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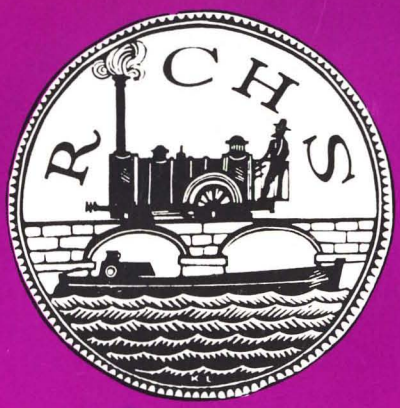

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JOURNAL OF THE RAILWAY & CANAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Editorial

This issue of the Journal marks the start of Volume 32 and another 80-page issue. For some time now, there has been a considerable back-log of material for publication and this larger issue is an attempt to deal with the problem. If, in the past, you have felt that you would have to wait far too long before the results of your labours appeared in print, and have therefore been discouraged from putting pen to paper (or fingers to keyboard) you need delay no longer. In future, it is hoped that there will be as short a time as possible between receiving suitable articles (complete with suitable maps and pictures) and their appearance in print.

It will also be noticed that there is a slight change in format, namely, justification of the right-hand margin. This does not mean that articles sent to the Editor have to be in this form. Simply to observe the conventions outlined in the Society's style sheet will be sufficient to keep the Editor happy.

William Joseph Skillern F.L.A. (1913–1995)

It is with sadness that we record the passing on 19th August of one of the founder members of the RCHS. Bill Skillern took an active part in society affairs from its earliest days and was on the national council until 1975. He edited one of the very early Journals, and contributed a regular column on 'Recent Literature' from 1955 until his retirement in 1978. Bill was also one of the founders of the North West group and twice obtained suitable (and cheap!) meeting rooms for us.

Bill was the son of a railwayman. He was born at Six Bells near Abertillery, but soon moved to Newport, where he grew up, and which remained close to him. He trained as a librarian, and in 1939 moved to Stockport where he became chief reference librarian. Over the years he contributed to a number of magazines, mainly on railway or library topics. Probably his greatest contribution was behind-the-scenes work in cataloguing and indexing for bibliographies and research projects, notably for George Ottley and the RCHS. He was also closely involved with Stockport churches, particularly St. Thomas's, and he took an active interest in local history.

He must hold the record for attending the most RCHS annual general meetings; he aimed to go to every one, but in recent years he did not attempt to reach distant locations. Bill was a modest, kind and unobtrusive man, always willing to help others. He remained a regular attender and contributor at North West group meetings, and he will be greatly missed. We send our deepest sympathy to his wife and son. A.W.B.

The Cubitts on the Great Northern Railway: one family or two?

BY L. G. BOOTH

This paper has been prompted by the recent appearance of two publications with very different themes: first, the volume that covers *Eastern and Central England* in the Institution of Civil Engineers *Civil Engineering Heritage* Series, in particular the part of the volume that relates to the Great Northern Railway (GNR),[1] and, secondly, a paper by the author[2] that describes the early glued laminated timber roof of Rusholme Road (Manchester) Congregational Sunday School (1864–1963).

These two publications are tenuously linked by two members of the Cubitt families: Sir William Cubitt, Consultant to the GNR, was related by marriage to James Cubitt,[3] who was in partnership with Henry Fuller, the architect for the Sunday School. The implications of the relationship on the design of the roof have been recently mentioned by the author:[4] during the investigation of the Sunday School roof the author was reminded of the long standing differences of opinion on the possible existence of a blood relationship between the family of Sir William and the family of Thomas Cubitt, the famous Victorian builder. Cubitt family relationships have been mentioned in many publications, and although there does not seem to be any disagreement about the *internal* family relationships, the possibility of a blood relationship *between* various Cubitt families has never been completely resolved.

The particular relationship investigated in this paper—whether two major consultants to the GNR in its early years, Sir William Cubitt (a civil engineer) and Lewis Cubitt (an architect and younger brother of Thomas), were uncle and nephew—has been the subject of references in literature since at least as early as 1855. Until 1994 the differences of opinion have been confined to Building and Railway History literature, but Labrum recently espoused for the first time in Civil Engineering literature the opinion that Sir William was Lewis's uncle:[5] before this view becomes firmly entrenched in this particular engineering discipline, it is timely to appraise the long standing evidence on the possible relationships between the families of Sir William and Thomas as perceived in contemporary and subsequent publications, and to attempt to resolve the issue.

Activities of the Cubitt families

The Engineers: Sir William, Benjamin and Joseph Cubitt

The careers of Sir William Cubitt and his son Joseph (called the 'Engineers' in this paper) in Civil Engineering, and their employment by the GNR, are well known in civil engineering circles.[6,7] (Sir) William Cubitt's (1785–1861) early years were spent in his native Norfolk designing and manufacturing agricultural machinery. Work on draining local marshes led him into the profession of civil engineering, which he subsequently practised from a London office from 1825. For the next thirty years he worked on the design of harbours, canals, bridges and, particularly relevant to this paper, railways. In this last field he was Engineer-in-Chief of the South Eastern Railway (SER) and Consulting Engineer to the GNR (1844–1855). His career culminated in the presidency of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1851 and 1852, and a knighthood as a Commissioner for the 1851 Exhibition.[8]

Sir William's brother Benjamin (1795–1848) was predominantly involved in the mechanical engineering aspects of railway work, including the position of Locomotive Engineer of the GNR.

Sir William's son Joseph (1811–1872) spent two years training in Benjamin's workshop before returning to assist his father on the construction of the SER. In 1843 Joseph began his independent career. In 1846 he was appointed Engineer to the 'southern section' of the GNR.[9] He subsequently took over as Engineer for the whole network (1847–1855)[10] and succeeded his father as Consulting Engineer from 1856.[11] Joseph's last great work was the new Blackfriars Bridge over the River Thames for the London, Chatham & Dover Railway. At the time of his death he was the Senior Vice-President of the Institution of Civil Engineers.[12]

The Builders: Thomas, William and Lewis Cubitt

The achievements of the 'Builders' (the brothers Thomas, William and Lewis Cubitt) are extensively recorded in the History of Building and Architecture literature: see for example Hobhouse[13] and Colvin.[14] The connection of Lewis with the GNR as the architect of several stations is well covered, particularly by Biddle, in Railway History literature.[15]

Thomas (1788–1855) was initially a journeyman carpenter and subsequently a master carpenter, William (1791–1863) was also a carpenter, and Lewis (1799–1883) was an architect. Thomas, the eldest son, was the driving force behind the establishment of the famous London firm of developers and builders: William left the family firm in 1827 to form his own civil engineering contracting firm and subsequently became an MP and Lord Mayor of London: Lewis joined William in 1832 and later in the 1830s began his own architectural practice.[16,17,18,19]

Lewis is best remembered for the design of the London terminus of the GNR at King's Cross. For the train shed roof, which was built in 1852, he designed bolted laminated timber arches each of 105 ft span.[20]

Relationship between the Engineers and the Builders

Family trees

Simplified individual family trees for the Builders and the Engineers are well known (figure 1). A detailed family tree for the Builders (the 'Buxton' Cubitts) compiled by Sir Hugh Cubitt (a great-great-grandson of Thomas) is given as figure 2.[21] Trees for the 'Honing Manor' Cubitts with their cadet branches, the 'Catfield' and the 'Astley Cubitts', have also been drawn up by Sir Hugh but are not given here.[22]

Obituaries

We now return to the old problem of the possible relationship between the Engineers and the Builders, and in particular between Sir William and Lewis. The starting point in Building literature for the investigation described in this paper is Thomas's obituary.[23]

Thomas died on 20 December 1855 and his obituary, which appeared in the *Builder* before the end of the year, noted that he was survived by his brothers William and Lewis. This statement was followed immediately by the sentence: 'Sir William Cubitt, the eminent engineer, though a native of the same county, is not related.' The non-existence of a relationship is clearly stated and this line has been implicitly adopted by twentieth century authors of Building (and Architectural) literature such as Hobhouse[24] and Colvin.[25]

The next to die was Sir William on 13 October 1861: an obituary which appeared in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* stated that 'Sir William was of a different family from the late Sir [sic] Thomas Cubitt.'[26] The lives of Sir William and his son Joseph

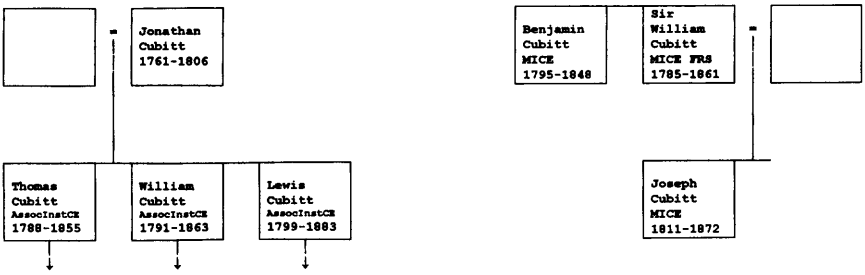

Figure 1. The Builders' and Engineers' Family Trees

(died 7 December 1872) were also treated extensively in the Institution of Civil Engineers *Memoirs of Deceased Members*. The absence of any mention in these memoirs of a relationship could not have arisen from the Builders being unknown in the Institution; Thomas and William were at that time Associates of the Institution of Civil Engineers (AssocInstCE). Indeed, it is probable that *all five* were acquainted. (Sir William and Thomas were both involved in the organisation of the Great Exhibition of 1851, respectively as a Commissioner and a guarantor.)

Returning to the Builders, William died on 28 October 1863 and his obituary was published by the *Builder* on 21 November 1863. Again no mention was made of any relationship with the Engineers.[27]

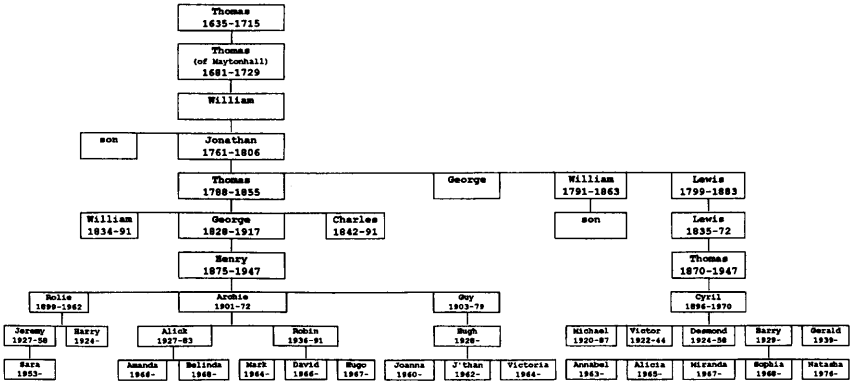

Figure 2. The 'Buxton' Cubitts' Family Tree (after Cubitt[21])

The last of the Engineers and Builders, Lewis, died on 9 June 1883. According to Colvin little appears to be known of his activities after 1852 and it is perhaps not surprising that no obituary has been found.[28] (Some details of his family are given in figure 2).

Of the five published obituaries, three make no mention of any relationship between the Engineers and the Builders, while two make the explicit statement that they were not related. The silence of the obituaries is, of course, inconclusive either way, but it seems reasonable to accept the *Builder's* and the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal's* statements and to conclude that contemporary opinion was that the families were not related.

Family opinions

The Times celebrated the 150th anniversary of Thomas Cubitt's birth with an article on 25 February 1938 by a 'Correspondent' (unnamed). The article recalled Thomas's achievements as a builder and developer: his brother William (the MP) was also mentioned but there was no mention of Lewis (the architect). No mention was made of Sir William Cubitt.[29]

The article led to three letters in March 1938. The first letter (12 March), from an unnamed contributor, attributed (incorrectly) the splendid works on the South Eastern Railway (SER) to Thomas Cubitt. 'Correspondent' replied (25 March) pointing out that the writer had confused his Cubitts and that [Sir] William Cubitt was responsible for the SER; he also drew attention to Thomas's brother, who was also [as we know] named William.

The third letter (30 March) came from Stephen Tallents, whose mother was a grand daughter of Thomas Cubitt. It concluded

> Your correspondent, in a letter which you published on March 25, rightly distinguished these brothers [the Builders] from Sir William Cubitt, the great civil engineer, and thereby incidentally from his son, Joseph, who constructed railways all over the country. There seems no traceable connexion between the two families. Yet both came from Norfolk, and both came decisively to the front at the same moment in building and engineering. The coincidence is striking and seems more likely to have been due to some common strand in their inheritance than to accident.[30]

Five years later Tallents, by then Sir Stephen, wrote his autobiography entitled *Man and Boy*.[31] He adds nothing significant to the contents of Thomas's obituaries and makes no mention of Sir William Cubitt.

Current opinion within the Cubitt family, as expressed by Sir Hugh Cubitt, the compiler of figure 2, is as follows:

> As far as I can establish Sir William Cubitt . . . is not a relation [of Thomas]. . . . I suspect that he is what in Scotland would be known as a 'kinsman' since all Cubitts seem to originate from Norfolk where they presumably intermarried heavily as was the practice in earlier times.[32]

Taking into account the detailed research that must have gone into the preparation of figure 2, it is very likely that if a blood relationship existed between Sir William and Lewis, it would have been discovered and recorded in Cubitt family history.

Relationship between Sir William Cubitt and Lewis Cubitt: some sources of past and present beliefs

We have seen that contemporary published opinions, and past and present family opinions, were that Sir William Cubitt and Lewis Cubitt were not related. Nevertheless, many authors in the last forty years have stated that they were related. It is appropriate to examine their books carefully and try to determine the sources of their beliefs.

Railway History Literature

Although twentieth century Building History literature, probably based on the obituary in the *Builder*, seems to have taken it as read that there was no relationship between the Engineers and the Builders, this is not the case with Railway History literature: when recording the positions of Sir William and Lewis as, respectively, Consulting Engineer to the GNR and Architect for the company's railway station at King's Cross, each author has stated a family relationship (or occasionally the non-existence of a relationship) between these two Cubitts. The most frequently held view has been that Sir William was Lewis's uncle.

We now examine Railway History literature since 1898 and consider some possible sources of the stated relationships between the Cubitt families.

By 1900 the jubilees of several of the great railway companies had been celebrated. A typical example was *The History of the GNR 1845–1895* by Charles H. Grinling. Although the history was unofficial, Charles was close to the GNR through his father (William), who spent more than forty years with the company as an accountant.[33]

Grinling records the engagement in 1844 of (Sir) William Cubitt to process the bill through Parliament and of his son Joseph as Superintending Engineer (William subsequently acted as Consulting Engineer on a part time basis whilst Joseph was employed full time). Lewis Cubitt's appointment as architect for King's Cross Station is noted and in his description of the architecture of the building, Grinling says that

> . . . in laying his plans Mr Lewis Cubitt had borne well in mind his uncle, Sir William Cubitt's,* dictum, that 'a good station could be built at King's Cross for less than the cost of the ornamental archway at Euston Square.'[34]

The asterisked footnote reads

> He had been knighted as one of the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851.[35]

This is thought to be the first reference to a family relationship between Sir William and Lewis. In seeking to explain Grinling's stated relationship the following extract from the preface of his book may give a clue.

> As regards the facts given, I have spared no pains to insure correctness and comprehensiveness. Without seeking access to the private archives of the Great Northern Company, and so placing myself under obligations which could have been met only by a sacrifice of my impartiality, I have, nevertheless, been able to obtain information of the most intimate and authentic character with respect to all the chief events with which my History deals.[36]

One immediately apparent result of his self-imposed restriction is that there are no exact references to his sources and precise dates are rarely given. There are many possible explanations of his stated relationship; his source (perhaps his father) may have given him incorrect information, or alternatively, when it came to writing without official records, his own memory may have been faulty. It should be noted that he was writing forty-six years after the opening of the station and thirty-seven years after Sir

William's obituary in the *Builder*. All the Engineers and the Builders had died and fifteen years had passed since Lewis's death.

There are also several possible sources of confusion that can be seen in the Builders' and Engineers' family trees (figures 1 and 2). Lewis (1799–1883) had a son Lewis (1835–1872) who was a nephew of William (1791–1863): they are the wrong William and Lewis as far as Grinling is concerned, but the right relationship. Also, Thomas (1788–1855) had a son William (1834–1891), who was a nephew of Lewis (1799–1883): again, the wrong William and Lewis, but now the reverse relationship. Finally, in the next generation, William (1834–1891) and Lewis (1835–1872) were cousins. Confusion was certainly possible, particularly when we now know that both Williams and both Lewises had died by the time Grinling wrote his 1898 history.

In 1903, Grinling brought his book up-to-date with an introduction and an additional chapter which covered the years up to 1902. The text mentioned above was unchanged with Sir William still being described as Lewis's uncle.[37]

A further enlarged edition of Grinling's book, with supplementary chapters by H. V. Borley and C. Hamilton Ellis, was published in 1966 with the title *The History of the Great Northern Railway 1845–1922*. This edition, apart from the supplementary chapters, has the appearance of a facsimile of the 1903 edition: close examination, however, reveals that some unannounced changes were made. The quotation concerning King's Cross was revised and became as follows:

> . . .in laying his plans Mr Lewis Cubitt had borne well in mind Sir William Cubitt's* pronouncement that 'a good station could be built at King's Cross for less than the cost of the ornamental archway at Euston Square.'[38]

The revised footnote had an additional sentence and now read

> He had been knighted as one of the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The two were not related.[39]

The change in the Sir William-to-Lewis relationship was achieved with the minimum amount of disturbance of type: 'his uncle' was deleted and at the same time 'dictum' was replaced by the longer word 'pronouncement', the result being that only one line of type had to be reset. The additional sentence was added to the footnote without difficulty. Unfortunately, the change in the relationship was not elaborated upon but at least it had the merit of being an explicit change. The source of the change remains unpublished.

A search of Railway History literature in the period 1903–1966 using Ottley's *Bibliography of British Railway History*[40,41] reveals Nock's history[42] as the only one devoted entirely to the GNR. Nock leans heavily on Grinling throughout his book and it is not surprising that in his description of King's Cross Station he refers to Lewis Cubitt as nephew of Sir William Cubitt.[43]

A further search of Railway History literature published since 1966 reveals that many different relationships between Sir William and Lewis have been offered by different authors. These include Jackson's statement that Sir William and his son Joseph '. . .were not directly related to Lewis',[44] Morgan's view that Sir William '. . . was assisted by his son Joseph and by another member of the family, Lewis.',[45] and Burton's claim that Sir William '. . . was joined by his two sons, engineer Joseph and architect Lewis, to build King's Cross.'[46]

The most frequently made statement, apparently initiated in 1898 by Grinling, that 'Sir William Cubitt was the uncle of Lewis' has been repeated in recent Railway History literature by Marshall[47] and by Biddle and Nock.[48] In contrast, Wrottesley,[49] in the

most detailed history of the GNR since Grinling, does not mention any relationship between Sir William and Lewis.

It seems likely that Marshall's *Biographical Dictionary of Railway Engineers* was the source of recent repetitions of the uncle-to-nephew relationship.[50] Marshall does not actually quote Grinling as the source of the relationship, but makes an incorrect reference to Jackson for the uncle-to-nephew relationship.[51]

Civil Engineering History Literature

Until 1994 the difference of opinion had been confined to Railway History literature but with the publication of the *Eastern and Central England* volume of the Institution of Civil Engineers *Heritage Series*, the relationship of Sir William and Lewis entered Civil Engineering History literature.[52] The reference is as follows:

> The prestige mark of the Great Northern was Kings Cross station, opened in 1852. Designed by Lewis Cubitt, a nephew of William Cubitt, the twin arched facade to the train shed is regarded as one of the finest examples of restrained and functional railway architecture.[53]

Labrum's decision to espouse the opinion that William was Lewis's uncle is based on recent Railway History literature, which is in turn based on Grinling's history of the GNR (there is no mention of the 1966 correction).[54] In helpful correspondence with the author, Labrum states that his decision '. . . not to contest the perceived belief that Lewis was Sir William's nephew'[55] was based on the statements made by Marshall,[56] Biddle and Nock[57] and Morgan.[58] Unfortunately, these three references are inconsistent. We have seen earlier in this paper that Marshall's source was Jackson and that he had actually stated that Sir William and Lewis were not 'directly related'.[59] Biddle and Nock's source is not known but it is probably Nock,[60] which is in turn based on Grinling[61] (i.e. Lewis was Sir William's nephew). Finally, Morgan's opinion was that Lewis was 'another member of the family'.[62] Hence it is incorrect to draw the conclusion from these references that Lewis was Sir William's nephew.

Conclusions

Contemporary opinion, as expressed in the obituaries of Thomas Cubitt in the *Builder* and Sir William Cubitt in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, was that Sir William and Joseph Cubitt (the 'Engineers') were not related to Thomas, William and Lewis Cubitt (the 'Builders').

Past and present opinions of the 'Buxton' Cubitt family (Thomas's descendants), as expressed by Sir Stephen Tallents and Sir Hugh Cubitt, are that Sir William and Lewis Cubitt were not related.

No conclusive evidence has been found which disputes the statements made in Thomas's and Sir William's obituaries that the Engineers and the Builders were not related. In particular, the statement that Sir William was Lewis Cubitt's uncle, thought to have been first made by Grinling in 1898 (but withdrawn by his revisers in 1966) in his *History of the Great Northern Railway*, and frequently made by others in the last fifteen years, has not been substantiated.

Overall, the author's considered opinion, based on the currently available evidence, is that Sir William and Lewis were not related.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following for their help:

Dr J. C. G. Binfield (University of Sheffield) for many helpful comments during the preparation of this and other papers involving the Cubitts.

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The Promotion of the Grantham Canal

BY W. M. HUNT

This article continues the theme of an appreciation of the part played by Sir Joseph Banks in the development of the canal, navigation and drainage network of late 18th century south Lincolnshire.[1] Sir Joseph was a major landowner in the area and a figure of immense national importance, being the President of the Royal Society from 1778 until 1820. In this dual capacity he exerted considerable influence in all matters of a public utility nature which were being undertaken locally and was consulted, not only because of his social position, but also because he possessed a wide knowledge of waterways engineering. The promotion of the Grantham Canal provides a case study of the negotiations which took place between the various interested parties even before the first turf was cut in its construction and this particular example also illustrates the difficulties which beset parliamentary applications for enabling acts. An adequate water supply for a Grantham Canal was a problem which was appreciated from the beginning and the method devised by the consultant engineer, William Jessop, to ensure a constant flow of water was unique and not without its critics.

Grantham lies on the western border of Lincolnshire on the banks of the River Witham about 12 miles north of its source near South Witham. The parish church, St. Wolfram's, is located beside the old turnpike road from London to York and its external fabric has hardly changed since Sir Joseph's day and although there have been great changes in the town itself, he would still recognise the famous 'Angel and Royal' inn. In 1790 the natural drainage of the area west of the town was relatively simple. Rising near Harlaxton and flowing north was the Mawbeck stream which, after about two miles, met a tributary coming in from the north and both then turned towards the north-east to meet the Witham at Grantham three miles further on. The Denton Brook[2] rises near the village of Denton and followed a northerly route for eight miles to join the Witham near Marston. One major tributary joined the Denton Brook at Sedgebrook and just west of Denton is the watershed of two of the drainage systems of the English Midlands, the Witham and the Trent. The River Devon drains to the Trent, flowing northwards for about 15 miles from near Harston to Newark and Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Dukes of Rutland, lies near its course. In about 1768 an improvement to the Witham between Grantham and Lincoln to give water traffic access to the Trent by way of the Fossdyke Canal had been suggested and this was followed in 1771 by a survey of the Witham and Brant rivers by John Grundy.[3] Lincoln Corporation met the expenses of the survey and the estimated cost was under £30,000. However, nothing came of these proposals.

On 16 August 1791 a meeting was held in the Guildhall, Grantham, to consider making a canal from that town westwards to the Trent but this time following the general line of the Vale of Belvoir to meet the Trent near Radcliffe.[4] A further meeting was agreed for Monday, 24 October, when the proposals would be put to the landowners, farmers and millers with premises on the streams and rivers which crossed the line of the proposed Grantham Canal. William Jessop, who lived locally at Newark, was engaged as consultant engineer to survey the line.

In 1789 the Cromford Canal had received its Act and this coal-carrying waterway linked with the Erewash Canal, which also served a coal-mining district, near Langley mill. The Erewash met the Trent at Nottingham. There was a fear that other collieries some distance from that line would lose business as they still had to move coal by road and it was argued that these mines could be served by another canal running from Langley Mill to meet the Trent further downstream than the Erewash. This proposed 'Nottingham Canal' had its promotion meeting on 26 October 1790 and it was the coal

which the Nottingham was to carry which prompted the promotion of the Grantham. Richard Ellison, a Lincoln banker and a great supporter of the commercial development of the county's waterways, informed Banks of the economics of a water-borne coal trade and its position compared with overland carriage. He said that vessels would not be navigated on a 'Grantham Canal' for less than 1d. a mile and he assessed the tolls on the intended canal at 1½d. per ton/mile which, over the proposed 30 mile length, meant that a ton would sell at 6/3d. As coal was being sold at that time at Grantham at 8/4d. a ton, a difference of 2/1d. would be produced in favour of the canal.[5]

The Witham Drainage Commissioners were interested in the Grantham Canal project as two of the rivers on the proposed line, the Mawbeck and Denton, fed into the Witham and the Commissioners had the legal responsibility under the 1762 Witham Act to safeguard the drainage ability of that river. At their meeting held on 2 September 1791[6] the Commissioners asked Sir Joseph, who was a Commissioner in his own right, to act on their behalf in all matters relating to the effects of the proposed works for their concern had been aroused as they had heard a rumour that the Mawbeck and Denton were to be tapped to supply the new canal. In response to this direction Banks wrote to a close acquaintance and promoter of the canal, Lord Brownlow, of Belton House near Grantham, to whom he explained their anxieties.[7] The Commissioners were concerned not to lose any of the water of these Witham feeders as they aided the scouring of the Witham at the Grand Sluice at Boston and without that remaining efficient the drained lands of the lower Witham valley would be in danger of inundation. The Witham Navigation Commissioners, of whom Sir Joseph was again one and whose responsibilities were explicit in their title, were also worried about possible effects on water levels for navigation and, for a similar reason, Banks could foresee opposition coming from the proposed Horncastle and Sleaford Navigations which were then applying for enabling Acts. He further informed Lord Brownlow that many landowners along the Witham, who had received with their property a right to the water which ran through it, were worried about possible effects, as were the Corporations of Boston and Lincoln.

Sir Joseph himself proposed to remedy the failings of the promoters' plan, as he saw them, by the abandonment of the plans for a Grantham Canal and, instead, a revision of the 1768 proposal. The Witham could be improved from Grantham to Brayford Pool in Lincoln, and then use made of the Fossdyke Canal to the Trent.[8] In this way no Witham-feeder rivers would be affected but he failed to take into account the reasons why the Grantham Canal was being promoted and these Lord Brownlow pointed out in his reply.

> The advantages you state of the River Navigation wou'd not be such as you imagine to us, for our principal Import being Coal & our export Corn & Malt our Trafick must be to the Westward: and, as the present is an opportunity of joining with an adjacent County, wch will be wonderfully benefited by water conveyance, I flatter myself that the Town of Grantham has done wisely to embrace it.[9]

The public meeting called for Monday, 24 October at Grantham's Guildhall was well attended. Lord Brownlow was there, as was William King, who was appointed resident engineer for the canal, and the guardians of the minor Duke of Rutland[10], one of the main landowners through those estates the canal was to pass.[11] The proposed Nottingham Canal was also represented. Sir Joseph did not attend but Richard Ellison did. The decision was made to apply to Parliament for an enabling Bill for their chosen line, not Banks' alternative, but the fears of the Witham Drainage Commissioners were quietened when the resolution was adopted:

> That it is not the Intention of the promoters of the said intended Navigation to intercept the River Witham, or any of the Streams communicating therewith.[12]

According to William Jessop's recommendations the water supply for the canal was intended to be taken not from the Witham but from the River Devon which flowed to the Trent but the owner of the Devon water had stipulated that it should not be diverted into the canal in summer. Therefore, the whole supply of the canal would depend on the revolutionary idea of a reservoir, to be located at Knipton, to be filled by the Devon's flood water. The meeting appointed a committee of management under the chairmanship of a local landowner, George de Ligne Gregory, with David Lely as solicitor and Joseph Lawrence, a banker, as treasurer. This committee endorsed the resolution of not intercepting the water of the Witham or the streams feeding into it but when he was told of this Banks insisted that such a clause be inserted into the proposed Bill in order to give this assurance legality. This was agreed and all seemed ready for a smooth and speedy passage of the Bill through Parliament. The fine response to the canal proposal demonstrated by the meeting heartened the promoters of the Nottingham Canal who, at a public meeting held the following day, also agreed to apply for their Act. Sir Joseph wished the Grantham Canal well despite his suggestion for a different route having been disregarded for as long as the Witham interests were safeguarded he saw that the canal could only be advantageous to the region as a whole.

The action of the business now passed to London where, on 19 March 1792, the Grantham Canal Bill was presented to Parliament.[13] Two days later Sir Joseph wrote to Gregory who was in town with other members of the Grantham committee to see the Bill through its course. Banks had seen a copy of the Bill as presented and noted, '. . . a material difference between the Printed Bill and the resolutions of the 24th Octr.'[14]

The 'difference' was that the protecting clause for the Witham and its waters was not there! When they met at Banks' house at 32 Soho Square Gregory said that he had not seen the printed Bill and that he was surprised by the omission and could offer no explanation for it. While they were talking Mr Lely arrived with William King and King told Banks that the clause had been deleted during the draft Bill's preparation by Lord Harrowby. The Harrowby lordship lay immediately east of Grantham and Lord Harrowby[15] was a promoter of the canal but took no shares in it. He seems to have been in a similar 'sponsoring' position to the one Banks held at that moment in the promotion of the Sleaford Navigation, and while not a member of the Grantham committee, he was sufficiently powerfully placed to order this removal unilaterally. The reasons for Lord Harrowby's actions are obscure. Motives put forward at the time ranged from a desire to obtain enough water for the success of the proposed canal[16] to wishing to cause confusion within the Grantham constituency for political reasons.[17] Whatever Lord Harrowby's reasons, Sir Joseph was astonished by what he had done and warned that if the clause was not reinstated he would inform the other concerned interests in Lincolnshire and organise opposition to the Bill's passage. Both King and Lely left to consult with Lord Harrowby but nothing further was heard that day.

William King called at Soho Square the next day to say that Lord Harrowby would not reinstate the clause. This was the final straw for Banks,

> I told them we must be either at Peace or war & that unless the Grantham people agreed to join with us against Ld. Harrowby we must consider them as Enemies,[18]

With the Witham's interests in jeopardy Sir Joseph decided to approach Lord Harrowby direct and called at his house. His lordship's explanation for his actions was that he did not have a high opinion of Jessop's ability as an engineer and that he did not believe that flood water alone could supply the canal. Therefore, he asserted, the waters of the Denton and Mawbeck were essential. He further stated that he was not bound by any Grantham committee protecting resolution anyway though Banks was not to learn the reason for this conviction for a little while. Not knowing his lordship's

position on the matter, Banks left, probably bewildered as to the basis for this last assertion and considering the possibilities of mounting an effective opposition. Sir Joseph informed the Witham Commissioners of these events and they agreed that petitions against the Bill should be prepared for Banks to present when he thought it necessary. The Drainage Commissioners' chairman, John Linton, summarised the feeling against any possible water loss thus: 'Whatever is worth their while to content for must be worth ours to retain'.[19]

At about this time the Grantham committee met in London and sent Banks a copy of a resolution which reaffirmed their commitment not to take the waters of the Witham or its communicating streams and that they intended to admit the protecting clause in the Committee of the House.[20]

Confirmation that Lord Harrowby had acted without the knowledge of the Grantham committee came to Banks from a Lincolnshire contact, Sir John Thorold, MP for Lincoln County. Offering information which he thought might help defend the Witham interest he said that he had been talking to the head of the law firm which had prepared the Bill and he had confirmed that it was Lord Harrowby who had caused the clause to be removed. He had also been told that Harrowby was being supported in this opposition by the dowager Duchess of Rutland.[21]

As there now appeared to be confusion in the promoters' camp, with the nobility pressing to take Witham feeder waters while, at the same time, the Grantham committee were reaffirming their 24 October resolution for protection, Banks decided to act on the Commissioners' instructions and began preparing the opposition case for presentation. To gain some time for himself to do this he made efforts to have the Commons' Committee meeting considering the Grantham Bill postponed until the week after Easter [Easter Day was 8 April]: a friend, Lord Sheffield, negotiated this and a postponement until Friday 20 April was agreed.[22] During this extra time Banks made a direct approach to the dowager Duchess of Rutland through an acquaintance, Lt. Col. R. Manners,[23] to try to discover why she was so much in favour of the water extraction. Through Manners he was informed that the Duchess was firm in her opinion[24] and that Lord Harrowby's solicitor, Joseph Hill, was having a great influence over her.

> She seems solely activated throughout the business with an earnest desire to promote the Duke's interest though I am sorry that to promote that she seems entirely governed by Mr Hill's advice in whom she has the most thorough confidence.[25]

She believed that she had a right to the water of the feeder streams because a part of their courses ran through the Rutland estates and her opinions were further hardened as her late husband[26] had been an early advocate of this plan. She refused to meet Banks personally and Colonel Manners could only account for this by her inclinations being so directly opposed and that 'she thinks her duty to her growing family obliges her to maintain the one she has formed'.

When this was fully explained to him Sir Joseph appreciated her position fully:

> I cannot wonder her grace is very tenacious of [her] view or feel any surprise that she refuses all communication with a person whose interests and opinions make it necessary for him to thro[w] Obstacles in the way of her Favorite Plan.[27]

When further correspondence failed to win over the Duchess, Banks abandoned the attempt to change the mind of the Manners faction.

Banks' opposition argument appeared in a printed 'Case' which discussed the general situation up to the Grantham meeting of 24 October 1791 and the passing of the

protecting clause.[28] It mentioned the drawing-up of the Grantham Canal Bill and the insertion of the clause, so showing the implementation of the resolution. Before it could be read the clause was removed without, the 'Case' claimed, the knowledge or consent of the Grantham committee. He was very careful not to accuse anyone directly but he had received information from Lincolnshire which permitted him to suggest another motive for this action.[29] What he had heard was that the agents of the Duke of Rutland's estates, who had an interest in the River Devon's waters, were to have undertaken to supply the canal from this stream by means of the Knipton reservoir. However, the millers on the Devon had become alarmed at their possible water loss and were to present an opposition to the Bill. The agents had to find an alternative to the Devon to prevent this and now wanted the water from streams which fed the Witham. They were hoping that the owners of the Witham's waters, who had been lulled into a false sense of security by the 24 October resolution, could not be contracted in time to present an effective opposition in Parliament.

The opponents of the canal in Lincolnshire had also been busy and had prepared six petitions for presentation and Banks now judged it the right time to present that of the Witham Commissioners'.[30] He felt disquiet about the way events were moving and about the insecure status of the feeder waters which he was sure would be experienced by others:

> [The] Creditors of the Drainage and Navigation trusts, who have, under the faith of Parliament, invested more than 60,000L. in these Undertakings, were aware of their danger, they also would have petitioned; but, being dispersed over the whole kingdom, they are unapprised of the unhansome attack what has been so suddenly made upon their property.

William Jessop supported Sir Joseph against this new interest and prepared a printed paper to vindicate his position, for the attack was being made as much against him and his proposals for supplying the canal solely by floodwater as against the owners of the Witham Waters.[31] The unsatisfactory position also prompted Banks to write to Gregory on 19 April requesting that a member of the Grantham committee be available for questioning in the Commons' Committee examination which was to begin the following day and so put on record the correct version concerning the striking-out of the protecting clause.[32] This Commons' Committee meeting proved to be a revelation for it seems that the Grantham group itself had blundered over the clause. While it had been agreed in principle at the 24 October meeting the actual wording was composed by probably only two members of the Grantham committee who did not form a quorum and, at no time after that, had a sufficient number of the committee assembled to ratify the wording. Therefore, it had been improperly inserted into the Bill and there was nothing to prevent other interests, such as Lord Harrowby, removing it. This was the reason why Lord Harrowby had asserted that he was not bound by any Grantham committee protecting clause. The whole incident also raised doubts in Sir Joseph's mind about the Grantham committee's non-complicity in the action. Due to this improper preparation the Commons' Committee directed that the Bill be withdrawn but gave leave to present another. So, the first Bill was withdrawn on 20 April[33] and re-presented on 23 April.[34]

When the re-presented Bill came before the House it did so still without the protecting clause as some supporters, led by Lord Brownlow, had begun to try to agree a compromise with the Witham General Drainage Commissioners before the first Bill went to the Commons' Committee on 20 April. At their meeting on 19 April the Commissioners had suggested such an arrangement which they immediately passed to Banks in London and he, in turn, informed Lord Brownlow. The compromise allowed:

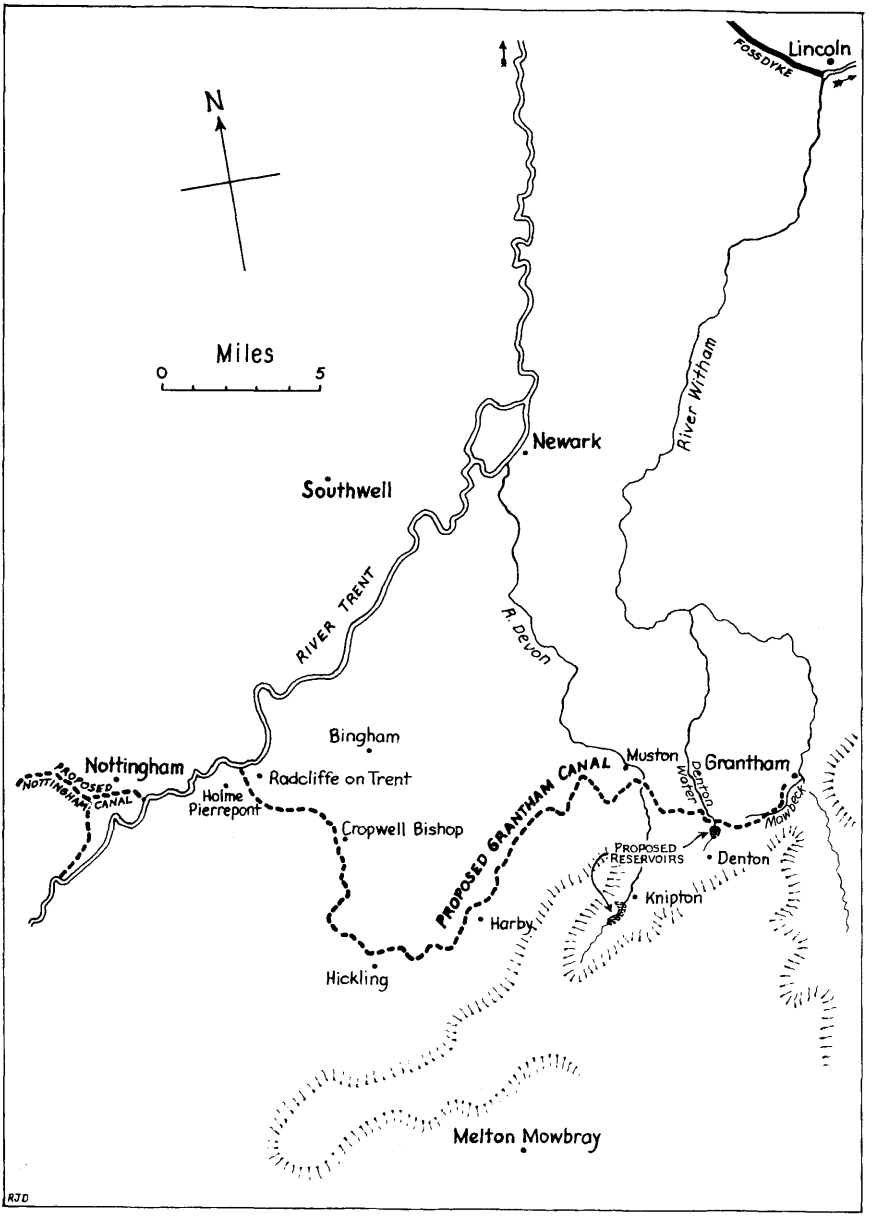
> . . . the undertakers of the Grantham Canal to make reservoirs for floodwater upon the Denton Stream and the Maw Beck provided they are supplied with a constant summer run of water equal to the median run of the summer months.[35]

This agreement was made on the condition that the protecting clause remained in force in all respects. Thus, a modification to the Bill to suit all parties seemed to have been arrived at but, hearing nothing further, Banks became anxious. The Bill was before parliament and due to continue its progress in a few days, in fact, the next meeting for the Commons' Committee was set for 4 May, the final day on which petitions could be presented. Sir Joseph saw Lord Harrowby on the morning of 4 May and some conversation of an inconclusive nature passed between them but his lordship held out a hint of hope for Banks waited at Soho Square expecting word from him. None came, so he wrote to Lord Harrowby to the effect that as he had not received a single assurance from either of the parties supporting the Bill that the clause would be inserted, or his proposals accepted, he was once again personally presenting the petitions against it to the House.[36]

Although there is no documentary evidence for what actually occurred, a major shift in the supporters' position took place during the next few days as during that time Lord Harrowby's opposition was suppressed and the Rutland influence seems to have been resisted and overcome by the committee. The acceptance of William Jessop's assurance for a canal fed by floodwater alone and Banks' transmissions of the Drainage Commissioners' compromise was probably seen as the best solution to a different problem and one which would ensure that the Grantham Canal Bill passed. So, on 7 May the supporters suggested a new clause which provided that no water should be taken from the Denton except floodwater for filling a reservoir. This proposal was satisfactory to Banks and the waters of the Witham seemed secure.

Then, about this time, the basis of the opposition to the Bill changed. Prior to this it had been led by the Witham Drainage and Navigation Commissioners and the landowning interests on the lower Witham in the person of Banks. He knew that Lincoln Corporation was opposed to the Bill but now they were joined by Newark.[37] These towns' opposition was that the water supply to them would be adversely affected by Jessop's plan being carried into effect and they favoured Banks' original proposal for a canal along the Witham and Brant rivers and then using the Fossdyke to the Trent. Despite Jessop's assertions that the towns would not suffer by the removal of flood water the opposition again carried the day and, on 11 May, the Grantham Canal Bill was withdrawn for a second time.[38]

Throughout the following summer the promoters rallied their forces, and their finances, to make another bid in Parliament. David Lely, the promoters' solicitor, called a meeting of subscribers at the 'George Inn', Grantham on 13 July 1792[39] to settle the expenses incurred in their aborted attempt and, while the exact figure is unknown, Banks does say that it was '. . . said to have cost them £2,400 ...'.[40] The first mention of an intention to make a fresh application appeared in a notice in the '*Lincolnshire, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*' of 28 August and referred to a subscribers' meeting held the previous day and also noted a change in the proposed canal's line. Instead of meeting the Trent at Radcliffe, Jessop had moved the exit upstream to West Bridgford (Trent Bridge) and opposite the mouth of the Nottingham Canal. In this way it can be seen how the promoters of the Grantham saw the Nottingham as being to their advantage. Further, a collateral branch was to be built to run from Bingham to join the Grantham at Cropwell Butler.[41] George de Ligne Gregory was no longer chairman of the promoters, the position having passed to the Rev. Phillip Story. Gregory remained on the committee but he perhaps felt that having been chairman during the passage of two unsuccessful Bills, the mantle of responsibility would fit someone else better. Story



The Grantham Canal proposal, September 1791

wrote to Banks on 5 November to say that the renewed application would be made on the same terms as were agreed by Sir Joseph before, save only for the change of course. The promoters desired:

> The Favor of a Line expressive of your concurrence in this Measure directed to me . . . will be considered as an additional Obligation not only by the subscribers at large but also by [me].[42]

Banks replied, stating his approval of the scheme and with the usual reservation—that no flood water was to be taken from the Witham except from the Devon stream, as before agreed.[43] Soon after, a draft copy of the protecting clause was sent to him, to which he again agreed. He did note, however, that the acreage of the Denton reservoir had not been entered and he wanted the word 'Brook' in a reference to the Denton waters substituted for 'Streams', a term which he considered carried too great an interpretation as it might imply an agreement to the diversion of other streams in addition to the Denton.

There things rested over the Christmas period after which Sir Joseph returned from his estates in Lincolnshire to London where the minutes of a joint meeting of the Witham Drainage and Navigation Commissioners, held on 19 February 1793, were sent to him.[44] At this meeting Lincoln Corporation's parliamentary agent, a Mr Bell, produced a clause which he claimed was the one to be inserted by the supporters into the new Bill and which allowed the promoters to take water from the Denton, the precise amount to be calculated by a survey conducted in mid-summer when the level was very low. The Commissioners were concerned about this and asked Banks to give his attention to it when it came before the House. The meeting had also resolved to prepare a petition '. . . against as much of the said Bill as infringes on the Rights of this Trust . . .' which was to be presented by Sir Joseph if and when he considered it necessary. The preparation of a petition implied an objection to the Bill and this Banks could not understand, for the clause respecting the Denton did not differ in any major respect from that which the two Trusts had agreed the previous year. Yet, according to the Commissioners, it did. In the previous Bill, so said the Drainage Commissioners' chairman, John Linton, the amount of water which was to pass into Denton reservoir was to be regulated according to the average quantity of water in summer. However, the new Bill, he claimed, while still limiting the time for calculation to mid-summer, stated that if any rain occurred the measuring should be postponed and it was to take place only if the weather was really dry. So, the quantity of water to be calculated as 'average' was to be that of the driest part of the year—all other was to be counted as 'flood' and so could be diverted legitimately into a reservoir. Linton remarked, 'On the whole, we are decidely of opinion that a watchful attention should be paid to the Granthamites'.[45]

When he replied, Sir Joseph explained the difficult position in which he now found himself as a result of the Commissioners not having read and interpreted the new Bill correctly.[46] In the former Bills the average quantity of water was not to be calculated on a view taken at a time when there had been a recent fall of rain but no provision had been made against taking the average when an unusual drought may have affected it. In the present Bill an equal provision was being made against both circumstances so that a more accurate calculation of the average product of the springs feeding the Denton during the three appointed months of May, June and July could be made. Banks saw this as not materially affecting the original protecting clause which the Commissioners had considered a good compromise. Sir Joseph had told the Grantham proprietors that he believed that the Commissioners were satisfied with the new Bill, '. . . and I feel myself in a scrape if the Commissioners chose to oppose now what they agreed to last year'.[47]

He just could not understand their opposition as the amounts of water they were concerning themselves with were trifling when compared with the whole flow of the Witham. This had been demonstrated by Jessop the previous year and Banks stated the fact that, '. . . [if] the whole water of their reservoir should present itself at the grand sluice at once, [it] cod. not . . . be more than five minutes through in flood time'.[48]

Banks assured the Commissioners[49] that the basis of their objection was unfounded and they agreed, declaring that, '. . . it now . . . appears not only to be unnecessary but also inexpedient to present the petitions which were sent to you.'[50]

On 2 March the Grantham committee met to discuss Lincoln Corporation's opposition and they agreed that if Lincoln persisted in its case they would settle the amount to be removed from the Denton at four locksfull a day, a figure based on a survey conducted by William King in 1791.[51] This compromise was enough for the Corporation to agree.

Only one problem remained outstanding with which Banks had to deal and that was the wording of the draft clause in which he wanted the word 'Brook' inserted in place of 'Streams' and the area of the Denton reservoir, then calculated by Jessop at 20 acres, written in. A number of time he had been in touch with the promoters to have this settled but nothing had happened so Banks wrote to William King and demanded immediate attention. He asked if the promoters would 'consider the possible consequences which from a recollection of the Conduct held last year I am justified in thinking may happen again.'[52] and stated that if nothing was done he would '. . . declare war . . .'[53] and set the opposition in motion again. King was not at home when this note was delivered but Banks heard that King, Story and Gregory were to be found at the Spring Gardens Coffee House and he went there personally, probably expecting more delay and excuses . The opposite was the case—he was told that they had already ordered the alteration in the wording and the insertion of the acreage and there, in Banks' presence, this group, who constituted a quorum of the Grantee committee, passed a resolution giving him all he wanted.[54]

This was just in time for the Commons' Committee resumed their consideration of the Grantham Canal Bill two days later, on 8 March. This time the Bill had a smooth passage. Newark's opposition was defeated and the Bill gained the Royal Assent on 30 April.[55] With the Act secured and the Witham waters safeguarded Sir Joseph seems to have had no further connection with the Grantham Canal.

The promotion of the Grantham Canal was the first time that Sir Joseph acted as an official representative of the Witham Trust in any of their business and the reason for his selection was that he was able and willing to oversee the Commissions' interests in London and to supervise the parliamentary progress of the promoters' attempts to secure an Act. As far as possible he kept in touch with those in Lincolnshire but in order to carry out their instructions it was necessary for him to act on his own initiative and react swiftly to situations as they developed. For this reason the Lincolnshire parties were not always up-to-date in their understanding of what was happening in London and, so, a general oversight of the Witham Trusts' interests was Sir Joseph's first, and primary, role. It was to achieve this objective that he suggested an alternative line for the canal when it appeared that the Denton and Mawbeck waters were under threat but he was not against the promotion of the Grantham Canal in principle in view of the benefits which it would bring to the country around. Even when his suggestion was rejected he remained sympathetic to the aspirations of the promoters.

Sir Joseph's second role was that of investigator on behalf of the Witham Commissioners. After trying to protect the Denton and Mawbeck waters by insisting that a clause be put into the Grantham Bill to safeguard them, he went to great lengths to discover who had removed it and why. In undertaking this investigation and also in

the general oversight of the Witham's interests, Sir Joseph proved willing to devote much of his very limited free time; he visited the main promoters personally and entered into lengthy correspondence with them, in particular with Lords Harrowby and Brownlow and Lt. Col. Manners. Time was also required to organise the opposition to the Bill and present the Witham Commissioners' petitions to the House. Organising ability and a capacity for detailed work were attributes of Banks' character which were evident in many other examples of Banks' character which were evident in many other examples of his involvement in waterways' promotions and they were displayed to advantage here. Other aspects of his character were also recognised and used by the Witham Trust. By asking him to be their representative they showed themselves willing to be guided by his judgement and discretion and this was further emphasised by their leaving to him the choice of the correct moment to present their petitions. They also recognised that in him they had a negotiator who could relate to Grantham's promoters.

He performed a service of importance to the Witham Trusts when he acted as interpreter for them on the amendment introduced into the third Bill concerning the time of year when the levels were to be taken on the Denton. The Witham Commissioners had failed to grasp the implications of the amendment and Banks prevented them, inadvertently perhaps, from bringing about the failure of the Grantham Bill for a third time.

Sir Joseph is seen, therefore, in a number of different roles in this canal's promotion, each of which was vital if the results which he and the Commissioners desired were to be achieved. In the circumstances which then existed it is doubtful whether the Witham Commissioners could have chosen a more suitable representative than Banks for he succeeded in the task set and he does not seem to have made any mistakes in the negotiations. His handling of Lord Harrowby cannot be criticised for, even though Banks did not convince him of the unsoundness of the opinion he held, it was Banks who ensured that, by organising an effective opposition and by remaining vigilant as to the wording of the protecting clause in the various Bills, the Harrowby interest did not prevail in Parliament.

At the time Banks would not have been conscious of one historical role he was playing as far as canal history was concerned. To date no copy of William Jessop's survey plan has been found but, on 7 November 1791, Banks wrote a 'memo' describing the route, what was to be constructed on the proposed canal, the mills and the way in which the canal was to be supplied with water. Banks stated that this information came from William King and, indeed, in the second part of his description he refers to the fact that he was one of a viewing party of which King was a member. Thus, this document may represent the nearest we now have to Jessop's original report.[56]

REFERENCES

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2 Today called the 'Old Beck'.

3 'A Map of the River Witham and the Brook Brant with the adjacent Towns. Surveyed in 1771.' In this author's possession. A summary (undated) of the intended route and works exists in Banks' handwriting, see British Museum (Nat. Hist) Sutro Library microfilm 21.

4 *Lincolnshire, Rutland and Stamford Mercury.* Notice dated 22 August 1791.

5 Spalding Gentleman's Society, Banks-Stanhope Collection (BS). BS 24/1/1. Richard Ellison to Sir Joseph Banks (SJB). Undated letter.

6 BS 24/1/1. A report of the meeting held at the 'Peacock Inn', Boston.

7 BS 24/1/1. SJB to Lord Brownlow, 13 October 1791.

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10 John Henry Manner, 5th Duke, 1778–1857.

11 10 shares were held in the name of the Duke of Rutland, 1792–1819.

12 BS 24/1/1. Printed report of the public meeting of 24 October 1791.

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14 BS 24/1/2. SJB to George de Ligne Gregory, 21 March 1792.

15 Dudley Ryder, 1762–1847.

16 BS 24/1/4. Joseph Hill to SJB, 29 March 1792. (Copy letter in SJB's hand).

17 BS 24/2. SJB's 'Journal' for 22 April–19 May 1792.

18 BS 24/1/2. SJB 'Journal' entry for 22 March 1792.

19 BS 24/1/5. J. Linton to SJB, 25 March 1792.

20 BS 24/1/2. Intended Grantham Canal Committee to SJB, 27 March 1792.

21 Mary Isabella (1736–1831). She was the daughter of Charles, Duke of Beaufort.

22 John Baker Holroyd FRS, First Earl of Sheffield (1735–1821).

23 Noted as residing in Grosvenor Square, London. This is probably Robert Manners (1758–1823). See Manners' family genealogical table in I. Eller, *The History of Belvoir Castle . . .*, Tyas, London, 1841. Grantham Reference Library.

24 BS 24/1/4. Lt. Col. R. Manners to SJB, 4 April 1792.

25 BS 24/1/4. Lt. Col. R. Manners to SJB, 6 April 1792.

26 Charles, 4th Duke, 1754–1787.

27 BS 24/1/4. SJB to Lt. Col. R. Manners, 8 April 1792.

28 'The Case of the Drainers and Navigators by the River Witham and of the Occupiers of a large Tract of low Land adjoining the same; against the Grantham Canal Bill.' Unsigned.

29 There is no evidence for this apart from what Banks said he heard and, even then, Banks did not name the source of this accusation.

30 BS 24/1/5. Petition of the Mayor and Corporation of Boston. Noted in an SJB listing of petitions presented.

HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2. p. 635. 2 April 1792. Petition of the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln.

HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2. p. 636. 2 April 1792. Petition of the proprietors of the Fossdyke Canal.

HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2 p. 639. The petition of '. . . owners and occupiers of Lands draining by the River Witham . . .' and HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2. pp. 707–8. 18 April 1792. The petition of '. . . several Proprietors of Estates situate near or drain'd by the River Witham . . .'. BS 24/1/5 contains ms. copies of both petitions.

HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2. pp. 707–8. 18 April 1792. Also BS 24/1/5. Ms. copy. Petition of the Witham Navigation Commissioners.

BS 24/1/5. Ms. copy. Petition of the Witham General Drainage Commissioners.

31 BS 24/1/6. 'Observations on the Use of Reservoirs for Flood Waters.' Undated and unsigned but known to be by William Jessop.

32 BS 24/1/2. SJB to George de Ligne Gregory, and return, both of 19 April 1792.

33 BS 24/2/1. George de Ligne Gregory to SJB, 21 April 1792. Also BS 24/2/1a, 1b, 1c. SJB 'memoranda', 20/21 April 1792.

34 BS 24/2/3a. George de Ligne Gregory to SJB. 25 April 1792.

35 BS 24/2/2. SJB to Lord Brownlow, 23 April 1792. At the top of the letter SJB has written, 'Given to Ld. Brownlow on the 23d. at 11 at night'.

36 BS 24/2/7. SJB to Lord Harrowby, 4 May 1792.

37 BS 24/2/24. 'Grantham Canal Facts', which contain the arguments of Lincoln Corporation and Newark. Undated and unsigned.

38 HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 2. p. 786. 11 May 1792.

39 *Lincolnshire, Rutland and Stamford Mercury.* Notice dated 4 July 1792.

40 BS 24/1/7/1. An SJB note at the foot of a copy resolution of the intended Grantham Canal Committee, 30 August 1792.

41 BS 24/1/7/13. William Jessop's survey map. No earlier record of this addition has been found before it appears in a petition presented by the Earl of Chesterfield, in HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 47. pt. 1. p. 492. 5 March 1792. Its purpose was to serve his estates.

42 BS 24/1/7/2. P. Story to SJB, 5 November 1792.

43 BS 24/1/7/5.

44 BS 24/1/7/7 & 8. Two copy minutes, exactly the same, but one by the Witham Drainage Commissioners and the other by the Witham Navigation Commissioners.

45 BS 24/1/7. J. Linton to SJB, 19 February 1793.

46 BS 24/1/7/10. SJB to J. Linton, 27 February 1793.

47 As note 45.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid* and BS 24/1/7/9. SJB to J. Linton, 21 February 1793 and J. Linton to SJB, 19 and 24 February 1793.

50 BS 24/1/7/11. J. Linton to SJB, 1 March 1793.

51 BS 24/1/7. SJB 'Journal' entry for that date.

52 BS 24/1/7/14. SJB to William King, 6 March 1793.

53 BS 24/1/7/16. SJB to J. Linton, 7 March 1793.

54 BS 24/1/7/15. Copy minute of the Intended Grantham Canal Committee, 6 March 1793.

55 33 Geo. 111. c. 94. Also HLRO. *Commons Journal*, vol. 48. pt. 2. p. 711.

56 BS 24/1/1.

'1791. Nov'. 7 Grantham Canal information from Mr. King.

The Canal is intended to Commence in a Field called the Earls field near the SW Corner of the grange Enclosure if Mr. Manners consent can be obtained[,] if not[,] somewhere in spittle gate nearly halfway between Mr. Manner's house & Mr. Mantons mill on a Line drawn from one to the other & join the Trent near Holm Pierpoint passing within near 3/4 of a mile of Ratcliffe Wharf

it will cross the Mawbeck 3 times near the bridge over the Turnpike Road a few fields from the farm house of Borrowby mires[,] the denton water after all the Steamlets are joined & the sedgbrook rill[,] but no others which run into the witham[.] the Fall in all is 145 Feet[.] it is to be 40 feet wide at the top & to Carry boats of 4 feet draught

the First 6 miles is [to] be on dead Level after which it descends near Mr. Walkers House by 8 Locks into the Vale of Belvoir[;] this part is to be Cut 5 feet deep, afterwards a Less depth will serve

from this Point it becomes the most winding Canal I have ever seen laid out by the hands of man[.] in one place it passes thro a Fox cover immediately under Belvoir Castle and[,] going to Botsford (sic) above a mile off[,] returns into the same fox Cover making an angular bend almost resembling the place called no mans Friend in the Trent[.] in one Part of its Course it will be within 6 miles of the melton Mowbray Canal[.] all these twistings seem intended to carry it into different Estates of the Dukes and[,] indeed[,] the whole Plan seems much more calculated for the advantage of the Vale of Belvoir than that of the Town of Grantham[.] the whole Length is 30 miles[.]

the Locks are to be 75 Feet long & 15 wide[,] Each to Lift from 61/2 to 7 feet[.] the supply of water to be taken from the River Devon which Producd[,] in the Dry time of last october at the Ruins of an old mill which we visited & which is 8 Feet above the highest Level of the Canal[,] 16 or 17 Locks of water a day[.] the owners of Devon water however have stipulated that it shall not be diverted into the Canal in summer time.

the whole supply therefore of this Canal must depend on Reservoirs to be Filld by the Flood water of [the] Devon & the valley in which that river Runs is admirably constructd for the formation of many such[.] Mr. Jessops calculation is that one Foot depth of water is annuely (sic) run off the surface of the Earth into Rivers &c. being the surplus of the Rain that Falls & the portion that is not consumd by the seepage & evaporation[.] 100 acres of Land would therefore produce 100 feet water in a reservoir of one acre if the surplus rainfall water Could be conductd into it

When the Devon produced 16 or 17 Locks the Mawbeck yielded 4[,] the Denton water 4 & the sedgebrook water was dry ...

Mr. Jessop[,] whose speculations in Favor of Lime as a manure have always been very great[,] thinks that 20,000 Tons will be consumd in the Line of the Canal[,] also that 18,000 Tons of Coal will be used at the head & 800 in the Line of the Canal but Lest people should think him Sgnuin he has not publicly stated his opinions nearly so high . . .

the Planners of this Canal orginally intended to have tapd the River witham Above the Paper mill & carried the water along the Hill side thro the new enclosure in spital gate to the Canal as Mr. Manton informd me

the new Canal is twisted in one Place so much as to com within 6 miles of the Melton Mowbray Canal & there is a speculation from Leicestershire if I understand Mr. King right[.] ...

1791 Nov. 7 Grantham

Observations made with a view to Learn in what manner the intended Canal is to be supplied with water

. . . The Maw Beck[,] where it Runs into the witham just above the slate mill[,] seemd a pretty beck[.] it is derivd from 4 Rills all of which join at the back of the Grange[.] those that come from the north west one of which is said to be calld the Running Furrows & the other coneygerys[.] Not being in a situation where the Canal can get at their waters we did not view them

one of the other Branches Comes from Harlaxton & the other from near Barrowby at the head of the river & these join a field or two below the farm house of Barrowby mires and just at their junction the Canal will cross them as we saw by a mark in the Soil by the Survey

the Harlaxton branch is here so considerable as to be the boundary between the hundreds of Winnibrig [Winnibriggs] and Trehow [Threo] & to require a bridge over it in the Turnpike Road[.] the Barrowby branch is a pretty Rill, both together Run a considerable stream of water in winter as may be seen by the weeds left in the hedges[.] I judge that the Tunnell or Culver (sic)[,] as it is here termed[,] by which it is to Pass under the navigation ought not to be of Less dimensions than 5 or maybe 6 feet square

at Denton are three Rills[,] one of which passes thro Mr. Welbys lands and another joins it immediately below them[.] these together turn a mill in the town within a Quarter of a mile of the Pond but it is said to be a very bad one & frequently to stand in summer for want of water[.] the third stream joins the Beck below the mill[.] the Canal will cross below this junction[.] we crossd near the place where the Canal will cross & the united Streams seemd to Furnish as much water as the Maw beck[.] another Brook[,] which takes it rise on a hill side a little east of woolsthorpe & Joins the Denton water not Far frm Sedgbrook[,] will be crossd where we crossd it[,] . . . we thought it produced about half as much water as the other Branch consequently[,] by Mr. Kings account[,] 2 Locks a day[.] Mr. King told us it was dry in the summer for which reason he did not measure its Produce but the willows on the banks and the whole appearance of the channell seemd to us to Contradict that opinion which we therefore concluded was a mistake'

Memorials to Railway and Canal Individuals, Part 3

BY STANLEY TYSON

Contributions from P. W. Abbot, Dr A. L. Barnett, David Cane, Dr Janet Cutler, Peter Donovan, T. J. Edgington, David Hodgkins, R. W. Kidner, Pat McCarthy, Paul Reynolds, John Scivyer, Rodney Weaver.

ABERGELE. In addition to the churchyard memorial there is a memorial cross on the up side of the line at the point of collision. Different sources quote the date as 20 August 1867 or 68. (R. Weaver)

ARMSTRONG Joseph, GWR locomotive engineer, is buried in St Mark's churchyard, Swindon. There is an obelisk over a pediment. The inscription reads, 'The Lord knowest the days of the upright and their inheritance shall be forever'. Contributions for a different memorial were used instead to fund a lifeboat named after him.

BEDWELLTY. In the churchyard is a gravestone to 'Joseph Waters, railway contractor ... accidently killed on the tramroad, July 22nd 1836, aged 16 years'. Presumably he was a labourer. (P. Reynolds)

BEVERLY. The bases of the few lamp standards on the northern line of the Minister, were, until recently the only tangible memorial to William Crosskill, a local ironfounder who introduced the first system of portable railway equipment. The new MAFF building on the site of his works has been named Crosskill House. (R. Weaver)

BOWEN COOKE Charles John. His grave is at St Just in Roseland, Cornwall. The inscription refers to his services as CME of the LNWR and NLR. He died in 1920 and his grave is marked by a granite Memorial in the form of a Celtic Cross.
(Dr J. Cutler and R. W. Kidner)

BRADSHAW, George is buried in Oslo. There is a needle monument to him inscribed 'In Loving Memory of George Bradshaw of Manchester, England, who died at Christiana Sept 16th 1853 aged 53 years'. He had died of cholera. R. W. Kidner

BRANDLING Charles John, succeeded to the Middleton Estates in 1749 in Leeds. His tombstone is close to the West Tower of Middleton Parish Church, Leeds. The horizontal slab is covered in undergrowth. (Anon)

BRASSEY Thomas. There is a Brassey's Contract Road on the edge of the Chester District. The Nameplate can be seen where the road crosses the Tattenhall Junction and Whitchurch (LNWR) line at NGR SJ 488503. (Pat McCarthy)

BRINDLEY James. The location of Brindley's burial could cause confusion. Thursfield is apparently synonomous with Newchapel though it is only shown on the current 25,000 OS as Thursfield Lodge. However it is in Kidsgrove CP which is part of Newcastle under Lyne District. This is typical of the confusion which arises between the ecclesiastical parishes and the current local government boundaries. Furthermore, Tunstead is in the hamlet of Wormhill CP, but quite separate from Wermhill village. Indeed Margatewall lies between the two. (P. McCarthy).

BRISTOL Temple Meads. There is/was a plaque about 3ft 6in by 4ft 6in erected in the railway station by the Bristol & South Wales Union Railway. It reads, 'Bristol & South Wales Union Railway & Steam Ferry Opened September Eighteen Hundred & Sixty Three Christopher James Thomas Chairman Railways and Piers designed By Isambard Kingdom Brunel'. Anon

BROMSGROVE See also Pt 1. A new housing estate on the site of the former wagon works adjacent to Bromsgrove Station has its roads named after, Moorsom (chairman of the Birmingham and Gloucester Rly), Rutherford, Scaife, McConnell (who designed the first Lickey Incline) and Clayton who carried out the preliminary design. (R. Weaver)

BRUNEL Marc. There is/was a plaque set up in 1959 by the LTE at Wapping station commemorating the completion of the Thames Tunnel in 1843. (R. W. Kidner)

BURY Edward FRS. Whilst there appears to be no memorial to him there is in the NRM store a water column from Coventry Station with the mark 'Bury, Curtis and Kennedy'. (R. Weaver)

CARDIFF? WELSH INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM. In the care of the museum is a 7 ft wide semi circular cast iron plate bearing the words 'Crawshay Bailey 1845', taken from the doorway of the Aberaman Ironworks, the suppliers of many railway artifacts. (R. W. Kidner)

THE CAUSEY ARCH. There was an inscription 'Ra Wood, Mason 1727 on a sundial on one of the abutments. At the base of the western abutment a few feet above the water line is clearly carved 'B Horne 1727' (certainly not recently graffiti). (S. Tyson)

CHASEWATER. On the south wall of the church is a memorial to the Rev'd H. W. Phillips in the shape of oval of black marble or slate about 4ft high and 3ft wide. On to the base is affixed a white marble semicircle inscribed as follows, 'In memory of the Rev'd H. W. Phillips MA, 17 months incumbent of this parish who was killed at Shrivenham on the Great Western Railway on the 10th of May 1848 aged 29 years. This tablet has been erected by a few of his parishioners and friends in commemoration of his many virtues. The whole is surmounted by an elaborate decoration including a Roman style oil lamp. Our correspondent speculates on the reason for his journey since the train was non stop Exeter to Paddington. Peter Donovan

CHELFORD, Cheshire. There was an accident here in December 1894. Details of the memorial are available in a book published locally. Terry Broadhurst

CHURCH LAWTON, Alsager. Outside the west door of the Parish Church is to be found, 'In memory of Hugh Lanyon of Truro in the County of Cornwall. He died at Lawton on the 15th June 1846 aged 44 years. He was assistant surveyor to the Trent and Mersey Company. As a record of his zeal in the discharge of his dutyes, the Company have raised this stone'.

In a group of stones to the right of the entrance gates 'In loving Memory of George Farmer, late station master, Lawton who died March 18th 1894 Aged 65 years'.

There is also a stone to the memory of William Wade (aged 25) of Red Bull Wharf who died in a collision on the North Staffordshire Rly on Jan 20 1872.

Another is to two young children who were drowned in the Trent and Mersey Canal. (D. Cane)

CLAUGHTON Sir Gilbert, Locomotive engineer, is buried in Himley churchyard near Dudley. (T. Edgington)

CORWEN churchyard has a memorial to Owen Owen, a 29 year old engine driver. The inscription follows the familiar poem 'Your Race is Run' etc. (R. W. Kidner)

CREWE? Victoria Park. This was presented to the town by the LNWR and the entrance gates carry an appropriate inscription, the prime movers being Sir Richard Moon and Francis Webb. The gables are decorated with devices needing no words of explanation, and possibly designed by Webb. Just inside the entrance is an obelisk

bearing on its four faces the likeliness of Moon, Webb, the Duke of Somerset and Queen Victoria. Elsewhere in the park is a memorial shelter erected to the memory of Charles Dick, formerly signal engineer and latterly works manager. (R. Weaver)

CREWE Station. There is a cast iorn plaque on platform 6 commemmorating the death in a shunting accident in fairly recent times. (P. McCarthy)

DENBIGH HALL Station. On the site of the former station is a memorial erected by Sir Herbert Leon in 1920. R. W. Kidner

DURHAM Station. On a catenary post on the UP platform is a plaque which says 'This mast, the 20,000 th on the East Coast Main Line electrification project was 'planted' by the Mayor of Durham, Councillor Mrs Mildred Brown, and Professor F. G. T. Holliday, CBE, FRSE. Vice Chancellor and Warden, University of Durham, and chairman British Rail Eastern Region Advisory Board, on 22nd September 1988'. (Anon)

EDMONDSON Thomas, inventor of the card ticket. There are two separate plaques to his memory in the City of Lancaster. The one at his birthplace on a house at the corner of Moor Lane and Stonewell, the other is opposite the ticket office at the railway station. (Anon)

ELY CATHEDRAL. In the porch is a stone tombstone to William Pickering (died 24 Dec 1845) also Richard Edger. The stone is inscribed with the oft quoted poem, 'The Spiritual Railway'.

The line to Heaven by Christ was Made
With Heavenly truth the Rails are laid
From Earth to Heaven the line extends
To Life Eternal where it ends' etc,

Pickering and Edger died aged 30 and 24 respectively on the same date. (P. Reynolds)

FILEY .The cast iron footbridge leading to the parish church has been strengthened with some of the girders from the former railway bridge over the Canal at Ripon (qv) which was dismantled, it being on the line of the city by pass under construction. Council circular

HUDSON George. There is now a plaque on the National Trust shop, York, near The Minster which was the site of his draper's shop. (T. J. Edgington)

Victoria Bar was pierced in the York city walls in 1838, the year of his mayoralty, according to a carved stone. (Anon)

HORWICH. More streets with railway connections, not all connected with the LNWR. Allen Place, Bently Drive, Bowen St, Frank Bott Ave, Frank Webb Ave, Goddard St, Jessop Way, Manning St, Nigel Gresley Close, Stalbridge Rd, Stamp Ave, Trevithick Close. (P. McCarthy)

HUISH Mark. He is buried in Bonchurch new Churchyard. There is also a memorial grotto in the main street, Bonchurch. (T. J. Edgington)

KIRK HEATON. Nr. Huddersfield. The churchyard has a stone grave with a relief of a Webb compound loco 440. (R. W. Kidner)

LEAMINGTON SPA. St Mary's church has a memorial tablet to Massey Bromley, formerly CME of the GER, who was killed in the Penistone accident of 16 July 1884. (R. Weaver)

LITTLEBOROUGH Station. A plaque was fixed to the front of the station in 1951 commemorating an opening ceremony with George Stephenson on 3rd July 1839.
(R. W. Kidner.)

LLANELLI churchyard, Breconshire. A rather dilapidated gravestone to Joshua Morgan 'who died from injuries caused by the Cymre engine in 1871. The loco worked Crawshay Bailey's line from Nantygle to quarries at Llangattock. (P. Reynolds)

McCONNELL James. There is a flamboyant memorial to him in Great Missenden churchyard. (R. Weaver)

MALVERN. A monument on the Malvern Hills above Colwall is a monument to Stephen Ballard, a railway contractor. NGR SO 763430. (T. J. Edgington)

MANSFIELD. On a warehouse at Mansfield was a plaque of the Mansfield Railway of 1819, which was removed to the Butterley Centre 1983. R. W. Kidner.

MOON Sir Richard. He is buried in St Bartholomew's churchyard Binley, Coventry. In 1899 one could have stood there and seen his late home, the London and Birmingham main line and also just a glimpse of trains on the Trent Valley line.
(R. Weaver)

NEWCASTLE High Level Bridge. There has recently been placed a circular plaque under a masonry arch reading, 'George Stephenson 1781–1848, George Stephenson had first surveyed routes to Berwick in 1838. Designed by his son Robert, completed in August 1849. High Level Bridge was a major link in a London-Edinburgh railway. Tyne and Wear County Council'.

NEWPORT. St Woolos Cathedral. John Hodgkinson is buried in the Churchyard. He was a major figure in tramroad engineering in South Wales including the Hay Railway, Sirhowy, Grosmont, Bulle Pill and others. His tombstone reads 'In memory of John Hodgkinson Esq of Alteryn who died February 12, 1861. (P. Reynolds)

NORDEN, Dorset. The keystone of the tunnel of the former Middlebere tramway under the Swanage Rd at Norden, carries the legend 'B F 1807'. This commemorates Benjamin Fayle, a pioneer china clay manufacturer whose railway ran from Norden to Poole Harbour, later relocated and became known as Fayles Tramway even after its purchase by English China Clays. R. W. Kidner.

PETO, Sir Samuel Morton. There is a plaque and a bust to him on the wall of the concourse of Norwich station. T. W. Edgington.

RAMSBOTTOM, John. There is a memorial window to him in the chancel of Christchurch Crewe, qv. T. W. Edgington.

RANNOCH Station. At the north end of the station is a statue of J. H. Renton carved by the railway navvies out of a boulder excavated during construction on the line. Renton, a director of the West Highland Railway used his private fortune to rescue the Company at the time of a politice-financial crisis. For his services his reward was the driving of the last spike 5 Sept 1893. (P. W. Abbott)

RIPON CATHEDRAL. On the north wall of the aisle is a modest memorial to Mrs Elisabeth Garnett, daughter of the Rev. Joshua Hart, vicar of Otley. The inscription which is surmounted by a small cluster in relief of two shovels, a pick, a hammer, a saw with a bible between them says 'To the Glory of God and in grateful memory of the devoted life and services of Elizabeth Garnett, wife of Charles Garnett, born Sept 23rd 1839, died March 22 1921. She spent the greater portion of her days on earth in ministering to the needs, spiritual and temporal of the navvy communities employed on public works in this country and abroad. In 1877 she was instrumental in founding in this city navvy mission and was widely known and beloved as the Navvies' Friend ... '. She was the founder of the Christmas Excavators Union. See 'The Railway Navvies, Terry Coleman pp 152, 153'. (Dr Cutler, W. Featherstone, S. Tyson)

ROSEBUSH. Dyfed. There is a monument now in a caravan park which reads, '1913, Erected by public subscription to the memory of Edwin Cropper Esq, the Honourable Mrs Owen, and J. B. Macauley Esq, who by their individual efforts conferred lasting benefits on these districts by constructing at their own expense this railway from Clynderwen to Rosebush in 1872-1876'. There is also a plaque to Cropper and his son in Maenclochog church. (Rly Mag Feb 1938 Dr A. L. Barnett)

RUGBY. A tombstone is to be found to the left inside the gate of the cemetery in Lower Hillmorton Rd which reads, 'Thomas William Partridge, accidently killed at Rugby station. L&N E Rly. 13th Sept 1935 aged 59 years'. (John Scivyer.)

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. There is a plaque in the northern part of the Nave to those killed in the accident on the LSW Rly, 1st July 1906. (R. W. Ridner)

SELBY COALFIELD DIVISION. The completion of this diversion is commemorated by a concrete tetrahedron having a small plaque affixed to an inclined face which is not easy to read. The whole affair is confined within a wire enclosure surrounded by scrub growth, on railway property on the down side (i.e. north going track) very close to and on the south east of the flyover bridge near Hambleton. Being also close to the high speed running line it is not available for inspection. The inscription, all in lower case reads 'This stone commemmorates the building of the new section of the East Coast Main Line to avoid the Selby Coalfield 29 July 1980. Laid in the presence of Sir Peter Parker MVO Chairman British Railways Board, Sir Derek Ezra MBE Chairman National Coal Board, Glyn Esq Chairman Central Electricity Generating Board, W. Stanley Whittingham Esq Chairman A. Monk and Co. Frank Paterson Esq General Manager British Rail Eastern'. The word Region does not appear. Presumably as an afterthought there is/was a loosely fitted plate reading 'P. B. Davies Chief Civil Engineer Eastern Region'. On a subsequent visit this latter plaque was adrift in the grass. We are told that a stainless steel casket is buried under this unique shaped monument. (Rly Mag Oct 1980; Dr A. L. Barnett, S. Tyson)

STEPHENSON George. There is a portrait of him in the National Portrait Gallery showing him seated in a leather arm chair and holding a map.

STEPHENSON Robert. Son of the above is buried in the central aisle of Westminster Abbey next to Thomas Telford. The monumental brass, by Hardman of Birmingham is fixed in a polished granite slab about 8 ft by 4 ft. The figure, border and ornamental corners are of brass. On the inner part of the slab are fleurs de lys cut into the stone. Around the border is the inscription, 'Sacred to the memory of Robert Stephenson MP DCL FRS', late President of the Institution of Civil Engineers who died 12th Oct AD 1859 aged 59 years. (S. Tyson)

STEPHENSON, Robert. There is a Bronze statue in the forecourt of the new Euston station. It formerly stood between lodges by the Euston Rd entrance. T. W. Edgington.

SWINDON, Minard C Rea. He lies buried in St Mark's churchyard. He was largely responsible for the creation of a permanent home for the Mechanics Institution being duly opened May 1855. He served as works manager.

Ex Railway World, Anon, no date.

TALYLLYN rly. Abergynolwyn station. The fact that the toilets were presented by Ian Allan is commemmorated by a slate tablet inscribed in Welsh and English. Furthermore the railway extension to Nant Gwernol was opened Sat May 22nd 1976 by Wynford Vaughan Thomas is noted on a plaque near the signal cabin. (Anon)

TOWYN (TYWYN) Station. At the wharf station is a small museum containing a silver salver presented to Edward Thomas on the occasion of his retirement from the TallyLyn rly, 30th Sept 1967. (Anon)

WATKIN Sir Edward William Bt. is buried in the churchyard of St Wilfred of the parish church of Northenden, Manchester. His grave bears the inscription 'Seest Thou a Man Diligent in Business, He shall stand before Kings'. (D. Hodgkins)

WEBB F. There is a stone in Bournemouth cemetery. (R. W. Kidner)
There is a Webb place not to mention the adjacent Crewe place of Old Oak Lane midway between the entrances to Willesdon Junction and Old Oak Common depot.
(R. Weaver)

WIGTOWN, Galloway. In the cemetery is a gravestone which reads 'In Loving Memory of Thomas Wheatly (Formerly of the MS&L, L&NW, and NB Railways and latterly until his death first lessee and General Manager of the Wigtownshire Railway), who departed this life peacefully at Woodside, Wigtown 15th March 1883 in his 63rd year. Much beloved by all who know him.' Tim Edmonds Rly Mag Jan 1991 p 22.

Addenda

BRATTON Fleming (p. 424) should read **BRATTON FLEMING.**

DRUMMOND, Dugal (p. 426) should read **Dugald.**

GOOCH, Sir Daniell (p. 426) Should read **Daniel.**

BOUVERIE, Phillip (p. 424). An official of the Grand Junction Canal. There is a Bouverie Place in London WC2, near Paddington Basin. (Not Bouverie Street off Fleet Street).

Wartime Canal Boatmen

BY MIKE CLARKE

That there were women boaters on the narrow canals during the Second World War is well known. Even those who ventured on to the Leeds and Liverpool have been acknowledged, doing their bit for the country at a time of labour shortage. But Britain in the 1940s was still very much male dominated, so why were women allowed to do a job that society saw as very much a male preserve. The answer is that men had already been used unsuccessfully to fill the gap left by young boatmen who had joined the armed services.

In both the First and Second World Wars canal transport had initially had a low priority. Goods were diverted to railways as it was impossible to keep boatmen on canals, where wages were low and conditions poor. Many left for work in factories. However, as conditions on the railways deteriorated through lack of maintenance, war damage during the Second World War, and the loss of skilled men, the government began to look round for ways of improving deliveries of materials and food. Eventually a Canal Control Committee was set up to co-ordinated traffic between canals and to help improve conditions and staffing. Income was guaranteed to the canal companies, but not to carrying companies, at pre-war rates. The railways, also, did not do terribly well, with losses incurred during the war contributing to amalgamation in 1923 and nationalisation in 1948. It is certain that government financial provision for canals during both wars was to result in the demise of carrying on many canals. Those involved with canals during the Second World War were sceptical of government attitudes. Mr Rawsthorne, a director of Canal Transport Ltd., general carriers on the Leeds and Liverpool, was reported telling fellow directors '... that the knowledge gained during the last period of control by the government of the transport industry is sufficient for the experience not to be repeated'. He was of the opinion that railway receipts would increase as traffic was forced onto them by petrol rationing and other shortages and that local railwaymen expected nationalisation when hostilities ceased.

The First World War

A Canal Control Committee was set up early in 1917, and had taken over the Leeds and Liverpool by 22 February. A tour of inspection was made, the lock keeper at Bank Newton noting that the government boat 293 (one of the L&L flyboats) passed through the locks on the 1st March with Henry Draper as captain. As a result of the inspection they must have decided to approach the army for help. There was already an Inland Waterways Battalion which operated in France, Belgium and the Near East, which had trained boatmen on the Basingstoke Canal. English canal boats had been sent abroad for the use of this battalion. For some reason these soldiers were not used on the Leeds and Liverpool and instead three transport battalions were set up as part of the South Lancashire Regiment. Two were involved with dock work, while members of the 17th (Transport Workers) Battalion worked on canals.

It must have taken some time to set up as it was not until 19 November 1917 that the Bank Newton lock keeper noted that a steamer and six boats had passed with a sergeant and 20 men. The steamer had been converted into a house boat though sufficient accommodation could have been provided on the boats. There was a cook, so perhaps the steamer was also used as a mess. The men seem to have come from places such as London, Hull, Newcastle and Liverpool where they may have worked on the water before the war. Perhaps they were unfit for active service.

Over the next few months the boats crossed the canal's summit level several times as the men got to know the route. In March 1918 it was reported that 22 men were being trained and by September there were 37 soldier boatmen working out of a total of 493 boatmen on the canal. The original canal boatmen did not take too kindly to the army's boats, especially when the sergeant demanded priority at locks as they were on government service. The thought of fighting twenty odd men for a lock must have been too much even for the most hardened of boatmen! Eventually the solider boatmen were sent to work as mates with an experienced boatman, though they continued to wear army uniform. At least two died whilst at work. Private James Jaques, from Poplar in London, was drowned on lock 13 at Wigan on 9 July 1918. A paddle was left open as the boat was descending the lock and he was knocked into the water when the tiller swung round due to the pressure of water. Later, on 9 October 1918, Private Charles Tullett was also drowned. Unusually, neither man is mentioned in official records as having died on active service.

The Second World War

Canals had been co-ordinated by a control committee right from the start of hostilities and were brought completely under government control in 1942. Prior to this, by the end of 1940, boats were already tied up for want of crews, and the Canal Carriers Association was pressing the Ministry of Labour to set up a canal training scheme. On the Leeds and Liverpool, Canal Transport Limited had nine boats unmanned, and 3 Belgian bargemen were offered a trial after being interviewed. They turned up for work at Wigan in January 1941 but were stopped by the local police, presumably as aliens. Norwegian seamen were also interviewed but nothing seems to have materialised, possibly as a result of the police action. By July 1941 soliders from the Inland Water Transport Section, in uniform as in the First World War, were being employed on the Leeds and Liverpool to help with transporting goods. Although useful, their boats were reported regularly as damaged and constantly in dry dock, so management must have viewed their departure for other work in September with some relief. Damage to boats was a constant problem during this war as the blackout made travelling by night hazardous, particularly for bluff bowed barges on the northern waterways.

During the war, factories were able to pay high wages, and it was a constant effort for Canal Transport Limited to keep boatmen with the low wages they could offer and strenuous conditions on the boats. At the beginning of November 1941 the boatmen went on strike for a week, increasing the problems of keeping traffic moving. Early in 1942 the company suggested to the Ministry of War Transport that boatmen should be released from the army, but this was not taken up. Instead another solution was tried.

In October 1942 Ben Walls, one of the directors of Canal Transport, went over to Ireland to assess whether Irish labour would be suitable for working on canals. In Dublin he talked to Mr Scott of the Grand Canal who was not encouraging. With the shortage of fuel in Ireland, the government there was having 20 boats built for the turf trade. (At an Arklow boatyard, I was told that these boats had steel bows and sterns with wooden sides. The heavy had less buoyant end sections tended to cause leaks, but that is another story.) Before returning to England, Ben Walls interviewed around 60 men and selected 20 to work on the Leeds and Liverpool. They had arrived in England by the end of the year. Walls returned to Ireland in November on behalf of the Canal Control Committee with a list of men required by canals, carriers and boatyards right across England. He not only visited Eire, but also Northern Ireland, though this time he was not so successful in obtaining labour. Representatives from many other industries were seeking labourers and skilled men, and canal men were in short supply. Once again the low wages paid by canal companies were a problem, though there was

no difficulty recruiting for the Trent Navigation and for the Grand Union where good wages could be earned. Other industries offered better wages. For example the Great Western Railway was looking for 400 men and could guarantee 60 or 80 hours work each week.

Ben Walls continued to visit Ireland looking for men but by early 1943 labour was even more difficult to obtain. Word was getting that the canal jobs were no good and that wages and conditions were poor. Some of the men sent to the Birmingham area complained that to get to work they had to travel several miles by bus and that there were no canteens. Wives were also bitter that their husbands were only sending 30/- a week to them, while men employed in other industries were sending £3 or more. Altogether 190 Irishmen came to England to work on canals, but by December 1943 only 93 remained, 74 had asked to be released for other work or had returned to Ireland while 23 had just disappeared.

The largest numbers went to work on the Trent Navigation (24), on the Leeds and Liverpool for Canal Transport Ltd. (22) and for the Grand Union (19), though others were scattered all over the English canal system with 49 working for various firms around the BCN and 35 on the north eastern waterways. Unfortunately the men did not settle down easily. In the north west they were considered inexperienced and were soon attracted by the higher rates of pay in factories, while in the west midlands they did not realise that they would have to work with horses on narrow, heavily locked canals.

Canal Transport had Irishmen working with four of their most experienced motor boat crews, each motor boat towing a loaded dumb boat, three Irishmen crewing this whilst learning from the experienced boatmen. The motor boats involved were *Saturn*, *Lune*, *Nidd* and *Aire*, steered by Captains Lamb, Melling, Baldwin and Abram respectively. The boatmen were paid a fixed wage of £5 per week to compensate for the time they lost teaching the Irishmen about boat handling etc. They were also to receive a bonus as the trainees were transferred to working independently. Not only Irishmen were to be trained. It was suggested that women and boys could also make up the crews of the dumb boats. Crews were needed desperately as younger boatmen were still being called up. Each pair of boats was to operate separately, Ben Walls reporting that this was '... to prevent them congregating too much, the results of which we know from experience are to the benefit of neither the men or the Company'.

Although the Irishmen were not a success, there was a new training scheme for women operating at the beginning of 1945. By this time Canal Transport had 17 boats (out of a total fleet of 68) hired out to other firms or laid up as they could not find sufficient crews. The scheme was not to be widely publicised as steering boats on the wide northern canals was considered to be much harder work than on the narrow canals in the midlands. However it was considered that little could be lost by the trial.

There was some adverse comment about the quality of Ben Walls's canal experience when hiring the Irishmen. In his report he states that he was conversant with all aspects of canals (His family had worked on the Leeds and Liverpool for several generations and he was a director of Canal Transport Ltd. and had been responsible for the running and maintenance their boats and their boatmen during the 1930s) and that he only sent men he thought were experienced in canal work. He wrote that: 'A great deal depends on the way the men are handled on arrival here, and once you get an Irishman really upset he will never be satisfied until he has moved on to another job'. It was also suggested that some of the men had deliberately misrepresented their experience in order to enter England so that they could obtain the more well paid factory jobs. Ben Walls was certainly disappointed with the results of his work, blaming the poor rates of pay and conditions as the main problem, while working during winter

reduced the amount of overtime that could be earned. Of 49 boatmen taken on, only 9 remained by December 1943. The English 'Idle Women' seem to have made a more lasting impression on our wartime canals.

SOURCES:

P.R.O. RAIL846/33 L&LC Minutes, 21 Aug 1917, Drowning of Soldier Boatman James Jaques.

P.R.O. RAIL846/33 L&LC Minutes, 16 Oct 1918, Drowning of Soldier Boatman Charles Tullett.

Diary of Robert Kendrick, 1916-25, Bank Newton Lockkeeper. (In possession of his family.)

Leeds and Liverpool Canal, Directors Report for 1918.

'Ich Dien', The Prince of Wales's Volunteers, Capt. H. Whalley-Kelley, Aldershot, 1935. (There may be more records kept by the South Lancashire Regiment but these have not been sorted since moving from the Barracks at Warrington to those at Preston. Battalion War Diaries do not help with information about work on canals and docks in England as they were only kept when the Battalion was abroad.)

P.R.O. MT52/133 Report by B. Walls on Irish Labour, November 1943. (Includes details of Irish labour recruited for canals all over England. Also in the Ministry of Transport records, MT52/102 is the original correspondence concerning the use and training of boatwomen.)

By-laws and Regulations as a Source of Railway and Social History

BY REX CHRISTIANSEN

In GWR Passenger Timetables for July, August and September 1905, published as a single volume costing one penny, Edwardian holidaymakers could read about improved train services between Paddington and the West of England—and also the company's latest by-laws, about which the staff were still to be fully informed. The by-laws were given under the Common Seal of the company on 23 March 1905 and approved by the Board of Trade on 5 April. But it was not until 1 June 1906 that the general manager, James C. Inglis, published a pocket-size 'Private and not for publication' booklet of *INFORMATION for the GUIDANCE of RAILWAY OFFICIALS with regard to POLICE REGULATIONS. The* 48 Pages detailed not only the by-laws, but railway Acts of Parliament which gave companies a variety of powers to protect staff, travellers and property.

While most regulations and by-laws were common to all companies, the methods which GWR management used to enforce them were laid down in supplementary notes to complex sections. Powers to search premises for property believed to have been stolen were only to be carried out 'by an experienced Detective, having a full knowledge of such duties'. The instruction was emphasised by being printed in italics.

Trespass was so prevalent that the GWR had got extra powers in an Act of 1882 which stated that more effectual remedies were needed to stop it because many trespassers had been killed or severely injured. The powers applied not only to its own lines but those of the LNWR, Midland, Rhymney, Metropolitan and Taff Vale Railways. But there were limitations as the powers covered only running lines, sidings and lines through stations, not stations themselves. There had to be proof that there were notice boards referring to the Acts at stations and other places where people were likely to trespass.

The heaviest penalties under railway laws were for what was termed 'Malicious injuries to property'. Anyone caught setting fire to stations, engine-houses, warehouses and other railway buildings including those at docks, ports and harbours, could be sent to penal servitude for life, or at minimum, five years. If a prison sentence was considered appropriate, the maximum was only two years, but with it, a judge could impose hard labour. A youth under 16 could be whipped.

Similar penalties, and also solitary confinement, faced anyone destroying or damaging railway bridges, viaducts or aqueducts.

Vandals—not a description found in the Acts—who put wood etc on lines to obstruct or 'overthrow' an engine, could be heavily punished, though not given solitary confinement. The GWR reminded staff that under the Regulation of the Railways Act, 1871, offences against property could be dealt with under the Juvenile Offenders Act.

Stiffer penalties were constantly needed against fare dodgers, but there were problems in prosecuting them. Staff were told that they could not arrest a passenger refusing to pay a fare or excess for travelling in a superior class, unless they were certain they were giving a false name and address. Staff could only take names and addresses for summonses to be issued.

Summonses could be taken out against people who left gates open after crossing tracks either by themselves, in a carriage or with livestock. The booklet pointed out that a gate did not have to be locked, simply shut.

By-laws and regulations were published in most company timetables and it is likely they were the least read section. Today they are not given the same prominence. The Great Britain Passenger Railway Timetable has a paragraph, printed in a black-edged box, stating where a free booklet on Passenger Conditions of Carriage can be obtained and that copies of British Railway Board Byelaws (sic) can be inspected at station ticket offices.

A British Railways Rule Book for 1950 (reprint including amendments authorised up to 1st October 1961): A Commentary

BY PETER S. RICHARDS

In an earlier paper[1] the writer described the 1853 *Rules and Regulations of the London and South Western Railway*; this was a relatively slim volume. The volume now under consideration has on the title page 'Rules for Observance by Employees'; it has 280+xlix pages 10 × 14 cms and was published by the Railway Clearing House. Obviously this volume covers the whole of Great Britain, not just a single pre-grouping company, and was published at a time when operating conditions were vastly different from today: speeds are higher, diesel working and electrification are far more widespread and trains are much longer.

At a meeting of the Railway Executive, 13th June 1949 it was resolved

> That the rules now submitted be and are hereby approved and adopted for observance by the employees of the Railway Executive from 1st January 1950, and that all former Rules which are inconsistent therewith or are made obsolete hereby shall be cancelled from that date.

Names had changed by 1961: the 'Railway Executive' must be understood that the 'British Transport Commission' is the body referred to. 'The Operating Superintendent' is now the 'Regional Operating Officer' or 'Line Traffic Manager' as the case may be. 'Each employee supplied with this book had to make himself acquainted with, and would be held responsible for the observance of the Rules'.

Although it dates from before the days when sexual equality became the norm Rule 16 note (i) reads: Where women or juniors are employed the rules and regulations apply to them as to men.

There are nineteen sets of rules. The first set is general. All employees must reside at whatever places may be appointed and attend at such hours as may be required. They must assist in carrying out the Rules and Regulations and must immediately report to their superior officer any infringement thereof, or any occurrences which may come under their notice affecting safe and proper working (c.f. Legislation for Health and Safety at Work).

Employees who held positions of trust might be required to find security for their faithful service; the considerations of such service will be stated upon appointment. Employees may be required to join any established Fund or Society (does this mean Trade Unions?) established by the Railway Executive for the 'benefit of its staff as may be appropropriate'.

Employees may from time to time, be required 'to undergo medical, eyesight, practical or educational (written?) tests in accordance with the regulations in force.

There were no changes since the turn of the century in the regulations promoting public safety under all circumstances; promptness, civility and obligation were expected, and, if supplied, the wearing of uniform. As in 1853 drunkenness on duty merited dismissal, as did disobeying orders, misconduct or negligence and absence from duty without leave. Deductions from pay could be made for any rent arrears.

The other eighteen sets of regulations are specific to the operation of trains. The remainder of this paper is concerned with highlights from each section. Under the section headed 'The Control and Working of Stations' it is stated that the station master is charged with the careful cleaning, trimming and lighting of all lamps. Oil lamps especially had to be taken to appointed places to be cleaned and trimmed. Signal spectacles, lenses, reflectors and glasses had to be kept thoroughly clean.

As might be expected, the section on signals is very detailed: it includes fixed signals, hand signals, detention of trains on running lines, detonators, working of points and signals, fixing, removing or repairing signals or apparatus for working signals and points; defective signals, points and etc. Special note is made of the regulations for signalling during fog or falling snow: thus a Fogsignalman, finding the distant signal on arrival at his post in the clear position must satisfy himself that the signal is working properly. Also during severe frost or falling snow, signals, points, locks and bars must be frequently worked by the Signalman when the section is clear and no train has been signalled, in order to prevent frost or snow impeding the working of such apparatus.

There are only three paragraphs on Station Yard Working: thus when a train is allowed to proceed towards the rear of another train, which is moving forward, the Driver of the second train must follow cautiously and at such a distance as will enable him to avoid colliding with the first train in the event of its being stopped.

The regulations for Level Crossings are covered in eight paragraphs: thus unless special authority be given to the contrary, the gates at level crossings must be kept closed across the roadway except when required to be opened to allow the line to be crossed, Lamps on level crossing gates must, after sunset and during fog or falling snow, show a red light in each direction along the line when the gates are closed across it and to approaching road traffic when closed across the roadways, lamps must be lighted as soon as it commences to be dusk. Unless special authority be given (by whom?), steam traction engines, tractors when hauling heavy loads (such as round timber, liable to roll), combine harvesters, threshing machines, elevators, unusually heavy loads, whether mechanically propelled or otherwise, or droves of animals, must not be allowed to cross the line when any train can be seen, or is known to be approaching the crossing. No reference is made to unmanned or automatic crossings!

Shunting is dealt with in eleven paragraphs: every care was to be taken to ensure safety (as with all other rules) thus before any vehicle is shunted into a siding, the Guard, Shunter or other person in charge, must ascertain the position of any vehicles in the siding, and signal to the Driver accordingly so as to avoid undue impact with such vehicles or the buffer-stops.

There are seven paragraphs on Head, Tail and Side Lamps: again safety is paramount. Thus the Guard, if there be only one, or Rear Guard, if there be more than one, must see that the tail lamps, and side lamps, where provided, are kept properly burning when necessary.

The Working of Trains is a broad subject and requires no less than fifty-one paragraphs. Among the rules one states that the Fireman must see that coal on the engine is not stacked too high, and that it and the boxes, fire irons and tools are so placed that

they will not fall off when the engine is in motion. An engine could only be left without a man in charge, unless otherwise directed in the Rules or it is absolutely necessary for them to do so [?] or the engine is in a siding or out of gear with the handbrake on. The fire had to be arranged so as to avoid any unnecessary emission of smoke, particularly whilst standing at or passing through stations, and prevent blowing off steam at safety valves as far as possible.

The Driver and Fireman MUST in the case of trains not fitted throughout with the continuous brake look back frequently during the journey, particularly when accelerating after speed has been reduced to see that the whole of the train is following in a safe and proper manner.

The Rules, too, covered the work of Guards. For example, every Guard, when in charge of a freight train, MUST, when the train of which he is in charge, comes to a standstill, endeavour to ascertain the cause, bearing in mind that the train may be divided.

No passenger train must be started before the time stated in the timetable. The signal for starting a passenger train must be given by the Guard, where provided. When it is impossible for the Guard's signal to start the train to be seen by the Driver, the person in charge of the platform must, after satisfying himself that the signal to start has been given by the Guard, signal to the Driver accordingly.

Special regulations were issued for the conveyance of long pieces of iron, round timber and other articles of unusual length, these must not be despatched from stations or sidings unless securely bound to the wagons with ropes, chains or iron bands, care being taken that loads are not too tightly bound to admit of the vehicles going easily round curves (the fact that this is repeated shows just how important it is).

Non-smokers and ladies are especially catered for. Smoking in compartments or coaches set apart for non-smokers is strictly forbidden, and Guards and Station Staff must see that the bye-law on the subject is enforced. When ladies are travelling alone, the Staff must, if requested, endeavour to select a compartment for them (according to the class of their tickets) in which other ladies are travelling. If ladies wish to change compartments during their journey, the Staff must enable them to do so.

Prisoners, insane and disorderly passengers were to be treated in a special way. Prisoners and insane persons, with their escorts, must not be placed with other passengers, but in a separate compartment. In the event of any passenger being drunk and disorderly, to the annoyance of others, the Guard must use all reasonable means to stop the nuisance; failing which, he must have the offender and any luggage he may have with him removed from the train at the first station. The Guard must obtain the name and address of the offender, and also, one at least, of the passengers present at the time.

Although the 'Reporting of Accidents' takes up only two-thirds of a page it plainly states what has to be done, especially the details of who has to be informed.

The next section follows on logically: 'Trains Stopped by Accident, Failure, Obstruction or Other Exceptional Cause'. The Guard(s) and Firemen are to assess the nature of the problem, how many lines are involved, get assistance, protect the train(s) in the rear. There are considerable details and instructions including the placing of detonators and what is to be done when trains come apart, special precautions to be taken in tunnels, in fog or falling snow and after sunset. Regulations for the arrangements to be carried out in the event of a fire occurring are listed.

A very important section is 'Working Traffic of a Double Line over a Single Line of Railway During Repairs or obstruction'. Appropriate forms had to be completed: a stock of twelve had to be kept in a convenient place at each station, especially where

there is a cross-over road, so as to be available at any time. The use of detonators under such circumstances as fog or snowstorms are stated again in some detail, as are the Regulations for Signals to be Kept at Danger and Block Working.

Another important section is 'Permanent Way and Works'. A copy of the Rules had to be supplied to all workers. Trolley working. Ballast Train Working, Relaying of track and repair, dealing with obstructions are all treated in some detail. The trains for carrying out work which involved the stopping of trains were to interfere as little as possible with the passage of the traffic.

With all the modern gadgetry, hand-signals were sometimes necessary and the Rulebook explains the use of these with diagrams.

The book concludes with a general section. Each Ganger or man in charge must keep his portion of the line clear and safe, and the fences in perfect repair; in the event of any sheep, cattle or other animals getting within the fences, immediate action was required.

This book is most valuable: it gives a picture of railway operations about 40 years ago. Conditions were obviously vastly different from today. Many of these Rules and Regulations would be impracticable for today's working. They would not be adequate to allow for high speed trains, with short intervals between them to travel safely.

Railway operating has become infinitely more complex but presumably the Rules under consideration sufficed for the times when they were written; nevertheless some of them would be just as valid in today's high speed world. Even so there is a great deal of difference between the volume which has been described and its current counterpart.

REFERENCE

1 RICHARDS, Peter S. The London and South Western Railway: Rules and Regulations. (1853) *Journal of the Railway and Canal Historical Society* Vol. xvii No. 2 1971 pp. 36–39.

Note: No concession has been made as to style and the use of upper case letters which are as in the original book.

Railways (and Canals) and Detective Fiction: Sixth Report

BY PHILLIP L. SCOWCROFT

Although I have now been writing commentaries on this topic for almost twenty years, I am always discovering new titles or at least older titles which are new to me.

Wilkie Collins, one of the earliest of British crime writers, has figured in most of my previous articles, but his *Armadale* (1866) has not been previously mentioned. Its action mostly takes place in 1851; there are scenes at two London railway termini, Euston and London Bridge, though they are not explicitly named. As in Collins' slightly later *The Moonstone* (1868) we read of 'tidal trains' on the South Eastern Railway. Much of *Armadale's* action however takes place in Norfolk, at a place called 'Thorpe Ambrose', which is near the Broads and whose station is doubtless on the Eastern Counties Railway. The station-master is said[1] to be 'an old soldier', a reminder that in those early days several railway companies drew many of their station and administrative staff from former army officers and N.C.O.s.

In my first article in this series[2] I reviewed the railway side of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes (and other) stories. I have recently been reading some of the many Holmes stories written, as spoofs, by pens other than Doyle's and, sure enough, these, too, not infrequently have railway interest. Most important of them and one of the most recent is Barrie Roberts, *Sherlock Holmes and the Railway Maniac*, Constable, 1994. The great Sherlock, asked to investigate the Salisbury and Grantham derailments of 1906, discovers that they, and the later, similar, Shrewsbury accident of 1907 were 'caused' deliberately by one of the Kaiser's agents. However it takes Holmes eight years to track down the culprit who receives his quietus in a satisfyingly appropriate manner. The descriptions of the accidents are based on Tom Rolt's *Red for Danger*, as the author (or 'editor' as he describes himself) admits.

Also in this Holmes spoof category there is 'The Adventure of the First-Class Carriage', by Father Ronald Knox, in which a man disappears from a GWR railway compartment, leaving only his hat and coat behind him. Where is he? The answer is simple and involves a fraud which is engaging in its cheekiness. 'The Adventure of the Sheffield Banker' is by Arthur Whitaker but as the story was found among Doyle's papers when he died it was long regarded as genuine. Here many of the Sheffield district place-names are correct and Holmes departs for Sheffield correctly from St. Pancras; but just before he reaches the Yorkshire city he passes, so he says, through the Dore and Totley (*sic*) Tunnel, which is impossible—Bradway is presumably intended. Nor is it correct, as this tale is said to take place in 1895, to refer to Victoria as the 'Great Central' station in Sheffield. The GCR was not so styled until 1897. 'The Adventure of the Red Widow'—by Adrian Conan Doyle, from *The Exploits of Sherlock Holmes*, Murray, 1954—is set in Derbyshire and Holmes again leaves London from St. Pancras and correctly so, of course. Arthur Conan Doyle himself was not always so meticulous in specifying correct railway stations, nor were some of his successors in the crime writing field.

Let us look briefly at two of the greatest of these. Agatha Christie correctly makes her sleuths set out for Doncaster from King's Cross in *The ABC Murders*, Collins, 1936, but in her earlier short story 'The Adventure of the Clapham Cook'[3] she appears to think that the same London terminal is the appropriate one for Cumberland, rather than Euston or perhaps St. Pancras. And in Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Five Red Herrings*, Gollancz, 1931, the author seems to believe that London-bound trains from Galloway

and Ayr in 1930 all end up at Euston whereas it was overwhelmingly likely that their destination at that time would be St. Pancras.

Talking of spoofs, two of a set of short stories written in honour of the centenary of Agatha Christie's birth[4] and set basically in the 1920s and 1930s have railway interest. 'Jack Fell Down' by H. R. F. Keating tells of murder on a funicular on Capri. 'The Lady in the Trunk', by Peter Lovesey, is set in a country station in Sussex, a principal character being a booking-clerk, 'a conscientious young fellow who had no objection to working late, unlike most Southern Railway employees'.[5] His station held 'the silver rose bowl as the best kept on the Brighton Line'.

Another kind of spoof is the semi-fictional re-creation of a real crime. The Great Bullion Train Robbery of 1855 has figured in two books, both published in the mid 1970s: Michael Crichton, *The Great Train Robbery*, Knopf, 1975, in which the original names of the protagonists are retained; and Francis Selwyn, *Cracksman on Velvet*, Deutsch, 1974, which disguises them.

Now for more railway titles from the earlier days of crime fiction. Past articles in this series have alluded to Canon Victor Whitechurch's *Thrilling Stories of the Railway*, Pearson, 1912, and to later Whitechurch railway tales. There were others dating from before 1912. In 'A Narrow Escape', Pearson's Magazine, 1897, how did a wanted man disappear from a train which was non-stop until its ultimate destination? (Simply by working his way along the outside until he reached the rear coach which was then 'slipped'). 'A Warning in Red' is another uncollected one which features, unusually, a railwayman as the culprit. In 1903 Pearson's also printed Whitechurch's *The Investigation of Godfrey Page, Railwayac.* Rather different from Whitehcurch's work is the anonymously authored *The Great Railway Mystery*, Newnes, c. 1920, featuring Tubby Haig, a detective somewhat in the mould of Sexton Blake. Several Sexton Blake stories among the thousands dating from 1893 onwards feature railways. They include John Drummond, *The Tragic Case of the Stationmaster's Legacy*, 1944, *On the 11.40 Down*, 1951, by Hilary King and *The Mystery of the Cairo Express*, 1944, by Anthony Parsons. Baroness Orczy's 'Old Man in the Corner' short story 'The Fenchurch Street Mystery' turns on a supposed meeting in foggy conditions between murderer and victim at the Tilbury line's London terminus.

Douglas G. Browne's *The Stolen Boat Train*, Methuen, 1935, mentioned briefly in my last article, has what must have seemed like a farrago of a plot in 1935, with a conspiracy to kidnap the King, the blowing up of a railway tunnel and the hijacking of a SR boat express. But such trifles are commonplace for present-day terrorists. Browne (1884–1963) was an uneven writer but this book has some good technical railway detail. Talking of terrorism and abduction or assassination of V.I.P.s, the highly up-to-date *Police at Brennan*, Hodder, 1994, by Philip McCutchan deals with a conspiracy to assassinate the British and French Foreign Ministers as they travel through the Channel Tunnel—a similar scenario to some of McCutchan's earlier efforts, while in Antonia Fraser, *Your Royal Hostage*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987, animal rights extremists plotting the kidnap of a Royal Princess finalise their plans by meeting on various London Underground lines, a different one each time to avoid notice and possible inquiry. When their plot is foiled two of them appropriately commit suicide by throwing themselves in front of different Tube trains. The Underground figures more profoundly in Barbara Vine's elusive, disturbing, tension-laden *King Solomon's Carpet*, Viking, 1991, to the extent of becoming almost a character in the action; it is also featured in Phillip McCutchan, *A Very Big Bang*, Harrap, 1975, whose plot is an attempt to cause a major explosion on the system. M. J. Trow's latest historical spoof, aiming to rehabilitate Sherlock Holmes's butt Inspector Lestrade of Scotland Yard and entitled *Lestrade and the Dead Man's Hand*, Constable, 1992, is yet another with a London Underground setting, in 1895 this time.

In E. C. R. Lorac, *Shroud of Darkness*, Collins, 1954, a corpse is discovered at Paddington Station. Lorac, really Edith Caroline Rivett, also wrote under the pseudonym Carol Carnac, whose titles included *The Case of the First-Class Carriage*, Davies, 1939. From the same period, J. Jefferson Farjeon, *Mystery in White*, Collins, 1937, begins with a Manchester train being snowed up on Christmas Eve and in Herbert Adams, *The Crooked Lip*, Methuen, 1926, a murder takes place 'in the train'. From a generation later there are Lawrence Meynell, *The Lady on Platform One*, Collins, 1950, and Miles Burton, *Unwanted Corps*, Collins, 1954, in which the body of a young woman is found on the track of the 'Mid Larkshire Light Railway'; the line (probably the Mid Suffolk Light in reality) has been closed for a while and there is no road access nearly, so how was the body conveyed to where it was found? Barry Cork's *Unnatural Hazard*, Collins, 1989, is a golfing mystery set mainly on a Hebridean island. On his way there the policeman-narrator is thrown out of a train on the West Highland Line, but happily he finds the considerable facilities of Crianlarich station restorative. Almost equally startling incidents occur 'in the train' in David Williams, *Murder For Treasure*, Collins, 1980, but the destination there is Wales. One way of murdering someone is to stage an accident to the train in which the murderee is to travel. This is the case in *Sherlock Holmes and the Railway Maniac*, discussed earlier; another example is Philip Macdonald, *The List of Adrian Messenger*, Macdonald, 1959, in which the accident takes place on a Scottish Highland branch line. Of course the killer has to make sure the smash has killed his victim and the murderer in Macdonald's book, under cover of heroic rescue attempts, does not neglect that simple precaution. E. C. Bentley's *Elephant's Work*, Hodder, 1950 begins with a railway accident which gives the hero amnesia and starts him off on a career of crime! An unusual type of train, a seaside pier 'ghost train', is the setting for murder in Michael Gilbert's short story 'The Reign of Terror' from *Anything For a Quiet Life*, Hodder, 1990.

Ivon Baker's *Death and Variations*, Hale, 1977, is concerned both with canals and railways. The hero begins a canal cruise but his progress is halted by lack of water in the 'cut', this being the drought summer of 1976, and as a consequence he becomes involved in a murder. Nearby a preserved steam railway is on the verge of re-opening—this, the 'Wilde Valley Railway', is in roughly the same part of England as the Nene Valley line—and the first train to run on the restored line mows down the escaping killer.[6] A collection of railway short stories edited by Tony Wilmot and entitled *Beware of the Trains*, Ian Henry, 1981, includes one or two factual pieces and some stories which may be reckoned as weird rather than crime detection or mystery, but those by Leslie Charteris ('The Rhine Maiden'), Nigel Morland ('No Cloak, No Dagger'), Dorothy L. Sayers ('The Man Who Knew How') and Dennis Wheatley ('Espionage') fall within the latter categories.

In the first of these articles[7] I asked the question whether there were any crime stories with a canal, rather than a railway, background and I answered myself by saying that there seemed to be very few. At that time (1977) that assessment was probably true, although I should have instanced John Remenham, *The Canal Mystery*, Skeffington & Son, 1928, and perhaps Agatha Christie, *By the Pricking of My Thumbs*, Collins, 1968. However in more recent years there have been several more titles. Colin Dexter, creator of Chief Inspector Morse, whom John Thaw has made familiar to many through the medium of television, sees in *The Riddle of The Third Mile*, Macmillan, 1983, the mutilated body of an Oxford don pulled out of the Oxford Canal, an incident which is described as follows:

Two miles north of police headquarters in Kidlington . . . an elbow turn to the right leads . . . to the Boat Inn, which, together with about twenty cottages, a farm and a depot of the Inland Waterways Executive, comprises the tiny hamlet of Thrupp. The inn itself. . . has served generations of boatmen, past and present. But the working barges of earlier times, which brought down coal from the Midlands and shipped up

beer from the Oxford breweries, have now yielded place to the privately owned long-boats and pleasure-cruisers which ply their way placidly along the present waterway.

Dexter's later *The Wench is Dead*, Macmillan, 1989, features the Oxford Canal (and Thrupp) again, complete with a map, but in a rather different way. The murder, fictitious but circumstantially presented, has taken place in 1859 and is investigated by Morse while convalescing in hospital from an ulcer. The victim, or apparent victim, was a woman, the accused the crew of an express or 'fly' boat in which the former was taking passage from Preston Brook to London via the Trent & Mersey, Coventry and Oxford canals and the River Thames. The Victorian canal background has clearly been carefully researched and there are in addition interesting references to 19th Century road and rail transport services. Morse eventually reaches a startling conclusion and this is for a variety of reasons a fascinating tale. Reginald Hill's *Bones and Silence*, Collins, 1990, set in 'mid Yorkshire', also introduces a canal which is useful as a means of disposing of drugs. Another Yorkshire-set novel is Barbara Whitehead, *The Girl With Red Suspenders*, Constable, 1990, in which a navigable river, the Ouse, is used as the channel of drugs distribution. There are one or two scenes in the (real) Ship Inn at Acaster Malbis, near York, and the climax takes place on a river boat.

NOTES

1 Book III, Chapter XII.
2 *Journal*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 87–93.
3 From *Poirot's Early Cases*, Collins, 1974, a story first published in *The Sketch* in 1923.
4 Tim Heald (ed.), *A Classic English Crime*, Pavilion Books, 1990.
5 A character in Dorothy L. Sayers' *Unnatural Death*, Benn, 1927, a clerk with the SR, describes himself as 'slow but safe, like the Southern'.
6 Another novel in which a railway gives a culprit his quietus is Jessica Mann, *Faith, Hope and Homicide*, Macmillan, 1991, the victim being electrocuted by falling on to the track of a narrow-gauge electric railway ancillary to a Cornish cliff-top mansion-cum-fortess. Mann's earlier *Mrs Knox's Profession*, Macmillan, 1972, reaches its climax on a miniature railway forming part of a 'theme park'; here the erratic behaviour of the train does not kill the villain, merely stuns him.
7 *Journal, loc. cit.*

Photography and the Historical Record: Reflections on the R. A. Cook collection

BY JOSEPH BOUGHEY

Alan A. Jackson's interesting recent article on the use of photography in history summarised many of the uses to which collections can be put.[1] Some further observations have been suggested by an examination of the photographic collection of the late R. A. Cook; my role was to help to identify a number of canal scenes, and some further observations may be of interest. These notes discuss the background to this collection, briefly highlight some of its contents and offer some reflections on the use of transport photograph collections.

The Collection

The R. A. Cook collection comprises some 140 views, taken in monochrome prints. The majority are of postcard size; there are two actual postcards of the Trent, and one or two views of a much larger size which may have been received from other photographers. There is a uniformity about the composition of the remaining photographs which indicate that they were all taken by Mr Cook. Many collections predominantly comprise the owner's own personal photographs, and the identity of the photographer and their motives are of interest.

While the quality of the photography involved is reasonable, the photographs tend to simply record what was in front of the camera rather than to attain any special photographic merit. As often, the accompanying cataloguing proved to be limited, with an obscure numbering system which could render only limited assistance.

Background

Knowledge of the photographer may assist the identification of particular scenes, and may also add interest to what may otherwise be an unremarkable collection.

A curious aspect of this collection is that the photographer's interests lay mainly outside waterways. Ray Cook of Coventry was one of the Society's founders, probably the youngest at the time of its founding; he was only 60 years old when he died on 19 April 1992.[2] His early interest in railways later expanded to a more general interest in transport, including the history of roads, and in the manufacture of motor engines, reflecting a working life which was spent at Armstrong Siddeley Motors in Coventry.

During the early 1950s he accompanied Charles Clinker on numerous visits to canal and railway sites by car; all of the canal photographs seem to date from this period.[3] Charles Hadfield also accompanied many of these trips; after Messrs Hadfield and Clinker collaborated on a study of the Ashby Canal and tramroads, the latter began to develop an interest in waterways. Indeed, Charles Clinker and Ray Cook introduced Charles Hadfield to waterways like the Oxford Canal loops, located near Mr Clinker's home in Rugby.[4] Ray Cook's interests seem to have moved elsewhere after this period.[5] One interest of the collection is therefore that it records visits to waterways made by three of the Society's founders (many shortly before it was founded), and thus illuminates the history of transport historians.

Written evidence

Written evidence can be combined with photographs to produce a wider picture of specific scenes, which the separate sources would not reveal. In this case, the relevant evidence is in Charles Hadfield's deposited collection of files at the London School of Economics and Political Science library. A number of these files include notes on visits which are clearly identifiable as those depicted in various photographs. For instance, notes describe a visit to the terminal end of the Cromford Canal in 1953, with the features described in writing reproduced in Mr Cook's photographs. A view of the Peak Forest Canal at Whaley Bridge is described in a note of a visit on 19th July 1953; both visits were with Charles Clinker. Another file includes a series of letters in April/May 1954 by which W. Howard Williams, another early RCHS member, from Wellington, arranged a visit to various canals in East Shropshire.

Several of these visits, along with documentary research, formed the basis for parts of Charles Hadfield's *Introducing Canals*, notably Chapter 5 ('Looking for the past') which deal with the exploration of derelict waterways.[6] They are of historical significance because, prior to this, there was limited interest in exploring derelict waterways, while this period coincided with the formal recognition and early growth of industrial archaeology.[7]

Coventry area

Only the earliest views in the Cook Collection are dated, but the recorded dates are of use. A series of very small prints show the area around Hawkesbury Junction in January 1952. A set of views depict the machinery in the Hawkesbury pumphouse, while there are also some views of narrow boats at the junction, including an Ovaltine boat and the Fellows Morton & Clayton motor *Linda*. As the latter company had been absorbed by British Waterways in 1949, it is noteworthy that *Linda* had not then been repainted in British Waterways colours. The dating also provides a warning; undated, the assumption would be that the photograph pre-dated 1949!

Another, later series depicts the disused Oxford Canal loops north of Rugby, including the arches of the Brinklow aqueduct/embankment. Two views of the old Newbold Tunnel date clearly from different seasons. It is possible that the later one dates from a RCHS trip on 22 June 1957 to the Oxford loops, while the earlier ones probably date from 1953–4. There are no other photographs of the Oxford or Coventry Canals, although both Messrs Clinker and Cook lived close to both.

RCHS Trips

One RCHS trip which is definitely recorded in the collection is the very first outing, to the Grand Junction Canal on 26 March 1955. Eight photographs depict the bridge at Cosgrove, the aqueduct at Wolverhampton and the junction with the Old Stratford Branch; but curiously, while the narrow boat full of members (at least 18 can be counted) is shown, its destination, the tunnel at Blisworth, is not. Perhaps Mr Cook did not board the boat.

Other destinations for later RCHS trips in the 1950s include the Leominster Canal, Hereford & Gloucester, and Staffordshire & Worcestershire Canals; Charles Hadfield's files suggest that all photographs of these were taken on the same day, 27 February 1954. Many of the organised trips must have involved places already explored by Messrs Clinker and Hadfield. The former led a number of extra-mural weekly courses in the 1950s, and the visits and photographs may have formed working background materials for these courses.[8]

East Shropshire

The largest part of the collection (34 views) covers the area around Dawley, later a New Town (itself succeeded by Telford New Town), where much would be destroyed by new development. This includes views of sites which have since been restored—for instance, Charles Clinker's car is parked at the foot of the Hay Inclined Plane, where the lower level of Shropshire Canal was later dug out and the incline visually restored. Many views in this collection depict sites which were destroyed from the 1960s onwards, including much of the Newport Branch and the Trench Locks.

Vanished and restored sites

Other views in the collection depict scenes which have since disappeared. These include two views of the basins at Walton Summit (now under the M61 motorway), and several of the Halifax Branch (which was being filled in at the time). A view of the 'Long Bridge' on the Derby Canal, where the Canal crossed the River Derwent on the level, taken on 18 July 1953, preceded its removal in 1959.

Other scenes have since been changed by redevelopment, such as the area round Kidderminster Lock, photographed on 27 February 1954; while one view of the Rochdale Canal in Sowerby Bridge, shows a length of canal which was subsequently obliterated, but which is now being rebuilt. Derelict locks on the Stratford Canal, which were to be restored in 1961–4, are depicted, as is one of the locks, Brynderwen on the Montgomeryshire Canal, from which paddle gear would be removed in the early 1960s to be re-used on the Stratford Canal restoration.

Photography and future archives

The value of the Cook Collection lies much more in its documentary interest than in any special photographic merit. It seems to have been assembled in a somewhat casual manner, and the interest lies mainly in what is recorded as existing on a particular day. Additional features of interest of the collection are the connection with Charles Hadfield and Charles Clinker, major canal and railway historians, and the depiction of many places visited by the Society in its early years, presenting some idea of what early researchers saw.

Members must have large numbers of photographs, taken casually and then probably put away for a long period, with no particular regard for their future value. Many will have been taken to provide personal reminders, rather than with a view to the preservation of future evidence.

How should the Society, which has received many deposited photographs over the years, make use of these and future deposits? They are potentially useful as research tools; sometimes they can inadvertently record information whose significance will only be realised later. The best photographic record will record precise place, orientation and date; ideally, these should be further annotated as places develop, so that the significance of change can be evaluated. Clearly, as more and more scenes change, it is worthwhile recording as much as possible in the future. There is nothing new in this notion –the late Edward Wilson made such exhortations in the Journal in 1956.[9]

Writing of the wartime destruction of Coventry, Ray Cook stressed that 'much of architectural and archaeological interest was lost in the raids; not only physically, but also in terms of archival material, either buried under tons of rubble, reduced to ashes, or destroyed by the millions of gallons of water released from fractured water mains and from the fire hoses which were vainly used as the high-explosive and incendiary bombs rained down'.[10] His own photographs have, probably inadvertently, helped to generate new archive material. Hopefully, other members will be producing and classifying materials for eventual deposit in photographic, film, video and sound archives.

REFERENCES

1 Alan A. Jackson, Pictures and the Transport Historian, JRCHS Vol. 31 Pt. 8, p. 397–400.
2 Ray Cook—An Appreciation, JRCHS, Vol. XXX Pt. 9, November 1992, p. 442–3.
3 Although most of the photographs are undated, the views depict scenes which clearly disappeared in the 1960s.
4 The source for this is a conversation with Charles Hadfield in early January 1995; he confirmed that he was present on many visits.
5 Stephen Duffell, who has examined most of the rest of the collection, has confirmed that Mr Cook also had a number of colour prints of waterways from the late 1980s onwards.
6 Charles Hadfield, Introducing Canals, Ernest Benn, 1955. Other parts of 'Looking for the past' were derived from studies for his Canals of Southern England, Phoenix House, 1955. Charles Hadfield also took photographs on the Cook/Clinker visits; Plate 16, depicting the Staffordshire & Worcestershire Canal at Stourport, is very similar to one in the Cook Collection.
7 See, for instance, Arthur Raistrick, Industrial Archaeology; An historical survey, Paladin Books, London, 1973. The growth of interest in exploring derelict waterways culminated in the publication of Ronald Russell's Lost Canals of England and Wales, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1969.
8 Curiously, Charles Clinker did not, apparently take photographs himself. Participants at the RCHS NW Group meeting on 19 November 1994, where Stephen Duffell discussed this and other collections, stated that they never saw Mr Clinker with a camera.
9 E. A. Wilson, Too Late!, JRCHS, vol. 2 No. 2, March 1956, p. 21–2. Similar sentiments were expressed by the then editor, Jeoffrey Spence.
10 R. A. Cook, Coventry—A Survey of a Transport Centre, JRCHS, Vol. XXX Pt. I, No. 144, March 1990, p. 16.

Recollections of the Festiniog Railway

BY J. G. EVANS

I recently read 'Branch Lines Around Portmadoc 1923–46' in which reference appears to correspondence from an individual named Evans. This must have been Robert Evans, formerly Manager of the above company, who lived in Meadow Drove, Portmadoc (as it was then called). I should add that he and I were not relatives.

Let me explain that I started work in 1945 as an Article Pupil to Major Stanley Lewis Richards, a consulting engineer, who lived in 'Greenways', Bank Place, in what was then Portmadoc, with his wife and two sons (one of whom was to become the UK one-armed golfing champion).

Accommodation at the family home was insufficient for all the office needs and the employer rented a first-floor room at the Harbour Station building.

A colleague and former schoolmate, John Williams, and I found ourselves in a room next door to a somewhat aloof and rather forbidding elderly gentleman who occupied

a large office all by himself. Every weekday morning at 9.55 precisely he would be observed crossing the Harbour Bridge, on a 28-inch framed bicycle, in a manner which could be accurately described as majestic. The bike was always parked inside the building and Mr Evans would climb the stairs, rather noisily because of his weight and because there was no carpet, and would immediately engage in a loud conversation on the telephone with the Boston Lodge works.

There was a wide age and culture gap between John and me and Mr Evans, who must have been around 70 years of age at the material time, but we eventually became quite friendly with him. He explained that he was unpaid and that the likelihood of payment was remote; he had served the railway for a very long time, was completely dedicated to it and cherished many happy memories. He described the rather grand procedures of former times when the Chairman paid his annual visit and, to young listeners, the entire routine was reminiscent of an inspection by some fearsome mediaeval potentate.

My recollections of the office will always focus on the temperature within. There were large windows in two of the three external walls and the building was completely exposed to the chilly east wind. For heating there was a 1kW electric fire but this was insufficient to prevent the tap leakage water from freezing overnight in the washbasin. On occasion there would be a small block of ice in the indian ink bottle and it was quite common for John and me to wear overcoats in the office all day.

When it appeared possible that the railway might be dismantled and its buildings demolished John and I begged Mr Evans for a keepsake '*to show our grandchildren*'. We suggested that we might perhaps have a selection of unmarked tickets and, to our surprise, Mr Evans unlocked a downstairs room in which there were thousands of tickets in tidy, paper-wrapped, little packages carefully labelled and lined up on shelves to the ceiling. I can still remember the profound sense of occasion conveyed by Mr Evans as he handed us a keepsake of one ticket each!

In due course, various enthusiasts called at the building to make enquiries about restoring the old railway. One of these individuals was much more knowledgeable and determined that the rest. His name was Allan Garraway.

Some years later, Graham Bourne, a developer who then owned Greenacres Caravan Park in Morfa Bychan, purchased an interest in the headland beyond the station and declared his intention to erect on the site a number of holiday homes. This proposal immediately encountered the displeasure of Mr Garraway, particularly since access to the land required the re-location of certain lengths of rail track.

John Williams had left the firm to take up employment with the County Surveyor's Department, Caernarvonshire, but I remained and, by then, had become quite useful as a civil engineer. It was my destiny to act for the developer and I leave the reader to imagine the situation—on one side was a devoted railway enthusiast, otherwise the dedicated Mr Garraway, and on the other a profit-motivated, determined, entrepreneur. All the ingredients for conflict were there before me and I was to learn much about diplomacy and human behaviour. Fortunately, there were no injuries to any of the participants and I am proud to record that the completed development and the old station now stand side by side in apparent harmony.

In 1946 William Norman Pritchard, a friend from my home town (Criccieth), and I had been camping on the Moelwyn mountains. Our return journey brought us to the north mouth of a tunnel on the Festiniog Railway and a short distance from Dduallt Station. There was a house nearby and as we approached a man emerged and enquired about our destination. When we explained that we wished to catch a bus from Maentwrog he offered us a lift. However, no form of transport was visible until he dragged out, from beneath a tarpaulin, what would doubtless be described by rail-

waymen as 'a flat car', otherwise an unenclosed load-bearing platform on wheels, there was no brake.

Our companion had with him a sturdy pole and, by pushing it against the ground, he was able to move the truck and its load at a brisk walking pace. However, since the track gradient was in our direction of travel the rate of progress soon became quite brisk and there was no longer any need for assistance from the pole. In a very short distance we were inside the tunnel and in complete darkness.

There was no means of judging speed but I vividly recall a noticeable increase in the impact of water drops from the tunnel roof.

After some minutes the tunnel outlet became visible as a small speck. It grew in size very rapidly and we realized that we must be travelling at a considerable speed. Indeed, when we finally shot out of the opening we thought that our truck would be unable to follow the curve ahead and that we would all be thrown off.

Our guide was, of course, well accustomed to the conditions and brought us all to a safe stop where my companion and I left him to continue his journey to Penrhyndeudraeth. Over the years I have often wondered how he and his truck managed to return but I shall probably never know.

After 50 years it is proper for me to record my recollections in the hope that they will add a little flavour to the history of the railway.

The 'Diaries' of Robert Jacomb Hood, Railway Engineer

EDITED BY ALAN A. JACKSON

Introductory Note

Through the courtesy of his descendants, in particular Miss Jane Jacomb-Hood of Aldeburgh and Mrs A. C. Sheed of Brockham, Surrey, I have been allowed to examine and copy a record of life events compiled between the ages of 66 and 72 by the Victorian railway engineer, Robert Jacomb-Hood (1822–1900).[1] This appears to be a sanitised and highly summarised version of what were probably more revealing diaries, almost certainly later destroyed. Although there is some indication that these papers were prepared as a basis for a biography, no such work is noted by Ottley. This is not surprising, since their nature is such that a very considerable amount of additional research would be necessary to complete such a work.

After an opening summary of the first twenty years of his life, Jacomb-Hood (henceforward referred to as RJH) sets down the events of the subsequent fifty or so years in abbreviated note form, providing only bare details without comment or opinions. Despite these deficiencies, this document does give us a fascinating glimpse of the childhood, pupilage and successful career of a gifted Victorian engineer, some of whose activities extended outside the British Isles and beyond the immediate boundaries of his profession. It would seem he led a somewhat restless life; although his work base

moved only once after 1846, he lived in no less than 14 houses between 1847 and 1887, this in part a reflection of his upward social mobility.[2] Each move is carefully recorded, as are the many holidays and business trips. Lengthy holidays (usually abroad) were a regular feature, often taken alone or with male companions, whilst wife and children were left at British resort hotels or lodgings. In his later years, RJH undertook some long sea journeys. The entries also reveal the disparate, piecemeal education that produced a Victorian railway engineer and, in adult life, the casual nepotism that was a feature of the period. The notes relating to his family, not reproduced here, bring out the constant intrusion of sickness and what was often premature death into the lives of the very large Victorian middle class families.

Some if not all of this material has been seen by at least two authors but they have made only very limited use of it.[3]

What follows is not a verbatim transcription but an endeavour has been made to reproduce in readable form everything likely to be of interest to the transport historian, in as much detail as RJH supplies. Anything not derived from the original papers has been placed in square brackets.

Childhood and Education

RJH was born at Riseley, Bedforeshire, on 25 January 1822, the eldest son of Robert Jacomb, a tenant farmer on the Duke of Bedford's estate. At the tender age of five he witnessed gale damage to a barn at another farm (at Scarning, near East Dereham) and subsequent rebuilding, stating this 'gave me the first knowledge of, and the first taste for, the details of construction'. After some private tuition at Dereham when seven years old, RJH entered Christ's Hospital [then at Newgate Street, City of London], at age eight. Here in 1835 he gained the gold pen or first prize for the best handwriting of the year.

His father's position having improved from an inheritance (which involved changing the family name from Jacomb to Jacomb Hood), RJH was removed from the Blue Coat School in 1835 to be educated by the Rev. H. K. Richardson, rector of Leire, near Lutterworth, Leicestershire. Whilst he was at Leire, the rectory was enlarged to the designs of J. A. Hansom, the architect of Birmingham Town Hall and patentee of the Hansom Cab. JRH records how his interest in this work 'gave further impulse to my natural taste for mechanics and construction'.

As his father was not satisfied with the standard of teaching the rector was providing, the boy was moved in 1836 to Wood & Throwgood's school at Totteridge, Hertfordshire where there were about 100 pupils. Here he benefited greatly from lessons in mechanics, applied geometry and outdoor teaching of surveying and levelling. The family were now living at Bardon Park, Leicestershire where RJH's father, whose inheritance had made him tenant for life under trustees, decided to embark upon some rebuilding, employing the architect Robert Lugar. Close study of this work, finished in 1837, further developed RJH's 'desire to take up architecture as a profession, but it was discouraged as my father wished me to go to the Bar'.

In 1839–40 the boy was coached for Cambridge by another clergyman at Hathern, near Loughborough. Finding the climate at Bardon Park too bleak for his wife's lungs, his father had moved the family to a furnished house at Cheltenham and when staying there with his parents, the 17 year old RJH met F. R. Conder,[4] a young resident engineer under Captain [William Scarfe] Moorsom, engaged on the construction of the Birmingham & Gloucester Railway. Jacomb-Hood and Conder were to become great friends. 'In the holidays, I was constantly on the works with him and so picked up some

idea of the nature of the profession and increased my desire for it'. Railway construction was also witnessed near Hathern, where the Midland [Counties Railway] was in the making between Loughborough and Kegworth and RJH roamed over the works in the company of a fellow pupil, Albert Pell, who had 'strong mechanical proclivities much in unison with mine'. [It is hard to imagine teen age boys roaming over motorway works in the 1990s and resolving to become road engineers].

Engineering Pupilage

A couple of unsuccessful terms at Trinity College, Cambridge, convinced RJH that academe and the Law were not for him. At Easter 1841 he prevailed on his father, 'with no difficulty' to allow him to come down from the University and seek an opening in civil engineering. After Conder had provided an introduction, an interview was arranged with Charles Fox at Birmingham Apparently his fellow pupil at Hathern who had been articled to Fox & Henderson, warned RJH to avoid Fox[5] and he did so, seeking instead to see John Cass Birkinshaw then working under Robert Stephenson[6] on the Birmingham and Derby line. 'Fortunately however' Birkinshaw was ill and RJH notes that he 'escaped connection with a man, who tho' a clever engineer, turned out in other respects very badly'. Finally the aspirant turned to George Watson Buck, then chief engineer [in conjunction with Robert Stephenson] of the Manchester & Birmingham Railway. He entered Buck's Ardwick Green office as an articled pupil. Lodgings were found at Salford but he soon found it necessary to move to Lloyd Street, Greenhays since 'very early hours were kept'. For nine months RJH was employed in the drawing office under Charles H. Wild, 'one of the cleverest draftsmen [sic] of the day'. He was happy to work under Buck, 'a most excellent master' who had made a 'deservedly great reputation' on the London & Birmingham Railway as assistant to the Stephensons. He saw Buck as a 'sound practical man as well as a safe and enthusiastic scientific investigator' who devoted himself with 'unusual honesty and patience to the progress of his pupils'.

Before long RJH was posted to the local office at Brererton, near Sandbach as assistant to the resident engineers William Baker (who had the Holmes Chapel length) and William Henry Barlow (in charge of the Crewe length). He was now preparing working drawings and helping to measure up, level and set out. In 1843, at his coming of age, RJH was released from his articles by Buck and taken on at £2.2s a week as leading office assistant in his master's new private practice in Manchester. Whilst he worked with Buck, RJH was engaged on the design and construction of the new Bailey [Street] bridge in Salford [over the river Irwell, now Albert Bridge].

His first position as a railway engineer

At the end of 1843, William Baker, as resident engineer for the Manchester & Birmingham Railway, invited RJH to assist him on the Cheadle Hulme—Macclesfield line, where his salary would be £200 a year. Full of youthful enthusiasm, he took rooms at The Bull, Macclesfield and began setting out the railway on Christmas Day. The preliminary work continued through the first two months of 1844 in very severe weather, from lodgings in a gamekeeper's cottage and then in a farmhouse at Hope Green. After the contract was let in June, RJH went to Baker's Manchester office to work on parliamentary surveys for local schemes and getting up the deposited plans for the Manchester, South Junction and Altrincham.

His progress was now rapid. From the beginning of 1845 the salary was increased to £250 and from 1 September that year he was appointed engineer to the MSJ&A at

£350, whilst also assisting Baker with the Shropshire Union and Wilmslow & Knutsford. An offer to move to the Leeds & Thirsk Railway as resident engineer at a salary of £500 was turned down, as was one for a partnership with Baker. RJH decided to apply for the advertised post of resident engineer to the London Brighton & South Coast Railway.

With the London Brighton & South Coast Railway

1846

On 6 May 1846 RJH attended the board of the LB&SCR at London Bridge station, one of 62 applicants for the post of Resident Engineer. At just 24, he was chosen from a short list of three, the others being C. B. Childe and William Lawford. The starting salary was £500. Taking up lodgings in Brighton, he launched into a busy programme, assuming responsibility for all lines in progress, preparing and letting a seven year maintenance contract and starting to plan the new London Bridge station, the goods depot at Bricklayers' Arms [Willow Walk], the Thames Junction [Deptford Wharf], Newhaven, Eastbourne and Hailsham branches and opening the extension of the coast lines in sections.

1847–48

For RJH 1847 was also another busy year, working on the projects just mentioned as well as the Croydon and Wandsworth, Littlehampton and Steyning lines. Other tasks recorded are the dismantling and conversion to steam working of the condemned New Cross to Croydon Atmospheric line and the opening of the Croydon to Epsom line in time for Derby Day. His energy in pursuing all this was rewarded by an increase in salary to £750 from 1 July 1847. To this he was able to add £100 received as the first premium for drawings for the East Lancashire Railway's locomotive depot at Bury. An incident on 8/9 February obviously remained a strong memory. Returning from London Bridge to Brighton, RJH took the 5pm express, which became snowbound just below Three Bridges, where he passed the night in the station. On the following day, with four engines and all the men available, the delayed train finally reached Brighton at 1.20pm.

Around the beginning of October 1847, the LB&SCR found itself in severe financial difficulty and an order was given on the 2nd to stop all new works in progress and reduce wages. RJH himself was put on notice to leave and required to give notice to his whole staff. On 3 January 1848 he sent in his resignation, which was accepted. However after a 'very indignant' half-yearly meeting on 14 February, an Investigation Committee was set up, leading to the appointment of Samuel Laing as the new chairman. A few days later, Leo Schuster, an LB&SCR director, offered to retain RJH at his original salary, a re-appointment confirmed on 18 March. Meanwhile, although in limbo, RJH had on 4 March accompanied the deposed King of France, Louis Phillipe, on a special train from Newhaven to London. In May he took his brother George into his office as a pupil and the two brothers moved in September to a house in Clifton Terrace, Brighton, which RJH rented for less than a tenth of his salary. After the financial disturbance, new works were gradually resumed, including, in addition to those already mentioned, plans for the new Joint station at Portsmouth and for Newhaven Harbour.

1849–50

As it had been decided to move the LB&SCR Engineer's office from Brighton to London Bridge station, the two brothers moved into lodgings at 20 Manchester

Buildings, Westminster at the beginning of 1849. RJH's income was still growing; on 10 January 1849 he received an addition to salary of £30 on his appointment as engineer to the Joint Portsmouth [L&SWR and LB&SCR] line. With the railway's steamer service operating between Newhaven and Dieppe since 29 May 1849, RJH decided to make his first visit to mainland Europe, staying in June at Dieppe and in Paris, where visits were made to the Exhibition. On return, the sea journey from Dieppe to Newhaven is recorded as taking 6¼ hours. Another note mentions that the first contract for the new terminus at London Bridge was let at £39,000 on 6 August 1849. A year later, on 2 August, the first part of the new terminus was opened to the public and a month after that, RJH's cousin, William Jacomb, entered the Engineer's office at London Bridge as an articled pupil.[7] Also in 1850, on 7 November RJH received the Institution of Civil Engineers' premium for his paper on his lift bridge [over the Grand Surrey Canal on the line of Thames Junction Branch of the LB&SCR[8]].

1851

Financial rewards continued to flow. In 1851 the Board allowed RJH £300 for 'extra services', adding that from 1852 his salary would be supplemented by a bonus calculated according to the year's dividend. His savings had now accumulated sufficiently to allow him to invest by making a loan of £500. This was also the year when he first met his future wife, Jane S. Littlewood, the governess of his cousin's children. The marriage took place at St. George's Bloomsbury on 26 November. As might be expected, there were visits to the Great International Exhibition in Hyde Park.

1852

On 24 May, RJH records attendance at the first meeting of the Crystal Palace Board, at which it decided that a branch railway should be built into the Sydenham site. On the 16th of the following month he was at a LB&SCR reception at Newhaven for officials of the Western Railway of France 'with a view to joint working', this followed by an undefined 'entertainment' at Brighton. A trial trip of the SS *Wave Queen* from Newhaven to Dieppe took place on 21 August 1852 carrying RJH and 'all officials'. There was a banquet and ball at the Dieppe Hotel de Ville afterwards [no doubt laid on by the Chemins de Fer de l'Ouest]. Work recorded for 1852 is shown as: the decision (6 September) to 'take up the East Grinstead Line as a separate scheme'; enlargement of London Bridge station; the Goods Incline at Brighton; the new station at Lewes; a fourth line from New Cross to East Croydon; the branch to Crystal Palace; and getting up the parliamentary deposits for the [Three Bridges] East Grinstead, Steyning and Petworth branches, the last two dropped in December.

1853

1853 was also a busy year in parliament, passing the bills for the East Grinstead branch, the West End & Crystal Palace line and opposing the Direct Portsmouth and Lewisham and Croydon schemes. 'Heavy works in progress' were recorded as the London Bridge station enlargement, the fourth line to Croydon, and the Crystal Palace branch. Through the autumn RJH was engaged in 'protecting the Weald of Sussex Line (Horsham to Midhurst) and the Caterham Railway',

Katie (later Katie Dale), the first of RJH's nine children by Jane Littlewood (two died in infancy) was born on 27 April. On 10 August, the LB&SCR SS *Wave Queen* was taken from Newhaven to Spithead to watch the 'Great Naval Review'. A return was made to Worthing the following day.

1854

Guilford L. Molesworth, later Sir Guilford, was engaged by RJH as assistant at £200 a year in February 1854. The new offices at London Bridge terminus were entered on 27 March. On 10 June RJH took his wife to the grand opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. Upon the expiry of the LB&SCR's maintenance contract, RJH was much involved with taking the work over for the Company and reorganising the whole system. Works in progress this year are recorded as the East Grinstead Line, the Crystal Palace Branch, and enlargement and rebuilding of London Bridge station. In parliament RJH organised 'heavy opposition' to the Sydenham and Farnborough and Bromley lines, (the beginning of the London, Chatham & Dover system) and worked on the LB&SCR's own bill for deviations, extension and general powers.

1855

RJH's salary had now risen to £750, with a bonus on the dividend of just over £309. Looking around at ways of investing his marginal income, he took a £250 share in the screw collier *Geo Hawkins*. Social events of the year included attendance at the opening by Prince Albert of Epsom Royal Medical College on 25 June and at the opening by the Prince of the Earlswood Idiot Asylum on 3 July. Discussions were held on 31 July with A. R. Briggs of Lewes and J. G. Langham of Uckfield as to the promotion of the Lewes and Uckfield line and RJH subsequently carried out 'preliminary surveys' for this. Acquaintance with Sir J. Paxton provided the means of RJH securing appointment of his brother John as paymaster to the Army Works Corps. John sailed for Balaclava in the Crimea on 7 November.

The year saw little parliamentary work other than opposition to the Mid Kent scheme; the chief works in progress were the Caterham Railway, the Portsmouth Admiralty Dockyard Line, the East Grinstead Railway [Three Bridges-East Grinstead] and the West End & Crystal Palace Railway.

1856

Further investments were made in steam colliers in February and July 1856 after a £215.2s. 6d bonus on salary had been paid for the previous year. RJH saw the Grand Naval Review at Portsmouth [celebrating the end of the Crimean War] on 23 April on board the company's SS *Paris*. He attended the Grand Opening of the Caterham Railway ('Fete etc') on 4 August. Now very much in the 'gentry' class, RJH bought a pony and chaise for £30 in May. On a lone visit to Paris, Strasbourg, Mayence the Rhine, Cologne and Brussels at the end of the summer, his train was involved in a 'bad collision' near Creil on the 26 August. He records that this holiday trip cost him £17.3s [an incredibly low sum but perhaps there was some hospitality and free travel?].

Parliamentary work for 1856 is noted as heavy opposition to the Epsom & Leatherhead line and works in progress as the Portsmouth Dockyard branch, Lewes new station, Brighton Yard Extension, and Newhaven Harbour. It is also stated that 'with Faithfull and Ingram got up Steyning Line—Midhurst Extension with Albery—and got up for deposit the Lewes & Uckfield Railway with Briggs and Langham'.

1857

1856 and 1857 were good years for the LB&SCR; RJH's bonus, paid on 21 January 1857, rose to £403.2s 6d and the same amount was paid in 1858. Eight days later he sold his shares in the steam colliers for £1,500. Brother John was sent to Portsmouth to 'look after' the Dockyard line in January and in the following month he was taken by RJH to Newcastle 'as Inspector of Rails at the Consett Works', staying there until 23 March. RJH began setting out the Uckfield line [Lewes-Uckfield] on 7 August with

Phillips as his assistant. After his spell of temporary work for the LB&SCR, John was seen off to Bombay from Southampton on 4 October in the P&O SS *Columbo*—RJH had secured him a position as 'Financial Agent in India'. On 16 December RJH accompanied by his cousin William Jacomb, went to Blackwall to see the SS *Leviathan* (later SS *Great Eastern*), then in progess under William's inspection. At the end of the year, RJH retreated to the Queen's Hotel, Cheltenham to work on his paper 'The Arrangement and Construction of Railway Stations' for the Institution of Civil Engineers.[9]

Works in progress are noted as Battersea Terminus; Lewes New Station; and rebuilding Shoreham Viaduct. Parliamentary business is recorded as: heavy opposition to the Mid Kent & Croydon, the South London; and the Wimbledon, Epsom & Dorking. Bills were passed for the Lewes & Uckfield and the Mid Sussex Railway. RJH notes that he 'began the promotion of the Victoria Station Line with Fowler, the Steyning Line with Faithfull & Ingram, the Arundel & Pulborough Line with E. Woods, and the Norwood Junction.

1858

In railway matters this was a less eventful year. There was a banquet on 27 March to celebrate the opening of the West End Line to Battersea and on 5 May an entry notes that 'the first competing line to Brighton, the Shoreham, Horsham & Dorking, promoted by Brassey, Locks and Roy, was thrown out in the Commons and our line from Shoreham to the Mid Sussex passed'. Another public dinner was held at Uckfield on 11 October, to celebrate the opening of the line from Lewes. On 14 December RJH received a Telford Gold Medal at the Institution of Civil Engineers for his paper on the arrangement and construction of stations.

Works in progress are listed as: West End Line to Battersea; Great Norwood (sic) Junction Station; Lewes & Uckfield; and Shoreham and Hanfield. In parliament there were 'heavy oppositions' to the Shoreham & Horsham; the East Kent; and the Portsmouth Extension from Havant. Promotions were: the Shoreham & Mid Sussex; the Southwater Deviation; the Victoria Station & Pimlico Railway; the Croydon & Balham and the Leatherhead & Dorking.

1859

The Shoreham & Henfield contract was let to J. Firbank on 10 March at £38,878 and the Mid Sussex Line was opened from Horsham to Petworth on 10 October. On 11 April brother George was taken into RJH's office as an assistant after returning from a spell in Australia. Robert Stephenson's funeral at Westminster Abbey was attended on 21 October. On 30 December, RJH learned that his salary was to be raised to £1,200 but no bonuses were to be paid after January 1860.

Works are listed as: Mid Sussex completion; Shoreham & Henfield; Victoria station begun; enlargement of stations at Brighton, Clapham Junction; Eastbourne; Three Bridges; Polegate etc. Heavy [it is always so qualified] opposition was organised in parliament to the Charing Cross Line; the East Kent; the Leatherhead & Dorking and the Portsmouth Railway Amalgamation. RJH promoted and began the Southwater Deviation; the Fareham & Southampton Scheme; the Croydon & Balham; the Leatherhead & Dorking; the Arundel & Mid Sussex; the West London Extension; Bramber to Littlehampton and Bognor; and the Southsea Tramway. He was also involved with several actions with the Permanent Way Company.

1860

This was a milestone year. On 29 September Robert sent in his resignation to the LB&SCR, having decided to set himself up in private practice [in which capacity he was to continue to undertake work for the LB&SCR until the year of his death]. Offices were taken at 7, Parliament Street, Westminster, on 7 December. His successor as Resident Engineer on the LB&SCR from 1 January 1861 was F. D. Banister but he carried through to completion all new works in progress at 31 December. In recognition of this, the Brighton board paid him a lump sum of £3,500. Earlier in the year RJH recorded that on Brunel's death, cousin William Jacomb had set up an office on his own in partnership with W. B. Lewis. Once again nepotism prevailed: an entry for 8 March states: 'I began to employ him in making drawings and inspecting ironwork and superintending erection'.

Works are listed as: 'busy all year on Victoria Station, Portsmouth Station, Croydon & Balham Line, Mid Sussex completion and South London Line. In parliament there was 'heavy opposition' to the Chatham & Dover's Metropolitan Extension and the L&SWR's amalgamation with the Direct Portsmouth. Other work is noted as promoting and getting up for deposit the South London Line, the Croydon & Balham, the Horsham & Guildford, the Bristol, Yate & Clifton, the Uckfield & Tunbridge Wells, the branches to Seaford and Bognor, the Deviation and new drawbridge at Ford, and the Ryde Pier Extension.

In private Practice

1861

On 9 September RJH notes the letting of the Arundel & Mid Sussex contract to Firbank for £92,000. December saw him at Dublin and Cork 'examining various draw-bridges'.

In parliament he 'got acts' for the Tunbridge Wells and Uckfield and the Bognor Line and projected for the following session: the Leatherhead & Guildford; the Horsham & Guildford; the Horsham, Dorking & Leatherhead; the Isle of Dogs Tramway; the Bristol, Yate & Clifton; the New Cross & Norwood; the Seaford Extension; and the South London Line. 'Heavy' works in progress are listed as: Croydon & Balham; Arundel & Mid Sussex; Littlehampton Branch; Shoreham & Horsham; Portsmouth and Brighton stations enlargement; Southerham and Ford bridges, deviations and rebuilding; Clapham Junction station and third line to Balham; Addison Road station; Victoria station roof, Finn Valley Railway (Ireland) 'etc etc'.

1862

On 18 July RJH gave a dinner to his office staff, 16 in all, at The Ship, Greenwich. There are no entries of railway interest apart from the usual listing of projects. The following works are noted as started or proceeding: Uckfield & Tunbridge Wells; Bognor Rly; Littlehampton Branch; Ford Deviation; Mid Sussex widening; Battersea & Balham third line; and the South London line. In parliament bills were 'carried' for the Horsham & Dorking and South London Lines. Brighton Company's Extensions etc. Assistance was given in heavy opposition to the South London & Crystal Palace; East Grinstead and Groombridge; and Mid Kent & Addiscombe. Plans were deposited [in November] for the Peckham & Sutton and the Leatherhead & Dorking, both jointly with [G. P.] Bidder; also for the Victoria Widening; the Southsea Tramways; Newhaven Harbour Improvement; Leatherhead & Guildford; Ightham & Hadlow (jointly with H. Fernandez[10]); and the South London Deviation.

1863

On 25 April RJH was at the cutting of the first sod for the Horsham & Dorking Line, which was followed by a Grand Public Dinner. A mysterious 'Large Parliamentary Dinner' given at Richmond by the LB&SCR is noted against 2 July. On 12 October new offices were taken at 6, Little George Street, Westminster and Trollope & Sons were ordered to undertake £300 of work on them, completed to allow occupation on 15 December. Brother George gave a Farewell Party at Simpson's Strand, on 24 November before leaving for India to become District Engineer for the Scinde [Sind] Delhi Railway. On 30 November RJH notes that with Bidder he had taken over the LB&SCR engineering work on a new basis of 3% on cost, sharing the profits 50:50.

In parliament: Acts for Peckham & Sutton and Leatherhead & Dorking (jointly with Bidder); Newhaven Harbour Improvements; Hadlow Rly (with Fernandez); Southsea Tramways: South London Deviations; Victoria Station & Pimlico Widening (with Fowler); Opposition to Beckenham, Lewes & Brighton scheme projected by the LC&DR and thrown out; Banstead Line; Mid-Kent & Croydon; Hartfield & Uckfield. Surveyed for Deposited Plans: Surrey & Sussex; West Sussex Junction; Lewes & Hamsey; Tooting, Merton & Wimbledon (passed over to cousin William Jacomb). Rent, salaries, travelling and other office expenses for the year are noted as £1,508.

1864

The opening of the [SER] London Bridge–Charing Cross line to the public is noted as 11 January and the LB&SCR 'Steamboat Bill' as passed on 15 April. The family home at Bardon Park, inherited by his father, was sold to William Herrick of Beaumanor on 13 June for £45,000 [the terms of the endowment required this sum to be distributed equally amongst the nine children, RJH being the eldest].

On 11 October RJH notes something which must have caused him a measure of anxiety: 'Brighton Coy in financial difficulties and all works stopped'.

In parliament: 'Carried Bills for Brighton Company's Various Powers; Battersea New Lines; West Sussex Junction'[11] and opposed Metropolitan Grand Union and Metropolitan District. Schemes projected and deposited for next session were: East London (with Fowler); Axminster & Lyme Regis; Southend & Maldon; Ouse Valley & Hastings; New Cross Junctions; West Sussex Deviations; Kingsland & Finsbury; and the Balham & Brixton. There was 'Heavy Arbitration on Peto's claim against Brighton, Uckfield & Tunbridge Wells Co. for breach of contract, and much Parliamentary Business for other Companies'.

1865

On 24 March 'my Surrey & Sussex Bill passed in the Commons'; it passed the Lords on 4 July. Cousin William Jacomb entered RJH's office as a partner on 3 July, taking one third of the net profits and contributing one third of the working capital. In the summer RJH moved his family to no. 1 Mostyn Villas Tunbridge Wells and on 5 August drove the four oldest children to Jarvis Brook and Hamsell Bridge via Groombridge to show them the works in progress there.[12] In December he was in Edinburgh for three days getting particulars of the proposed new Waverley station, intent on entering the design competition.

Arbitration on Petro's claim on the Uckfield & Tunbridge Wells Co went on all the year. Bills in parliament which RJH was promoting or assisting were: LB&SCR Additional powers; Surrey & Sussex Rly; Hornsey & Kingsland; Hadlow Extensions; West Kent; West Sussex Deviation; Chichester & Midhurst; North Surrey Lines; East London; and the Ouse Valley & Hastings. He also projected and deposited the

Peckham & Dartford; Hastings Deviations; Norwood & Crystal Palace High Level; Surrey & Sussex Deviations; the Hadlow Railway Extensions; and the Bridport to Lyme Regis.

1866

On 28 April a bridge being built by the contractor Firbank at Sutton for RJH collapsed, killing six men. To add to his woes, the LB&SCR was again in financial difficulty. On 29 May RJH noted 'all works to be stopped'. His brother George was back under his wing, mentioned in June as 'measuring up works etc'. The London, Lewes & Brighton Bill, promoted jointly by the SER and the LC&DR, is noted as passing both Houses of Parliament in July. A diversion on 3 August was a visit to Loughborough 'to assist H. Deane in promoting Waterworks Scheme from Charnwood by the old canal'. More dramatic, on 6 August, was news of a serious riot at Edenbridge against the Belgian navvies brought in by Messrs. Waring to assist the progress of the Surrey & Sussex Railway works. This was a lively month: on 11 August on his way to Shanklin where his children were staying with William Jacomb's family, RJH was involved in a collision at Stammerham Junction and was 'kept all night at Horsham', [presumably to supervise clearance and restoration of services]. The Great Fire at the Crystal Palace when the whole of the North Transept was burned down is noted on 30 December.

Parliamentary work was complicated by the LB&SCR's financial problems, which made stoppage or suspension necessary, The notes record: 'Engaged all the session either in promoting or opposing: London, Lewes & Brighton; Balham & Brixton; Bridport & Lyme Regis; Kensington & Clapham; East London Extension; Kingston & Richmond; Chatham & Dover (Additional Powers), Brighton Rly (Additional Powers), Bromley & Farnboro; Southsea Branch; Surrey & Sussex (Additional Powers).' RJH also acted as arbitrator between the Great Northern Railway and the Edgware & Highgate Co. on station accommodation and was engaged in 'several rating and compensation cases for various companies'.

1867

The LB&SCR was still in trouble. On 9 May the Adjourned General meeting was the scene of 'great opposition to the board' and an Investigation Committee was appointed. A new board was appointed on 25 June with Sir C. Jackson as chairman.[13]

Work for the company was slack during the year as a result of the crisis. Only three bills were passed: the LB&SCR Additional Powers; the Southsea Railway and the West Sussex Extension of Time. RJH was also involved in the Surrey & Sussex Abandonment Bill. Office work was 'heavy, chiefly on Warings' Arbitration on giving up the [Surrey & Sussex] contract before J. Cubitt'. There were several arbitration and tithe and taxes appeals to deal with and trials in Edinburgh in the suit of North v Messrs. Waring. RJH was also involved in the LB&SCR suit in Chancery v. the Surrey & Sussex board and officers and was also suing the same company for engineering claims (he later settled in full by taking £9,500). His partner William Jacomb spent two autumn months in Ireland valuing the Ulster railways for a parliamentary commission. For variety RJH was 'engaged on ironwork for National Gallery to assist Smirke'.[14]

1868

This year saw RJH in Cornwall (2–7 December) to 'report on harbour for St. Just'. The main parliamentary work was assistance with the Surrey & Sussex Rly Abandonment Bill and the Bill for amalgamating the LB&SCR, SER and LC&DR. There was more litigation ensuing from the collapse of the Surrey & Sussex scheme. The only specific work mentioned was 'preparing for rebuilding the Portcreek Viaduct

[just north of Portsmouth] to meet the defence works in progress by the War Office'. This was to provide some work for RJH in 1869.

Semi-Retirement

1869–71

His successor at London Bridge, F. D. Banister, was now in difficulties with the Brighton Board and RJH was requested in May to look into the matter and report as Consulting Engineer. Later in the year he was assisting the LB&SCR in reorganising the engineering staff. From Christmas 1869, RJH resigned as Engineer of the Portsmouth Joint Railway. It was a sad year for him personally; as his wife died 'rather suddenly at 10.30am' on 27 November of 'dropsical debility'. Cousin William Jacomb was also about to move to the L&SWR, making it necessary to dissolve the partnership; this and his wife's death, were probably the reason why RJH now decided, at the age of 48, to retire from full time practice. To fill the income gap various directorships were now accepted, the first, from 30 December, of the Crystal Palace Co. The reduced level of activity prompted a move to smaller offices at 17 Great George St., Westminster on 21 March 1870.

In May 1870 RJH accompanied another Crystal Palace director to Brussels, Ghent, Paris and Cologne to seek information preparatory to forming the Crystal Palace Aquarium Co. and on 1 November he became a director of the Anglo-Maltese Hydraulic Dock Co. An interesting sidelight on contemporary justice is mentioned: on 18 March 1870 his coat was stolen from the House of Commons Committee Room. The thief was quickly apprehended and by 11 April RJH was able to record that the man had been sentenced to 12 months' hard labour.

RJH became engaged to Elizabeth Thornton on 12 August 1870 and was married to her at St. George's, Hanover Square on 21 February 1871. His wealth was now substantial enough to allow him to keep a landau and pair and employ a coachman.

1872

An era of travel, for business and pleasure, now began. Between January and May RJH was involved in negotiating a contract for the construction of the Cordoba-Tucuman Railway [this line was opened in 1875]. He went to Paris on 22 January, then to Bordeaux by train, sailing from there on the Messageries steamer *Gironde* for Buenos Ayres via Lisbon, Dakar, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, landing at B.A. on 3 April. After exploring some of the Argentina railway system and completing his business, he set off for home on 9 May on board the Lamport & Holt Liverpool line's SS *Flamstead* via Montevideo, Rio and Bahia. The ship broke down on 4 June but put into Funchal, Madeira for coals on 8 June, reaching Southampton on 13 June. On 8 July RJH closed his last office at 17 Great George Street.

1873–76

The directorship of the Anglo-Maltese Hydraulic Dock Co provided a trip to Malta in July. Other work noted this year was listed as beginning surveys for a Wadhurst-Mayfield line (bill not deposited) and employment by the Dutch [Rhenish] Railway Co to look after their new rails. He was also engaged in an action against the GER and another against Langham and the Tunbridge Wells & Eastbourne Rly Co. For a holiday at Worthing in August he took his 'horses and carriage down' [presumably by train].

Malta was visited again in the summer of 1874 and this time the return was made via Naples, Rome, Florence, Turin and Paris. His second wife died 'rather suddenly' of cancer in January 1875, a loss which caused him to give up his coachman, carriage and horses. In 1876 on 26 June a trip was taken from Dover to Calais 'to try the new twin ship *Castalia*'.

1877–78

A visit to the United States was arranged with Sir Philip Rose to report on the proposed purchase by Erlanger & Co of the Alabama & Chattanooga Railway. The fee received was £600. RJH sailed from Liverpool on 26 May by the Cunard SS *Scythia* and landed at New York on 6 June. An inspection of the railway was begun on 12 June. By the 28th he was back in New York, whence he travelled by steamer up the Hudson to Albany. After reaching Quebec via Niagara, Toronto, Kingston and Montreal, he sailed on the Allan Line SS *Polynesian* on 7 July, landing at Liverpool on the 16th. Directorships on the Alabama Great Southern Railway Co and the Thames Haven Petroleum Storage Co came his way in September and November respectively but he resigned from the board of the Anglo-Maltese H.D. Co in May. December saw him in Barcelona, examining and reporting on the street tramway system there. Other work in 1877 is listed as Fairbank's suit against the Midland Railway, the Crystal Palace reorganisation and 'getting up the Alabama Great Southern Railway with C. Schiff.[15] Schiff also persuaded him to join the board of the New Gas Co in September 1878.

1879–81

1879 (February–May) saw RJH visiting the West Indies, Cuba and the USA. In May he joined the board of the Foreign & Colonial Investment Trust Co. and more work was done on Fairbank v the Midland Rly. June was marked by a visit to Neath and Briton Ferry for the Sombrero Phosphate Co. In October he was at Uckfield with the Langhams projecting a revival of the Ouse Valley Railway scheme. The old board of the Crystal Palace Co resigned en masse in November, including RJH. The directorship of the Thames Haven Petroleum Storage Co was also given up in March 1880. A visit to Middlesbrough, Rosedale and Saltburn in February 1880 produced a report on the 'Ferry Hill Ironworks etc' for Laing and Quilter. In May a directorship of the Sydney & Louisberg Railway and Coal Co [Nova Scotia, Canada] was accepted. Another ironworks, the Walker, at Newcastle on Tyne, was investigated, for Schiff, in July 1880. RJH's continuing interest in designing large railway stations was shown by an entry for the competition for the new Exchange station at Liverpool; he began work on this in December 1880 and finished and submitted in May 1881.[16] In August 1881 another directorship was accepted—on the board of the Assam Railways & Trading Co Ltd. Other work noted for 1881 was inspection of rails at Lancaster, Barrow and Edinburgh 'for America' and depositing plans 'for the South Western Windsor & Ascot Line'. [As regards the latter, RJH seems to be mistaken in implying this was a L&SWR scheme.]

1882

The early part of the year saw RJH inspecting rails at Workington, Barrow and Glasgow and then in May to Barrow again, and also to Carnforth, Blackpool and Bispham for the same purpose. The directorship of the Assam, Railways & Trading Co was given up in February. On 21 July he attended the formal opening of the Metropolitan Railway to Tower Hill and the Public Lunch which followed [public opening was postponed until 25 September]. His son Wykeham [born 12 January 1859] was now Resident Engineer[17] for a new line being built at Wherwell, Hants, an

appointment taken up on 27 December [Fullerton-Hurstbourne, opened for public traffic 1 June 1885.]

This year's work is summarised as: 'promoting the Windsor & Ascot line and opposing others for the South Western Co. Looking after new steel rails for the Alabama Texas lines; assisting North British Co at suit on the Fairlie contract and with Schiff in organizing and completing the Sicilian Lines between Palermo and Trapani and Marsala.

1883

A further directorship, of the newly formed Foreign, American & General Trust Co was accepted on 5 March, but more importantly two days later, RJH first took his seat on the board of the LB&SCR as successor to Sir Arthur Otway, who had resigned. On 23 May, no doubt as a result of his Brighton directorship, he was 'with the Prince of Wales and suite to the Derby by special train'. Once again the engineering department of the LB&SCR was being reorganised with RJH's assistance and he was also involved in works at Newhaven Harbour and in his USA railway interests. Although he was to live for another 17 years, signs of ill health had already been noted and this year an entry records 'much debility' through the year.

1884

This year was fairly uneventful apart from a trip to France to inspect the Dieppe Harbour and the Rouen Exhibition. An earthquake in Essex at 09.20 on 22 April is noted as having been 'felt at Folkestone'.

1885

Only one entry is of mild interest. Rather as the Diplomatic Corps still does today, it would seem that railway directors were not adverse to entertaining their 'foreign' colleagues. Trips with L&SWR directors to Portsmouth and Ryde and round the Isle of Wight are noted in the summer months.

1886

This year saw a visit to the West Indies with his artist son, George Percy Jacomb-Hood [1857–1935]. His engineer son, Wykeham, was engaged at Fareham on the Netley & Fareham Railway works. RJH was busy for several days in November as witness for the case against J. Wolfe-Barry 'as to his charges'. The American directorships (Alabama & Southern and the Sydney and Louisberg Railway & Coal Co) were given up during this year.

1887

The wreck of the LB&SCR steamer *Victoria* off Dieppe on 14 April is recorded. Cousin William Jacomb 'died suddenly in his office at Waterloo' on 26 May. RJH attended the Public Funeral at Wimbledon Cemetary on 31 May. He was a delegate to the International Railway Congress at Milan in September and gives details of his journeys. October saw a visit to Boulogne with Sir A. Otway[18] and others to examine the dredging of the Harbour.

1888

In February RJH was off on another jaunt to the West Indies, this time with his son Wykeham. A journey on Barbados by train to Bathsheba is mentioned. Trinidad was then visited and Venezuela, where a train was taken from La Guaira to Caracas. The

return home was made via New Orleans. In June, son Wykeham was appointed District Engineer, London District, L&SWR, at £350 a year with an office at Clapham Junction. RJH took part in the trials of the steamer *Paris* at Greenock in July.

1889

More overseas journeys were undertaken: to South Africa in February and March; with Allen Sarle[19] and his wife to Paris via Newhaven and Dieppe in June for the Exhibition, staying at the new Hotel Terminus at St. Lazare station; in August to Norway and Sweden; and as a delegate to the International Railway Congress in Paris in September (with Sir Arthur Otway). News of William Stroudley's[20] death from bronchitis in Paris was received on 20 December.

1890–92

A voyage to the Baltic in August included side trips to St Petersburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Christiania [Oslo]. RJH seems to have been somewhat taken with this part of Europe as another trip, to Norway followed in 1891. There was a visit to Paris and le Havre in May 1891 to assist at the launch of the SS *Seine*. October saw the International Railway Congress at Brighton and a reception for officials of the Western Rly of France at Newhaven. In 1892 only two trips, both to France, are noted: to Folkestone and Boulogne in April and to Paris 'to attend Joint [Steamboat] Committee Meeting' in May.

1893–94

These are the last two years recorded. A visit was made to the landslip at Sandgate on 11 March 1893.[21] In June that year RJH went to Paris for the Joint Committee meeting. Another Baltic holiday followed in August (to Copenhagen, Stockholm, Uppsala, and Gothenburg). There was a day trip to Boulogne from Folkestone in April 1894, a visit to Paris in July and a trip to Dieppe in the SS *Seaford* in September. RJH notes that he was present at the opening of the new Tower Bridge in London on 9 July. Life was now an almost perpetual holiday: in 1894, the last year for which we have entries, sojourns at Brighton, St Margaret's Bay, Eastbourne, Sidmouth, Aldeburgh, Fowey and Plymouth are all noted.

Little is known about the last six years of RJH's life. The eulogistic obituary in the proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers[22] is silent on them, saying only, 'In almost full vigour of health he died suddenly at Tunbridge Wells, on 10th May 1900, in the 79th year of his age, having been engaged on the day of his death in transacting business for the Brighton Company'.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 RJH entitled the papers *Memoranda for Biography begun 15 October 1888*. The original copy is mostly in manuscript (which presented some difficulties of interpretation), with some typed pages towards the end.

2 London Road, Brighton (1847), Clifton Terrace, Brighton (1848), Sydenham (1849), Duppas Hill Terrace, Croydon (1851), New Lane (Wellesley Road), Croydon (1852), Redhill (1854), Blackheath (1858), Steatham (1861), Clapham (1866), Lee Park (1870), Lee Terrace, Lee (1875), Lexham Gardens, Kensington (1883), Bramham Gardens, Kensington (1887), Tite Street, Chelsea (1891).

3 See Dendy Marshall, C.F., *A History of the Southern Railway*, 1937, ch. xvi. The papers were loaned to Marshall by one of RJH's sons, Sydney Jacomb Hood, but he quotes only a few extracts relating to 1847, 1848 and 1863. Also see Howard Turner, J.T., *The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, vol. II*, 1978, ch. 14; in this case the author uses only certain entries for 1847 and 1866.

4 Francis Roubiliac Conder was the [anonymous] author, 'a Civil Engineer', of *Personal Recollections of English Engineers and of the introduction of the railway system into the United Kingdom*, 1868, which was reprinted in 1983, edited by Jack Simmons, as *The Men Who Built the Railways*.

5 R. B. Dockray's diary speaks of Charles Fox's 'imagination and malevolence' [Robbins, Michael, 'From R. B. Dockray's Diary', 7, *Journal of Transport History*, 1965–6].

6 JRH may be confusing George and Robert Stephenson here as George is usually accredited as the engineer of the B&DJR without mention of Robert in any capacity.

7 William Jacomb (1832–1887) went on to become an articled pupil of I. K. Brunel in 1851. He assisted Gainsford in the construction of Paddington Station and later supervised the building of the SS *Great Eastern* at Millwall. Following Brunel's death, in 1859 he went into practice on his own account but as related above joined RJH as junior partner in 1865. In 1870 he was appointed Chief Resident Engineer of the L&SWR, remaining in that position until his death in his office in 1887.

8 Minutes of Proceedings, Inst. Civil Engineers vol. ix, p. 303.

9 *Ibid*, vol. xvii, p. 449.

10 Fernandez was a railway contractor (for a section of the Caterham Railway, with Furness; and for a section of Tunbridge Wells-East Grinstead).

11 The West Sussex Junction Railway was to run from Hardham (near Pulborough) to Steyning (Acts 1864, 1865) but was not started. RJH is noted in *Bradshaw's Railway Manual Shareholders' Guide & Directory* as being a director.

12 This is almost certainly the day recalled by RJH's artist son, George Percy Jacomb-Hood in his autobiography, *With Brush and Pencil*, 1925, The excursion included a visit to the Groombridge home of the marine artist Edward William Cooke, RA (1811–80). GP Jacomb-Hood describes how they rode on 'hired nags, while my mother and two sisters drove in an open carriage'. RJH wore his trousers strapped below his boots whilst the two sons were in Scotch caps, knickerbockers and elastic-sided boots on their ponies either side of him. Percy describes how he was impressed by Cooke's enormous studio and his museum of model ships.

13 RJH made a slip here. Sir Charles Jackson was chairman of the shareholders' committee. In his book *The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway*, vol. 2, 1978, J. T. Howard Turner states the chair of the board remained vacant until occupied by Samuel Laing on 2 July and that Sir Charles was deputy chairman.

14 This relates to the enlargement of the National Gallery completed in 1869. 'Smirke' was almost certainly the architect Sydney Smirke (1797–1877), younger brother of the more famous Sir Robert S.

15 The Alabama Great Southern Railway was strongly British in its financing. In his book *British Investment in American Railways 1834–98*, Charlottesville, Va., 1970, D. R. Adler describes it as 'of all American railways undoubtedly the most British'. Charles Schiff was one of the London committee of bondholders in 1878.

16 None of the competitors was successful—see Biddle, Gordon, *Great Railway Stations of Britain*, 1986, pp. 148–9.

17 J. Wykeham ('Wickham') Jacomb-Hood (1859–1914) was articled to William Jacomb (RJH's cousin) in 1877 and was engaged with Ernest Benedict on the Ryde Pier & Railway works in 1878. From 1888–97 he was Engineer, London District, L&SWR; on moving to Exeter as District Engineer, Western District in 1897 he carried out the construction of the Exmouth and Budleigh Salterton branches. After appointment as Chief Resident Engineer, L&SWR, in March 1901, he was concerned with the Fareham–Southampton line, the Bentley and Bordon, the Bulford Camp Extension and the series of widenings between Waterloo and Basingstoke. Other works included the rebuilding of Clapham Junction L&SWR, Salisbury, Basingstoke and other stations. He is best known for designing and building the new Waterloo station in the earlier stages. He was killed in a hunting accident in May 1914.

18 Arthur J. Otway MP, created baronet January 1868, a director of the LB&SCR 1868.

19 Sir Allen Sarle (1828–1903), secretary LB&SCR 1867–86, secretary and general manager LB&SCR, 1886–1897.

20 Stroudley (b. 1833) had been the locomotive superintendent of the LB&SCR since 1 February 1870 and was based at Brighton.

21 This landslide took place on 4 March 1893–see Hart, Brian, *The Hythe & Sandgate Railway*, 1987, p. 36.

22 Minutes of Proceedings, Inst. Civil Engineers vol. cxlii, p. 361.

I am indebted to Michael Robbins for helpful comments and for clarifying certain obscurities. Biographical details of the principal railway engineers mentioned in the text will be found in Marshall, John, *A Biographical Dictionary of Railway Engineers*, 1978.

Book Reviews

WHAT'S LEFT OF BRUNEL, Jonathan Falconer, 160 pp, profusely illustrated, card covers, Dial House (an imprint of Ian Allan Ltd), 1995, ISBN 0 7110 2305 0, £9.99.

This book has much more than the title implies. It contains a wealth of information on most of the major works of Brunel and many of the lesser known ones. The text is complemented by a very good selection of photographs, drawings, etc., many of which cover details not seen in previous books on Brunel. There are also data panels of various works, giving dimensions, costs, builders and other useful information.

All these appear to be thoroughly researched, but just occasionally one sees an entry that niggles. One panel is titled 'The Achievements of Three of Brunel's Contemporaries'. The first is Thomas Telford and the first item in that list gives 'Ellesmere Canal (1793–1805)'. Fair enough—but the next 'contemporary' is George Stephenson (1781–1848) and his entry also begins with 'Ellesmere Canal (1793–1805'. The plot thickens to absurdity when the third contemporary is 'Robert Stephenson (1803–59)' and again the first entry is 'Ellesmere Canal (1793–1805)'. In each case the rest of the entries do relate to the engineer in question and this repetition may be one of those things that happens in computer setting—but if it isn't readers will be wondering what part Robert Stephenson played in a work completed when he was two years old!

There are detailed instructions on how to locate the surviving remains of Brunel's work and altogether this would appear to be a very useful publication. As a final appraisal of Brunel, it would be interesting to know whether there were later imitators of his style and talent in the way that Charles Rennie Mackintosh is now being copied profusely in Glasgow and elsewhere. That might add greatly to consideration of 'what's left'.

JOHN DENTON

THE CLEOBURY MORTIMER & DITTON PRIORS LIGHT RAILWAY, M.R.C. Price, 88 pp, many photo illus plus maps and plans, card covers, The Oakwood Press, 1995, ISBN 0 85361 4474, £6.95.

The first edition I bought was published in 1963—two years before the line closed—and had 28 pages. This, the third and revised edition, has 88 pages and many black and white illustrations: a comparison which reflects the continuing interest in the history of 13 miles of one of the most remote of English branch lines. Readers who may have earlier editions are left in no doubt about what the modestly priced revised edition offers.

I admire the honesty of the author in acknowledging that, in the years since the first edition was published, some excellent material on the line has appeared in print. He has not attempted to duplicate it, but, in his own words, simply enhanced and tidied up the original edition, made some significant text alterations and provided a new post-script and appendices.

To go in search of the remains of the CM&DP and, perhaps, the equally rural Bewdley-Woofferton branch from which it stemmed, is to explore quiet and lovely countryside as unforgettable as the railway.

In a book dated 1995, it may seem a trifle disconcerting to find that the long and interesting postscript is headed 1992 and that the second introduction is dated March 1993, but these dates serve to underline an air of timelessness which was part of the character of this delightful Shropshire line. REX CHRISTIANSEN

SMALL MINES OF SOUTH WALES, A. J. Booth, 96 pp, 241 × 182 mm, 124 photo illus, 33 plans, Industrial Railway Society, 13 Trinity Avenue, Bridlington, East Yorks, YO15 2HD, 1995, ISBN 0 901096 86 5 (casebound), £12.95, 0 901096 87 3 (soft covers), £9.95.

When the coal industry came under state control in 1947, the newly-formed National Coal Board did not wish to concern itself with the operation of small mines, which were therefore worked under licence by private owners or companies. With the passage of time, the number of mines, both large and small, has diminished considerably. It may come as a surprise to some readers that the 'two men and a pony' type of mine still survives.

The author devoted much time and effort to recording such mines in the 1980s and early 1990s and this book is the result. The locations of 32 mines are shown on a general map, and each one has a sketch plan showing site details. In each case, the track gauge is given and the method of working is described. The photographs are of good quality and two or three, sometimes more, are devoted to each mine. They show the men, the ponies, the equipment and the mud.

This is not a history book in the sense that it does not contain a comprehensive list of such mines, or a chronology. It is a fragment of reality, showing how things actually were at a certain period, and as such it will be valuable to posterity.

MICHAEL HALE

PETERBOROUGH'S FIRST RAILWAY: YARWELL TO PETERBOROUGH, Peter Waszak & John Ginns, 92 pp, 20 illus, card covers, Nene Valley Railway, Wansford Station, Peterborough PE8 6LR, 1995, £3.95.

An interesting small book which contains much solid historical information, though the way in which it has been structured—different stations on the line have their own chapter, tends to mean that the successive phases of the line's development are rather hard to follow through the text.

The second chapter deals with the development of the Northampton & Peterborough Railway, with plenty of source material from minute books and newspapers. Unfortunately it is split into short sections headed with a date, in the manner of a diary, and related in the present tense. This rather irritating approach adds little to what is otherwise an excellent chapter, full of absorbing details about the construction of a railway and underlining once again the value of local newspapers to the railway historian. The authors have also included interesting excerpts from the diary of the Marchioness of Huntly, who watched the construction work.

Later chapters deal with individual places along the route, but without the help of a contents page or index, including some unusual subjects such as the CWS wagon works. The 'Preservation' era is dealt with in two pages. ADRIAN GRAY

LONDON'S LOST ROUTE TO MIDHURST, P. A. L. Vine, 176 pp, 62 photographs and line illustrations, 18 maps, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1995, ISBN 0 7509 0968 4, £16.99.

Sub-titled 'The Earl of Egremont's Navigation', this is a detailed history of the Sussex Rother navigation, which was built in the 1790s and upon which traffic lasted until 1888, after which there was some use for pleasure boating. There is also coverage of the Petworth Canal, a short-lived branch whose remains have largely disappeared. Both are less well known navigations than those connected to the main Midlands canal system, but one unusual point of interest is that the waterways were owned by a single proprietor. One chapter out of twelve deals entirely with the life of this single proprietor, and contains many details which perhaps may not particularly interest a canal or railway history audience.

One curiosity is that, although published in 1995, the preface is dated in early 1990, and the author implies that research was completed in the late 1980s. Few events seem to have elapsed since that time, so that the need to update the story hardly arises.

The book is well produced, and seems to have left no stone unturned. There are photographs from all periods, including many portraits, and many drawings, along with extracts from documents. Both contemporary and current maps are included, along with informative appendices which appear to be exhaustive. The text draws usefully on estate management records, and represents an interesting combination of transport and estate history.

There are, however, failings which could deter some from purchase, especially if they own Mr Vine's other books on the waterways of South East England. Some of the illustrations appear here for the third time, including those from *London's Lost Route to the Sea* and a number from *West Sussex Waterways*. While these books did provide some coverage of the navigation's history, this book greatly enlarges it, but the details may overwhelm in places. JOSEPH BOUGHEY

SIGNALLING IN THE AGE OF STEAM, Michael A.Vanns, 112 pp, 184 × 120 mm, 75 illus, 8 figs, card covers, Ian Allan, 1995. ISBN 0 7110 2350 6, £6.99.

Don't be fooled by its small size. This is the best general history of British railway semaphore signalling yet published, providing us with the wider background against which we can better appreciate the more detailed accounts of individual companies' practice, such as Richard Foster's *Pictorial Record of LNWR Signalling*.

At last we have a coherent chronicle of the evolution of each of the essential elements—the rules and regulations books; train head and tail lamps; fixed signals; the 'speaking' telegraph; the 'block' telegraph; single-stroke electric bells; interlocking; and signalboxes—which were brought together in what the author calls 'the 1870s Signalling Revolution'. By the 1880s the equipment and practices are familiar to us, as they still existed widely within recent memory; but there were still many significant developments to come in this century, such as the application of track circuits, the trend towards standardisation, and the first uses of pneumatically and electrically powered signals.

All the essentials of the story have been skilfully compressed into a clear, readable, authoritative and well-illustrated narrative, within the compass of the pocket-size format of the Ian Allan *ABC* series (it is introduced as a companion volume to Stanley Hall's *BR Signalling Handbook*). But this has only been achieved because the author has confined himself to the typical and commonplace and set aside the experimental and unique. It has been an unexpected delight to review this book, and yet one is left with an unsatisfied appetite. It is to be hoped that the author can be persuaded to produce an extended version, containing some of the detail and additional material that he decided to exclude here. GRAHAME BOYES

THE RHYMNEY RAILWAY, R. W. Kidner, 152 pp, 100 plates, 10 line drawings, 18 OS maps, 5 RCH diagrams, soft covers, Oakwood Press, 1995, ISBN 0 85361 463 6, £9.95.

The book by D. S. Barrie (from this publisher in 1952 and since reprinted) forms the basis for the present volume, which has greatly expanded text and is more copiously illustrated. After a chapter devoted to the reasons for building the railway, there are three which outline its growth during the nineteenth century with another covering the early twentieth century. The next is devoted to locomotives and rolling stock, followed by one describing the route and its main features, including a list of signal boxes and extracts from timetables. The final chapter covers the GWR and BR periods up to the present day. There are eight appendices giving further statistical and chronological information.

Photographic coverage is generally good and includes station buildings, collieries etc. as well as locomotives and trains. Although miners' trains were once numerous, there is no view of a colliery platform. Some of the captions to photographs and maps reveal a certain lack of first-hand knowledge of the locality. The descriptions of Penrhos Junction are confused. For example, the Lower Junction lay on the Barry Railway, not the Rhymney. The main workshops of the Company at Caerphilly receive only cursory attention in the text and there is no photograph. The claim that the factory dealt with 'Kings' is rather surprising. In the reviewer's opinion, the use of RCH Diagrams to illustrate complex junctions has a limited value without the original colours. There is no index, which a definitive company history should have, but in this case the plates and many of the pages lack a number, which would render it difficult to refer to them.

Anyone with an interest in the Rhymney Railway will want a copy of this book, which is very informative and eminently readable, but as a work of reference it should be used with some caution. MICHAEL HALE

LONDON MIDLAND THEN AND NOW, Gavin Morrison, 256 pp, 300 × 225 mm, about 640 b&w photos, hard covers, Ian Allan, 1995, ISBN 0 7110 2371 9, £29.99.

'Then and Now' books of railway photographs have become popular in recent years, and this must surely be the most lavish. It covers ex-LMS lines throughout England and North Wales . Over 300 photographs have been chosen, at least half of them dating from the last decade of steam, and including some 20 pre-nationalisation views.

The author and his friends have visited the same spots in 1994/5 and taken photographs from locations as close to the originals as they could manage. Perhaps predictably, some places show no change at all in 30–40 years, apart from a newer train, but at others the present view seems to bear no resemblance to the old. Many pairs of photographs reveal reductions in tracks, buildings and signalling and an increase in foliage and overhead wires. Most views show trains, usually workhorses such as 4-6-0s, 2-6-4Ts and multiple units. Over half are at stations and about 60 show lines now abandoned.

The narrative contains many opening and closing dates, perhaps too many, as several refer to lines not mentioned elsewhere in the book. Most are accurate but there are some errors, especially in Derbyshire and in places where a station and its line opened/closed at different times. There are more slips and clerical errors than one would expect from a book with this price. A map should have been included to help readers locate the places illustrated.

But this is essentially a book of photographs. All are of high quality and they include many pictures of Britain's railways as we want to remember them. And how soon will the 1994/5 views be regarded as historic? ALLAN BRACKENBURY

THE TRAMWAYS AND RAILWAYS TO HOLYWELL, J. R. Thomas, 75 pp, 34 photographs, maps and sketches, cards, published by the author at 'Finials', Bagillt, Clwyd, 1995, ISBN 0 952 56970 1, £8.45.

Our member Mr J. R. Thomas has carried out a prodigious amount of field work and research in producing a tantalising account of three separate transport undertakings in and near Holywell in Flintshire. The first was a four mile horse tramway, opened in 1848/9 from the Grange quarries to Greenfield wharf to bring down high quality limestone. Nine inclines were involved and Mr Thomas has uncovered excellent documentary evidence that the gauge was 3′ 8½″.

The second undertaking was the Holywell Railway, a speculative venture on the standard gauge, to serve the town of Holywell itself. Completed in 1870, this took part of the course of the earlier tramway. Mixed gauge track was laid. How the line was worked remains to be discovered, but steam power was used on the standard gauge rails. The newer line never prospered and, whilst the tramway continued to operate (apparently on both gauges), the upper section never brought goods to Holywell and was derelict by 1892.

The third undertaking is better known. The L&NWR took over the abandoned standard gauge line, relaid it and opened the Holywell branch to passenger traffic on 1st July 1912. By this time the tramway had ceased to function.

Despite some idiosyncratic syntax and layout and one or two clear misprints, the author is to be congratulated on revealing two virtually unknown undertakings of considerable interest. E. R. Ll. DAVIES

THE MANCHESTER BOLTON & BURY CANAL: HISTORY IN PICTURES, Richard Chester-Browne, 68 pp, 116 photographs, 1 map, John and Margaret Fletcher, 36 Trawden Avenue, Bolton, BL1 6JD, 1995, ISBN 0 9519058 13, £4.50 (£4.90 post paid from the publishers).

This booklet mainly comprises captioned photographs of the Manchester, Bolton & Bury Canal. Many of the photographs have been drawn from the collections of three enthusiasts from the canal's restoration society. This canal was one of the few profitable railway-owned canals, in use by both wide and narrow craft, the latter featuring unusual containerisation. This unusual nature may widen the appeal of this booklet beyond this specific waterway.

The illustrations follow the line of the canal from Salford to Bolton and then to Bury. Historical maps of the canal in the Salford area illustrate its complex evolution there, but there are no maps of the complicated terminals at Bolton and Bury. Many of the photographs depict the canal in the postwar period, when it became progressively more derelict, along with recent photographs of its preservation and improvement. Views of the working waterway include one of an inspection launch and another of storage of logs at the Salford end.

The captions convey the general history of the canal with some success, although this is clearly limited by the available views. Much of the information conveyed in the captions is idiosyncratic, but there are useful new details about traffic and engineering features.

Some of the photographs are too small to allow details to be distinguished. However, they do depict features which no longer exist. The general format perhaps involves too much blank space, while the placing of captions is unusual. Nevertheless, this is a well-produced, if unorthodox, publication. JOSEPH BOUGHEY

RECOLLECTIONS OF OXENHOLME, W. L. Harris as related to Edward Talbot, 48 pp, 56 photo illustrations, 4 maps, 210 x 295 mm, card covers, The London and North Western Railway Society, 1994, ISBN 0 9515490 4 9, Obtainable from the LNWR Society, Sales Officer, Mary Lowe, 15 Park Road, Loughborough, LE11 2ED, £7.95, post free.

This large format, copiously illustrated book gives a vivid picture of the LNWR scene in the 1910–1922 period. W. L. Harris, born in 1900 and still alive at the time of publication, is an enthusiast, not a railwayman, but his recollections provide a fascinating vignette of LNWR mainline and branch work at a country junction; 'Oxenholme was a wonderful place then'. Master Harris was an accurate observer of detail and he has the ability to paint a broad picture of the locality and the period. Jellicoe specials, Ulverston coke trains and 'the Corridor' pass by in these pages, with engines sometimes immaculate, sometimes in run down wartime condition, photographs accompanied always by operating detail of great interest.

The photographs, almost all contemporary with the reminiscences and some of them taken by the young Harris, are of varying quality but always evocative. Your reviewer was struck by the heavy loading of passenger and goods trains, often hauled by diminutive locomotives. No wonder the engines were often thrashed.

In the nature of things, such pre-grouping memories are increasingly rare and present day historians must be grateful for them. E. R. Ll. DAVIES

RAIL CENTRES: MANCHESTER, Stanley Hall, 192 pp, 243 mm x 180 mm, 186 b&w photos, 34 maps and plans, hard covers, Ian Allan, 1995, ISBN 0 7110 2356 5, £16.99.

This book tells the story of railway development in central Manchester, set against the region's economic background and the national scene. It aims to explain why things did or did not happen, but it is not a detailed history. Thus the first 50 years are covered adequately in 15 pages of text and events since 1919 take up nearly 2/3 of the book. Some pages deal with locomotive types familiar in the region and with train services. As a retired railway official not personally involved with the north-west, the author writes with the detachment and authority of an outsider with inside knowledge. He makes fair comment on the relationships between BR, central government and the local leadership. None is free from criticism, but he gives praise where it is due and he applauds the positive achievements of the last ten years. He explains why Manchester's courtship of monorail systems in the 1960s led to the government's refusal to fund the Picc-Vic tunnel scheme of the 1970s. This in turn led to the successful Metrolink scheme in the 1990s, an idea that had to wait until its time was ripe.

Inevitably at least half the photographs are of central Manchester. About 70 are pre-nationalisation views but most of these show just locomotives. Maps and plans are mostly very useful and some have appeared in other books. Appendices list engines allocated to local sheds in the 1930s and in 1954; signalboxes in 1960 and 1995 (a reduction of 100); and details of 1995 freight trains booked to pass through Piccadilly and Victoria. There is no index.

This is a fine book, well written, with pertinent comments. It is recommended to all who are interested in railways of the north-west. ALLAN BRACKENBURY

Short Reviews

WAS YOUR GRANDFATHER A RAILWAYMAN? Tom Richards, 101pp, 8 illustrations, soft covers, author and FFHS (Publications), 2–4 Killer Street, Bury BL0 9BZ, 1995, ISBN 1 86006 014 5, £4.95 (p&p 50p).

This is the third edition of a book which has already sold 10,000 copies. Most buyers are genealogists researching family trees. It is a guide to the sources of records of the names of railway employees of all types, listed mainly by name of employing company. Some overseas railway companies are included. The introduction is interesting and the appendices useful. The layout and presentation has been improved for this edition and it includes some additional material.

DISCOVERING PRESERVED RAILWAYS, F. G. Cockman, 144pp, 48 illustrations, 53 maps, soft covers, Shire Publications, 1995, ISBN 0 7478 0264 5, £3.95.

This useful little book has been brought up to date for the fourth edition with new information about changes in the railway preservation scene since 1990. Fifty seven railways are now described, from Bala to West Somerset. Basic information is given about the history, current services and locomotive stock of each line. Nearly all entries include a photograph and a map. The Romney, Hythe and Dymchurch Railway and the Snowdon Mountain Railway are included, raising the esoteric question of whether a railway which has been operating continuously in some way since it was opened is really 'preserved'.

THE LONDON RLH REMEMBERED, Peter Gascoine, 80pp, more than 100 photographs, boards, Roadmaster Publishing, PO Box 176, Chatham, Kent ME5 9AQ, 1995, ISBN 1 871814 21 9, £12.95 (£10.95 for R&CHS members from the publisher only).

The London RLH was a type of bus in service from 1950 until 1972. There were only 76 examples of the type of which, remarkably, 26 are known still to exist. This is an album of photographs of the RLH buses with ample and intriguing captions. There is also a schedule of where all the preserved buses are.

UNDER THE SIDEWALKS OF NEW YORK, Brian J. Cudahy, 191pp, about 200 photographs, 6 maps, soft covers, Fordham University Press, Box L, Bronx, NY 10458, USA, 1995, ISBN 0 8232 1618 7, $19.95.

This is the second revised edition of Cudahy's history of the New York subway system. It is a comprehensive history of a very complex system. The 'political' history of the development of the system is also outlined. The text is written in an easy informal style, the quality of some of the photographs is poor. The 'els' (elevated railways) of New York are also covered.

55 YEARS ON THE FOOTPLATE—REMINISCENCES OF THE SOUTHERN AT BOURNEMOUTH, Stan Symes, 135pp, 64 photographs, various drawings, soft covers, Oakwood Press, 1995, ISBN 0 85361 484 9, £9.95.

Stan Symes started work as a cleaner at Bournemouth shed on 28th August 1939. This his own account of his career from that day. It included a spell in Canada. He became a driver in 1957 and, in recent years, he has been driving on the Swanage Railway. Symes recalls driving Bulleid pacifics on the best Bournemouth expresses from Waterloo and handling a wide range of 'foreign' locomotives at Swanage.

THE CHILTERNS—CELEBRATION OF STEAM, Laurence Waters, 128pp, about 200 photographs, soft covers, Ian Allan, 1995, ISBN 0 7110 2377 8, £11.99.

An album of black and white photographs of steam hauled trains in the Chiltern area since nationalisation. The captions are informative and the photographs well reproduced. Passenger services on the former GW/GC joint lines feature strongly.

THE SOMERSET AND DORSET THEN AND NOW, Mac Hawkins, 224pp, about 350 photographs, many maps, boards, David & Charles, 1995, ISBN 0 7153 0384 8, £19.99.

This is one of the best of the 'then and now' albums. The route is one of the most photogenic, the 'then' pictures are from the lenses of the great men such as Ivo Peters, Derek Cross and R. C. Riley and the 'now' pictures are good in their own right. For this second edition, most of the 'now' pictures are said to be new. The 'then' 25 inch Ordnance Survey maps of each principal photographed location are reproduced in the book.

FOCUS ON FREIGHT—EASTERN REGION FREIGHT SINCE 1960, Shaun Pearce, 128pp, 251 photo illus, 12 maps and plans, card covers, Ian Allan, 1995. ISBN 0 7110 2345X, £11.99.

This large selection of photographs, supported by some succinct text, illustrates how the freight scene has changed since the 1960s, when steam was giving way to diesel traction and the trend towards trainload operation of high-capacity wagons for bulk commodities and ISO containers for general cargo was at an early stage. It covers the territory of the 'original' Eastern Region (i.e. south of Shaftholme Junction) in ten thematic sections: coal traffic; aggregates; manufactured goods; iron and steel; agricultural products; Freightliner; Speedlink; oil and chemicals; ports and docks; and marshalling yards.

GOLDEN AGE: COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN BRITAIN 1945–1965, Charles Woodley, 160pp, 242 × 184mm, 89 photo illus, boards, Airlife Publishing Ltd, 101 Longden Road, Shrewsbury SY3 9EB, 1992, ISBN 1 85310 259 8, £16.95.

This is one of very few books that have been published on the general history of British civil aviation and covers a fascinating period of rapid development and growth. Rather belatedly, it is brought to the attention of members wishing to widen their knowledge of this subject.

MARYPORT & CARLISLE 150, 24pp, A4, 10 photographs, 6 maps and plans, card covers, Cumbrian Railways Association, 15 Kirkstone Crescent, Barrow-in-Furness LA14 4ND, 1995, ISBN 0 951920 1 1, £4.00 (p&p £0.50).

This is a special issue of *Cumbrian Railways*, the journal of the CRA, published to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the completion of the Maryport & Carlisle Railway's main line. It comprises a series of articles on the history of the company (including a station chronology), Aspatria station, the coal wagons of the district, and a Royal train of 1917, concluding with the first part of the railway's locomotive history. The attractive, full-colour cover includes the company's armorial device.

ROADS, TRACKS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION, Brian Paul Hindle, 157pp, 66 photographs, 56 maps, soft covers, B. T. Batsford, 1993, ISBN 0 7134 6598 0, £15.99.

Written by one of the leading authorities and incorporating the latest research on the subject, this is an authoritative account of the development of Britain's road network. It covers the subject chronologically, with chapters on early trackways, Roman roads, medieval routes, early modern roads, drove roads and packhorse tracks, unusual roads, turnpikes, enclosure roads, and the modern era. This is an invaluable book, with a useful bibliography, for those interested in road history and the author hopes that it will stimulate the publication of more-detailed parish, county or regional studies.

TALES OF THE CLEOBURY MORTIMER & DITTON PRIORS LIGHT RAILWAY and DITTON PRIORS RNAD DEPOT, Christopher Magner and Pat Holbourn, 76pp, paperback, Obtainable from Christopher Magner, 25 Dunval Road, Bridgnorth, Shropshire WV16 4NA, £4.50, post free.

Memories of people who knew both the light railway and the naval depot which it served for so many years.

Correspondence

Stations without Road Access (Cairnie Junction)

There are two conflicting map references for the site of Cairnie Junction station in the July 1995 Journal—503496 on page 516, and 505496 on page 517. According to a Seventh Series One Inch map in my collection, neither is quite correct. The reference should be 504497.

The station was built in an area of bogland and suffered from slight subsidence. The tallest building on the site was the signalbox, in the middle of the island platform, and as one approached from the Aberdeen direction it was obvious that this was not truly vertical but was tilted slightly to the right (east) side; possibly the other buildings, and the platform itself, were similarly tilted. This oddity seems not to have been put into print by historians, yet it was a noticeable feature of the station.

Whilst it is true that Cairnie Junction had no access for vehicles, an unmade footpath ran to it from the nearest road, from a point SSW of the station; this path was plainly visible from trains on the down side. No doubt it was used by staff, and the occasional knowledgeable pasenger.

Maurice Berrill Comments (page 516) that 'the hamlet of Cairnie itself ... is, of course, nowhere near the railway!' The village of Ruthven is much closer but presumably use of that name instead would have caused confusion—there is a Rathven not far away (just east of Buckie) and a Ruthven near Kingussie; also another one near Alyth. (Could this be an interesting subject for investigation—stations not named after the nearest habitations but after those further away?) E. N. C. HAYWOOD

Thank you for publishing my 'Whither Cairnie Junction' article and for arranging to send the extra copies of the Journal.

Unfortunately 'whither' has become 'wither' in the heading of the article itself, the contents reference is correct. On reflection I suppose it can still be said to be apposite—Cairnie has certainly withered—but maybe a correction note would be in order. Incidentally I also made a slip—typed 1997 instead of 1897 for Barclay Harvey's date for the Cairnie opening. PETER M. BRAINE

Memorials to Railway and Canal individuals

May I draw your attention to what may be the most recent and unusual memorial on a railway station.

Roy Vivian Hughes MBE was a civil engineer and planner who spent the whole of his career on the railways. He was a third generation railwayman having been born beside the line at Sundial Cottage, Boxmoor, Herts, joining the LMS about 1925. He was engaged on many projects including the rebuilding of the Frodsham Viaduct in 1938 which he achieved in one winter instead of the anticipated two and the Kent Coast electrification for which he was awarded the MBE. His last railway posting was as District Engineer, Wolverhampton after which he was seconded to the Merseyside Area Land Use/Transportation Study (MALTS) from 1966 to 1969.

One retirement he joined the Merseyside Passenger Transport Executive as their 'Projects Officer', a euphemism for supervisor of the railway schemes, in particular the 'Loop' and the 'Link' which MALTS had recommended and the PTE had wholeheartedly adopted.

He was a kindly, patient and meticulous man who actively participated in the affairs of three professional bodies up to the time of his death, aged 84, on 8th May 1994, on Oxford Road station, Manchester. In accordance with his wishes, his ashes have been placed in Moorfield station, Liverpool where there is a plaque to his memory in one of the main cross-passages which he helped to design.

I trust that this may be of interest. T. B. MAUND

Memorials

Stephenson, George. To save the time of any member wishing to visit Stephenson's grave in Holy Trinity Church, Chesterfield, it should be pointed out that Holy Trinity is *not* the church with the famous crooked spire.

Webb, Francis William. I was quite surprised that this entry did not contain the information that Webb is buried in the general cemetery at Bournemouth (he died in that town, after he had retired). A good many years ago, the *Railway Magazine* had an item about this fact in several issues (I do not have a note of the dates); the last one included a photograph of the grave and headstone.

It is possible that another locomotive engineer, William Pickersgill, is also buried in the same cemetery, as Pickersgill died in Bournemouth (again after retirement) on 2 March 1928. [Caledonian Railway Association's *True Line* Spring 1995.]

E. N. C. HAYWOOD

If road names be memorials I submit the following which are extracted from a paper, authorship unknown to me.

Road Name	*Individual*	*Relevance*
Earle St.	Hardman Earle	GJR Chairman
Lawrence St.	Charles Lawrence	GJR Director
Moss St. & Sq.	John Moss	GJR Director
Edleston Rd.	Richard Edleston	Landowner provided most of GJR land
Mirion St.	Mirion Atkinson	Wife of LNWR Medical Officer see Hill below
Richard Moon St.	Sir Richard Moon	LNWR Chairman
Stalbridge Rd.	Lord Stalbridge	LNWR Chairman
Claughton Ave.	Sir Gilbert Claughton	LNWR Chairman
Stamp Ave.	Sir Josiah Stamp	LMS President
Ramsbottom St.	John Ramsbottom	'CME' LNWR
Frank Webb Ave.	Francis William Webb	'CME' LNWR
Bowen Cooke Ave.	Charles John Bowen Cooke	'CME' LNWR
Hill St.	John Hill	Contractor to GJR. Dau. married Atkinson
Rigg St.	John Rigg	Asst. Loco. Supt. 1857–77
Gladstone St.	Robert Gladstone (W. E.'s brother)	GJR Director
Flag Lane	Named after a flag that the LNWR habitually flew from a nearby water tower!	

Additionally some recent streets (c. 1990): Nigel Gresley Close, Stanier Close, Stephenson Drive, Trevithick Close. The place Crewe, where else?

P. JUSTIN McCARTHY

If it is not too late, I am wondering whether you could add the following to the list I sent you recently, unless they have already been suggested by other people:

Adamson, Daniel. Promoter of the Manchester Ship Canal, who arranged a publicity demonstration in 1885 that was commemorated on a medallion (See *Canal Coins*). He was the first Chairman of the Canal Company, who had in their offices some years ago a terra cotta bust of him, presumably made in anticipation of one being of a more durable material.

Bentley, Thomas. An influential merchant from Liverpool, who supported Josiah Wedgwood as a promoter of the Trent & Mersey Canal. He was buried in Chiswick and there is a memorial to him in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas of Myra with St. Mary Magdalene.

Brunel, Sir Marc Isambard. Carried out design work for a number of waterways projects. Commemorated on several medallions and advertising tokens connected with the first tunnel under the Thames. (See *Canal Coins*). A tablet in Cheyne Walk marks the home of the Brunels and there is a plaque at Wapping Station commemorating the tunnel.

By, Lt-Col John. An officer in the Royal Engineers, he was sent out to Canada in 1826 to design and build the Rideau Canal. He completed it in 1832 but was let down by the politicians of the day. He returned to England in 1832 and died at Shernfold Park in Sussex in 1836. He was buried in the churchyard at Frant, and there is a memorial in the church. In 1971 a statue of him was unveiled in Ottowa, the city that he founded, and in 1979 the Canadian postal authorities issued a postage stamp bearing his head.

Watt, James. Mainly famous for his work on steam engines but was engaged for several years in surveys of canals, rivers and harbours in Scotland. He died at Heathfield Hall, near Birmingham, and there are statues of him in the city as follows:

1. Chamberlain Square, city centre
2. Broad Street, city centre, in group with Murdock and Boulton
3. St. Mary's Parish Church, Handsworth, where he is buried.

There are also various medals issued by the Institution of Civil Engineers, the Black Country Society, and a number of other bodies. (See *Canal Coins.*)

More recent memorials, e.g.

Aickman, Robert. Founder of the Inland Waterways Association, commemorated on a monument by a lock bearing his name on the Warwickshire Avon.

Cusworth, Rev William. 'For 30 years the faithful and devoted Minister of the Boatman's Hall, Birmingham. Beloved by all who knew him.' Died 24 February 1910 and buried in Lodge Hill Cemetry, Birmingham, where there is an attractive memorial.

Palmer, Graham. Founder of the Waterway Recovery Group, died 1988. A memorial bearing his head was unveiled in June 1995 at Frankton Locks at the junction of the Montgomeryshire Canal and the Llangollen Canal. STANLEY A. HOLLAND

Silt in the Severn

It is possible that other Members may be interested in the siltation which is currently occurring at the historic Docks in Gloucester.

Gloucester Docks and the ship canal from Sharpness are all on the same level, with locks down into the Severn at each end of the system. There is a loss of water whenever a ship or a number of small boats is passed from one level to the other. This loss is mostly made good by pumping from the pound on the Severn above Llanthony weir at Gloucester into the Docks complex. The water in the pound contains silt, which is deposited into the Docks, and there is a dredger to help deal with the matter.

However, it appears that silt polution has recently become worse—certainly the water looks much more like liquid chocolate than it did a year ago—and I was given to understand that this is due to the extraction of water at some point along the canal. The canal itself is becoming shallower, and the silt is travelling further along it. Moreover I was told that there is a proposal to increase the pump capacity, which would presumably make the problem worse.

If the additional water is needed it seems to be a reasonable solution to use the existing canal as a method of transporting it to the extraction point—but only if a major historical relic is not jeopardized in the process. No doubt some method of protecting the canal works can be found, if the Will is there and the Funding is available.

I suggest that our Society may well have an interest in the maintenance of existing historic engineering structures, and that we should declare that interest and make suitable representations with the aim of keeping the canal available for possible commercial traffic. P. W. ABBOTT

Kirriemuir Junction Station

Reference: *Journals* November 1994 (p. 390) and July 1995 (p. 516).

As one who recently stood on the remains of the exchange platform at Kirriemuir Junction Station, I can quite confidently say that it was located at the junction of the Kirriemuir branch and the main Strathmore line at grid reference NO 415508. Confirmation that I had not walked the Kirriemuir branch in a dream can be found on page 328 of *Trains Illustrated* for August 1954 (Vol. VII, No. 8), where there is a photograph of the station taken from the Drumgley farm accommodation bridge (which was about 200 yards west of the minor road bridge mentioned in *Journal*). The Down Main line platform was V-shaped with the northern face serving the northbound track of the branch, which made a conventional double junction with the main line tracks but became single track at the north end of the platform. The Up-Main line platform abutted against the overbridge and was staggered with respect to the Down platform, its west end being opposite the east end of the latter. Both platforms were very low, prehaps no more than 18 inches above ground level. A bungalow-type building stands on the Down platform, probably used at this date as a store. This building is marked on the 1-inch Ordnance Survey sheet 50 (Forfar) published in 1959. Other objects are standing on the platform but it is impossible to make out what they are. No buildings are visible on the Up platform. It is perhaps a sign of the times but neither platform appears at all overgrown and indeed there is little to tell that the station is closed. No footbridge appears in the photograph, which was taken on 20 July 1953, but there is a suggestion that there might once have been a barrow crossing over the main line tracks which could perhaps have been used by passengers.

Latterly (and presumably after its disappearance from the timetables in 1864) Kirriemuir Junction was only an exchange station between main line and branch and the layout suggests that the principal use would have been for passengers off main line trains from the South to reach Kirriemuir expeditiously. Trains from Kirriemuir could

not call at the junction station and, since they ran though to and from Forfar (and earlier Arbroath), connections from Kirriemuir to points south would be better made at Forfar. A. M. JERVIS

Road Names

On my way home from the Perry Barr campus of the University of Central England I pass, on the north side of Aston Lane, the successive side streets named 'North Road' and 'Railway Road'. Is there any evidence as to how this collection of names came to be chosen? JOHN HIBBS

Railways and Music (again)

Recovering from the exhilerations of the AGM, listening to BBC 2 'Dance Band Days' I heard the presenter refer to the soloist being in the line up with Ted Heath in the Ambrose orchestra recording at Gleneagles where they played at least one season in the 1930s.

This surely raises the question of the railways as patrons in the provision of music at opening celebrations and lone pipers at closures but these may have been private enterprises. How many railway hotels and dancing facilities? Who played in the bands? Carols have been sung at various places, notably in the Old Great Hall at Euston by a very competent choir composed largely of staff.

We are yet only scratching the surface (vinyl?) of this question.

P. JUSTIN McCARTHY

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