertook all the repair work. It would seem to have been not only unnecessary, but also a nuisance.

(Source: BPP lxix Appendix 1854/55.)



BISLEY CHURCH BEFORE THE 1862 RESTORATION

From a Bisley church leaflet, 4th edn. 1963.

TURNPIKE TRUSTS:—

No. 17.—STROUD ROADS.

The attention of the Secretary of State having been directed at various times to the positions of the numerous toll-gates, and the number of toll payments on the roads in the neighbourhood of Stroud, as well as to the embarrassed state of the finances of several of the Trusts, steps have been taken in previous years to obtain a revision of some of the Local Acts, and arrangements have been sanctioned upon other of the Trusts; in addition to which there are applications now before Parliament for renewals of three of the Local Acts in the present session.

Before referring to these applications, it may be useful to mention the arrangements which have been made by Parliament in respect to three of the Trusts referred to, which have already obtained new Acts, as under:—

1. The *Stroud and Gloucester* (through Pitchcomb) Turnpike Trust obtained a new Act in the year 1851 (the 14th & 15th Victoria, cap. 50). By this Act the bonded debt of 21,923*l.* was reduced to 11,865*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, by extinguishing a large amount of interest which had been converted into principal, and the rate of interest was reduced from 5*l.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* per cent. The sum of 9,944*l.* 9*s.* arrears of interest was also extinguished. The Act contained a special clause to restrict the Trustees from erecting a toll-gate within 300 yards of the city of Gloucester; but by another clause permission was given to collect tolls within the town of Stroud until the debt of the Trust was paid off.

2. The *Stroud and Bisley* Turnpike Trust obtained a new Act in the year 1852 (the 15th Vict., cap. 87), by which it was determined that no interest should be paid upon the debt of 1,700*l.*, and that the sum of 2,200*l.* arrears of interest thereon, calculated at 5*l.* per cent., should be extinguished. There was also a debt of 802*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* owing to a former treasurer, upon which interest at 5*l.* per cent. had been paid, and the Act directed the payment of such debt but without any interest in future.

3. The *Stroud, Painswick, and Gloucester* Turnpike Trust obtained a new Act in the last session (the 17th & 18th Vict., cap. 95), by which the rate of interest was reduced from 5*l.* to 3*l.* per cent. on the mortgage debt of 8,681*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* The Act directed the Barton Street toll-gate to be removed from the city of Gloucester, and allowed one-half the full rate of toll to be collected at any gate erected in lieu of the Barton Street gate until the debt of the Trust was paid off.

At the request of a large number of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary borough of Stroud, the Secretary of State for the Home Department consented to except, in the Schedule of the Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill for the year 1853, seven Local Acts relating to roads passing through or into such Parliamentary borough, and the Trustees of the several roads were informed that separate applications for renewing the Local Acts would be unnecessary as a scheme would be proposed by parties locally interested, for consolidating all the Stroud Roads. A Bill for that object was prepared and introduced in the session of 1854, but was subsequently withdrawn, in consequence of which, the settlement of the affairs of the several Trusts (except the Stroud, Painswick, and Gloucester Road, previously mentioned) was postponed until the present session.

In the Turnpike Acts Continuance Act of the last session, six Local Acts relating to roads in the neighbourhood of Stroud were excepted, in order that the affairs of such roads might be revised and regulated by Parliament in the present session. Upon three of these roads, arrangements have been made which have received the sanction of the Secretary of State, the particulars of which are as under:—

1. On the *Coldharbour* District of Road, the interest of the debt, with the consents of the creditors, has been reduced from 5*l.* to 3*l.* per cent. upon the bonded debt of 1,670*l.*, in the hope that at least 60*l.* will be appropriated annually towards the discharge of the principal debt.

2. On the *Nailsworth, Woodchester, and Dudbridge* Road the creditors have consented to reduce the interest from 5*l.* to 4*l.* per cent. upon the mortgage

STROUD ROADS.

sum of 1,045*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* interest converted into principal, by which the principal debt became reduced to 4,648*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; likewise to extinguish the sum of 3,630*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* arrears of interest, and to reduce the rate of interest in future from 5*l.* to 1*l.* per cent.

3. On the *Minchinhampton, Tetbury, and Bisley* Road, the Trustees took no steps to obtain a renewal of the Act, but proposed the following terms of arrangement:—To reduce the rate of interest from 5*l.* to 2*l.* per cent. per annum on the bonded debt of 3,754*l.* 17*s.*, and to extinguish the arrears of interest to the 31st of December 1854, amounting to 1,693*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* As objections had been made to the positions of some of the toll-gates upon the roads belonging to this and other adjoining Trusts, it appeared desirable that the Act should be renewed, to afford an opportunity for Parliament to decide as to the future toll-payments; but as the Trustees had omitted to give the usual notices required by Parliament, the Trust would expire and the whole debt be lost on the 1st of November next, unless the Act were renewed by the Government Continuance Bill. It was therefore, with reluctance, that Secretary Sir George Grey consented to grant a Provisional Order upon the terms named, accompanied by the following observations addressed to the clerk to the Trustees:—

“Sir George Grey regrets that the Trustees did not take the necessary steps to renew the Local Act; but under the circumstances it will be proposed for continuation in the Government Bill for one year; and if the arrangements should prove effectual for the payment of the Trust debts, and are not otherwise objected to, the Act may be further continued without incurring the expenses of renewal.

“But Sir George Grey wishes it to be distinctly understood, that these arrangements are not to prevent any agreement being made with the Stroud and Chalford Trust, or any alterations of the toll-gates or payments which may receive the sanction of a Parliamentary Committee.”

The Reports which follow, relate to the Trusts, which are now applying for renewals of their Acts, as under:—No. 18, Stroud and Chalford Roads; No. 19, Stroud, Cainscross, and Minchinhampton Roads (two districts); and No. 20, Lightpill and Birdlip Road.

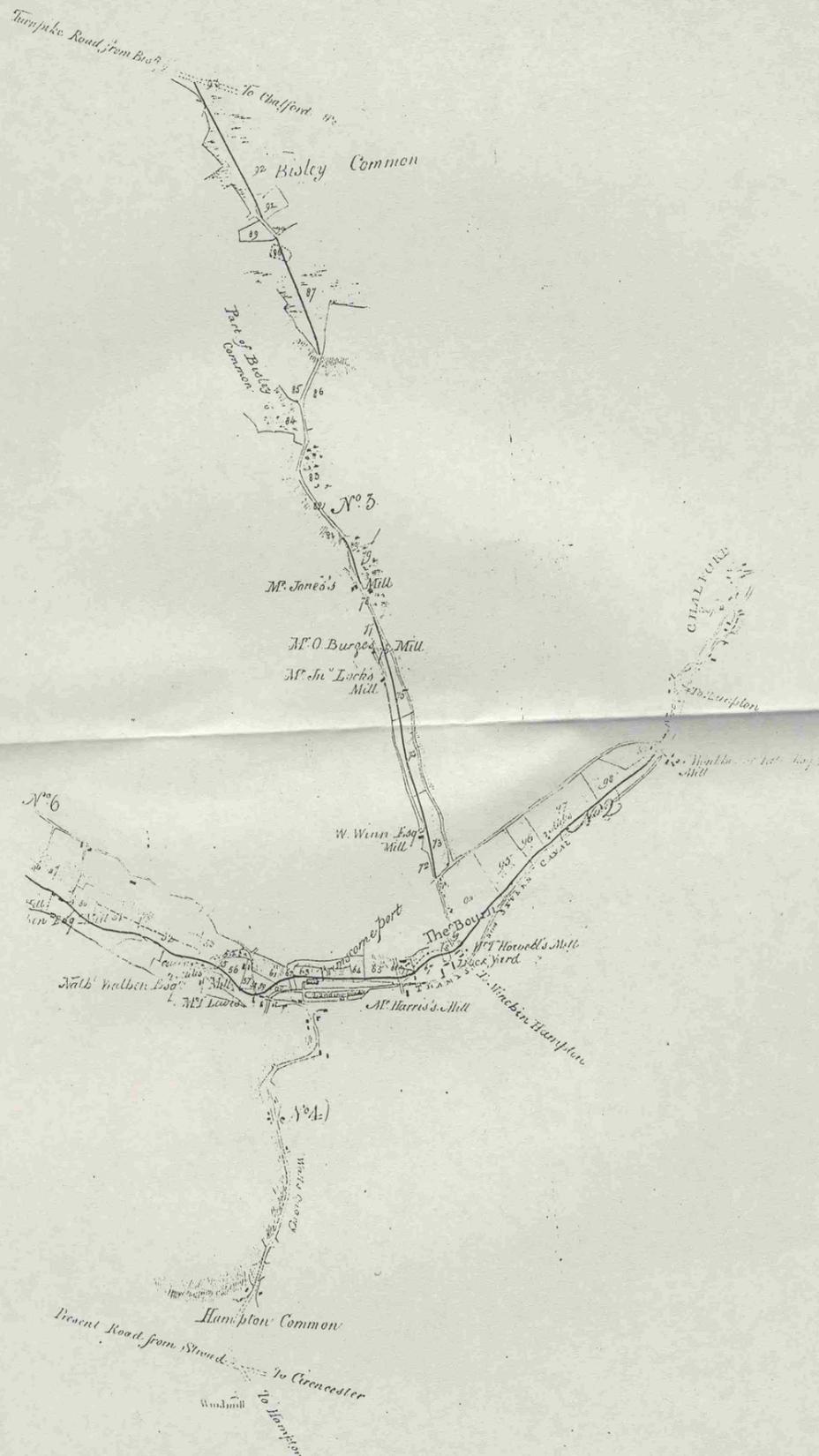
No. 18.—STROUD AND CHALFORD ROADS.

Appendix 9. Report on Stroud Roads. BPP xliv, 1852.

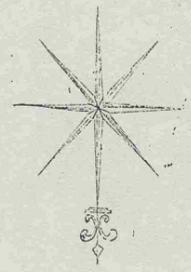
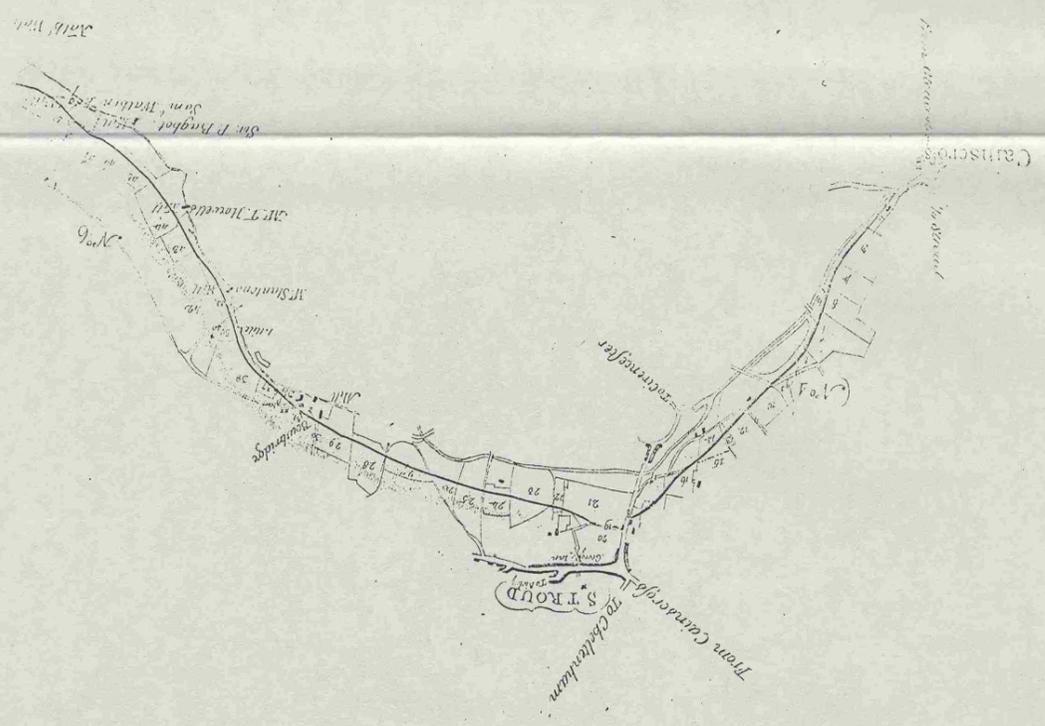
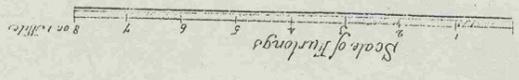
This Report coincides in time with the Stroud Roads Bill, to which in fact it refers. Whether inspired or not by Ricardo and his "Memorial", it reveals the irritation of Whitehall with the dilatory actions of local trusts in this area, but there were as yet no legislative powers to compel trustees to come to terms with reality.

With the failure of Ricardo's attempts to get trustees to put their (toll-) houses in order, trusts were more or less left to make the best arrangements they could to liquidate, over a considerable period of time, their debts, after which the toll-roads would be dispiked. Continuance or Renewal Acts had been granted annually for some years, but now a definite final period was given; and in the end toll-roads merged back into the pattern of local administration, the 'great' or main roads being repaired at county expense, the minor roads once more being the concern of the smallest local authority.

Report No. 18, immediately following the main body of the Report, dealt with the vexed question of the Stroud-Chalford road; this was undoubtedly a 'necessary' road, unlike the Stroud-Bisley road, but its finances were in the same hopeless state as those of many other toll roads, and by the time of this General Report its revenues had been greatly diminished by the direct competition of the Cheltenham & Great Western Union Railway (the Great Western) down the valley of the Frome to Stroud, and beyond.



Appendix 8. Sheet 1.



Appendix 8. Stroud-Chalford-7th milestone road.

Part of the plan for the intended new road from Cainscross to Stroud, thence to Chalford, up Cowcombe hill to the 7th milestone near Downs Farm on the Cirencester road. The section between Cainscross and Stroud was not built for another ten years.

From Stroud to Halford the road bears a strong resemblance to that along the Nailsworth valley of 1780. It runs on or near the valley floor below the existing hill-side road, passing and serving a number of mills. The contemporary owners/managers of these mills are given. Sir P Baghot had been Paul Wathen but changed his name on inheritance.

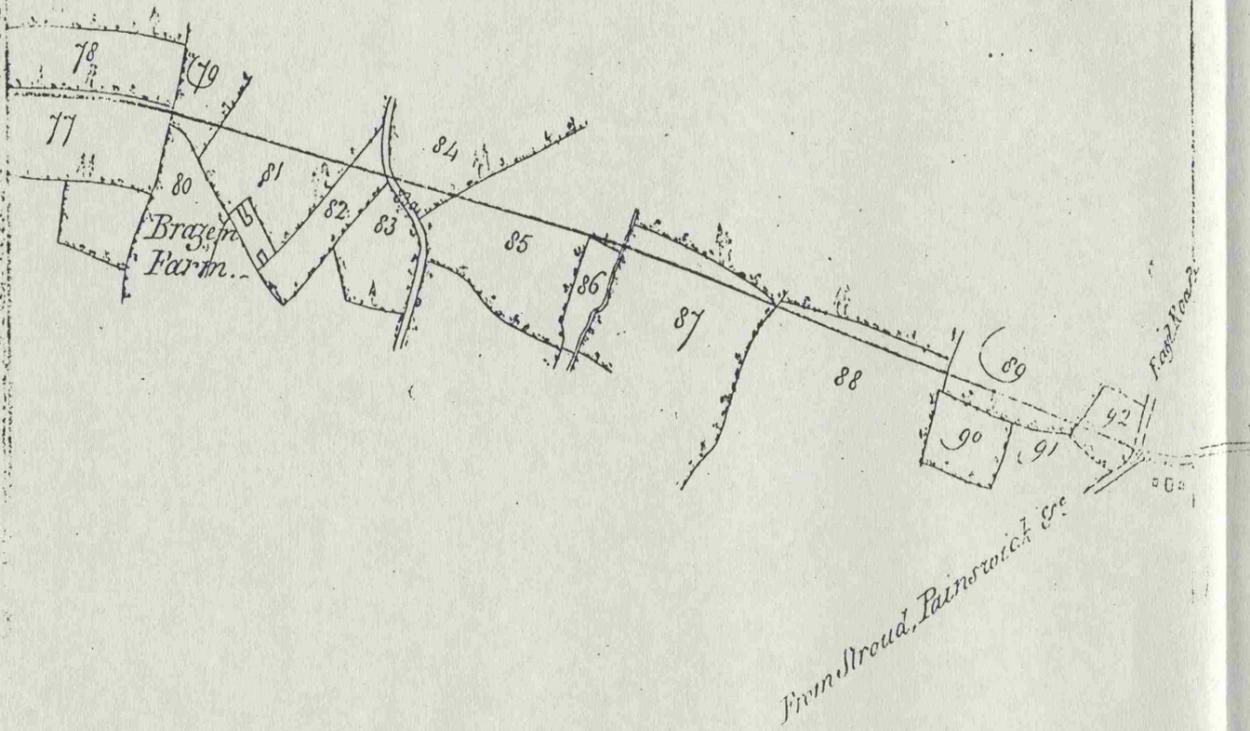
The second sheet shows the heavily industrialised stretch from Brimscombe to Chalford, and two side roads, one up the Toadsmoor valley, the other up to Hampton Common. The canal barge basin at Brimscombe Port is shown, and the warehouse: both have now vanished.

At The Bourn the road To Minchin Hampton is a steep branch of the Tetbury-Chalford road brought under turnpike authority. When the railway was built, the Chalford road here and also at Chalford Bottom (where the road To Hampton is marked) had to be realigned.

The hill section to the top is not included here: it follows the typical pattern of these new turnpike roads, snaking up with wide curves, and one or two steep stretches which in the case of this road are immediately on leaving the valley bottom, and near the top.

The 'old' section (No. 3) up from the Toadsmoor valley to the then Bisley Common is currently being improved and widened (1986). Note the hill-side road from The Bourn to Chalford lying well up the hill-side itself, as with the old road up the Nailsworth valley.

(Source: GRO Q/RUM 51 of 1813.)



CHELTENHAM

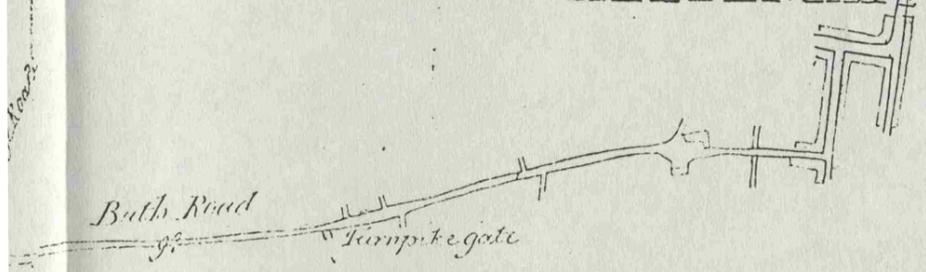
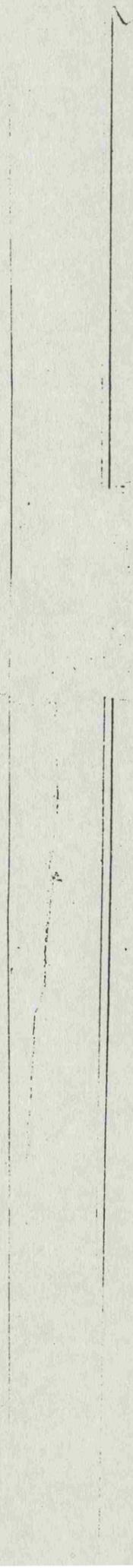
Bath Road

Turnpike gate

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10

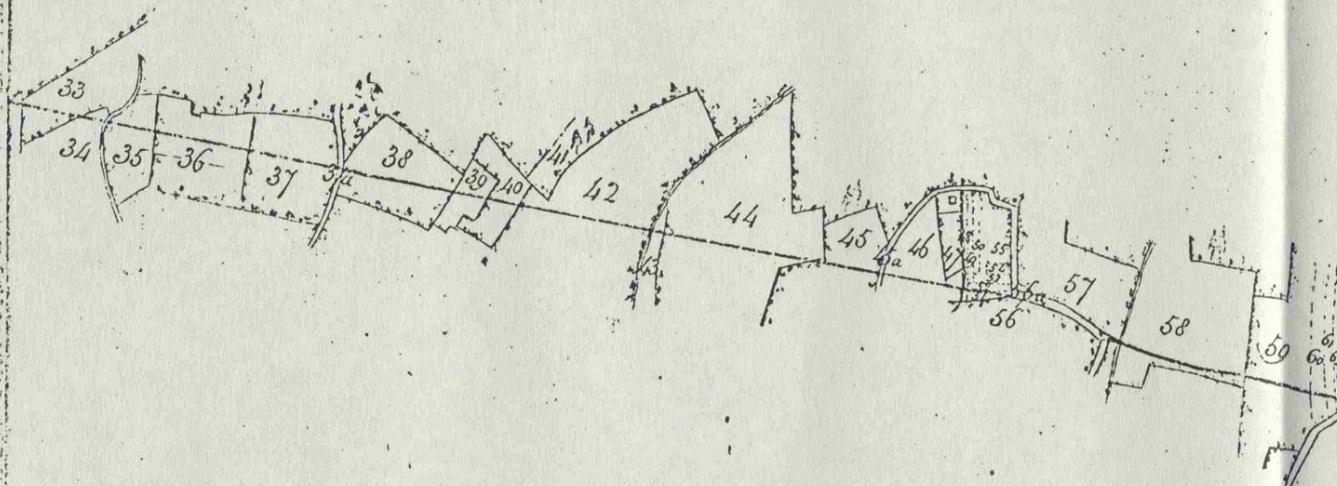
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*PLAN of an intended ROAD
leading from Cheltenham to join
Turnpike Road leading through
to Bath, at or near the Corner of
Park Wall, in the Parish of Upton
in the County of Gloucester*

1819

Charles Baker Surveyor. Painsw



Appendix 7. Sheet 4.

EXPLANATION.

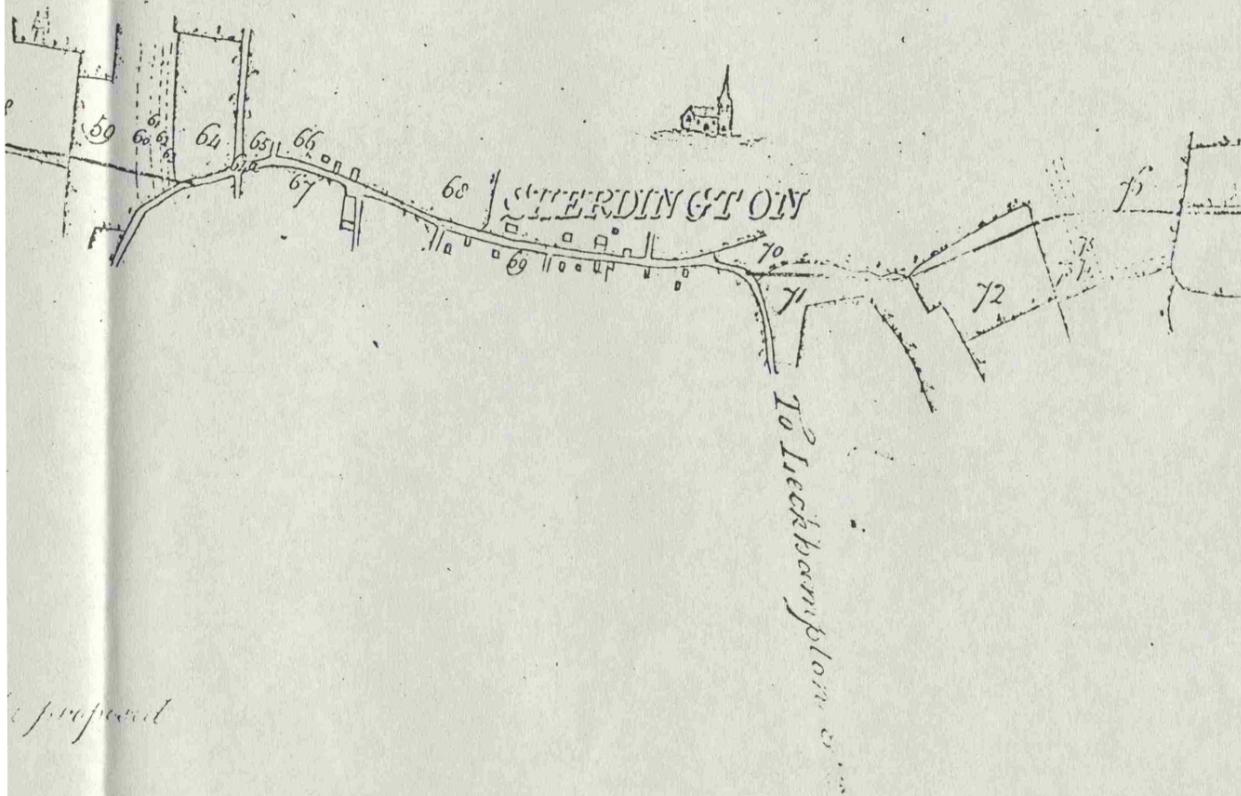
*The parts coloured Yellow are Old Roads along which the proposed
New Road is intended to pass.*

*The Red Lines represent the parts which are intended to be
through Old Inclosures, Common Fields &c.*

ded ROAD

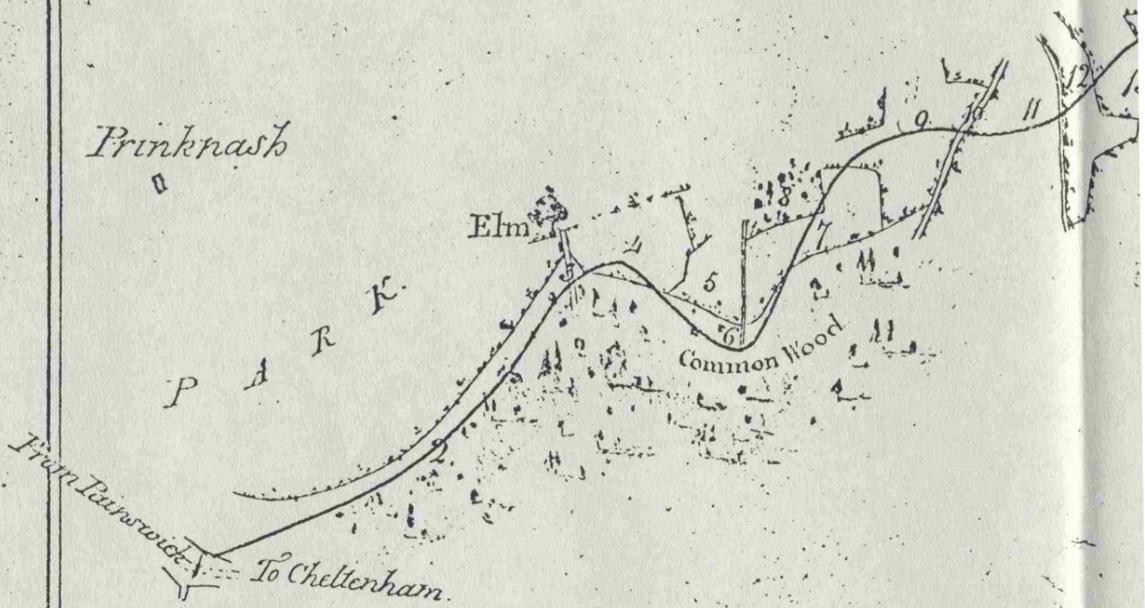
to join the present
through Painswick
corner of Prinknash-
of Upton St Leonards
Gloucester

for Painswick.



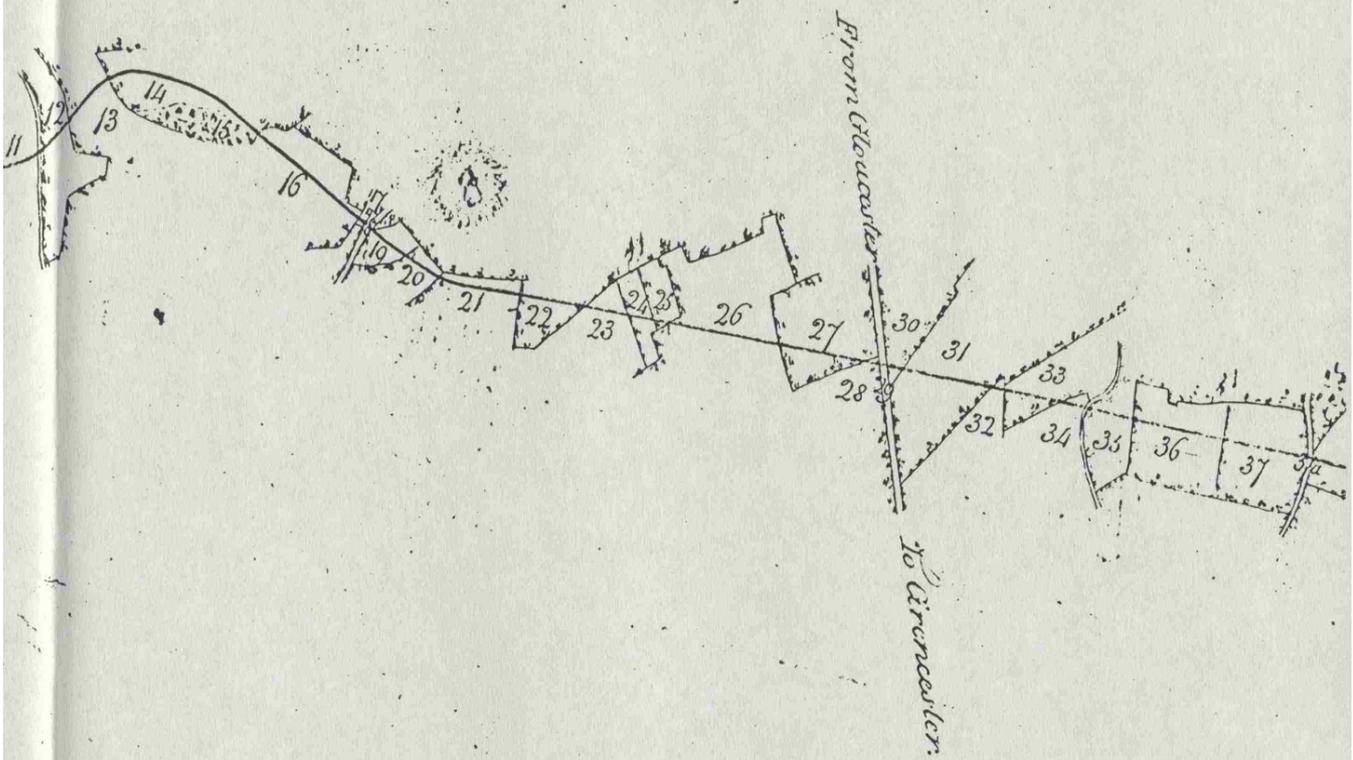
proposed

ded to be cut



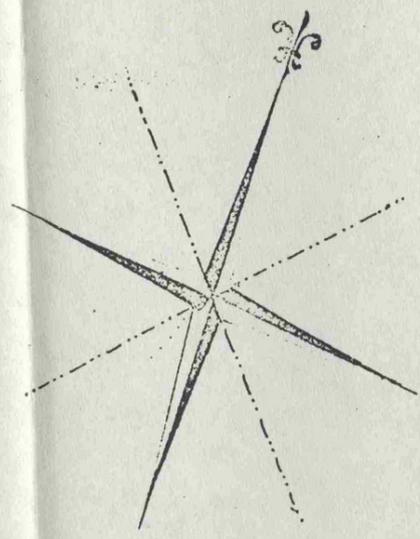
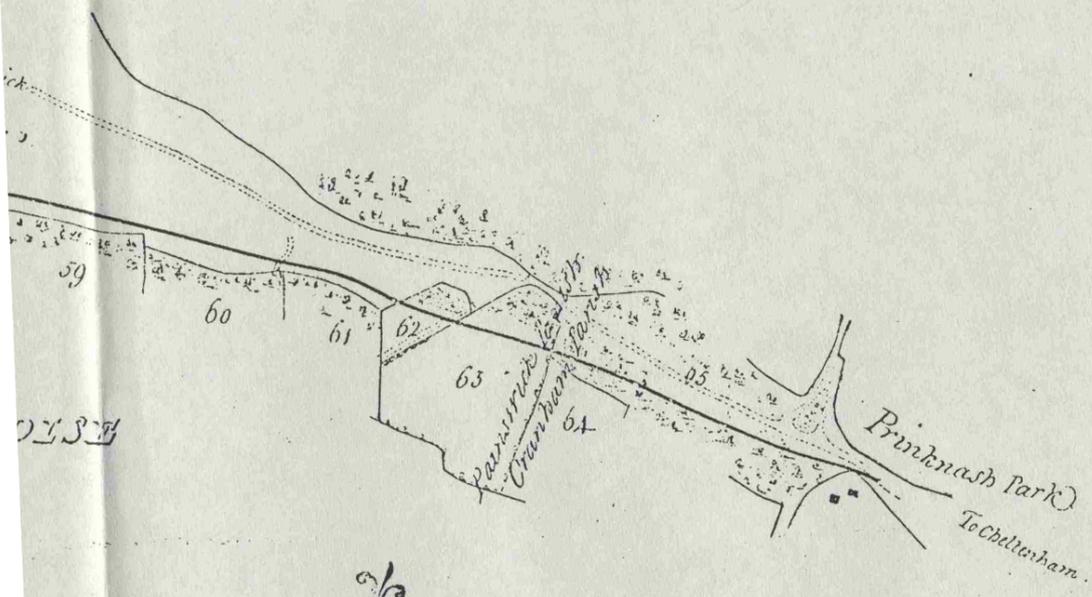
Appendix 7. Sheet 3.

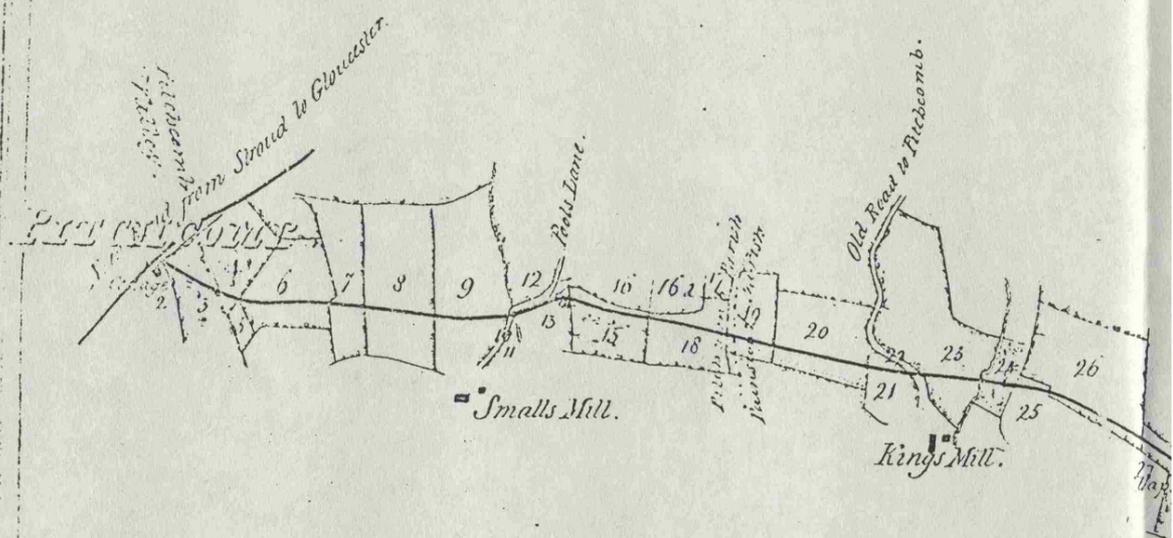
Scale of 3



The
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of 3 Inches to a Mile.





Appendix 7. Sheet 1.

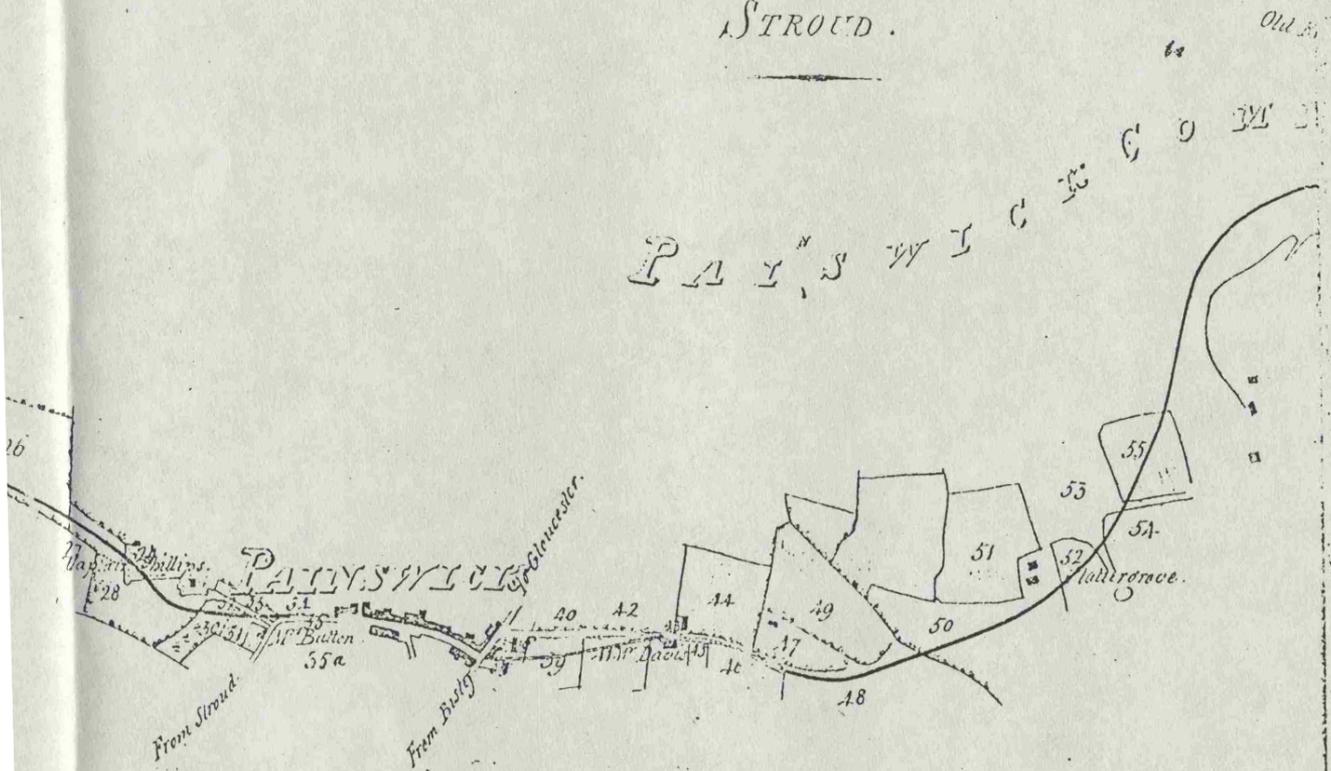
PLAIN of the intend^d NEW ROAD from STROUD
PAINSWICK and from thence to the OLD ROAD leading from Ch.
 to Painswick at or near Prinknash Park Wall in the County of Gl.

1818.

Ch^s Baker Surveyor & Engineer.

STROUD.

PAINSWICK



The Red line represents the parts intended to be cut
 The Yellow line is old Road along which the new Road is intended to pass

Sheet 5. and to Cheltenham.

Past the bend at Shurdington the road continue straight until it meets the existing Bath Road which went (and the road still goes) up Leckhampton Hill to the inn the Air Balloon for Birdlip: named here as From Stroud, Painswick etc. Note the turnpike gate - for the existing turnpike road.

(Source: GRO Q/RUM 63 of 1818, and Q/RUM66 of 1819, both by Charles Baker.)



ROYAL HOTEL COACH OFFICE.
Cheltenham

IMPROVED SAFETY & ELEGANT LIGHT POST COACHES,
DAILY TO THE FOLLOWING PLACES.

LONDON The Magnet Safety Coach, every Morning at 1/2 past Six o'clock thro' Northleach, Burford, Witney, Oxford, Henley, Maidenhead, Slough & Mounslow.

LONDON Royal Veteran, every Morning at 1/2 past Eight thro' Northleach, Burford, Witney, Oxford, Wycomb & Uxbridge.

OXFORD & LONDON Two Day Coach, every day except Sundays at Twelve o'clock Slough at Oxford.

OXFORD Coaches, every Morning at 1/4 past Six & 1/4 past Eight o'clock.

BATH The Original Post Coach, every day except Sundays at Nine o'clock through Gloucester & Rodborough.

BATH The York House Coach, every day except Sundays at Two o'clock through Painswick & Stroud.

BRISTOL The Traveller, every day except Sundays at Twelve o'clock thro' Gloucester & Newport.

BRISTOL The Royal Pilot, through Gloucester every Monday, Wednesday, & Friday, at 1/2 past One o'clock.

EXETER The Traveller, every day except Sundays, at Twelve thro' Gloucester, Bristol, Bridgwater, Taunton, Wellington, Collympton, & Exeter, where it meets Coaches for Plymouth.

GLOUCESTER Accommodation Coaches every Morning at Nine, 1/2 past Nine, & Twelve o'clock, Afternoon at 1/2 past One, Three, Five & Seven o'clock in the Evening.

TEWKESBURY Coaches every Morning except Sundays, at Eight & Twelve, Afternoon at 1/2 past One, every Evening at 6.

MALVERN The Mercury, every Morning at 1/2 before Eight, except Sundays to Esington Hotel, Malvern Wells arrives at Eleven o'clock, leaves Malvern at Five.

LIVERPOOL The Magnet, every Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, at Twelve o'clock thro' Worcester, Birmingham, Walsall, Stafford, Stone & Newcastle.

LIVERPOOL The Aurora, every day except Sundays, at 1/4 past one o'clock sleeping at Birmingham.

MANCHESTER The Traveller, every day except Sundays, at Twelve o'clock thro' Worcester, sleeping at Birmingham.

SHEFFIELD The Amity, every day except Sundays, at Twelve o'clock through Burton, Derby, & Chesterfield.

CHESTER The Dispatch, every day except Sundays, thro' Newport & Fernhill.

BIRMINGHAM The Traveller, thro' Worcester, every day except Sundays, at Twelve o'clock.

BIRMINGHAM The York House Coach, thro' Worcester every day except Sundays, at 1/4 past One o'clock.

BIRMINGHAM The Mercury, thro' Worcester, every Morning at Eight.

WORCESTER Coaches, every Morning at Eight & Twelve, also at 1/2 past one o'clock in the Afternoon.

WOLVERHAMPTON The Everlasting, every Morning at Eight, except Sundays.

COVENTRY The Pilot, thro' Evesham, Meester, Stratford, Warwick, & Leamington, every day except Sundays, at 1/2 past one o'clock.

FLY WAGGONS & VANS TO LONDON
on Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays at Twelve o'clock & arrives the following Night

THOMAS HAINES JES? & C^o PROPRIETORS.

33, Every possible comfort & accommodation afforded to those who may be pleased to honour this Establishment with their patronage.
COACHES SENT TO ANY PART OF THE TOWN TO TAKE UP IF REQUIRED.

from S Y Griffiths,
New Historical Description of Cheltenham and its Vicinity.

Cheltenham, 1826.

Appendix 7. Plan of the Stroud-Painswick-Cheltenham road.Sheet 1. From Pitchcombe to Clattergrove.

This road replaced Wick Street on the eastern side of the valley, which is named From Stroud where it entered Painswick. From Pitchcombe to 28 the new road undulates along the lower slope of the valley, being constrained to keep this course until the deep combe-mouth of the Washbrook was passed: No 24/25, King's Mill.

The actual approach to Painswick therefore had to ascend steeply, but after the town was reached the road proceeded by a fairly gentle gradient all the way to the col at Cranham Corner (Prinknash Park Wall) where it met, like the new Horsepools road, the old ridge-top route to Birdlip.

Sheet 2. Painswick to Cranham Corner.

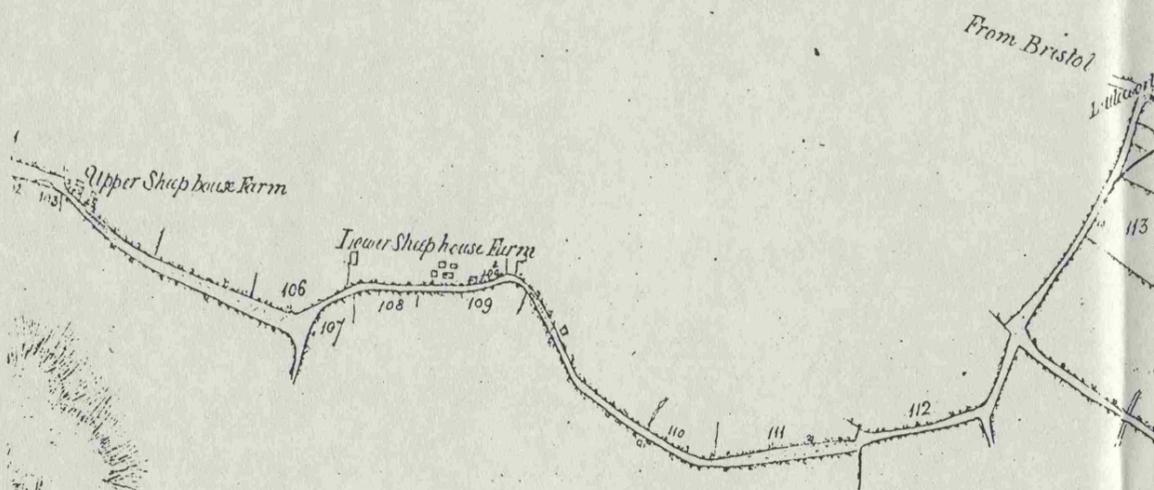
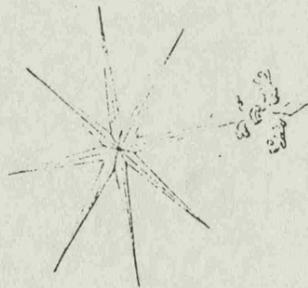
At Cranham Corner the 'Roman' Portway went more or less straight down-hill for Upton St Leonards and Gloucester. The new road curved fairly gently past PrinknashPark, but ...

Sheet 3. Prinknash to Ermine Street.

... At about the spot marked Elm the road has the usual sharp hair-pin bend, with a steep turn at its upper end. From here the gradient is fairly gentle until about 19 where it meets the old Greenway, and then drops sharply to cross the Roman Ermine Street at 28 (now a busy roundabout). From here it heads dead straight towards Cheltenham...

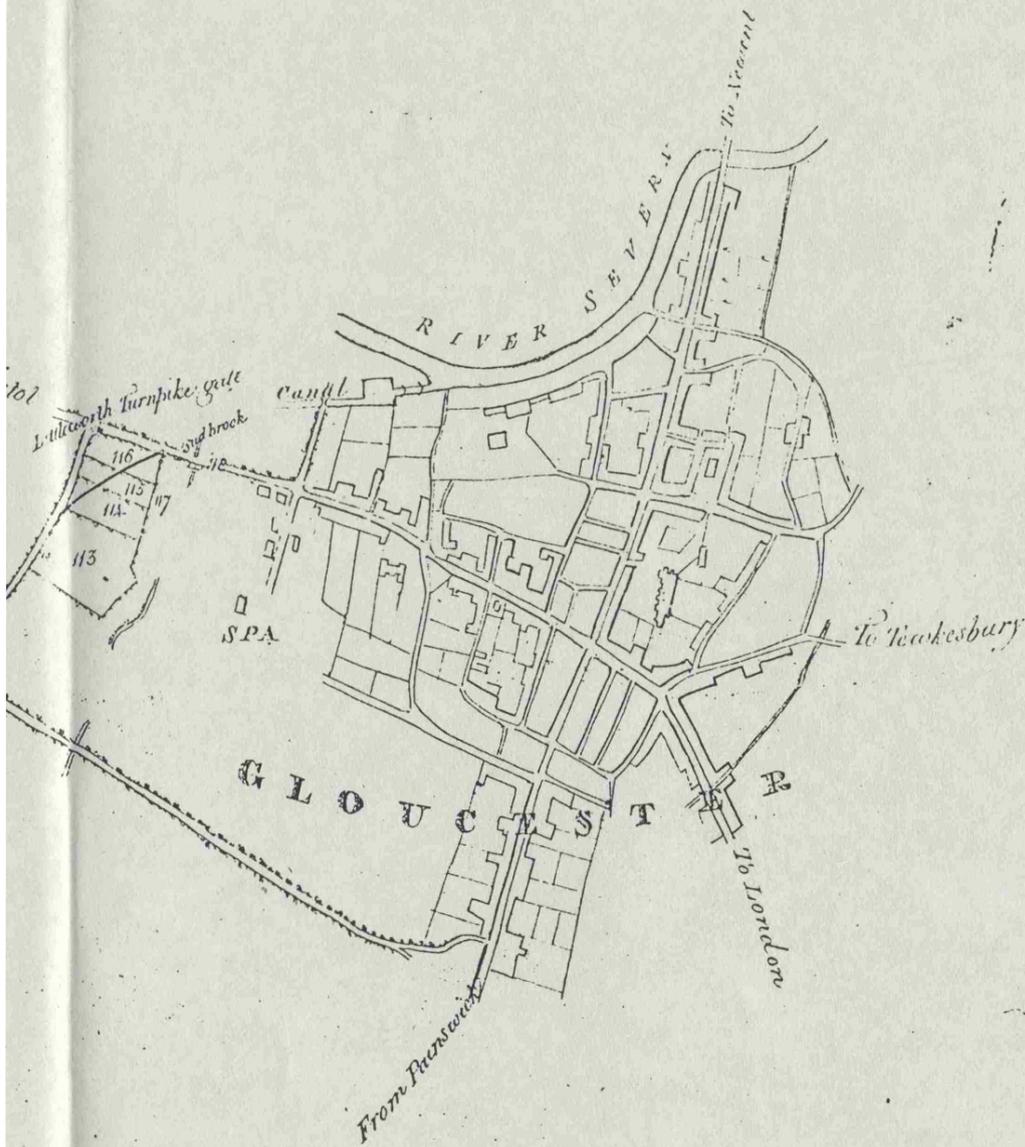
Sheet 4. Ermine Street to Shurdington.

... the only slight deviation being where an existing stretch of parish road was met near Shurdington (the only pre-existing road - the straight section has at times itself been mistaken for a Roman alignment).

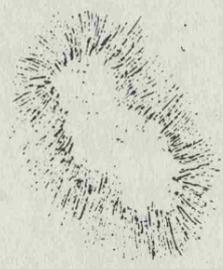
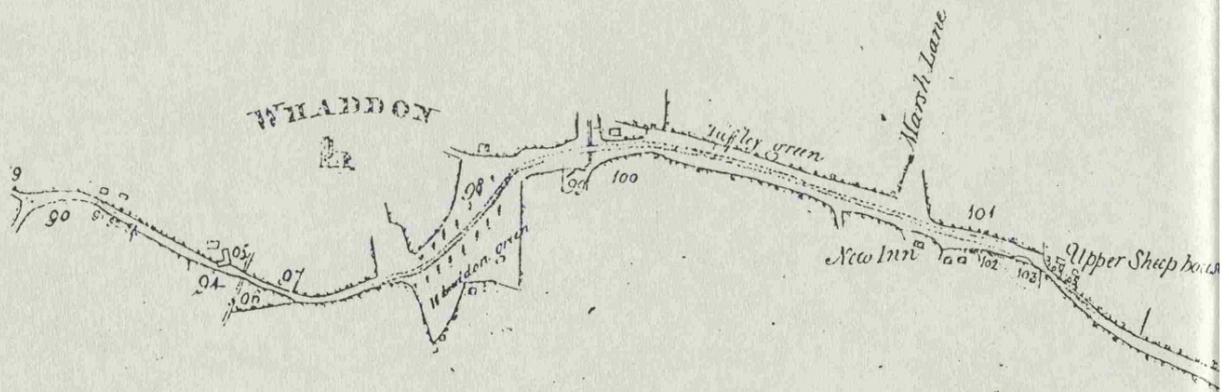


Explanation

The red line represents the parts which are to be cut through Inclosures.
The yellow line is old road along which the new road is intended to pass.

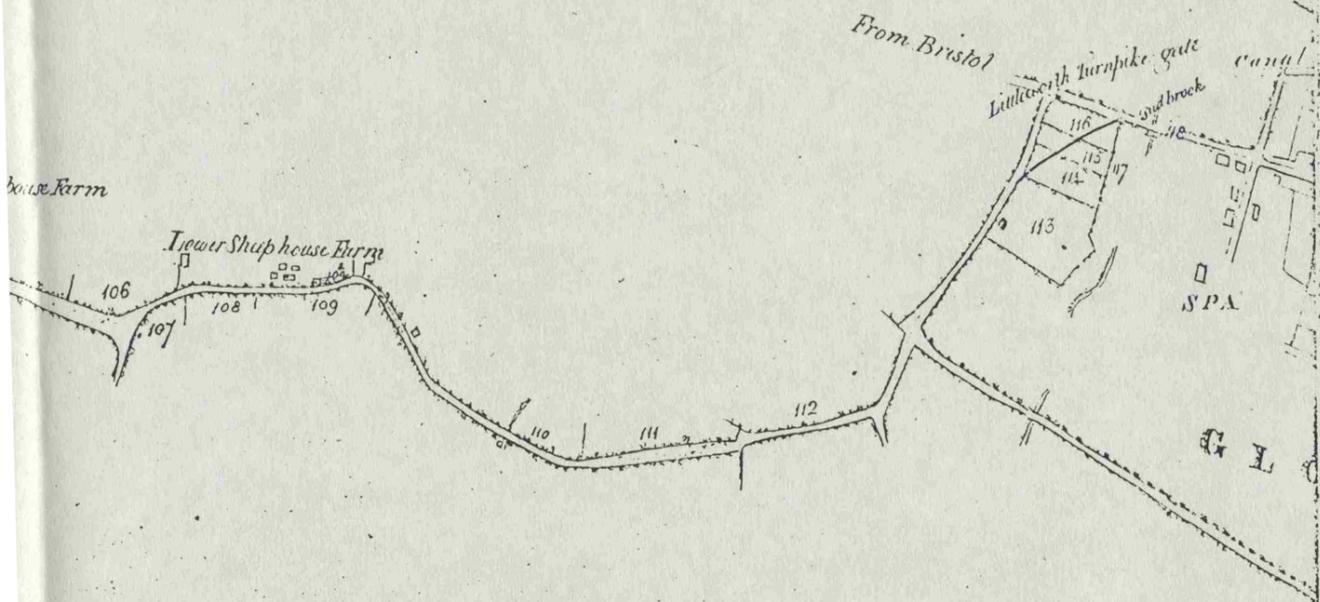
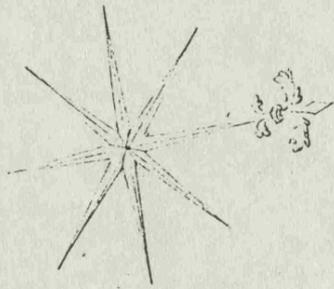


30th Sept. 1816 This Plan and Book of Reference
 were Deposited in the Office of the Clerk of the
 Peace for the County of Gloucester by
 J. Baker the Surveyor
 Geo. H. H. Jones
 Clerk of the Peace



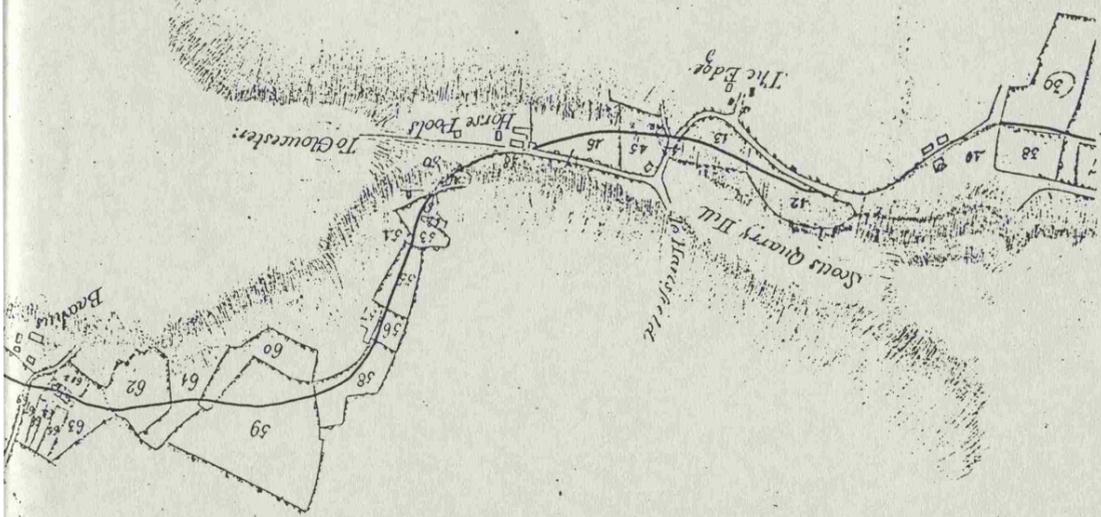
10 Chains or 1/2 Mile

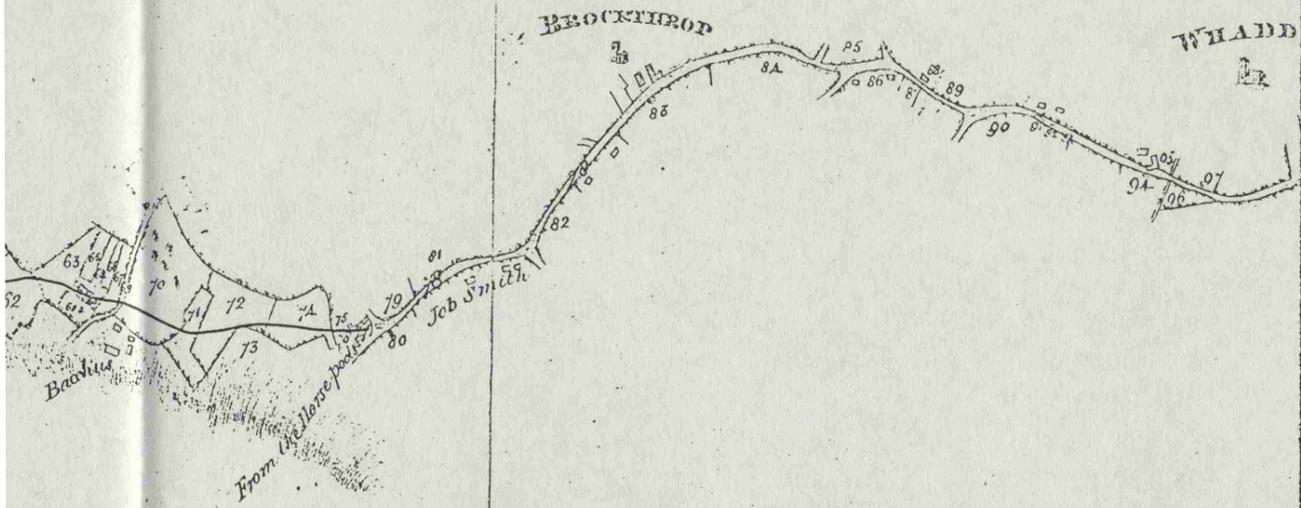
Appendix 6. Sheet 3.



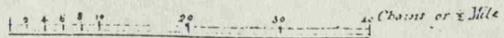
Explanation

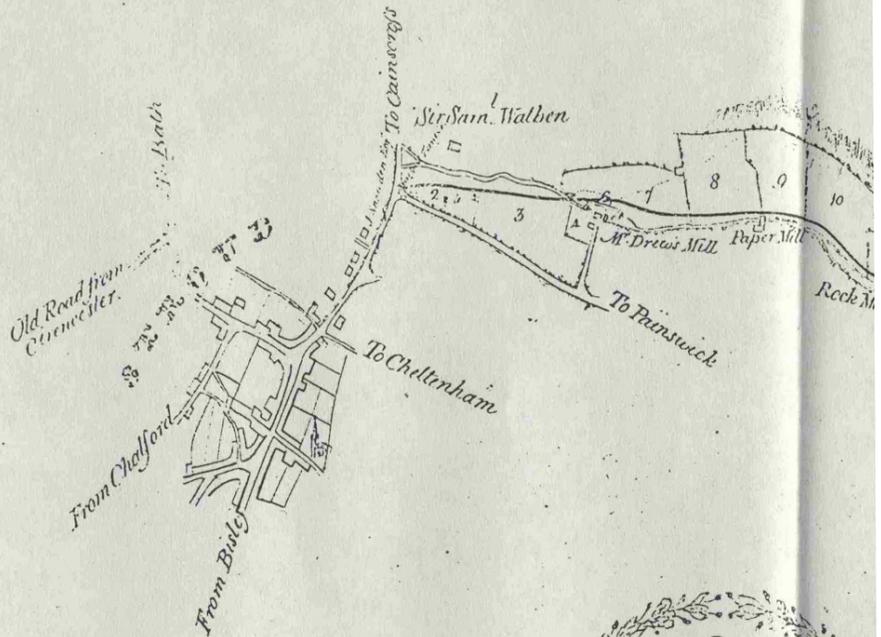
The red line represents the parts which are to be cut through Inclosures.
The yellow line is old road along which the new road is intended to pass.





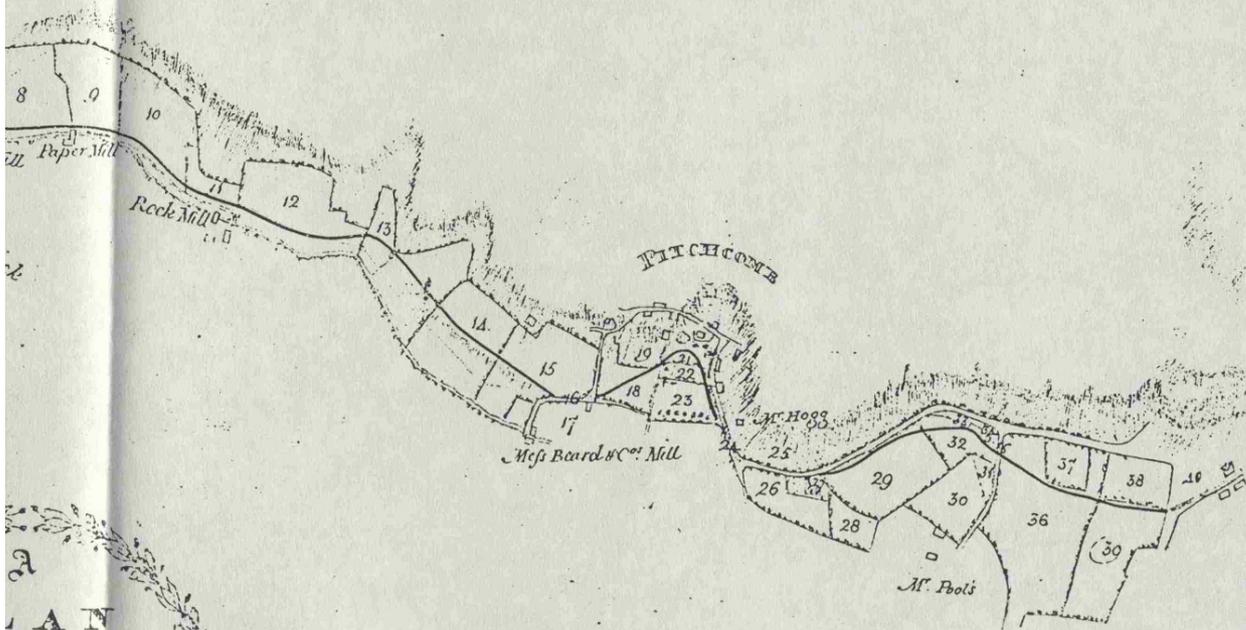
Scale of Chains





a
PLAN
 of the
 INTENDED NEW ROAD
 from the
TOWN of ST BOURN
 To the CITY of
GLoucester
 1816
 C. Baker Surveyor General

Appendix 6. Sheet 1.



A
PLAN
of the
NEW ROAD
from the
STOUR
CITY of
CHESTER
1818
by J. Stour

Appendix 6. Plan of the intended new road from
Stroud to Gloucester (the Horsepools road).

Sheet 1. From Stroud to beyond Pitchcombe.

This is the 'valley' section. From the plan it would seem that the first idea was to take the new road up and round the village of Pitchcombe, but in the event it was taken by an embankment across the mouth of that combe. The only steepish bits are 25 & 26, and 37 to 38. Few mills were involved, and they already had access to Wick Street, the ancient (and turnpiked) road.

Sheet 2. From The Edge to Whaddon.

Level ground was reached at 40, and followed to the col at the Horsepools where the new road crossed the old ridge-top route (the ridge is shown here to be very narrow). From the Horsepools it snaked down to the village of Brookthorpe, where the former road to the top met this new road: 'From the Horse-pools' at 80. The old road up the hill is now a V-shaped hollow-way with a small brook in the centre at the top. At Brookthorpe the road followed the existing track, to Whaddon.

Sheet 3. Whaddon to Littleworth Turnpike Gate.

From Whaddon (now only just outside Gloucester City boundary and the built-up area) the road skirts the base of Robinswood Hill (shown as a hachured oval) to join the existing Gloucester-Stone road - the Southgate trust) at Littleworth. The last straight stretch was originally Sandy Lane: the road out of Gloucester is the Stroud Road.

Sheet 4. Sheephouse to Gloucester City.

The turnpike gate called The Spa was where the road below the word Gloucester met the stretch of Sandy Lane. Note the proposed short cut across plots 113-116.

(Source: GRO Q/RUM 58, 1816, by Charles Baker.)

Appendix 5. A note on the Fleece Inn.

The Fleece Inn.

The Gloucester Journal of 18 February 1782 had this notice:

ROAD from BATH to GLOCESTER

The Trustees acting under an Act of Parliament intended to facilitate the Communications between Bath and Gloucester, (writer's underline) hereby give Notice to the Public in general, and to Travellers from the West to the North of England in particular, that the said Road is now opened, leading from near the 20 Mile Stone on the Road from Bath to Frocester Hill, through or near Nailsworth and Woodchester, to a Junction with different Gloucester Roads at Cainscross. The Inconvenience of Hills so objectionable to the other Roads, will be found in this to be entirely removed without the least Increase of Distance.

With Intent to render the public Accommodation complete, a Society of Gentlemen are erecting a spacious and commodious House, situate near Woodchester, at a convenient Distance for Change of Horses between Petty-France or Cross-hands Inns and Gloucester, which will be ready to open at Michaelmas Day next, with every Accommodation as an Inn, Tavern, and Post-House, and will consist of four large and elegant Parlours, with Bar, Tap-Room, Kitchen, and all other useful Offices on the Ground Floor; 18 good Bedchambers; Cellars for 500 Hogs-heads of Beer, and arched Vault for Wine, and Coach-Houses and Stables for any Number of Horses.

The said Inn to be let, Enquire at the Cross-Hands, Petty-France, or the Bell, at Gloucester, where Directions for further Particulars may be obtained. No Person need apply who cannot bring a sufficient Capital to furnish the House in the handsomest Manner, and has not an established Character for Civility, and other necessary Requisites to give Credit to an Inn.

The decision to advertise this was taken on 10 February 1782, with the instruction that it was to be printed in the Dublin papers, the St James Chronicle, the London Evening Post, and the Bristol, Bath and Gloucester papers. The advertisement appeared on 18 and 25 February and 4 March. The building, now known as Hillgrove, survives, though the out-buildings are less extensive than formerly.

James Elderton was the first inn-keeper of The Fleece.

W Tunnicliff in Survey of the County of Gloucester 1789 called the Fleece Inn, Rodborough, "house of great note".

Payments to Leversage and Frost were also recorded. On 10 September 1782 Mr Ackland got £2 7s. for his "Trouble Journeys and Expences" in the matter of Webb's claim. But the new Clerk was now James Dalby, and he was asked to prepare a case for counsel's opinion as to whether the Trustees had the right to pay Wilkins his principal (or part) and interest. Not very long before, that is on 17 July 1781, Wilkins, on being paid £14 5s. as Clerk, and £15 15s. as Clerk & Surveyor, had 'invested' £100 in the Trust.

Whatever the trouble, whether over financial detail or Wilkins' competence as an official, the severance had come at the meeting of 27 March 1782 when James Dalby was appointed Clerk that day, and the joint office of Clerk-Surveyor had been abolished.

5 Other hints that all was not well might perhaps be discerned in the fact that on 5 February 1781 Wilkins ceased to attest the signatures of Trustees though the Minutes were still in the same handwriting as before, but on 12 February when only Obadiah Paul, Baylis and Biggs were present, the handwriting changed. Wilkins' next, and only, signature was on 17 July that year.

6 On 2 April 1784 Mr Rice (of the Plan) started an action against Wilkins: it is not stated for what, but most likely was over payment. Dalby as Clerk was to ask Wilkins' attorney, Mr Gaby, what it was for, and for how much. On 7 Mar Rice nominated Mr Richards as his "arbitrator", while Dalby was to ask Thomas Earle of Avening to act for the Trust.

On 27 March 1782 it may be noted that Wilkins as Surveyor (Mr Heaven was not appointed Surveyor until later that year) owed the Trust £2 9s. The last note of the dispute is on 11 December 1788 when William Wilkins received the balance of his bill, £3 6s. 6d.

Thereafter no more is written of him. It is not clearly stated what the trouble was: this must remain conjecture.

interest in tithed land in Horsley parish was suspended, "sign'd by us" as the Minute is careful to record, the "us" being Messrs Pavey, Baylis, Biggs, Tyndale and Samuel Remmington of Barton End House. This does look like a serious matter if several Trustees had to make it so official.

At the meeting on 17 July, Edson had been instructed to take earth etc. from land held by Frost from Mr Leversage, but not to exceed the line drawn up by Edson and Wilkins. It looks as if Edson or his men might have overstepped the mark. On 23 October the Trust agreed to pay Leversage or Frost 1 guinea for land so spoilt.

Elsewhere can be seen similar difficulties experienced in the process of getting the road built for which Wilkins, and perhaps Edson, sometimes took the blame.

4 On 9 March 1781 Edson and Wilkins had been told to take stone etc. from Edward Sheppard's Hazelwood in Avening parish, and also from a close belonging to William Smith in Horsley parish. The damages had presumably previously been assessed by "two independent gentlemen" according to the Minute of 5 February 1781, but the Minute for 9 March records that while Smith was offered £75 an acre, Mr Sheppard got only half a guinea: which seems inexplicable. On 30 April 1782 the Treasurer was instructed to pay £35 13s. 5¼ to Mr Sheppard. On 1 June 1781 the Clerk, that is Wilkins, had been told to instruct "Mr Parry our Attorney" to plead for two men (presumably workmen) also jointly with Edson and Wilkins (writer's underlining), in a suit brought by Sheppard. So whether the Engineer and Clerk-Surveyor had been exceeding their instructions, or were thought to have done so, this must have been another instance of finding Wilkins wrong.

As for Mr Halliday's claim for damages, on 23 October 1781 Joseph Ackland had been asked to judge the damages, and also those done to the lands of Mr Jones and Mr Webb.

The Case against William Wilkins.

William Wilkins had, with Treasurer William Biggs, seen that the Bill for the Nailsworth Trust got through Parliament. He was first Clerk and for the period of construction of the road held also the post of Surveyor. Yet at the annual meeting on 27 March 1782, when the road had been open for one year, he was summarily dismissed and his place taken by James Dalby, attorney-at-law from Tetbury.

Why?

The causes of the disagreement resulting in Wilkins' abrupt departure can only be a matter of conjecture, but there are hints and possible clues in the Minute Book, which may be summarised here.

1 Certain small things may be noticed, for example on the road-walk on 30 May 1781 one or two small deficiencies were noticed, particularly near Barton End; but these could either be overlooked or made good.

On 8 January only Wilkins was present at a committee meeting, and he had to adjourn it on his own authority. Why had no one else appeared? Was the weather too bad? Had he failed to notify the Trustees? At any rate, he recorded that notices of meetings should be put on all turnpike gates.

2 In one or two instances his decisions were not approved. For example, on 28 May 1781 it was decided to put up a toll-bar by Day's mill in Nailsworth. As noted earlier, Day objected and on 1 June, "observing by a view", the Trustees agreed with him, and the new site was put at the foot of Hampton Hill. It looks as if Wilkins had not consulted Mr Day beforehand.

3 Trouble at Barton End! On 17 July 1781 Mr Leversage and Mr Selfe demanded 2s 6d. an acre at 30 years' purchase. Wilkins was told to bargain with them and do the best he could, but on 24 August his authority to deal with Leversage and Selfe over their

that such an objection ought to have no weight whatever—at least not until the roads shall be scraped on the old plan as often as the well being of the roads, and the comfort and facility of travelling requires. And even then it would appear preposterous, that a slow and inefficient tool should be used *for the purpose of lengthening the time in performing work*: but it seems still more unreasonable that *the public Roads should be kept in a filthy and heavy state*, in order to afford occupation for labourers to scrape them by a partial, slow, and uncertain operation.

It must however be clear to Trustees of Turnpike Roads, that whatever money be saved in scraping, (if saving be not an object,) may always be usefully employed in otherwise improving the Roads, and still be expended in labour.

But perhaps the most important advantage from the use of this Machine, is that its rapid performance enables the Surveyor to clean the Roads uniformly and throughout, *and when the weather is favourable*, which the usual number of men employed on the Roads, and using the old scrapers, could seldom accomplish.

The following are a few of the districts of Roads on which the Machines are in use, and the Surveyors' names are added in order that they may be referred to. BATH: W. Mc Adam, Esq. BRISTOL: L. Mc Adam, Esq. BEDFORD: C. Bailey, Esq. BIGGLESWADE: Mr. Hedding. CARDIFF: Mr. Jenkins. CROYDON and SURREY: C. Penfold, Esq. DUBLIN: Paving Board. DROITWICH: Mr. R. Smith. DONCASTER: Mr. Coulter. EXETER: C. Mc Adam, Esq. GLOSTER: E. Turner, Esq. Hereford: Mr. J. Griffiths. Huddersfield: Mr. W. Abbey. LINCOLN: Mr. J. S. Padley. MANCHESTER: Highway and Police Offices. MONMOUTH: Mr. Mattocks. RUGLEY: J. Wigan, Esq. SHREWSBURY: Mr. Snook. YORK and TADCASTER: Mr. J. B. Atkinson. The Roads under the Commissioners of H. M. Woods and Forests, London, and generally on the districts of the great Road from London to Holyhead, &c &c.

COMPARATIVE SAVING OF THE PATENT SCRAPING MACHINE.

To scrape a mile of 24 feet wide Road with the old coal rake or hoe scraper, requires a man to work at least 4 days at 20d. per day.....	s. d. 6 8
With the Machine one man can easily scrape one mile and a quarter of 24 feet Road in a day, and at 20d. per day, gives per mile.....	1 4
Difference per Mile in favor of the Machine.....	5 4
So that on every Mile of Road scraped with the Machine, a saving of 5s. 4d. is effected or 6s. 8d. for each day of working.	

The Patentees will be happy to forward a Machine *for trial* to any Surveyor who may favour them with a request to that effect.

BOURNE and HARRIS,

Patentees,

September, 1837.

Ilchester, Somerset.

(PORTER, PRINTER, YEOVIL.)

Price reduced to 6d
per sheet

Appendix 3. (2 sheets.)

Patent Hand Machine for Scraping Roads.

This Machine having now been introduced nearly five years, and having uniformly given great satisfaction on the numerous Districts where it is used, the Patentees are enabled to speak of it confidently, not as an untried invention, but as one which has been proved by the severe test of experience.

The Patentees have received flattering testimonials from WM. M'ADAM, Esq. of Bath, General Surveyor of Roads, and from many other Surveyors, and they beg to say that the Machines were favourably mentioned by JOHN PROVIS, Esq. General Surveyor of the Holyhead Road, beyond Shrewsbury, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the subject of Roads.

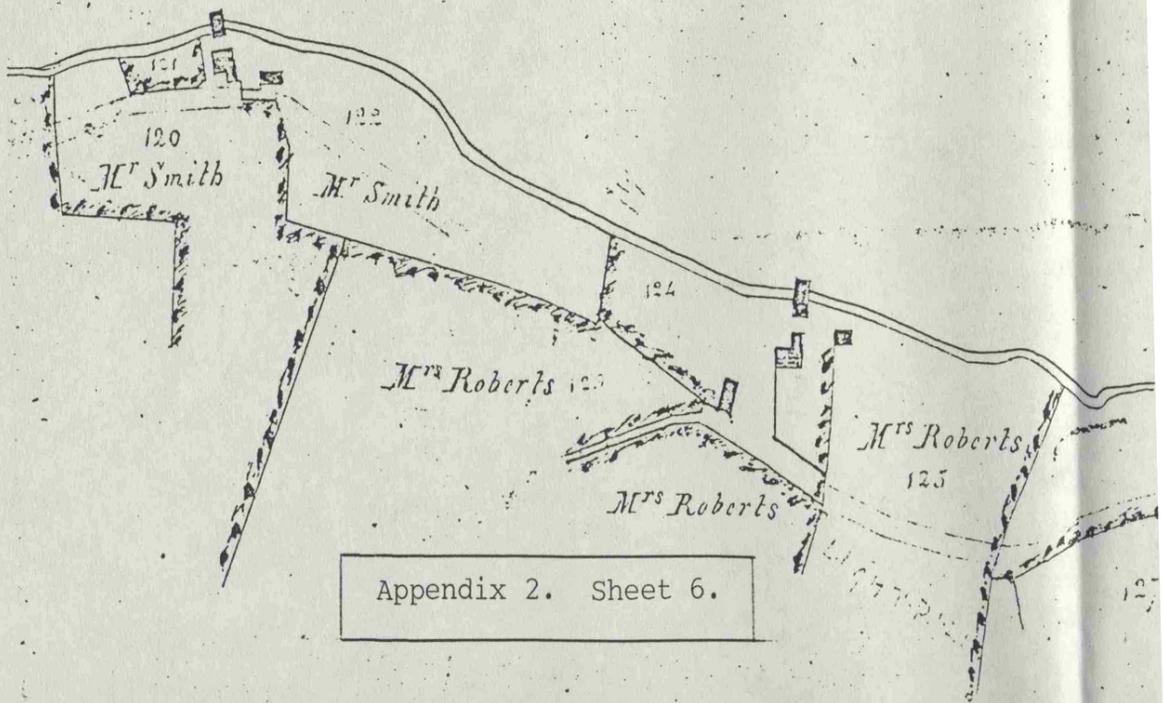
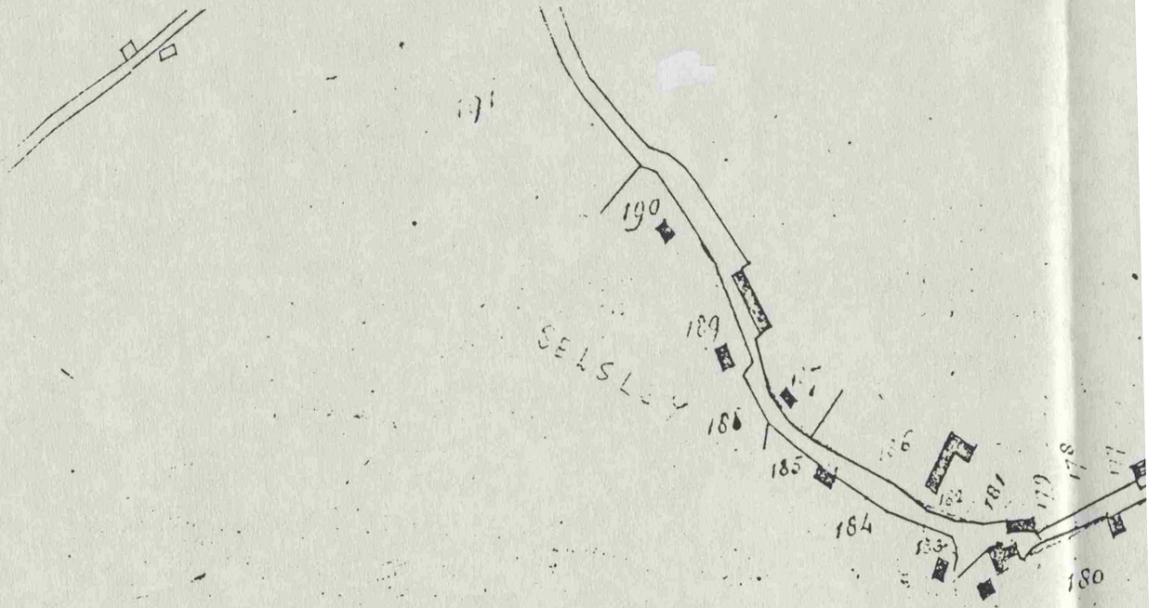
JOHN MACNEILL, Esq. Engineer under the Parliamentary Commissioners of that part of the Holyhead Road, between London and Shrewsbury in the Report printed by order of the House of Commons, July, 1836, says

"As nothing is more conducive to the neat appearance and actual saving of Road materials than scraping both in wet and dry weather, I would strongly recommend the use of a Scraper lately introduced by Messrs. HARRIS and BOURNE, it consists of several upright pieces of wood about four inches wide and ten inches long, placed side by side in a frame of light wood mounted on two wheels; the upright pieces are acted on by springs of wood which press them gently downwards, but at the same time allow sufficient play to enable them to rise up and clear any projection or uneven obstacle that may lie in their way. The width of the scraping surface is 3 ft. 10 in. and the weight of the Machine is 70 lb. The Scrapers are brought into action by the workman who works the Machine, merely raising the hand which guides it, and which, acting as a Lever resting on the axle presses down the Scrapers on the opposite side; it is then drawn across the Road. The man then presses with a slight weight on the handle which raises the scrapers off the ground, and in this position he runs it obliquely to the opposite direction across the road, so as to take a new position; he then raises the handle, and pulls it back across the road as before described. By being on wheels and very light, the labour required to work it is very much less than with the common scraper."

The Patentees cannot but feel that a recommendation from so high an authority must have great weight.

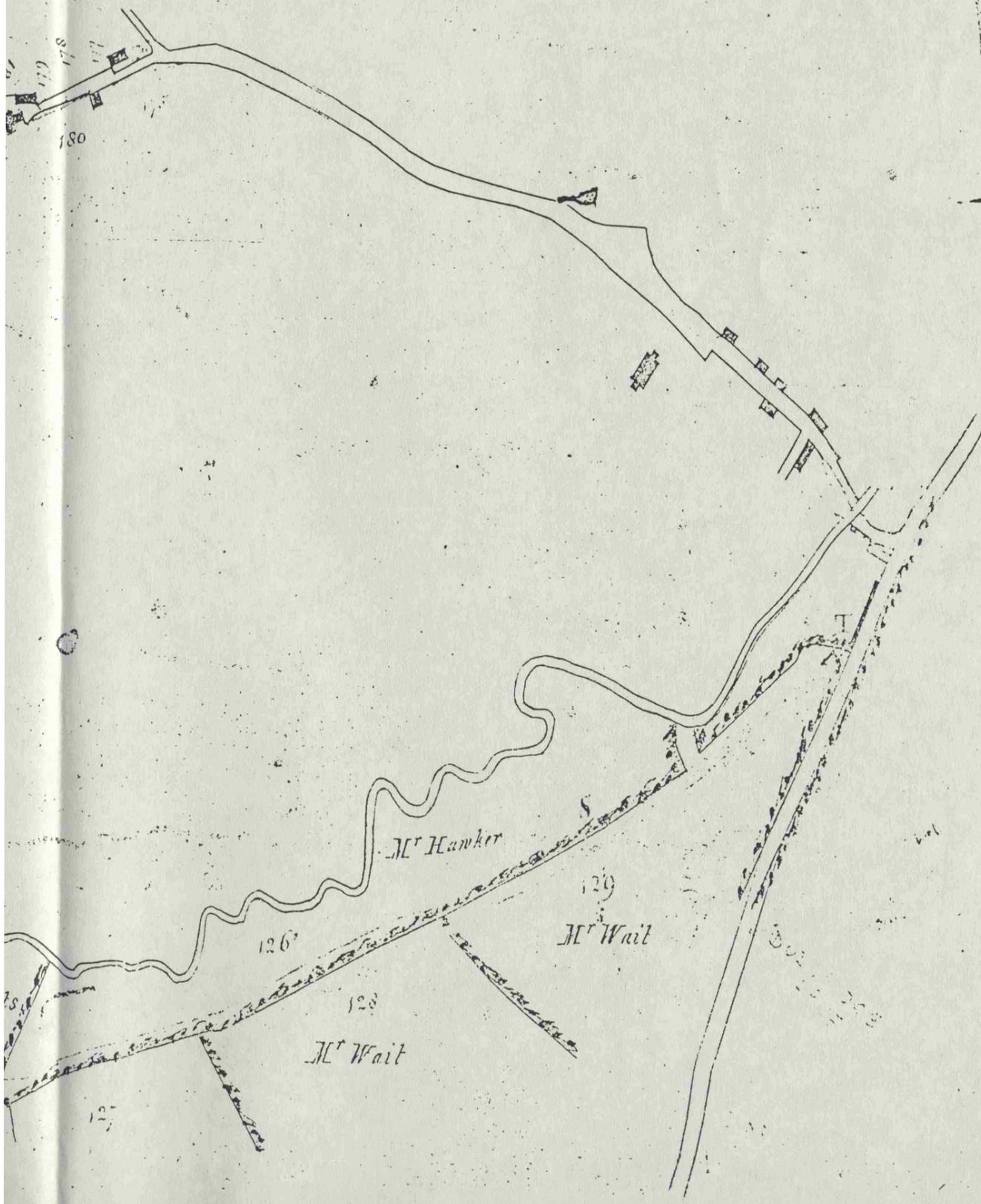
That this Machine clears the Roads of either dust or mud, better than the common scraper, is not questioned by any who have tried it, and the increase of speed is full Five to One.

With this immense advantage in favor of the Machine it must seem extraordinary that the old slow mode of scraping should any longer exist; but the obstacle to its more rapid introduction, is the supposition that it is calculated to abridge manual labour. The Patentees submit

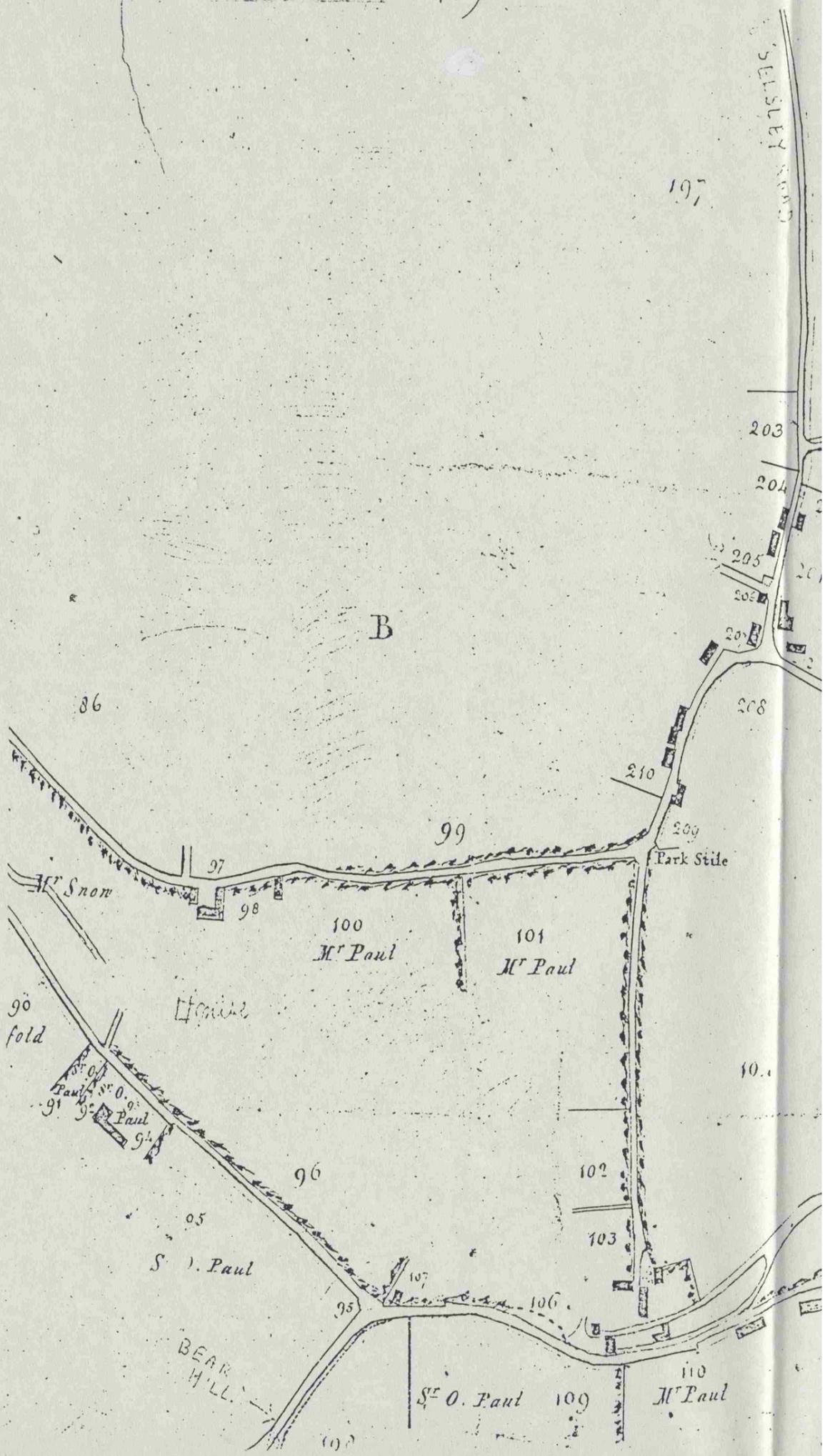


Appendix 2. Sheet 6.

King George the Third; for
 building a Road from Tiltups Inn, in the
 Parish of St. Andrew, to join the Turnpike Road leading from
 Nailsworth, at or near Dudbridge, in the
 Parish of St. Andrew; and from the Bridge at Nailsworth,
 in the Parish of St. Andrew, to Minchinhampton Common;



A9



SELSLEY ROAD

WATER LAKE

203
204
199
200
201
202
205
208

204

Miss Small
111

Mr Yeach's
114

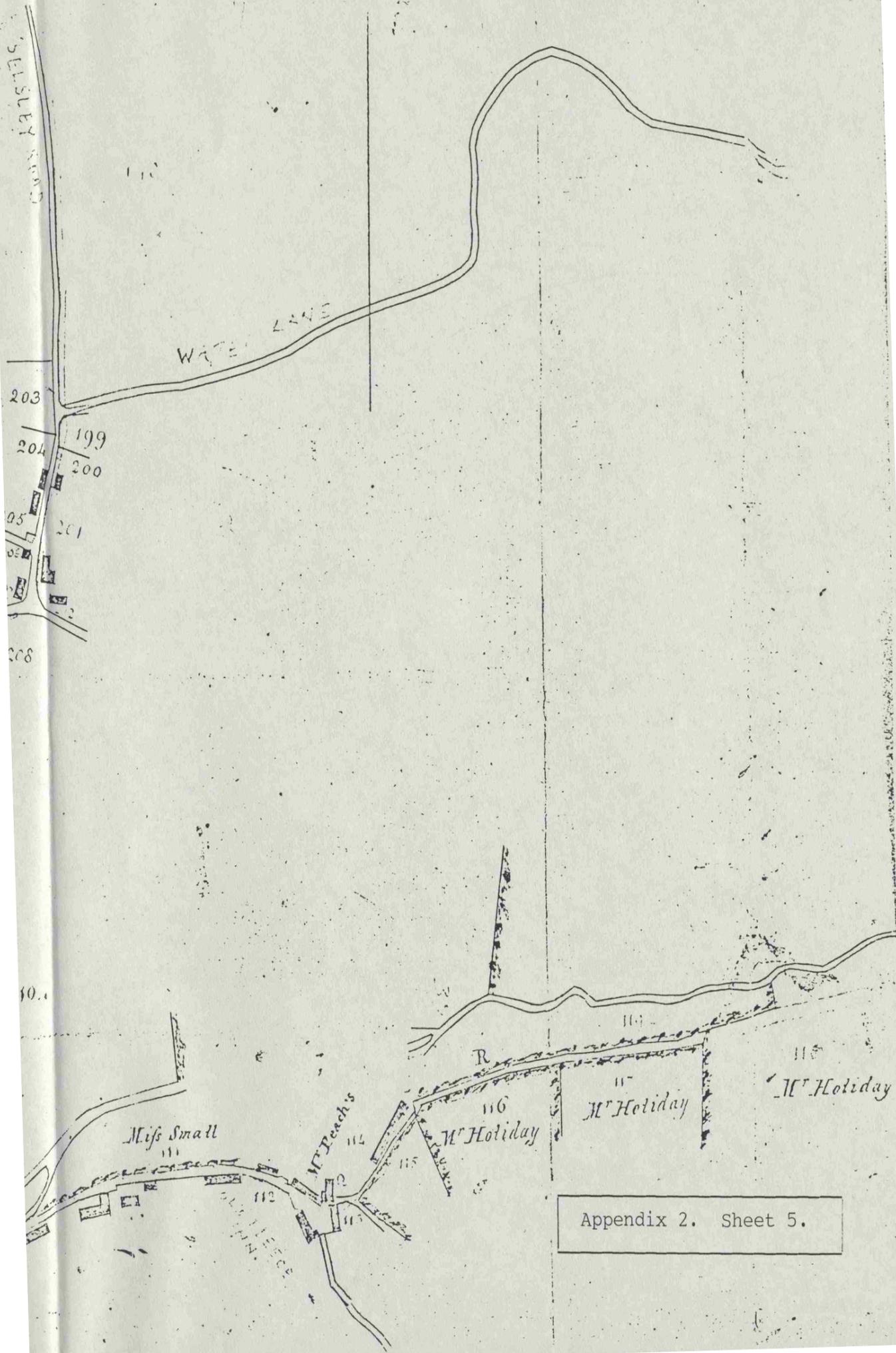
116
Mr Holiday
115

117
Mr Holiday

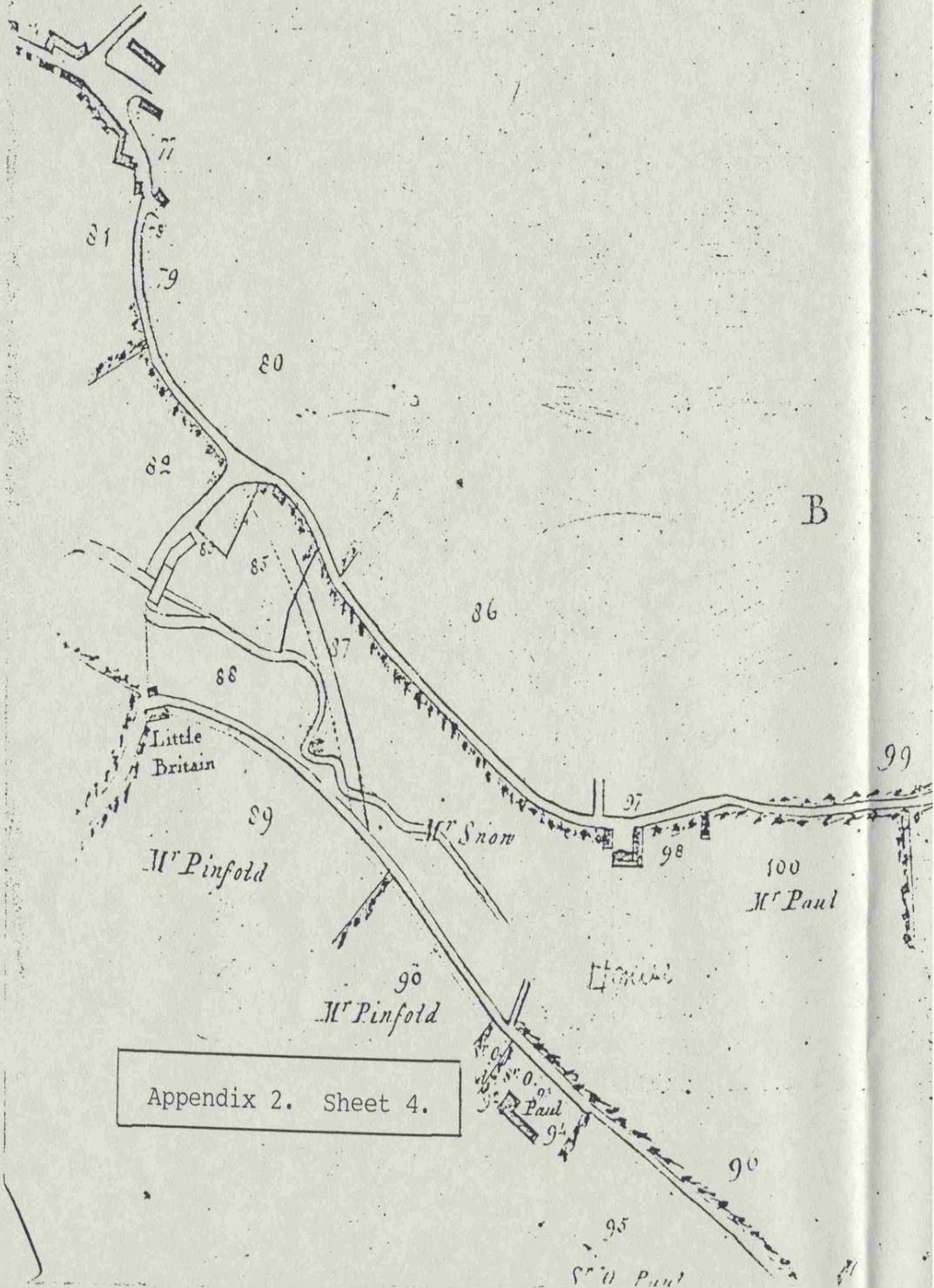
118
Mr Holiday

112
SUNNYSIDE

Appendix 2. Sheet 5.



lester



Appendix 2. Sheet 4.

↑
TO SEASIDE ROAD

197

198

WATER LAKE

203

199

204

200

205

201

202

206

208

210

209

99

Park Side

101

M^r Paul

102

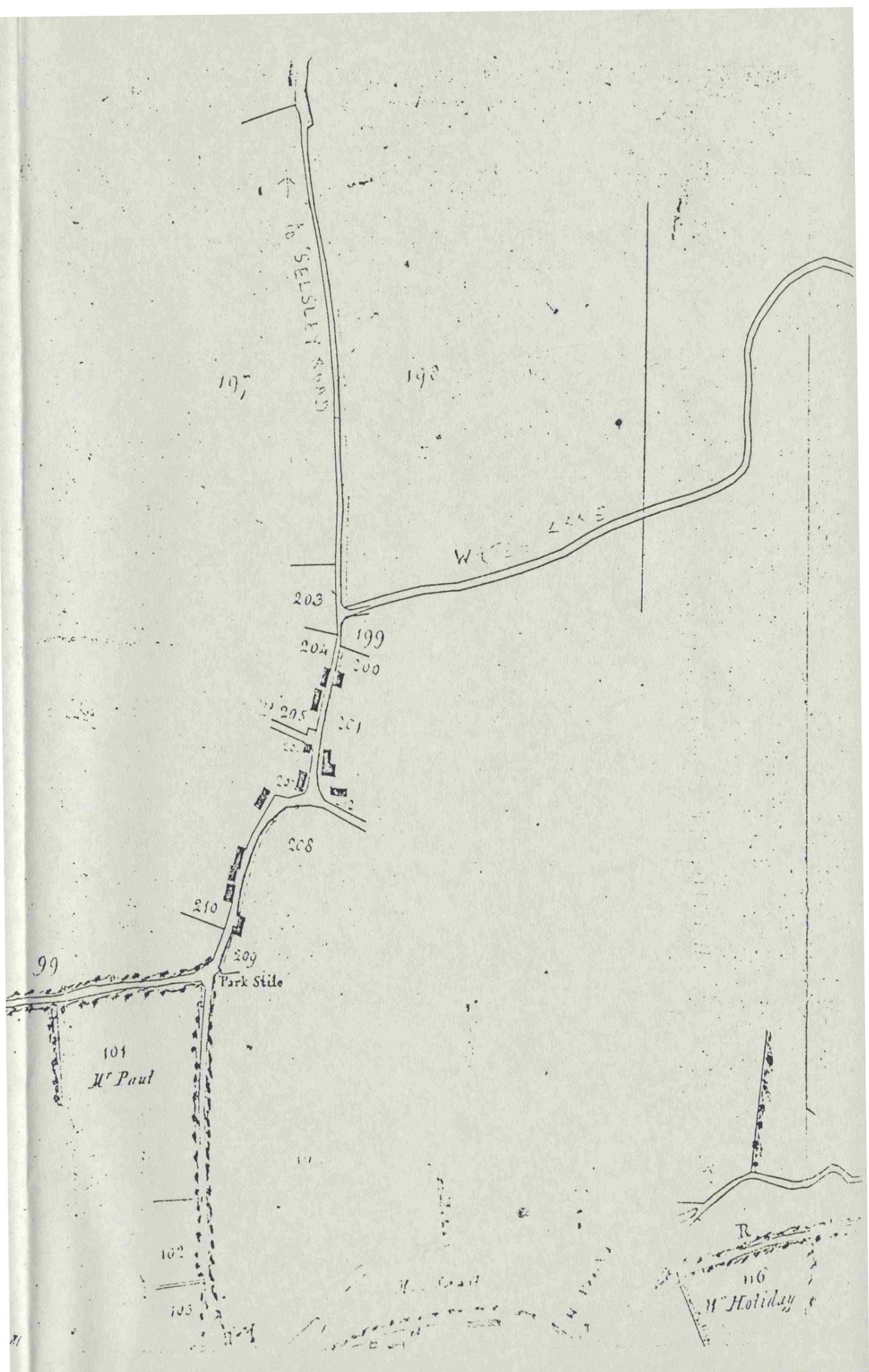
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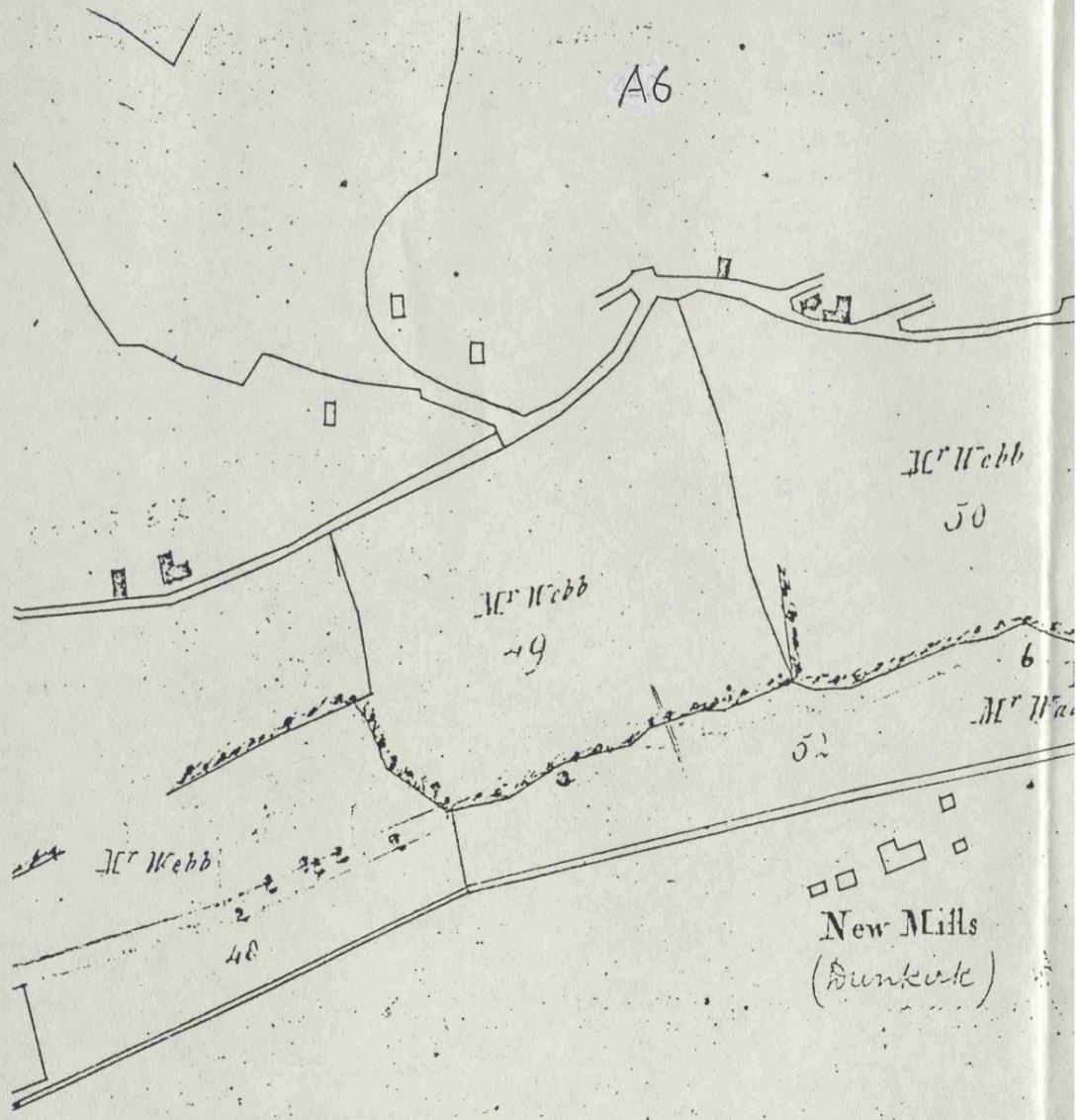
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116

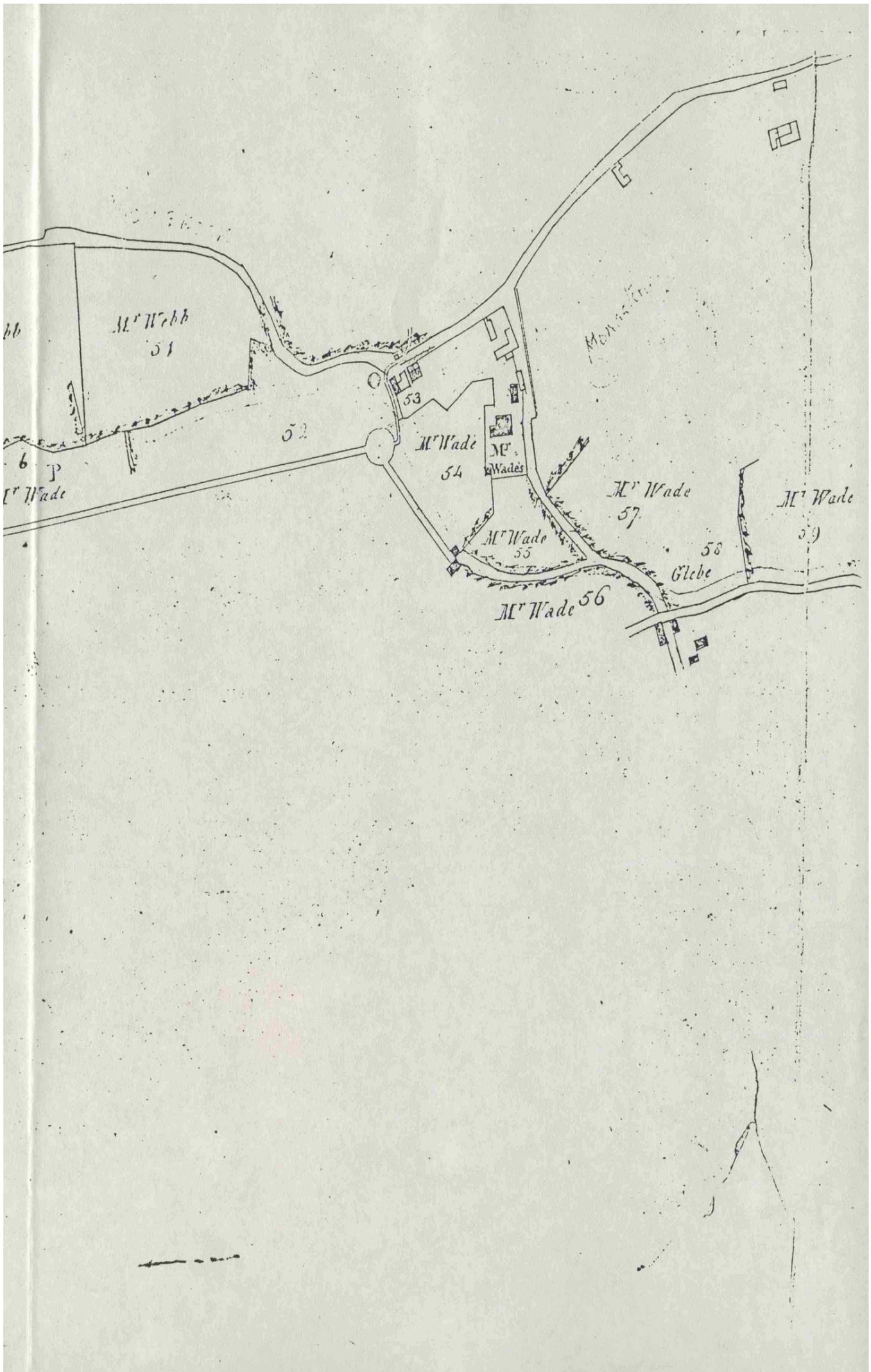
M^r Holiday

M^r Grant

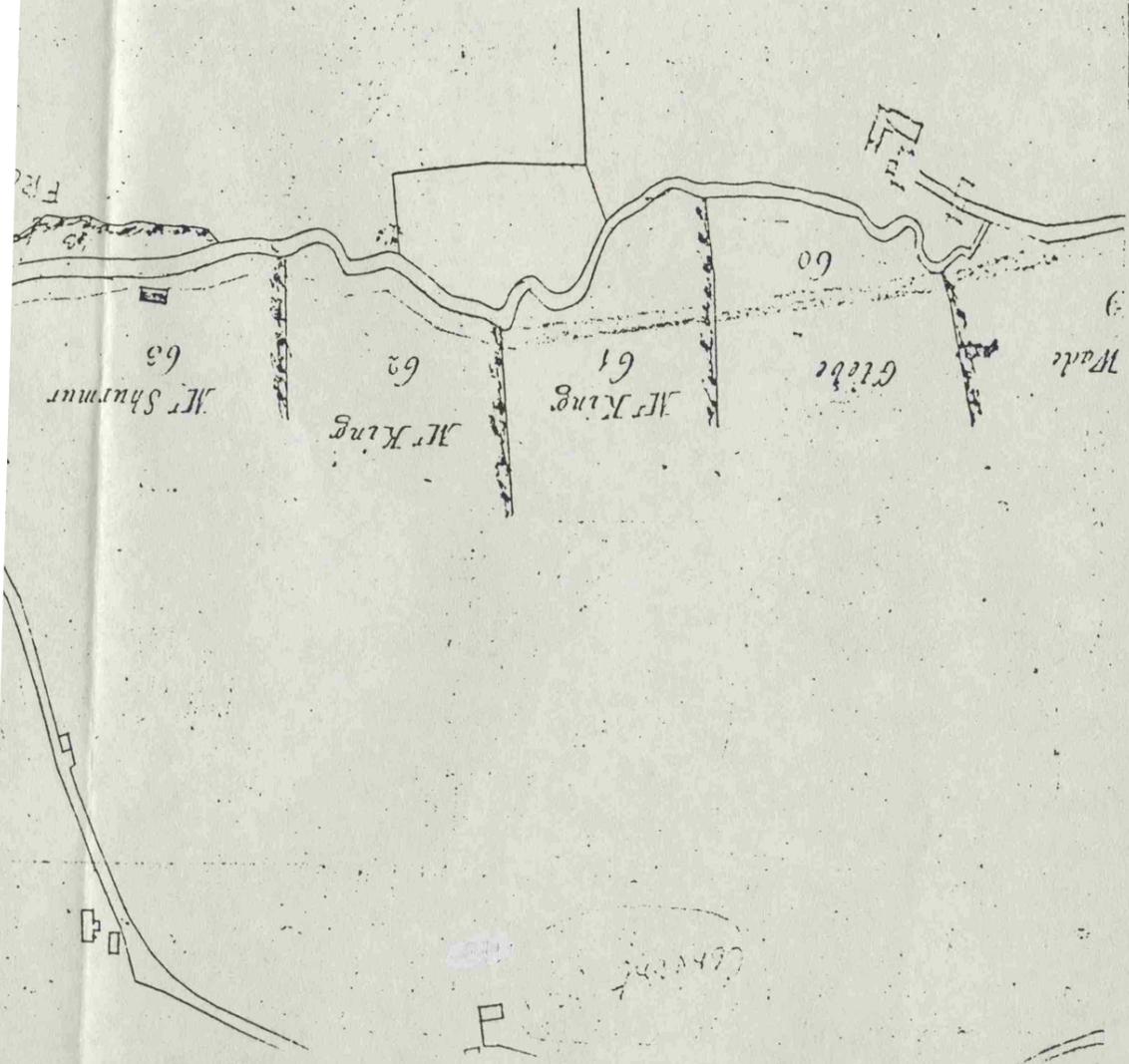




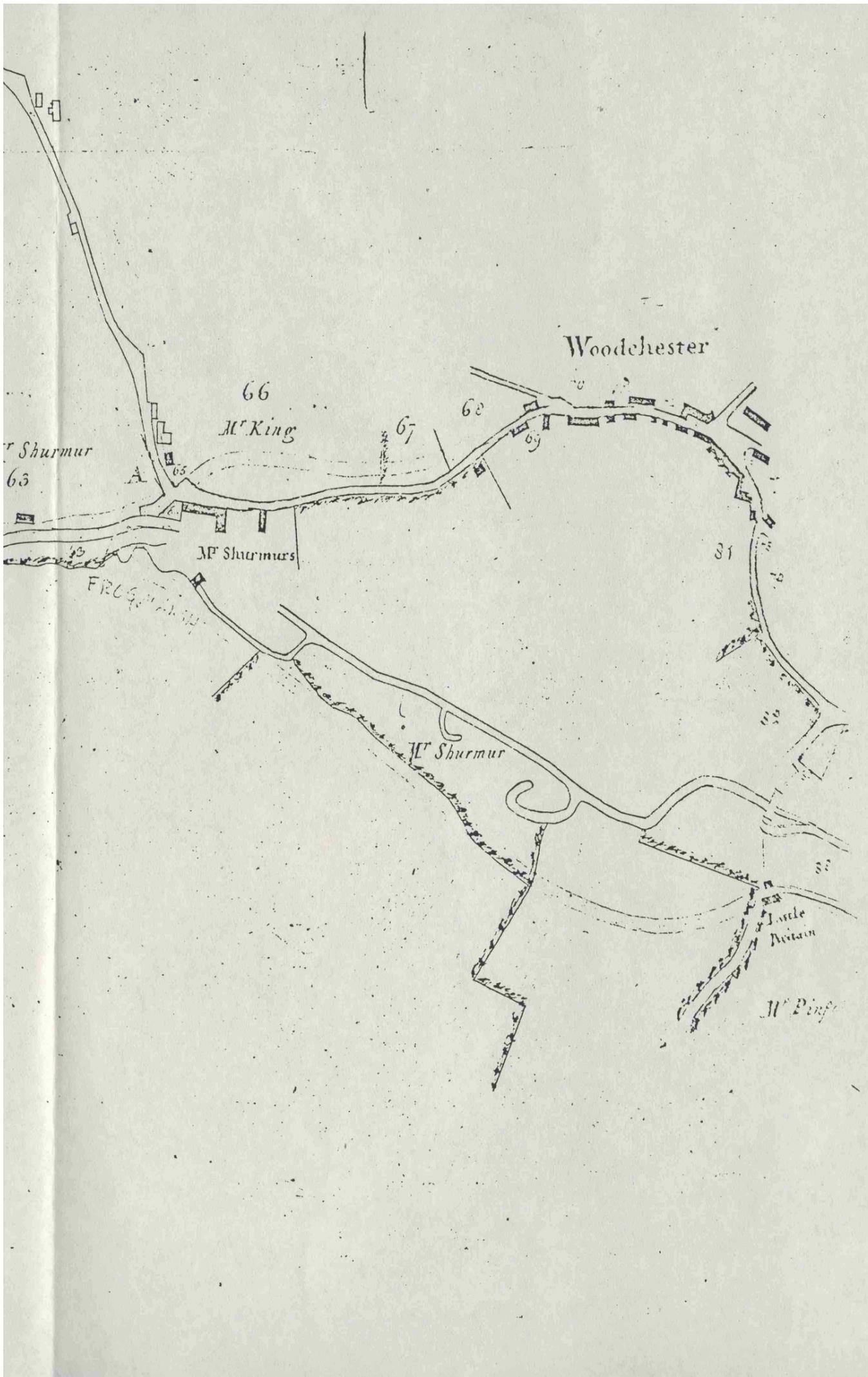
Appendix 2. Sheet 2.



Appendix 2. Sheet 3.



A7



Woodchester

66

Mr King

67

68

69

Mr Shurmur

65

Mr Shurmurs

81

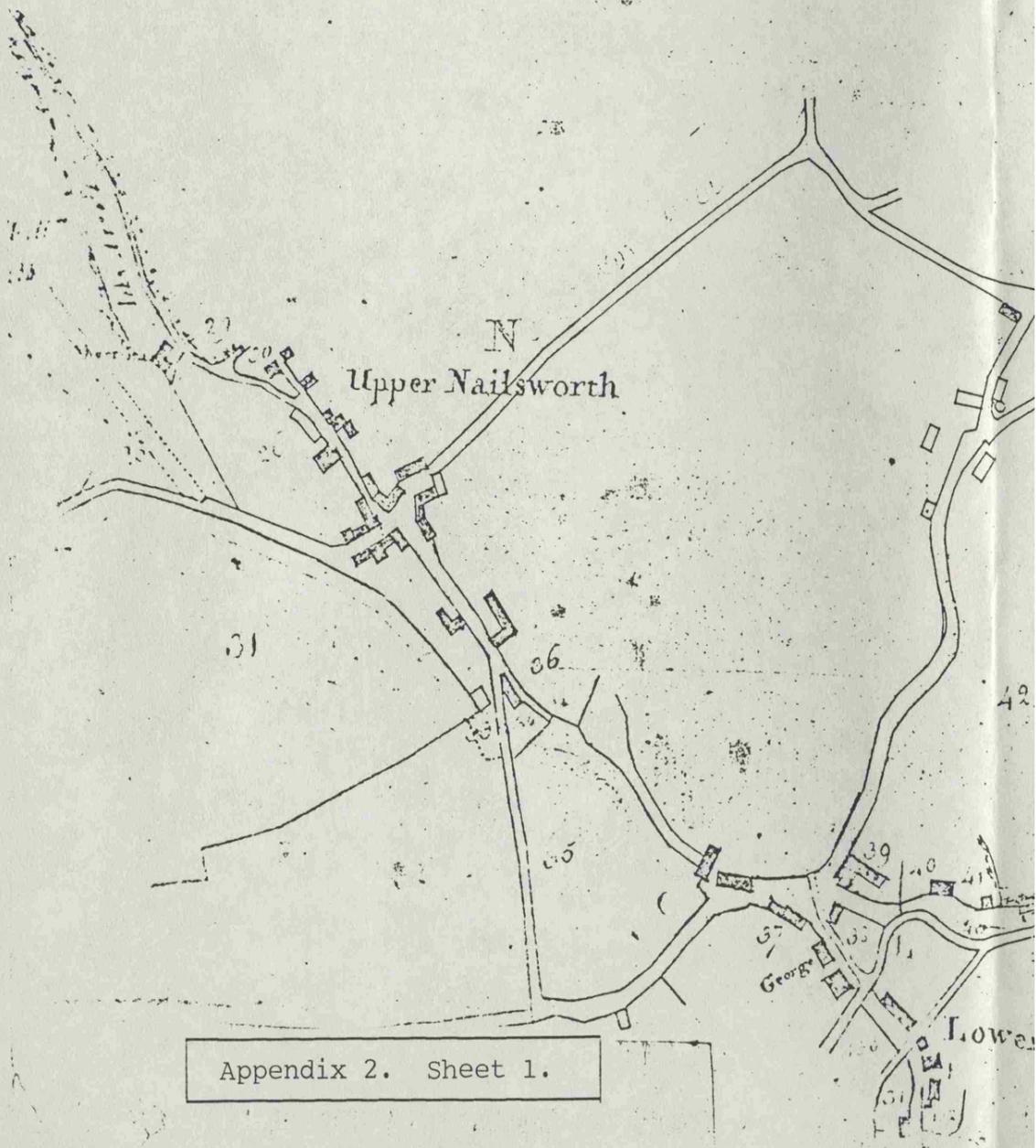
FROGMAN

Mr Shurmur

Isle
Britain

Mr Pinf

A5



Appendix 2. Sheet 1.



ower Nailsworth

Sheet 1: Upper Nailsworth to below Egypt mill.

Upper and Lower Nailsworth were separate until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. The Nailsworth stream is shown by double lines, rather like the roads. The section below Egypt mill has been canalised. The bridge at Nailsworth is not shown - it was/is close to the George inn. Mr Day's mill spans the brook coming down from the Horsley valley.

Sheet 2: Egypt to Inchbrook.

The existing hill-side road is clearly shown, descending to 53 where the tributary brook enters the main valley. The curve of the stream (and of the present A46) is where the Knoll on which Mr Wade's property stood (then called Pud hill). The New Mills are better known as Dunkirk mills: the leat to that mill runs on the Minchinhampton side of the valley (the right side).

Sheet 3: Pud Hill to Little Britain.

The plan shows the first intention to take the road from Frogmarsh (where Mr Shurmur's mill stood) up through (South) Woodchester: the still extant Round House is just below the letter A. In fact the new road was taken close to the valley bottom to Little Britain, where the old track led up-hill to Amberley past St Chloe's grounds. The stream and mills between the old and new roads are not shown.

Sheet 4: (South) Woodchester to Park Stile.

This shows the hill-side road and the track up to Selsley Common (Nurlsgate) from Grigshut before there was a bridge there. The old church and the Roman villa were to the right of Park Stile. Water Lane is the hill-side road from Dudbridge and Selsley (then Stanley End) to Nailsworth.

Sheet 5: the valley below (North) Woodchester and Water Lane.

Obadiah Paul's Woodchester mill is at 103. Mr Peach's at 113/114 is Rooksmoor. The Fleece Inn was to be built by Sir G O Paul on 95. 107 may show the cottage occupied by Martha Wellstead, first keeper of The Spout gate, which was where the road named Bear Hill (from the Bear Inn) met the new main road.

Sheet 6: Mr Smith's mill (120) to Dudbridge.

At T the new road met the Cirencester-Cainscross turnpike - this is close to Dudbridge where the up-hill road to Selsley and Water Lane left the valley. Note the meandering course of the stream, which later was to be diverted and straightened, and where today the valley floor is all-but covered with industrial development.

North is to the right of the pages.

Appendix 2. (Notes)

Rice's Plan for the new road from Tiltup's Inn to Dudbridge, original size, in Gloucester Records Office.

General remarks.

The plan of the up-hill stretch, from Nailsworth to Tiltup's Inn (or End) has not survived.

The existing 'main' road follows the lower slopes of the hill-side, coming down to near the valley floor where tributary streams join the Nailsworth stream.

The intended new road is shown as a faint double line with darker coloration.

The original plan is one long sheet: to facilitate copying it is here in sections, six in number.

The plan does not show the stream, or mills, where not thought necessary: names pencilled-in are by a later hand.

The plan numbers properties to be crossed by the new road: there is a list of such properties, for valuation, at the end of the first volume of the Minute Book and dated 26 June 1780. Unfortunately, while several fields can be identified, numbers are not given so full identification is not possible. There is another list in the Act itself. At least the Valuation list gives some of the land to be crossed on the up-hill stretch, which is missing from the plan. Thus, for example, Mr leversage's Land in possession of Mr Frost called Webb's Leaze, which was to give the Trust a good deal of annoyance. Another useful identification is the "fishpond" in Mr Webb's grounds, and ground between the fishpond and Mr Wade's. Mr Wade's mill, usually called Inchbrook, is here the Napping Mill; and one of Miss Small's properties was in use as a stove rack meadow. The only remaining "Stove house" in this valley is at Frogmrash, but not shown on the plan (not yet built?). See Crawford G N, The Woodchester Roundhouse in GSIAJ for 1982.

Details of each sheet are given overleaf.

Key to Appendix 13, air-photo of Frome valley from Thrupp to Stroud.

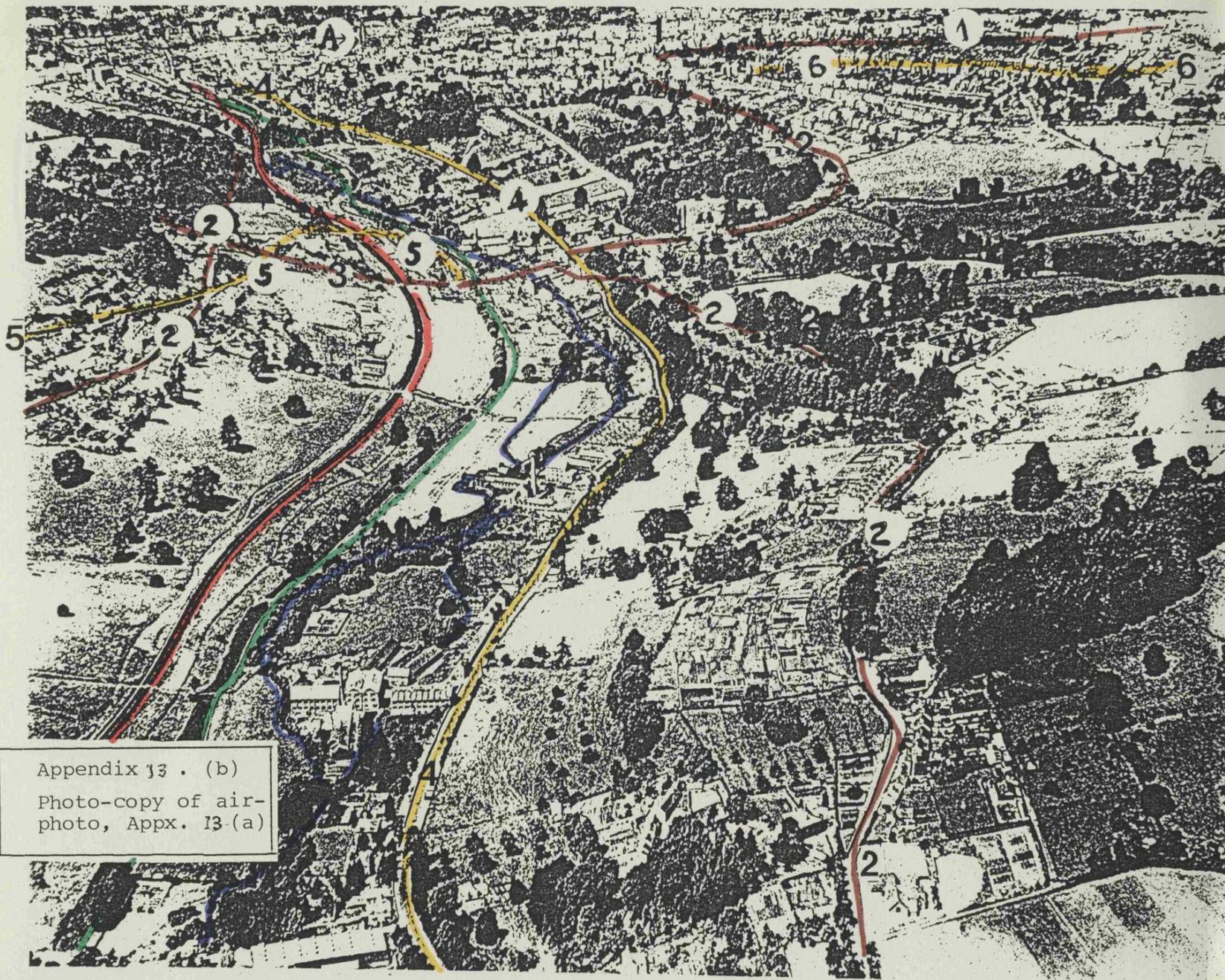
-
- 1 Ridge-top route to Bisley (the Old Bisley Road).
 - 2 "Contour" roads linking settlements on hill-sides.
 - 3 "Vertical" hill-side tracks, bottom to top.
 - 4 Stroud-Chalford turnpike 1815.
 - 5 Stroud-Cainscross-Minchinhampton (Upper Division) from Bowbridge to Rodborough Common.
 - 6 Turnpike road to Bisley ("new" portion up Stroud Hill).
- River Frome, showing mills, mill-leats and diversions.
- Thames & Severn canal, 1790s (towpath coloured).
- Great Western Railway, 1840s.

A-Stroud Parish Church.

The photograph, copyright Aerofilms, was taken about 1933. Since then the canal has been abandoned, the locks have collapsed and the bed run dry; but has recently been in part restored by a Trust. Mills have been altered with new businesses (though Bowbridge mill and dye-works have mostly disappeared), and former water-meadows infilled. The town of Stroud has spread up-hill between the Old and New Bisley Roads, the triangular field at top right has been built over (the small tributary combe below is that of the Horns valley), and a good deal of housing has been built along the line of the Chalford Road, with some infill on the river side. Some housing, new at the time of the photo, can be seen on the former contour road towards Chalford, just above the middle figure 2.

The photo itself shows virtually all types of communication in these valleys: the early ridge-top routes, the "contour" settlement links, the turnpikes, the canal and the railway. Two adjacent valleys may just be made out at the top of the photograph: the Painswick valley at top left, the Slad valley between the Old Bisley Road and the white Uplands church of the lower Slad valley (not indicated on the Key) - the parish church with its slender spire is towards the left at the top. For comparison, see Fig. VII.v and VII. vi.

.....



Appendix 13 . (b)
Photo-copy of air-
photo, Appx. 13.(a)

A48



Appendix 1. I Taylor 1777 (2nd edition).



A50

Turnpike Houses of the Stroud District

By CHRISTOPHER COX

From
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Turnpike Houses of the Stroud District

By CHRISTOPHER COX

A NUMBER of turnpike road toll-houses survive in the Stroud District, nearly a century after their use for toll collection has been discontinued. A few of these may be recognised from their functional shape, either by the three-sided frontage or by the recess over the door which formerly contained the list of toll charges. Other toll-houses also survive, but have either lost their original distinctive shape or perhaps never had this. The sites of vanished toll-houses are numerous. It is the object of this paper to identify as many such sites in the Stroud District as possible, and to record those that survive.

The turnpike system in this District lasted about 150 years. In the 1870s many of the toll-houses were conveyed to private owners and to all intents and purposes the turnpike system was finished that here had begun in the 1720s. Within this period one may detect three phases of road use. Firstly, the 'parish' roads, the repair and maintenance of which had been placed by the Act of 1555 upon the inhabitants of the separate parishes. Secondly, the turnpiking of roads already in use, in order to keep them in some sort of repair. Thirdly, the construction (as turnpikes) of entirely new alignments and routes, starting in the area under review with the Nailsworth Turnpike of 1780.

Under the 1555 Act, the inhabitants had to provide labour, implements or money to repair and maintain the roads in the individual parish. The work was controlled by a surveyor (originally unpaid), and the county magistrates were responsible for general supervision. The work, and the supervision, was a legal responsibility.

With the growth of traffic—hoof, foot and wheel, with the increase particularly of through traffic, with the extension of travelling into the winter season—the parish system broke down. To make matters worse, the parishes usually lacked proper road-mending materials, the surveyors lacked knowledge and experience in road maintenance, the inhabitants lacked enthusiasm. There was a debilitating shortage of money.

In 1663 Parliament passed an Act authorising the erection of three gates in certain east Midland counties, to collect tolls from the road users with which to pay for the repair of the roads they used. This expedient lacked proper administration and roused considerable opposition, and was slow to be adopted elsewhere. The third such Act,

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that for the road from Gloucester to the top of Birdlip and Crickley Hills, was not passed till 1698¹. Moreover, the J.P.s were made responsible for this as for so many other things. Later however special bodies of Trustees were commissioned by the relevant Acts to bear the responsibility of the turnpike roads². At first too it was thought necessary merely to levy tolls for a definite period, after which the repaired road would presumably maintain itself. Thus many turnpike Acts needed periodic renewal.

The 'turnpikes' were apparently originally spiked bars to halt traffic; later proper gates were put up, though as late as the 1780s the Nailsworth Trustees suggested the use of chains or bars.³ The toll-collector naturally had to be at hand, and thus special toll-houses were built. In later years separate trusts might choose a distinctive 'trust' style, as they did with milestones. Perusal of turnpike Acts shows the gradual rationalisation of the system, and the increase of set instructions, as for example for the position and appearance of the charges-board, or for the provision of lighting.⁴

The 'typical' toll-house had a three-sided frontage, the side facing the road having a window or ticket-hatch, with the charges-board above, the house door for security being often to the side or at the rear. The normal plan of such houses was of two small ground floor rooms, with two above, though some might consist of only a ground and a first floor room, and a number of toll-houses in the District were ordinary cottages, though with a hatch or small window by the door.

Sites for toll-bars were not infrequently changed, and some had a short life, but generally these were where a side road joined the trust road, or (if on a hillside) where the gradient was less, obviously to allow vehicles to restart with least difficulty. The number of toll-houses on a given length of road varied a good deal. Omitting catch-bars on side roads, there were at one time 6 sites on the Dudbridge-Nailsworth-Tiltups End road, but only 3 on the stretch from Stroud via Pitchcombe to Gloucester. This may have been due to the greater volume of traffic on the former road, and perhaps to the greater opportunities for toll evasion from the larger number of side roads.

¹ 9, 10 Wm. HI c. 18.

² Jackman, says the first special body of trustees met in 1706.

³ See various references in the Minute Book of the Nailsworth Trust (GRO), e.g. 11 June 1782 mentions a Bar across the road to Dunkirk; 11 May 1781 orders 3 turnpike chains or bars; file JF9.179 (62) in the Glos. Library contains an order of the Coldharbour District of roads for a 'Toll Gate Bar or Chain and House at The Ragged', dated 22 April 1822.

⁴ 4 Geo. IV c. 14 gives instructions for the erection and painting of the toll-charges boards on the Stroud-Bisley road; 2 Geo. IV c. 82 for the Gloucester-Stone road says lamps are to be lighted at Toll Houses.

Method of Investigation

The best way to identify a toll-house site was by map. On late 18th and early 19th century maps, a turnpike road is usually indicated by the thickening of one margin of the road. The earliest useful map is Taylor's of 1777: the word Turnpike appears occasionally on it. The 1st edition of the 1 inch Ordnance map for this area was published in the 1820s, and on it sites are indicated by the letters T.P. The 2 inch preliminary drawings, made as much as 15 years before the publication of the 1 inch map, give corroborative or supplementary detail. More precise locations than on the 1 inch map are to be found on Bryant's 1824 map, being shown not only by the letters TB but also by a bar across the road. A comparison of these four maps gives a fairly comprehensive coverage of sites up to the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, by when the system was virtually complete.

The Tithe Maps of the late 1830s and early 1840s give the system at its height, just before the construction in this area of the railways. These maps are often on a scale large enough to show the actual shape of the toll-house (though not always to be trusted as accurate), and the Apportionment Book may give written details. Even where a Tithe Award does not actually state that a building is in fact a toll-house, it may be identified on the map and confirmed from other sources.¹

Supplementing these maps are other documents, such as records of the Turnpike Trusts, road diversion orders, orders of the J.P.s, other plans or maps, and the occasional deed. But whatever the written or cartographical source, field-work is essential. The site given on a map must be located on the ground, and any likely building investigated to determine whether or not it is the actual toll-house. It is here that two other methods come in: the 'reasonable guess' that comes from experience of verified sites, and the 'local knowledge'—now no longer, alas, first hand, but often still only one generation away from the last phase of turnpike use.

Turnpike Roads in the Stroud District

The turnpike routes listed below are numbered to agree with the article on Milestones of the Stroud District in these Transactions,

¹ Maps: see T. Chubb, 'A Descriptive Catalogue of the printed maps of Gloucestershire' (*Trans. BGAS*, 1912); Isaac Taylor—Map of the County of Gloucester, 1777 (reproduced on a reduced scale by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society in 1961); A. Bryant, Map of the County of Gloucester, 1824; various maps in the Gloucester Library and Records Office. The Ordnance Preliminary Drawings are in the British Museum; the Tithe Maps and Apportionment Books are probably best seen in the Tithe Redemption Office now in Reading, but may also be seen in the Gloucester Diocesan Registry and in individual parishes.

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Vol. 83, 1964. The words 'new route' indicate that the road is mainly or wholly a new alignment, rather than a former parish road brought within the turnpike system. The Site Numbers are those of the report made for the National Survey of Industrial Monuments.¹ Buildings still extant are in italics.

- I. Stroud-Pitchcombe-Gloucester. New route as far as Brookthorpe. *1, 69, 2.*
- II. Stroud-Pitchcombe-Painswick-Cheltenham. New route. *3, 4, 5.*
- III. Stroud-Painswick-Matson-Gloucester, via Wick Street. *6, 7, 8.*
- IV. Lightpill-Stroud-Slad-Birdlip. New route. *9, 10, 11, 12, 13.*
- V. Stroud-Bisley. *14, 15.*
- VI. Stroud-Chalford-Cowcombe Hill, for Cirencester. New route. *16, 17, 18, 20.* Included are *19 i & ii*, where Route XIV crosses, and Site *21* on the branch road from Brimscombe Bridge to Minchinhampton Common.
- VII. Cainscross-Rodborough-Minchinhampton-Cirencester. *22, 23, 24 i & ii* (see also No. *66* on cross-route XV).
- VIII. Cainscross-Stroud-Bowbridge-Bear Inn. New route. *25, 26, 27.*
- IX. Dudbridge-Nailsworth-Tiltups End and branches. New route. *28, 29, 30, 31.* Branches: *32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38?* *31* was extant at the time of the survey but has since been demolished.
- X. Nailsworth-Horsley-Latterwood. New route. *40, 41, 42* (and also *53 ii* on Route XII).
- XI. From the Severn to the Hills, i.e. Arlingham-Frampton on Severn-Alkerton-Frocester Hill, and Framilode-Whitminster-Stonehouse-Cainscross-Paganhill-Stroud. *43, 44?, 45, 46, 47, 48?, 50, 51 i & ii, 52, 67, 68.* (Site *25* was originally in this group.)
- XII. The Old Bath Road: Frocester Hill-Ashel Barn. *49, 53 i & ii.*
- XIII. Stonehouse-Standish-Hardwicke. *54, 55.*
- XIV. Tetbury-Avening-Chalford-Bisley-Birdlip, and Avening-Minchinhampton; also Avening-Nailsworth. New route. *56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.*
- XV. Cirencester-Bisley-Painswick. *66.*

¹ Copies of this Report are in the GRO and the Stroud Museum, accompanied by photographs of several sites.

A few sites surveyed are not listed above. Certain other roads¹ were turnpiked, but so far the writer has not traced evidence of toll-houses on e.g. the cross-route Cirencester to Berkeley via Rodborough, King's Stanley and Frocester, nor for the route from Painswick to Cheltenham over the Castles and along the scarp edge. The delimiting roads of the Stroud District are here taken as: Gloucester-Birdlip-Cirencester, Cirencester-Tetbury, Tetbury-Kingscote-Ashel Barn, and the Bristol Road (A38). These were not included in the survey or in the present paper.

This survey does not claim to be exhaustive. Some toll-gates mentioned in documents have not yet been identified, e.g. Rockness Hill near Horsley, Bowle Hill near Rodborough, and a mid-19th century reference to Tuffley Gate. A number of 'Gates' recorded on maps are in fact ordinary cattle gates to prevent stock straying from commons, their place now being taken by cattle-grids. Such are gates at Lillyhorn, Limekiln, Limbrick, North Frith, Nash End and Four Acre on the Bisley Enclosure map (GRO: Q/RI 122 of 1869). Tunley Gate was probably one such, rather than a further bar on the Cirencester-Bisley road, and it is possible that Tinkley Gate (Site No. 38) was one, though the map does give a small building by the gate.

There must have been a large number of minor or temporary bars (such as No. 17, 33, 35, 36) which had a short life. The writer would be grateful for any further information on such toll-bars or pike-houses within the Stroud District.

Surviving Toll-houses

In the following list, toll-houses of recognisable functional shape are given first and receive a site number on the distribution map, FIG. 1. Listed are: the Site number, the locality name, and the 6-inch Ordnance map reference. Brief details of present appearance, and a reference to documentary evidence, are added. The cartographical evidence is given as follows: PD—2-inch Ordnance preliminary drawings, 1-inch—1-inch Ordnance 1st edition, Taylor—Isaac Taylor's map of 1777, Bryant—Bryant's map of 1824; and the Tithe Award number and detail, where available and relevant, are included.

5. Brockworth. SO 891152.

An architectural palimpsest. The front of the toll-house, recognisable by the recess over the door, projects forward from a larger stone

¹ As was the old Painswick-Cheltenham road across the Castles and along the scarp edge through Buckholt Wood (Cranham) to Birdlip, mentioned in an indenture dated 1 Feb 1819, GRO Q/RD2; and a road from Upton St Leonards through Cranham parish to Birdlip (incorporating part of the former road) of 16, 17 Vic. 126 of 1853, a late date for a turnpike Act. This latter road had a toll-house in Upton St Leonards, now demolished, but not included in this paper.

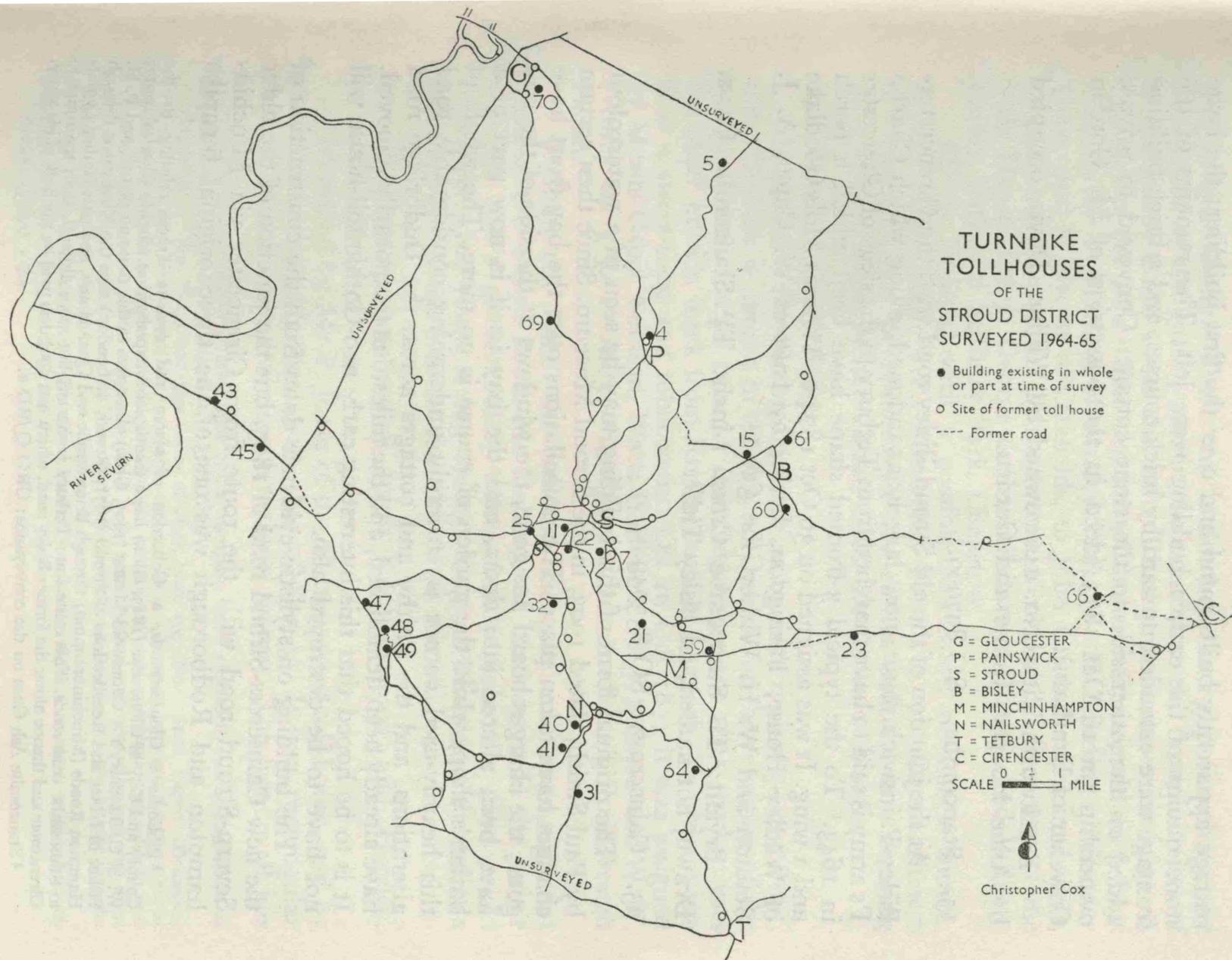


Fig. 1

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cottage apparently built round and over the first building; the large stone quoins of the earlier building were left. The remains of the frontage were extended upward by brick courses, and a brick building added on the other side to the stone cottage. Conveyed to private ownership on 16 Oct 1873 (deed in the possession of Mr Gordon Cowcher of Bentham).

Brockworth Tithe No. 240: owned by William Davis, occupied by Anne Hooper, House and Garden.

15. Stancombe. SO 897069.

At the junction of the old Stroud-Bisley road with the Cirencester-Bisley-Painswick route, now largely abandoned, along which Charles I's army is said to have marched from Tetbury to the siege of Gloucester in 1643.¹ To the typical 3-fronted shape have been added a porch and a wing. It was assigned on 30 Oct 1874 to Thomas Mills Goodlake of Wadley House, Faringdon, Berks, by trustees W. Capel, A. J. Stanton and W. H. Withey, for £20.²

Bryant: TB Stancombe Cross. 1-inch: TP Stancombe Cross. Drawn, not named, on Bisley Tithe.

25. Cainscross. SO 835049.

The original form of this building may be seen in a watercolour by Paul Smith, dated 1903, in the Stroud Museum. Since then certain changes have taken place. The crenellations over the bay front have gone, the charges board has gone, the windows at the side of the bay have been altered into doors, and the bay itself is now part of a barber's shop, while the garden of course is no more. The whole of this heavily-used corner is currently undergoing considerable road alterations, and the smithy and cottages across the Dudbridge road have already been demolished, and the milestone temporarily removed. It is to be hoped that this interesting early neo-Gothic toll-house will not have to be destroyed also.

The building on stylistic evidence dates from the construction of the new Cainscross-Stroud road of 1825, but the junction of the older Severn-Stroud road with the route from Cirencester via Minchinhampton and Rodborough was one of the three original turnpike

¹ *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, a Collection of scarce and curious Tracts relating to the County and City of Gloucester (1825, Glos.) has a frontispiece map showing roughly Charles' route; W. St C. Baddeley's *A Cotteswold Manor* (1907, Glos.) also refers to this route on p. 192, and P. H. Fisher in *Notes and Recollections of Stroud* (1871, Stroud, & London) says the King came through Hampton Roads (Minchinhampton) through Brimscombe and Quar House, and past Nether Lypiatt to Stancombe cross-roads. This route from Tetbury is shorter, but more difficult, than the route to Cirencester and thence along the former Bisley road, which was doubtless used by the bulk of his army.

² Stancombe Ash Gate on the conveyance: GRO Q/RD 2.

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sites in the District.¹ There was a riot here in 1734² (involving the destruction of the gates), and in the same year the three toll sites of Whitminster, Cains Cross and Stroud had their finances investigated by order of the J.P.s.¹ The present toll-house was assigned on 5 Sept 1877 by S. S. Marling of Stanley Park, W. H. Marling of Stanley House and F. Eycott of Oakfields, to John Uriah Davies, innkeeper, of Cainscross for £130. The witnesses were Samuel Stephens of the Vale House, Ebley, George Spire, solicitor, of Stroud, and William Farley, butler, of Sedbury Park, Chepstow.

PD: a building with a possible bay front, no bar is shown.
Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Stonehouse Tithe No. 71: Commissioners of Cainscross Roads. Evidence for the earlier building is a drawing in A Plan of Stroudwater Canal, GRO D1180/10/2 of 1781.

27. Butterrow. SO 856040.

In the same neo-Gothic style as Site 25, with typical 3-sided front, this toll-house is unique in the Stroud District for the retention of the (restored) toll charges board.³ It stands where the 1825 road crosses the older hillside track from Rodborough to Bagpath. Its present use is as a sweet-shop and tobacconist. On 29 Oct 1877 it was assigned by Messrs Capel, Stanton, Watts Hallewell, W. J. Stanton and W. H. Withey for £30 to Alfred Savage, road-contractor of Rodborough Parish.⁴

Rodborough Tithe: the building and gate are drawn, but not listed in the Award Book. Mr Holbrow of Watledge told the writer that his wife's grandmother, whose family kept the pike, could remember when young seeing the legs of a man hanged on the gallows dangling out of the cart on the way down the hill.

40. Nailsworth, junction of roads to Shortwood and Horsley.
ST 847993.

Identified by Mr P. Jones of the Horsley road toll-house, and by its arched recess identical with that of Site 41. It is a rectangular cottage with no other obvious functional feature. The front wall has

¹ GRO: Quarter Sessions Order Book No. 6 'turnpikes lately erected by Act of Parliament at Stroud, Cains Cross and Wheatenhurst.' (Q/SO file).

² Quoted in Glos. Notes and Queries iv of 1842, page 493 (from State Papers (Domestic) for 1734): '... on Sunday night, the 19th June, 1734, whilst in a house situate near the turnpikes at Cainscross, a tumultous company of disguised people, sounding a horn, and playing on a fiddle, and armed with firearms and other weapons, came up to the turnpikes and commenced hewing with axes; and when deponent (William Bennet, innholder) looked out about two hours after, he saw that the turnpikes were utterly demolished.'

³ The Clerk to the Trustees, Wilberforce Heelas, was in the 1870s a solicitor, as shown in an indenture of 5 Sept. 1877, GRO Q/RD 3.

⁴ GRO Q/RD 3 file.

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been re-pointed, the arch is central, but the window below probably replaces a former door. Other alterations are visible. The house does not now stand on the actual road corner, but it seems possible that the adjoining cottage was built between the toll-house and the Shortwood road; making this now a right-angle junction, where formerly there would have been room to turn and space to see.

PD: a building with 2 bars is drawn, one for each road. The writer has seen no other evidence.

41. Horsley road. ST 843985.

The 3-sided front, the blocked-up recess and the evidence of the occupier identified this as a toll-house. The former central door has been bricked-in, but the door-recess is visible inside the house. The roof is slate, and the outside walls plastered over, incised to represent slabs. The toll-board recess is now blocked-up but the outline of its arch is still visible. Mr Percy Jones told the writer that it had been kept by his wife's mother's uncle, Henry Hanks; the gate had been iron, and the water for the house fetched from the 'Sugar Wells' in the valley below. It was said that John Abbott of Newmarket estimated his yearly bills for stock passing the gate as over £200.

Bryant: TB. Neither the 2-inch preliminary drawings nor the Horsley Tithe identify this site, but a building at the appropriate spot is on each map.¹

43. Frampton Canal Bridge. SO 746085.

This site, and No. 45, though on one of the 'Stroud' roads as defined for this study, are well out in the Vale and not in the Stroudwater Hills. These two buildings are quite different from either the functional toll-houses elsewhere in the District or the ordinary stone cottages. They were probably specially designed, and in brick, of one storey only, with a central chimney stack, but lack any special feature as a toll-house. On 2 Nov 1874 Fretherne Toll House was conveyed

¹JF 9 file in the Glos. Library has a good deal of material on the Coldharbour District of Roads in the 19th century. JF 9.179 (69) of 1846 names Latterwood, Horsley, Coldharbour, Rockness Hill, The Ragged, Ashel Barn and Windmill Lane gates; JF 9.177 (56) names Horsley, Latterwood and Coldharbour; JF 9.177 (8) of 1820 refers to a 'catch gate under Rockness Hill', and mentions a cross road from Horsley road to Barton End Hill, to link the Old and New Bath Roads. JF 9.179 also refers to side gates at The Ragged and Horsley gates. Rockness Hill Toll House in Horsley Parish was conveyed to the Rev. John Hall Shaw, Rector of Horsley, for £5. Horsley Toll House, with its garden on the opposite side of the road, was assigned to Robert Clarke Paul, gentleman, of Tetbury, for £25. The writer has not yet been able to identify these two conveyances: presumably the Horsley Toll House is site 41, and the Rockness Hill Toll House a mere catch-pike site on a minor cross-route, to judge from their respective prices. But if so, Rockness Hill is an unidentified site, no clue being afforded by the various maps consulted.

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for £80 to the Rev. Sir William Lionel Darrell, Bt., of Fretherne Court.¹

1-inch: T.P. Tithe—Saul: two bars shown; — Fretherne, No. 141, owned by Commissioners of Frampton District Roads, occupied by Mary Hall, Toll House and Garden.

45. The Perryway, junction Nastfield Lane. SO 763071.

The same in style as No. 43 but with a double frontage. Sheet XL SE of the 1880s 6-inch map seems to show this building as less than its present length. There is a trace on the frontage of a blocked-up opening, and it may be that it was originally square like No. 43 but was later extended. In August 1966 it was empty, awaiting demolition.

1-inch—T.P.

64. Avening. ST 881980.

The toll-house was originally a small cottage with an asymmetrical 3-sided front. To this other building has been added, but the original cottage can be distinguished by the lack of bonding in the east wall. In 1964 the distinctive toll-house front was moved back and squared, so that the former functional shape has disappeared. A former occupant told the writer that the window and door openings had been altered from the original. In 1965 the footings of the old front were still extant on the road-side.

Bryant: TB. Avening Tithe: No. 656, Commissioners of the Turnpike Road, Toll Collector.

Conveyed on 8 Dec 1875 by Edmund Kimber, Charles Playne and Thomas Rest Flint for £25 to Daniel White of Avening, baker.²

No. 105 Tredworth High Street, Gloucester. (Site No. 70).

Miss G. Davies drew the writer's attention to this house, and wrote: 'This turnpike house is situated very close to where the Sudbrook is culverted under the road . . . According to Mr Smith, an ironmonger . . . this road was a turnpike road, and before the Gloucester to Bristol railway was built it continued out to Tuffley. His grandfather had told him this . . . Mrs Hooper (the wife of the occupier) said she used to help an old neighbour who would now if alive be over 100, who had lived in the old Pike House.' The building, though now well within urban Gloucester, most certainly has an

¹ GRO Q/RD 2: the writer suggests 'Fretherne' Toll House was the one at the Canal Bridge (but see discussion of turnpike summary GRO D67 Z74 above)—some toll-houses seem to have been named from the parishes on whose borders they were sited: e.g. Pitchcombe Gate No. 3, Standish Gate No. 55.

² GRO Q/RD 2 and 3 for references to such conveyances.

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TOLL GATE SYMBOLS FROM TITHE MAPS



PAINSWICK



LIGHTPILL



LATTERWOOD

PIKE HOUSE PLANS FROM TITHE MAPS



RYEFORD

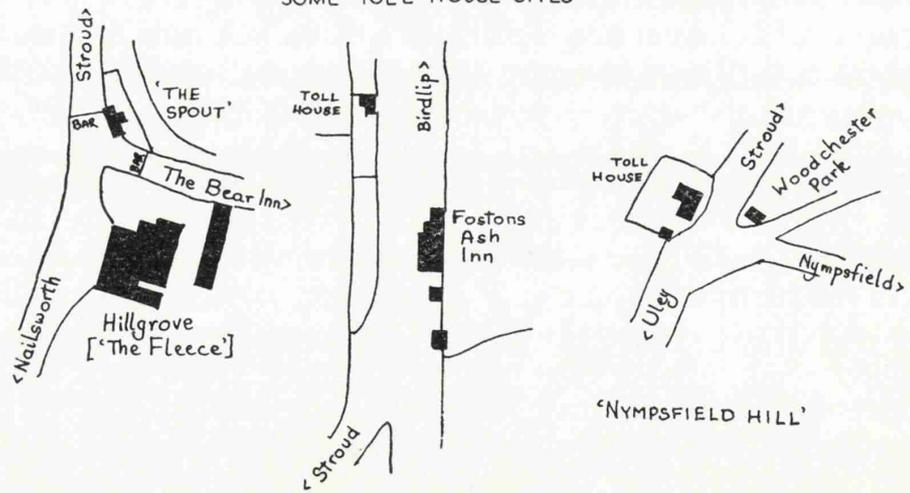


AVENING



THE BOURNE
from a Deed

SOME TOLL HOUSE SITES



from various Tithe Maps.

Fig. 2

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authentic 'pike-house' shape, and Miss Davies suggested that travellers from Barnwood to Stroud could avoid the tolls by taking certain cross-routes, and this house could have been built to catch those evading the tolls. Documentary evidence has not yet come to light; the deeds of the West Country Brewery Company who own the New Victory Inn next door do not mention No. 105 as a toll-house. But the shape and local knowledge would seem to be conclusive. One may refer to Site 69, a much less likely site and without any functional architecture, which by local tradition was a 'Pike' and which has been verified from an actual deed.

The next group consists of toll-houses which were not immediately recognisable by functional shape or detail. Some may have been built to serve as toll-houses, others may have been already-existing cottages brought into use for toll collection. The verification for each site is given.

69. Horsepools Hill. SO 841108.

This L-shaped building on the left about half-way down Horsepools Hill is known locally as Pike Cottage, though it stands in an unlikely position on a not-inconsiderable slope. It has been identified as a toll-site from a deed dated 1861 in the possession of Mr Hutton of Harescombe Grange, by the words 'Toll Bar' at this point. The building is called Nailor's shop and garden, then occupied by Mrs Hart, late Miles Mills. On the Brockrop (Brookthorpe) Tithe Map it is No. 281, owned by Samuel Gardner, occupied by Miles Mills, as House, Nailor's Shop and Garden, but with no indication that it was used for tolls. It is not shown on the 2-inch preliminary drawings, as the road did not then exist; and it would seem to have had only a short existence as an actual toll-house.

4. Washwell, Painswick. SO 869101.

Melrose Cottage, Cheltenham Road, Painswick, stands at the junction with the main road of Pullens Road, opposite Lower Washwell Lane. It is a straight-faced stone cottage, to which later additions have been made at the back. It was identified as the Washwell Pike by the occupant, Mrs Leech, who said her older relatives referred to it as the Pike; and from the Painswick Tithe map which gives a bar over the road though not naming it as such. Pullens Road did not then exist; the former road from Gloucester Street towards Clattergrove, before the present main Cheltenham Road was built, ran behind this house.¹

¹GRO Q/Rum 63/1818.

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Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P., though the identification is not clear. The Tithe Map however provides definite site evidence.

Conveyed 20 Nov 1876 by W. Capel, J. Carruthers Little, W. Gardner and W. Savory to Frances Taylor, spinster of Washwell, for £40.

11. The Anchor Gate. SO 844049.

This is now part of a small shop opposite the Clothiers Arms, just past the turning for Rodborough along the Bath Road, Stroud. An occupant confirmed that it had been known as a pike house. It has no distinguishing functional feature, and the interior has been much altered. The Anchor Inn is a later brick building nearer Stroud.

PD: the building and a bar are drawn. Rodborough Tithe map does not name the building, but shows it, and a gate is drawn. The present Clothiers Arms was then listed as No. 257, cottage and gardens, owned by William Halliday, occupied by sundry tenants. The Anchor Gate was conveyed to John Hooke of Taunton for £35 on 5 Sept 1877.¹

21. Walls Quarry, Brimscombe. SO 866021.

This is a small square cottage to which is joined a later building, formerly a bakery. It stands at a track junction nearly opposite the entrance to Brimscombe Church, on one of the few level stretches up this steep hill. The occupant, Mr J. W. Hooper, showed the writer the deed conveying this toll-house to private ownership. It is dated 2 Nov 1877, signed by W. Capel, A. J. Stanton, H. Playne and R. Grist, Trustees, and conveys the 'Toll house and premises situate at Walls Quarry' to Mrs Jane Tanner, widow, of The Thrupp.²

PD: TP, with building and bar shown. Bryant: TB. Minchinhampton Tithe No. 1249: Walls Quarry Turnpike House. The adjoining bakery is not shown on Sheet XLIX NE of the 1880s 6-inch map, so it is presumably later.

22. Rodborough Pike. SO 846045.

This small stone cottage stands at the top of Walkley Hill opposite the Prince Albert, and the inside has been completely altered. It stands in the grounds of a red-brick villa called The Pike House: the occupant, Miss Pacey, said she had been told by a former old inhabitant of Rodborough that the gate was fixed to the wall of the cottage.

¹ GRO Q/RD 3, and Q Rum 91/1823.

² A copy also in GRO Q/RD 3.

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PD: two bars drawn. Bryant: TB. Rodborough Tithe: No. 305, owned by Lawrence Samuel, occupied by Thomas Wynn. It is not listed as a toll-house, but a gate is drawn across the road on the Tithe Map.

23. Pike Lane, Frampton Mansell. SO 925018.

There are two cottages on the south side of the road to Cirencester opposite Pike Lane. In 1963 an elderly occupant told the writer that when she first moved there, about 40 years before, a letter arrived for a previous occupant, addressed to 'Pike Cottage', that is, to the eastern building of the two.

PD: a building is shown, no remark. 1-inch: the map is not clear at this point. Bryant: TB.¹

On the 1-inch 1st edition the name 'White Horse Inn' is given to the house opposite the present Beacon Farm, not to the present inn at The Downs cross-roads.

32. Park Stile, Woodchester. SO 841028.

20 Geo. III c. 84 of 1780 made provision for a road from Park Stile up the hill 'from Nurlsgate, on Selsly, by a Place called The Spout, to the Turnpike Road near the Bear Inn.' Pike Cottage stands on the SE corner of the junction of this road with Southfields Road. It bears a stylistic resemblance to the now-demolished toll-house at Tiltups End; the door and window have been reversed in position. A small hatch-like window gives on to Southfields Road. The preliminary drawings give the building and two bars, one across each road. Woodchester Tithe No. 37. Commissioners of Turnpike Road, Turnpike House.

47. Frocester Court. SO 788028.

The toll-house is joined to a larger, later house, both standing empty at the time of the survey. Both now have largish windows of late design, and their walls are rendered in a light rough-cast material. However, the southern of the two is obviously the older, by its lower, steep-pitched roof, while inside the ground floor ceiling is a bare 6 feet high, and the upstairs room is open to the rafters.

On 2 Nov 1874 it was assigned for £50 to William Leigh of Woodchester Park.

PD: names Frocester Turnpike, and gives the building; but the road from Frocester cross-roads then ran to the great barn, and angled

¹ Paterson's Roads, 18th edition (1826), p. 127, records 'Frampton Turnpike' here on the London-Stroud road.

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along its north face, where the present road forms the base to this triangle. Earlier still the road would seem to have gone straight through the grounds of Frocester Court.

Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Frocester Tithe No. 380—Commissioners of Frampton Turnpike Roads, Martha Perrett, Turnpike House and Garden.

48. Frocester Hill cottages. SO 793019.

At the base of the hill, the earlier route turned sharp left and zigzagged up to the Nympsfield road. The present alignment to the right was made in 1784, according to Paterson. On a level stretch of the older route is a cottage. The 1-inch 1st edition names this 'Old T.P.' It may thus have been a toll-house before the one at the top of the old hill-road, No. 49, was built. But the identification is very tentative.

49. Nympsfield Hill. SO 795014.

Opposite the entrance to Woodchester Park and the road to Nympsfield stands a low shed, the doors, roof and windows of which show it to be a farm building. Inspection of the interior however reveals the blocked-up remains of windows and door on the road frontage, and the remains of open hearth, brick oven and spiral staircase in the western wall. This was obviously once a dwelling, and in fact the wall of the garden close is still visible. It has been much altered, in part rebuilt; but seems to be the remains of the toll-house that stood here before the 1784 realignment was made up Frocester Hill. This one the writer calls for convenience 'Nympsfield Hill' after the account in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* of the escape of Massey in 1659 when being taken a prisoner to Gloucester down this hill on a night of wind and rain. Down this pre-Roman track too may still be seen some stone setts, suggested by Margary as possibly Roman, but Mr A. E. Keys of Eastington writes that they are much more likely to be for the use of sledges and waggons bringing down road material for turnpike roads.

There are a number of 18th-century references in Turnpike Acts to this site, as e.g. 19 Geo. III c. 118 'The house lately used as a Toll Gate . . . at the top of Frocester Hill.' The link road to Uley was not built until 1822 (3 Geo. IV. c. 61).

Taylor: Turnpike. PD: building shown. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Frocester Tithe No. 404 gives it as a cottage owned by Earl Ducie. It also appears, less clearly, on the Nympsfield Tithe map. The Frocester Tithe map records it as L-shaped, with an outhouse (? privy) in a corner of the close.

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59. Hyde Gate, Minchinhampton. SO 885012.

Just down the turning to Hyde and Chalford, near The Ragged Cot on the Cirencester Road, is a stone cottage. In the road-side wall can be seen the blocked-up remains of a door and window. The building has been considerably altered and added to, but the inside wall shows the recesses of the former door and window. Across the road were said to be the shattered remains of the former gate post in the hedge, but this the writer was unable to verify.

PD: building shown. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Minchinhampton Tithe shows the building, but does not list it, but the field behind is listed as No. 1372, 'a close, owned by James Clutterbuck, occupied by James Ralph, by Hyde Gate.' It is also mentioned in GRO Q/RUM 74 of 1821.

60. Holloway, Bisley. SO 906054.

Three stone buildings stand in echelon at the road junction of Holloway. Here meet the roads from Bisley to Chalford, to Oakridge, the holloway to Jayners Lane, and also an old, now abandoned, track to Rookwood in the Holy Brook valley. The actual toll-house was not specifically identified, but was probably the most southerly of the three: the middle cottage does not appear on the 2-inch preliminary drawings.

PD: two cottages shown. Bryant: TB. Bisley Tithe: the group is shown, not listed, but a bar is drawn across the Oakridge road. The group is known as Holloway Pike.

61. Holbrook Farm, Calfway. SO 906075.

Twin cottages stand on the right just before the turning to Througham. They are not bonded as one, and have no apparent functional feature. The identification for this site is Bryant: TB Holbrook. GRO Q/RUM 74 of 1821 gives this site as Calfway Turnpike, but no other identification has yet come to the writer's notice. This cross-route, Bath to Cheltenham, would be of little more than local importance after the improvement of the Minchinhampton-Stroud road and the new routes through the Slad valley and later through Painswick. One point of interest is the date 1742 on the stone gatepost opposite the cottages.

66. Near the Round Tower, Cirencester Park. SO 998026.

A row of deserted cottages stands near the Ewepens, on the 'Bisley Path', the former main road from Cirencester to Bisley and Painswick, and Gloucester. At this point the road branched off for Minchinhampton and Coates, through what is now Cirencester Park.

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Lack of bonding, and a change of direction in the wall face reveal the road-side end cottage as probably the original, and the interior tends to confirm this as the oldest of the group, with its lower ceilings. On the wall alongside the Bisley route are blocked-up openings, one of the appropriate 'hatch' type. The end facing the Coates road has been much altered, perhaps re-built, and three large windows inserted, probably at the time the brick corner chimney-stack was added.

The ancient road led along the north side of Cirencester Park and Oakley Wood towards 'Daglinworth Cross-roads' (well to the west of Daglingworth in fact) and then turned left for Park Corner and 'The Gulph' crossing of the Frome: an abandoned alignment of this road may be seen leading from Park Corner towards Oakley Wood. 25 Geo. II c. 13 of 1752 turnpiked this road as far as The Gulph. 54 Geo. III c. 80 of 1814 refers to the 'Toll gate near the Round Tower on the present road from Cirencester to Stroud.' By 58 Geo. III c. 23 of 1818 this road became the private property of Earl Bathurst, who had previously built a shorter section along the southern boundary of the Park, the present road to the Tetbury Road junction.

PD: TP is marked at this spot. The former turnpike road is well attested on late 18th century road maps, and the 2-inch preliminary drawings show that it formerly had milestones. Fisher also refers to this road and its milestones.

Sites of former Toll-houses

The third group is of sites of toll-houses which have been demolished, and where perhaps the site itself has vanished.

1. Salmons Springs. SO 847060.

This stood opposite the track to Callowell, the site being now obliterated by the brick building of the brewery.

Bryant: TB Salmons Mill. 1-inch: T.P. Salmons Mill. Stroud Tithe: No. 340, Pike House and Garden.

2. St Paul's cross-road, Gloucester.

A map of Gloucester showing proposed changes in the City boundary (probably 1840s) marks a building at the requisite spot, that is the NE corner of the cross-roads. It is not shown on the 1-inch Sheet 1876-84 (Sheet No. 234).

3. Eagle Inn, Painswick Road. SO 854084.

This stood at the junction of Wragg Castle Lane with the Painswick Road, in the corner of the grounds of the present residence. It is

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still shown on the 1880s 6-inch sheet No. XLI SE. On 17 Nov 1877 Pitchcombe Gate was conveyed to Edward Carruthers Little for £40.

1-inch: T.P. Pitchcombe Tithe No. 29: Cottage and Garden, owned by the Commissioners of the Stroud and Gloucester Turnpike Trust. The Eagle Inn opposite was then owned by Joseph Harris, occupied by John Escott.

6. Near The Culls, Wick Street. SO 850062.

Before the present Stroud-Gloucester road was built, Wick Street was the route from Stroud to Painswick and Gloucester, and a track led down to Salmons Mill shortly before The Culls. The old toll-house apparently stood on the far side of this track, though not on the site of the present building along this stretch of road. It was probably not long in existence as a toll-house, as the only reference found is Bryant: TB. Painswick Tithe No. 1469 shows a building at the appropriate spot, with a small close, not listed. On 20 Nov 1876 Wick Street Gate was conveyed to William Capel for £20. (N.B. The lay-out of Salmons Mill on the Painswick Tithe map is not identical with that on the Stroud map.)

7. Butt Green, Painswick. SO 867101.

This site is well attested on maps. It stood at what was then the top end of Painswick (Gloucester Street) opposite the pound and just before the 6th milestone, from which it is now separated by a new road. There is a shed with a hatch on the site, but from the appearance of the stones it does not seem likely that the actual building has survived even in the vestigial form of a wall.

Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. PD shows a building at the appropriate spot. Painswick Tithe: the Award does not list it, but the map shows a bar and a building; and on an enlarged inset of the town of Painswick a gate is drawn. As with Salmons Mill in Site 7, the disposition and shape of the various buildings on the Tithe map and its enlargement are not identical.

8. Barton Gate, Gloucester.

The Turnpike House was demolished by 17, 18 Vic. c. 95 of 1854. Bryant indicates the site at approximately the present railway crossing, and the name Barton Gate survived, transferred to the railway level-crossing gates.

9. Lightpill. SO 840038.

This was at the junction of Kites Nest lane with the new Nailsworth road. The building was demolished only a few years ago, and

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it had, says Mr L. Walrond of the Stroud Museum, the typical functional shape. It was conveyed to Lydia Fairs Gobey, spinster of Cainscross, for £20 on 20 Nov 1876.

PD: two bars shown. Bryant: TB. 1 inch: T. P. Leyhill. Rodborough Tithe: No. 339, Turnpike, Lightpill, and a gate drawn.

10. Cyprus Inn, Lightpill. SO 840041.

This is a doubtful site, the only evidence so far seen being on the 1st edition 1-inch map which marks T.P. here as well as at Site 9. There is no indication on the Tithe map of a pike-house, and it may be that the site was a temporary bar, using the inn, before the piking of Site 11 rather nearer Stroud.

12. Little Mill, Stroud. SO 854055.

At the far end of Park Gardens, Slad Road, is a private track, on the north side of which stood this toll-house.

Bryant: TB. 1 inch: T.P. Painswick Tithe: No. 1512, Commissioners of Turnpike Road to Cheltenham for the time being, Turnpike House and Garden. The building is not shown on the 1880s 6-inch map.

13. Foston's Ash. SO 914114.

Opposite Foston's Ash Inn is a long, narrow enclosure now occupied by conifer seedlings. The toll-house stood at the north end of this close, about opposite the milestone, and just beyond the parish boundary, the parish stone still being in situ across the inner field wall.

PD: Forsters Ash T.pike. Bryant: TB. 1 inch: T.P. (Forster's Ash). Cranham Tithe: No. 374, Commissioners of Stroud and Birdlip Turnpike Road, William Lane, Collector of Tolls, House and Garden.

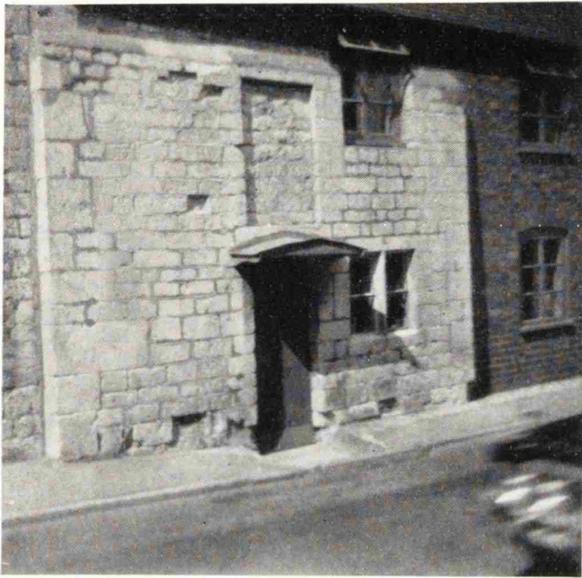
14. Stroud Hill. SO 869052.

A toll-house stood at the junction of the Bisley Road and the Old Bisley Road: the spot is still known as The Pike. It may not have been long in use, but some of the stones at the base of the wall of the small enclosure are probably the remains of the house. It was conveyed to William Henry Paine for £20 on 30 Oct 1874.

Stroud Tithe: No. 763, Stroud Hill Turnpike House.

16. Bowbridge. SO 858804.

A toll-house stood at the N.E. corner of the crossing of Bowbridge Lane and the new London Road. The original route from Stroud to Chalford was up Nelson Street, along Lower Street and down Bowbridge Lane to near the canal bridge, where it turned left up what is now the 'road to Gunhouse', for the hill-side route to Chalford.



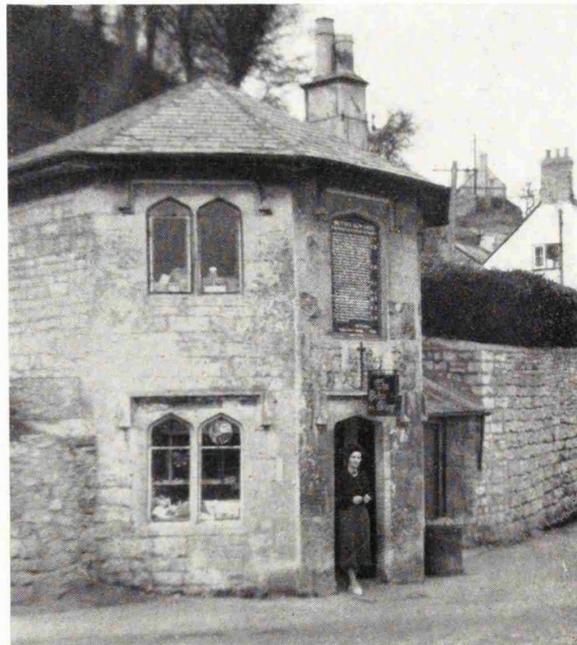
1. Brockworth, Site 5



2. Latterwood, Site 53 ii (demolished)



3. Tredworth High Street, Site 70



4. Butterrow, Site 27

PLATE XXVI. Former Toll Houses

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that here, as in Site 19, an earlier toll site existed on the other side of the canal before the railway was built.¹

Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Bisley Tithe: No. 342 is the appropriate spot, but is not specifically identified.

24, i and ii. Tetbury Road/Stroud Road junction.

In 1814 Earl Bathurst realigned the Minchinhampton-Cirencester road along the south side of Cirencester Park. The earlier junction lay somewhat south of the present position. An earlier pike site on the Tetbury-Cirencester road seems indicated on the 2-inch preliminary drawings. The present road, and a pike site, is given on Bryant: TB., and 1-inch: T.P. The 1880s 6-inch Sheet LI. SW names it Octagon TP. This site is marginal to the Stroud District as defined for this paper.

26. Prospect Place, Cainscross Road. SO 841052.

Until recently a one-storey small toll-house stood at the junction of Beards Lane with the Cainscross Road, opposite Murder Lane. At present the site is shown only by a tarmac patch just inside the start of Beards Lane. The site was much resented in the 19th century. It was conveyed to W. H. Withey for £25 on 5 Sept 1877.² Bisley and Stroud Tithe: No. 470, owned by Commissioners of Turnpike Roads, Pike House and Yard. It also appears on the 25-inch map XLI.15, 1936 revision.

28. Dudbridge. SO 838044.

This was one of the original toll-houses of the Nailsworth Turnpike, and would appear to have been built about 1783, according to the Nailsworth Turnpike Trust Minute book: an order was made in 1781 for a house not to cost more than £40, but in April 1783 there was an order for a 'good, substantial Turnpike House to be built at or near Dudbridge.' Toll collection had not waited for a house to be built: in the year ending April 1783 Dudbridge Gate had collected £33 10s *od*. Its site would seem to be covered by the Midland Railway embankment.

PD and 1-inch: both show an unnamed building in the likely spot, as does Rodborough Tithe, where No. 273 is the only building

¹ 54 Geo. III c. 80 (1814) referring to previous Acts 30 Geo. II c. 65, 20 Geo. III c. 70 and 41 Geo. III c. 85, mentions on the turnpike road from Hyde to Tayloes Mill Pond and on to Fostons Ash, a side bar or toll gate near the Thames and Severn Canal Bridge by Drivers Mill. A representation of the Chalford Pike appears in 'Twenty Lithographic Views of Ecclesiastical Edifices in the Borough of Stroud' by Alfred Smith (J. P. Brisley, Stroud, 1838) in the Stroud Library.

² GRO Q/RD 3. In Glos. Library JF 9.125 (7) of 1870 it is called 'a most objectionable Toll Gate.'

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along this stretch of road. The 1880s 6-inch map XLIX NE takes the embankment over this site.

29. The Spout. Woodchester. SO 843027.

The Nailsworth Turnpike Minute Book shows this was one of the first pike sites on the road, the care of a bar or gate having been undertaken by Martha Wellstead for 2s per week before a toll-house was built. The site is on the N.E. corner of the junction of the road from the Bear Inn with the main Nailsworth road, opposite Hillgrove (formerly the 'new' Fleece, later the Lower Lodge, and frequently used for meetings of Trustees in the 1780s). The building was rectangular, with the long face on the road, and a rear projection.

PD: building and 2 bars, named 'Spout Turnpike'. Bryant: TB The Spout. Rodborough Tithe: Mo. 486, owned by Commissioners of Birdlip and Lightpill Road, occupied by John Hale (this implies an amalgamation of trusts).

30. Inchbrook. SO 843008.

This was on the outside of the bend of the road by The Crown, and was one of the original toll-houses of the Nailsworth Turnpike. A stream passes by the site, and in the Minute Book for 26 May 1783 we read that Richard Odey was to get 4s 3d for fire at Inchbrook House, which he 'has used for drying the walls'.

PD: building shown, no bar. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Avening Tithe: No. 1152 shows the gate. This may be the Woodchester Toll House conveyed to Edward Tupper Wise, woollen cloth manufacturer of Woodchester, for £25, being then occupied by George Wall, on 20 Nov 1876.

31. Tiltups End. ST 845973.

This building was still standing in August 1964, but was demolished for road widening by the autumn of 1965. The plate of the adjacent milestone was found behind the house, and has now been replaced on its milestone, which, though broken, has been built into the new road-side wall. The Nailsworth Turnpike Minute Book ordered a toll-house to be built, at a meeting on 12 April 1781, and on 4 Nov 1782 the trustees approved the building of a window in 'Tiltups Inn house', while John Barrett (the keeper) was to get 6d a week for coal. There was a small shuttered hatch by the road-side door, which might possibly be this 'window'. Mr Kimsbrey of Tiltups End informed the writer that his grandmother was the last pike-keeper, and got 2s 6d a week 'and lamp-oil'. She had to board out some of her family as the cottage was too small.

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PD: shows building and bar, but also another bar and building along 'Tetbury Lane', opposite the Black Horse Inn, now a farm track, but formerly part of the cross-country route from Horsley to Tetbury. The second building has gone, though there is a long farm building there now. Conveyed for £10 by W. Playne, S. S. Marling and C. Playne to George Blackwell of Hazlecot, farmer, on 20 Nov 1876.

33. Culver Hill, near Amberley. SO 845015.

For some time a toll-house stood near Quarry Hill close to Culver House. It was probably only of short duration, and the only reference on map is Bryant, which gives STB. Mr Holbrow of Watledge informed the writer that his wife's forbears kept this house (as also for a time Butterrow), but that it did not last long as a toll-house. The site has not been positively identified, but would most likely have been at the junction of the road to St. Chloe, nearly opposite the lane to Culver House, where the Common ends. Mr Holbrow agrees with this as a likely siting.

34. Nailsworth Turnpike. ST 851998.

This is a very difficult site to identify, not least because of considerable road alterations. The maps consulted are of small scale, and the site varies from map to map.

Mr Mortimer of Nailsworth told the writer that the site is at about the main entrance to Chamberlain's Mill; but it may previously have been at slightly different points. According to the Nailsworth Trust Minute Book, the first site was probably below the Mill; and the keeper, John Hyde, was attacked at least twice in the early years. On 28 Dec 1790 a start was ordered for the 'New Road from the Bridge at Nailsworth through Howcombe and the Well Hill to join the Tetbury Road in Minchinhampton Town', and when this road was opened, the surveyor was to be 'empowered to sell the Turnpike House in the possession of John Hyde at the foot of Nailsworth Hill and to build a turnpike house where the new and old roads divide and to erect a gate across the New Road adjoining the said house.' (from Pavey-Smith, 'Nailsworth from 1500 to 1900'). Road alterations have complicated the issue, the earlier road towards High Beech having been, according to Mr Mortimer, to the left of and considerably lower than, the present pitch.

PD: two bars given. Bryant: TB. Minchinhampton Tithe does not name the pike, but shows a possible building. There is a 2-storeyed 3-faced building, part of the Mill, which seems to be shown on the 1880s 6-inch Sheet XLIX. SE, and also on the Tithe map, but both

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the lay of the ground and Mr Mortimer's recollections seem to put the site further down the slope. At present the writer must confess he cannot positively identify this site.

35. Balls Green. ST 866995.

The site lies within the ground of an existing cottage where a side-track from the left enters the Nailsworth-Minchinhampton road via the Iron Mills, at Balls Green. Like the Culver House site, this was possibly of short duration.

Bryant: TB. Minchinhampton Tithe shows a building in this position, but does not identify it: this seems to agree with the 1880s 6-inch Sheet XLIX SE.

36. Near Forwood, Minchinhampton. SO 869005.

41 Geo. III c. 94 of 1801 gives authority 'to alter the road from Nailsworth via Howcombe Hill and Iron Mill Hill up Well Hill' to pass by 'Forwood and Trap End Gate to the West End of Minchinhampton.' A cottage stands on the likely spot, at the junction of roads below Well Hill, but does not resemble a toll-house in position or appearance; but it has not yet been investigated. PD: Sheet 171 gives a bar and building at this spot.

37. Selsley Hill. SO 835042.

The site is about opposite the cricket ground up Selsley Hill, where the slope slightly levels out. Dwellings have been built up the left hand side of the road, but the site was probably where a track enters the road by a gate. There is no trace of it on the 1880s 6-inch map XLIX NE.

PD: building and bar. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Stanley. Kings Stanley Tithe map shows a building, but does not list it.

38. Tinkley Farm. SO 824002.

There is cartographical evidence of a toll-site here, but the writer has not yet come across evidence of this as a turnpike road, though clearly it must have been in some group. Some 'gates' of course were gates to keep animals on the commons, or out of open fields, but the map evidence seems to verify this as a toll site. The actual building has gone, and various farm buildings occupy the presumed site, the best evidence for which is on the 2-inch preliminary drawings.

PD: building and bar, named Tinkling Gate. Bryant: Tinkley Farm and Gate. 1-inch: Tinkley Gate. The site is on the edge of both the Woodchester and the Nympsfield Tithe maps, and is not clearly shown on either.

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42. Ragged Barn. ST 822983.

This site, earlier known as 'The Ragged', stands at the junction of the old Nympsfield road with the newer alignment from Horsley, and was confirmed by Mr P. Jones of the Horsley road toll-house. Two heaps of rubble with dressed stone and sherds of domestic pottery lie in the angle of the roads, and presumably are the remains of the toll-house, possibly also of a building indicated on the 1880s 6-inch map LVII NW as lying on the opposite side of the side road.

Bryant: STB. Horsley Tithe is unhelpful, not even giving the Nympsfield road. Identification is based on Bryant, the 1880s 6-inch map, Mr Jones' evidence, documents in the Glos. Library,¹ and from the evidence on the ground.

44. Frampton Green, Frampton-on-Severn. SO 750082.

Taylor marks a toll bar across the road at the Bell Inn. It is not marked on the OS Preliminary Drawings, but Frampton Enclosure map, GRO: Q/RI 68 of 1815 puts a bar over the road at both ends of the Green, and puts an enclosure and Homestead (No. 168) close to The Bell with a small building, probably the pike-keeper's hut, by the western gate. It would appear likely that this was the toll site, but that when the Berkeley Canal was extended past Frampton, the more convenient site, No. 43, at the junction of the Saul and Framilode road with the road to Fretherne and Arlingham was chosen instead.

46. Claypits Farm, Alkerton. SO 767058.

Now obliterated, the site was close to a field boundary just south-east of Claypits Farm. Mr A. E. Keys confirms this, as did the former occupant of the farm, who remembers a heap of rubble at the requisite spot. The 1880s 6-inch map sites the house slightly to the left of the hedge, but both this and the Tithe map agree in projecting the toll-house into the roadway. It was conveyed on 2 Nov. 1874 to Theodore Thomas Taylor of Cirencester, surgeon, for £45; a part of the garden to Thomas Ricketts, gent., of Eastington, and to Edward Ricketts of Hants., for £15.²

¹ Particularly JF 9.179, the Coldharbour District of Roads.

² St Clair Baddeley wrote (*Trans BGAS* 52 of 1930) 'its original crossing of the present Gloucester-Avonmouth road lay on the lower ground, at a point now represented by a gate and a path leading, beside a ditch, across the fields to Frocester and its hill, not as at present (since 1750) at Claypits so as to avoid the lower field and its occasional flooding.' ('Notes on Portions of a Late and Secondary Roman Road-system in Gloucestershire.') See also ref. to I. D. Margary p. 145; route 543. Eastington Tithe Map shows a small square enclosure, No. 560b, on this 'new' alignment, a short way in on the north side from the main Bristol road. It has no house, and is owned as 'waste' by the Commissioners of the Old Bath Road. The Alkerton or Puddleworth site, No. 46, is well attested from Taylor on. This would give a period of only 20 years for the 'waste' enclosure to have had a toll-house, if at all.

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Taylor: Turnpike. PD: apparent bars shown, including one across the lane to Puddleworth. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Eastington Tithe: No. 582, near Puddle Warth, Commissioners of the Old Bath Road, Toll House and Garden.

50. Pike Lock, Eastington. SO 784061.

This stood on the north side of the canal, where the Stonehouse-Whitminster road was entered by the Alkerton road, at the canal bridge. The former road was part of the 'Stroud Roads' of the Act of 12 Geo. I c. 24; the present road over the bridge to Eastington and Alkerton is probably a realignment: GRO Q/SRh 1800 D shows only the route going round by Eastington Church and Mill. Details of this toll-house can be found in Keys' History of Eastington: it was demolished to make way for a canal lock-keeper's house. The writer was told in 1964 that the toll-board had been removed when the building was demolished and stored in a shed—which got burnt down. . . .

PD: Sheet 171 shows a building and bar, Sheet 172 shows only a building. Bryant: TB. 1-inch: T.P. Pike Lock. Eastington Tithe: No. 243, Pike Lock—Canal Toll house and garden, Stroudwater Canal Co. The Tithe map shows this toll-house as asymmetrical, but the Deed of Sale gives a small, symmetrical plan for the house. It was conveyed to the Stroudwater Canal Co. for £25 on 31 Oct 1877.

51, i and ii. Haywards Field/Ryeford road junction. SO 812047/813047.

Site 51 ii stood where the road from Kings Stanley and Ryeford enters the main Stroud-Stonehouse road, and is now obliterated by road-widening. The Tithe map shows it as an asymmetrical building. It is given by Bryant as TB, by the 1-inch map as T.P., and on Stonehouse Tithe as No. 523, Commissioners of Cainscross Roads; it also appears on the 1880s 6-inch map LXIX NW.

An earlier site is however No. 51 i. The road alignments at the approaches to Stonehouse differed from the present ones before the building of the G.W. Railway—see a Plan of the New Line of Road at Haywards End, 1845, on loan to the Stroud Museum. The earlier site was somewhat to the west of the later one, and can be seen for example on A Plan of the Stroudwater Canal 1781 (GRO D1180/10/2), and also GRO Q/SRh of 1805.

52. Whitminster Cross-roads. SO 776 080.

This site would appear to have been on the south-east corner of these cross-roads, but is not given either by Taylor, Bryant or the Ordnance maps. It appears on the Plan of Intended Navigable Canals

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from Stroud to the Severn, 1776 (in the GRO) as 'Witminster', and to judge from *Glos. Qtr. Sessions Order Book 6* (GRO Q/SO file for 1734) was one of the original three toll sites on the Severn to Stroud roads, these appearing as Stroud, Cains Cross and Wheatenhurst. Nothing is known to the writer of its appearance or when it ceased to exist.

53, i and ii. Latterwood. ST 808971/810977.

The earlier site lies on the west side of the road, some way before the fork in the Old Bath Road, right to Symons Hall, left to Ashel Barn and Tetbury. This site is shown by Taylor as Turnpike, and on the 2-inch preliminary drawings (Sheet 171). Site 53 ii, presumably dating from the construction of the new Horsley Road (Route X), is at the junction of the Old Bath Road with the road to Horsley; the site is now a road materials dump, but a toll-house of typical 3-sided frontage stood there as late as the 1930s (evidence from a photo in the possession of Mrs M. Richards of Ilton, Somerset).

It is marked by Bryant: TB Latter, and the 1-inch: Latter Wood Gate; and appears on the Kingscote Tithe, of an unusually large scale, with two gates, as No. 225: Commissioners of Cold Harbour District of Roads, occupied by Robert Workman, Latterwood Turnpike House. It was conveyed to Robert Nigel Fitzharding, C.B., M.P., of Kingscote Park (Colonel), on 30 May 1877 for £80.

54. Horsemarling, Stonehouse. SO 806062.

This appears to have been on the east side of the road, just north of the present terraced houses before the turning to Horsemarling Farm. The only reference found so far is Bryant: TB; and the site has not been positively identified.

55. Little Haresfield. SO 803091.

A bus shelter now occupies the site, which is at the right-hand corner of this T-junction. It was conveyed to the Rt. Hon. James Henry Legg, Lord Sherborne, for £50 on 2 Nov 1877. It stood 'at or near' Standish stocks.

Bryant: STANDISH TB. 1-inch: T.P. Standish Tithe: No. 44, Standish gate and house; on the sheet for Oxlinch Tithing, No. 235 Standish gate and house, Commissioners of Turnpike Roads.

56. Tetbury. ST 888935.

This is not really in the 'Stroud District', but was the first gate on the Tetbury-Avening-Minchinghampton road. To show that it is

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not only road alterations of the mid-20th century that remove toll-houses, one may note that by an indenture of 28 Feb 1821, the turnpike house which had been one for '30 years past' was to be demolished to widen the road, for a conveyance of £30. A plan of the house is given in GRO Q/RD2. JF 9.117 (56) in the Glos. Library shows pike sites on the north side of Tetbury as Tetbury Gate and Back Lane Gate; but the site No. 56 was near the junction of the roads to Chavenage and Avening.

57. Longtree Cross-roads. ST 877960.

This cross-roads, close to the presumed Hundred meeting place, was formerly of greater importance, the eastward road being called London Road or London Lane on earlier maps, the westward road leading to Chavenage Green probably being the connecting link with the route from the Severn crossing.¹ The toll-house stood in a close on the north-western corner of the cross-roads, but the site is now a dump for road materials.

PD: building and bar. Bryant: building marked, not named. 1-inch: T.P. Avening Tithe: No. 46.

58. Burnt Ash, near Minchinhampton. SO 886012.

This is at the corner of the junction of the road from Tetbury and Avening with the Cirencester-Minchinhampton road, opposite the Ragged Cot. The former cottages have gone, and in fact are not shown on the 1880s 6-inch Sheet L.NW.

Taylor: Turnpike. PD: T.P. Bryant: T.B. Minchinhampton Tithe: No. 393, Burnt Ash Gate, Commissioners of Turnpike Roads.

62. The Camp. SO 914092.

The toll-house stood on the left immediately before the first building of The Camp, and in Autumn 1965 the site was being covered by a new construction. The house is not given on the 1880s 6-inch map.

Bryant: TB. Miserdine (sic) Tithe: No. 78, Commissioners of Roads, Ann Rolf, Turnpike House.

63. Woefeldane. SO 879003.

The site is a long, narrow close between Hollybush Farm and Woefeldane Bottom, on the road from Hampton Fields to Minchinhampton. It is now covered by rough grass, below the level of the

¹ I. D. Margary, 'Roman Roads in Britain' Vol. 1 (Phoenix 1955) gives the route Cirencester-Kingscote Park, by Coates, Rodmarton and Chavenage Green as a possible Roman road (No. 544, p. 133). On the road down 'Nympsfield' Hill he writes 'it descends directly by a finely engineered zig-zag almost certainly of Roman type . . . Parts of the zig-zag show signs of ancient stone paving marked with worn grooves . . .' (p. 132). See Site No. 49.

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field behind, and is marked by a tree, though the actual house site (which was roughly in the centre of the close) has not yet been located.

Taylor: Turnpike. PD: Dean Bottom TP on Sheet 164 W, and Dean Bottom Turnpike, with bar, on Sheet 171. Bryant: TB. Minchinhampton Tithe: No. 405, Danes Bottom Turnpike House, Commissioners of Turnpike Roads. GRO Q/SRh 1797C names it Woefulthane Turnpike. Two-inch preliminary drawings Sheet 171 draws in the Longstone.

65. Hazel Cottage, Nailsworth. ST 852996.

This is the complement to No. 64, Avening Pike, and barred the Nailsworth end of the new valley road, included here as part of the much older Route XIV group. Hazel Cottage is a villa replacing the earlier toll-house, the site being verified by Mr Mortimer of Nailsworth, and stood opposite the track leading up to the cricket ground. Known as Hazlewood Toll House, it was conveyed on 8 Dec 1875 for £25 to Albin Holloway Tabram, flock manufacturer, of Nailsworth.

Avening Tithe: No. 830.

67. Paganhill. SO 837056.

The toll-house stood at the junction of the Stroud-Paganhill-Cainscross road with roads to Whiteshill and Puckshole, opposite Paganhill Lane. This is the original road to Stroud from the west, replaced by the present Cainscross Road. It is marked on the 'Plan of intended navigable Canals from Stroud to the Severn 1776' and appears also on Stroud Tithe as No. 387, Commissioners of Turnpike Roads, Pagan Hill Pike House.

68. Junction Wick Street/Stratford Road, Stroud. SO 858056.

This is presumably the pike site referred to in the Glos. Quarter Sessions Order Book 6 (GRO/Q/SO file) for 1734-41, where under the date 8 Oct 1734 comes the phrase '... turnpikes lately erected at Stroud, Cains Cross and Wheatenhurst', and it appears as Stratford Pike on a broadsheet in the Glos. Library entitled 'The Case of The Petitioners for a New Road from Stroud to Gloucester' about 1816. 19 Geo. III c. 93 refers to '... the said Road leading from Framilode and Newnham Passages aforesaid, branching out of the said Great Road at or near The Swan at Wheatenhurst, to join the Turnpike Road from Gloucester to Stroud, at or near a Place called Stratford's Brook ...' It would seem likely that when the new Stroud-Pitchcombe-Gloucester road was built, this site was removed, and new toll-bars

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erected, for Wick Street at No. 6, and for the new road, at No. 1. Road widening has now quite obliterated the site of Stroud's first toll-house.

71. Park Corner. SO 961044.

Taylor puts PARK GATE (rather obscured by tree symbols) here, and the Gloucester Journal for 4 Oct 1784 carries an advertisement from the Trustees of the Cirencester-Gulph Corner road putting up for auction the gates at the Round Tower, Park Corner, Burnt Ash, Rodborough and Bowle Hill.

CONCLUSION

The building of the railways did not immediately cause the collapse of the turnpike system. While long-distance traffic, especially of the stage- or mail-coach variety, may have vanished from the roads, there seems to have been an increase of traffic on local roads feeding the railways. The inconveniences and inequalities of the system could no longer be tolerated when other means of maintenance of roads were devised to obviate either the parish system or the method of charging tolls on the users.¹ The 19th century Highway Boards were merged by the last quarter of that century into the County Councils, and the general rate spread the burden over the whole community in a way less immediately painful or obvious than either the parish impost or the road-users toll. Thus during the 1870s, the toll-houses, having outlived their original function, were either demolished or turned over to private use.

Many of the existing toll-houses no longer meet the housing standards of the 20th century; many stand in the way of urgently-needed road improvements. Even while this paper was being prepared more than one toll-house was either standing empty or was actually demolished. Yet at the time of this survey, out of the 70 or more sites investigated, some 23 toll-houses still remained, 10 of which could be identified by shape or special feature as functional buildings.

This brief survey shows what diversity and variety there could be in a limited area through which no main route passed. Despite the repairing of old roads, and the building of new and better roads through the valleys, no really important road crossed the Stroud District. The 18th edition of 'Paterson's Roads', published in 1826, gives the main mail-coach routes as the London-Oxford-Northleach-Cheltenham road, the Bristol-Gloucester-Worcester road, and the

¹ See 'Rebecca at Stroud' by D. Ricardo [G. Coll. No. 10801 in Glos. Library].

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London-Maidenhead-Marlborough-Bath-Bristol road: these repeating the Roman pattern whereby the Stroud and Dursley valleys areas were bypassed by long-distance traffic. Paterson does give as a 'Direct' road that from London through Cirencester to Stroud, or to Dursley; and one or two cross-routes, such as Chippenham to Gloucester through Tetbury, Minchinhampton and Stroud, or Bath to Cheltenham through Nailsworth, Stroud and Birdlip. But the area did not warrant, or get, the unifying hand of a Macadam or a Telford, and so variety and diversity of the Trusts remained in length of road, in tolls, in milestones and in toll-houses. The younger David Ricardo drew attention to the inconveniences of this system in his pamphlet 'Rebecca at Stroud' in 1847. He lists the different trusts in this area as follows:

1.	Minchinhampton, Tetbury and Bisley	.. ..	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	miles
2.	Stroud and Chalford	.. ..	9 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
3.	Nailsworth and Avening	.. ..	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	"
4.	Nailsworth, Woodchester and Dudbridge	.. ..	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
5.	Cainscross, Stroud, Minchinhampton (Upper Division)	.. ..	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
6.	Lightpill and Birdlip	.. ..	8 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
7.	Stroud, Pitchcombe, Gloucester	.. ..	8 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
8.	Stroud and Painswick (for Cheltenham)	.. ..	18 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
9.	Cainscross Division	.. ..	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	"
10.	Stroud, Cainscross and Minchinhampton (Lower Division)	.. ..	3	"
11.	Cold Harbour	.. ..	23	"
12.	Stroud and Bisley	.. ..	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
13.	Cirencester and Minchinhampton	.. ..	6	"

(which is well short of
the actual distance)

He points out that from his house at Gatcombe to Brimscombe Station, a distance of 3 miles, he passed 2 pikes and paid 2s 2d; that to go to Stroud via the Walls Quarry Gate and back via Nailsworth—a distance of 11 miles—cost 4s 4d. He condemns the practice of occasionally shutting the toll-houses and then re-opening the office and catching those who thought them free, and refers contemptuously to the catch-gates and 'little ragged boys at every corner.' The Stroud Roads Bill of 1854 (Glos. Library JF 9.76) pleaded for amalgamation and uniformity. The suggested tolls were as follows:

for Horse or beast drawing—6d.

for horse or mule laden or unladen, but not drawing—2d.

for donkey ditto—3d and 1d.

for a dog drawing—1d.

for droves of oxen, etc.—1s 8d per score; for sheep, lambs or pigs—10d per score.

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One toll to give a 4-mile free pass, and only 2 full tolls per day to be paid for any one animal, though hired animals, post-chaises, etc., were to pay afresh each time. Even this made travel in the mid-19th century expensive and burdensome, and it is no wonder, as Miss Blake of Nailsworth told the writer, that her parents grumbled at the cost of visiting relatives in Wotton.

The building of the Great Western railway route through the main valley turned it into a through route, and the Census figures in the 19th century show that where most, if not all, other parishes suffer a decline of population after 1840, Stroud continued to grow, with Nailsworth—at the terminus of a later, branch railway line, repeating this pattern on a smaller scale.

Today the decline in railway traffic has brought the demolition of most of the local stations and halts. There is some danger that Stroud itself may lose its station, with Gloucester becoming the main passenger and freight point. The projected motorways from London to the West, and from the Midlands to the South-west, like the Roman and 18th century routes, will by-pass the Stroud District, though for the moment such roads as the Cheltenham-Painswick-Stroud-Nailsworth-Bath route carry a heavy flow of traffic; but one that no longer, as in days of toll-collection, enriches the local people. The surviving toll-houses and turnpike milestones remain as witnesses of a partially successful attempt to improve local traffic conditions, and to reduce the comparative isolation of the Stroud District, an isolation which was only successfully broken by the 19th-century railway. The present decline of the railway, and the building of the new motorways, may to some extent restore the earlier pattern. But that, of course, is another story. . . .

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For anyone wanting a convenient summary of Stroud turnpike sites, Bryant's map of 1824 (copy in the Glos. Records Office) is probably the most convenient source, though of course it does not give all the sites listed in this article. There is a written summary also in the Records Office, under D67 Z74, which is useful but does not give all the sites, nor identify them closely, and presents some difficulties. Thus the Alkerton site, No. 46, is listed as 'Puddleworth Lane End', which is close enough. A catchgate under Rockness Hill (said to be by Mr Job Brown's Mill in the 1820s) is given, which the writer has not been able to identify as yet (see Note 14). Buckholt Gate, on Selsley Hill road, is named, which may be the 'Nymphsfield Hill' site, No. 49. Woodchester Gate is placed on the road Park Stile to Frogmarsh: it may be Site 32, but the writer would prefer to identify it as Site 30 at Inchbrook. The chief discrepancies occur on the road from the Severn (Frocester Division) where some sites are given as Framilode, Fretherne Bar, Saul, and Frocester Old turnpike. The last may be either 48 or 49—Frocester (Court) No. 47 is given as existing 1821. The Saul site is given as at the canal bridge, that is site No. 43, with gates in 1856,

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a bar in 1859 (the Perryway site, No. 45, is mentioned); but the writer cannot reconcile 'Fretherne Bar' (suggested above as in fact No. 43, on the Fretherne parish boundary) or 'Framilode', and considers the last a most unlikely site, at or near the Severn or Stroudwater Canal terminus, and a dead-end. The paper D67 Z74 in fact seems to be compiled from a map such as Bryant and certain papers in the Glos. Library (JF. 9 file), with the addition of some local knowledge; but is only a summary and does not pretend to be exhaustive.

On general turnpike history, two useful authorities are: S. & B. Webb, 'The Story of the King's Highway' (published F. Cass & Co., 1962. 1st published 1913) and Jackman's work on 'The Development of Transportation in Modern England' (1916, revised 1962, Cass). For local interest, for example, the Webb's book refers to Minchinhampton Vestry Minutes of 14 Aug 1826 and points out that Minchinhampton 'had been for several years energetically mending and improving its roads, pitching and paving footpaths and water-courses, and even constructing underground drains'. On the diversion of traffic to railways, they give the last London-Bristol coach as October 1843, and instance the drastic decline in turnpike road revenues, so that before long parishes were subsidising turnpike roads. Most of Gloucestershire was in Highway Districts by 1865; they say the General Highway Act of 1835 (5 & 6 Wm. IV c. 50) repealed most of the highway statutes for non-turnpike roads, and codified anew the parish system. The 1848 Public Health Act made the local Boards of Health responsible for highways in new urban areas, and by the Public Health Act of 1872 highway jurisdiction was given to Local Government Boards, in both urban and rural Sanitary Authorities. Hence we see the de-piking of so many toll-houses in the Stroud District in the 1870s—many of these being conveyed to the former Trustees!

Site 39, junction of Fewster Road/Dark Lane, Nailsworth, ST 847996, has been disproved. The 2-inch preliminary drawings give a building and bar; but Miss P. Blake of Deverells, Nailsworth, has informed the writer that this was a gate across a private road, not a pike site. The road was given for public use (as Fewster Road) about 1925, and the gate (a photo of which is in her possession) was removed and set up in a local quarry.

H. T. Lilley in 'A History of Standish' (Portsmouth 1932) refers to a toll-house near Oxlynch Lane on the Stonehouse-Standish-Bristol Road. This had been rebuilt, as a late Victorian brick cottage named Pike Cottage. Its site, as yet unnumbered, is SO 807078, and it stands past Oxlynch Lane on the right-hand verge before the railway bridge.

APPENDICES

No.	Page	Subject
	A1	Duplicate thesis title page.
1	A2	Photocopy part T Taylor's map of 1777 (2nd edition).
2	A3	Notes to Rice's Plan for the new road from Tiltups Inn to Dudbridge.
	A4	Notes on the separate sections (sheets) of the Plan.
	A5-10	Photocopy of the Plan (6 sheets).
3	A11-12	Photocopy of an advertisement of 1837 for a Patent Hand Machine for Scraping Roads.
4	A13-15	The Case against William Wilkins.
5	A16	A note on the Fleece Inn.
6	A17	Notes on the plan for the intended new road from Stroud to Gloucester.
	A18-21	Photocopy of this plan (4 sheets).
7	A22-23	Notes for the plan for a new road to Cheltenham via Painswick.
	A24-28	Photocopy of the plan (5 sheets).
8	A29	Notes for the intended Stroud-Chalford new road.
	A30-31	Photocopy of part of the plan (2 sheets).
9	A32	A note on the BPP Report on Stroud Roads (BPP xliv, 1852).
	A33	Photocopy of this Report.
	A34	A note on the Report on the Stroud-Bisley turnpike.
	A35	Photocopy of this part of the Report.
10(a)	A36-38	Toll revenue of the Nailsworth Trust, 1782-1876. (See Fig VIII.ii, p 307)
10(b)	A39	A note on toll charges of the Nailsworth Trust.
10(c)	A40	Selected names, occupations and places of residence of toll-framers of the Nailsworth Trust.
10(d)	A41-42	Selected names of sureties for these toll-farmers.
11	A43-45	Names of those attending a meeting in opposition to the Stroud Roads Bill.
12	A46	Poster against the Stroud Roads Bill.
13	A47	Airphoto of Frome valley above Stroud, 1933 (Aerofilms copyright).
	A48	Photocopy of 13.
	A49	Key to 13.
14	A50 (etc.)	Cex C, Turnpike Houses of the Stroud District in TrEGAS 86 of 1967.