



THE FRIENDS OF
KILLHOPE

NEWSLETTER NO 33

MAY 1995

PRESIDENT - *Sir Kingsley Dunham F.R.S.*

10TH BIRTHDAY EDITION

Last year saw the 10th anniversary of the opening of the Killhope site to the public and this was celebrated jointly by the Killhope staff and the Friends with a full programme of events throughout the season.

The date of the Friends of Killhope's 10th birthday is a matter of debate and depends upon whether you consider we began when the idea was conceived in August 1984 or that we only came into existence at our inaugural lecture given by our President Sir Kingsley Dunham on 29th March 1985. I favour the latter.

My personal memory of those events are that in August 1984 the late Eric Ryan of Durham County Council raised the idea of a Friends organisation at Killhope - possibly on the day of the opening of the site to the public (admission 40p, 3 part-time staff.) I think the weather was hot (for Killhope) and I believe the group included Ian Forbes, Bill Proud of Ireshopeburn and myself.

Through the autumn of that year follow up discussions took place in the Fieldfare Cafe at Wearhead. On one occasion Eric Ryan delivered what became known to many of us as his "I have a dream!" speech (in the style of Martin Luther King.) It must have had the desired effect because Durham County Council were approached and the Friends were approved. A Steering Committee was formed and on Friday 29th March 1985 Sir Kingsley Dunham former head of the British Geological Survey and the Geology Department of Durham University who had agreed to be our president delivered our inaugural lecture.

Thanks to a fair amount of publicity in the press and local radio about 100 people attended - including one from Blackpool! Many of these joined the Friends and the rest as they say, is history! Just to complete my wallow in nostalgia a list of the main (but by no means all) Friends of Killhope happenings is printed elsewhere. Perhaps members would care to write about their own impressions especially of those early days?

**** IMPORTANT NOTICE ****

We have just completed arrangements to mark our 10th birthday with a special event. On Thursday 29th June at Stanhope Church Hall at 7.15 pm our President, Sir Kingsley Dunham, will give a lecture: **ROOKHOPE IN RETROSPECT** - a personal account of his experiences from his mining apprenticeship days at Rookhope through to the Rookhope bore hole and beyond.

This is a unique opportunity to listen to a fascinating story told by our distinguished President - don't miss it! There will also be a finger buffet to add a little extra to the occasion. Please note the slightly earlier starting time of 7.15 pm PROMPT.

(Bryan Chambers, Newsletter Editor, 18 Cheveley Walk, Belmont, Durham DH1 2AU, telephone 0191 3868491.)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Our annual general meeting will be held at 11 am on Saturday 17th June 1995 at Killhope to be followed after lunch by a walk around Nenthead. If you require a buffet lunch after the meeting please return the enclosed form as soon as possible.

Friends are reminded that nominations for the position of all officers and four committee members should be forwarded to the Secretary, Mrs D Chambers, 18 Cheveley Walk, Belmont, Durham DH1 2AU not less than fourteen days before the meeting.

THE FRIENDS - TEN YEARS OLD

Sir Kingsley Dunham

Last year, when Bishop David visited us at Killhope, we celebrated the 10th anniversary of the lead-mining project. The idea that the site of this ancient mine might be preserved dates back to Frank Atkinson's visit with his friends in 1959 and by 1960 Durham County Council was sufficiently interested to hold a meeting of the Bowes Museum committee on the site. Tidying up by volunteers began about 1966 and at the same time the Department of the Environment scheduled the buildings for preservation. A lease from the owners (Forestry Commission) was obtained by the County Council and the roof of the Jigger House was repaired and a start was made to lay out a car park and picnic site. In 1976 Mr Eric Ryan as Countryside Manager, Environment Department made a serious proposal to initiate the project and the following year the task of restoration was given to the Council's Design team. Conservation, using MSC teams began soon afterwards and so did the archaeological investigations by John Rhodes, Peter Brown and David Cranstone. The Killhope Lead-Mine Project was launched in 1984 when the mineshop was opened to the public.

The project now began to attract enthusiasts and later in the year it was decided to formalise a body to be known as "The Friends of Killhope." The launching of the Friends took place at a meeting of 100 people in Stanhope Town Hall on Friday 29th March 1985, when I gave the inaugural lecture on the Northern Pennine Orefield. Very generously the Friends presented me with an oil painting showing the great wheel as we all remembered it, and I was offered the position of Honorary President. Nothing, in my old age, has given me greater pleasure. The election of the officers included Richard Turner as Chairman, Dorothy Chambers as Honorary Secretary, Pamela Forbes as Treasurer, Bryan Chambers as Editor of the newsletter, Ian Forbes as Project officer.

The purchase of the freehold, with 17 hectares of woodland took place in that same year.

Friends were soon to be seen helping on site and farther afield. In 1985 they rescued the Buddle Wheel from Allendale and it was installed in the appropriate position. In 1986 the reconstructed Cart Bridge over the river was opened on a day so wet that even the horse was reluctant to cross over. At the Annual Meeting in June 1987 the practice of holding a "Brains Trust" at which Jim Forster Smith and I answered questions, was begun and has continued as an annual practice, later on involving Ansel Dunham and Brian Young; various aspects of the mining and geology in the Northern Pennines Orefield and in the wider world of exploitation of ore resources have thus been aired. In 1987 attention was turned towards the mine itself and digging out of the fallen shale in Park Level was begun; there had been earlier underground investigations by the Earby Mine Research Group. From Allenheads Angus Oliver joined us to advise on mining problems, particularly safety.

We were all saddened by the death of Eric Ryan in March 1989; to remember his work for Killhope a ten foot water wheel was brought from Devon and installed, working on 9th September 1990.

By this time it had become evident that if the Big Wheel was to be set in motion it would require extensive restoration. The County Council gave us the task of raising £40,000 towards the cost of this and thanks to Secretary Dorothy's enthusiasm and persistency nearly £45,000 was actually raised. Reconditioning was completed by September 1991 and Bryan Gould MP Shadow Environment Secretary ceremonially pulled the rope to launch the Big Wheel; it had turned for the first time only three weeks before.

In the meantime the County Council had commissioned and erected a fine stone visitors centre and this had been declared open by Jean Cripps of Delaware who had presented the remarkable Graham letters to the Friends. The centre has already been the scene of a number of very good parties and I am myself grateful for the opportunity provided for me to sign copies of the revised volume one of "Geology of the Northern Pennine Orefield." In the publishing line the remarkable achievement of bringing out 33 copies of the Newsletter during the ten years and in editing the volume on "Men, Mines and Minerals" in memory of Eric Ryan deserves our warmest congratulations. We also assisted radio personality Steve Race (grandson of a former Weardale miner) to bring out his book on Joseph his Grandfather. Plans are now being made for another symposium volume to be edited by Bryan.

There have been many other excellent occasions and I am sure that no urging of the Friends by me is needed to encourage them to continue the good work of clearing paths and workings, helping the engineers and archaeologists and generally enjoying the site. It is very much to the credit of the organisation that it has most recently been able to arrange

for the graduate students in the Rolls Royce Industrial Power Group Training Establishment to design, construct and install the eighteen foot underground water wheel.

I salute you all.

UNDERGROUND WATER WHEEL SUPPLEMENT

In the last newsletter members were promised a supplement telling the story of the waterwheel installed in Park Level. Although all of the material for this has at last been received and much of the work is now done, unfortunately our Secretary has been indisposed and it was not possible to produce both the supplement and this newsletter in the time available. I very much regret the delay and can only promise that as soon as the newsletter is posted, work will recommence on the supplement which should be in your hands before the autumn newsletter.

MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTIONS

I am afraid this is the final reminder that subscriptions were due for renewal on 1st January. The rates are £9 family membership, £6.50 ordinary membership and £4 student/senior membership and should be sent to our Treasurer, Bill Grigg, Heatherlea, 6 East Blackdene, St. John's Chapel, Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham DL13 1RE.

ERRATA

In newsletter No. 32, page 17, the second last paragraph should read Patricia Andrews. Page 18 of the same newsletter the third paragraph should read Weardale Field Study Society and Clints Pits. Page 19 - The Editor's note should read Weardale Field Study Society.

NEW BOOKS

We have received notice of two new books:

Exploring Cornish Mines by Ken Brown & Bob Acton, 144 pages with photographs, maps and diagrams describing 6 walks in Cornwall's historic mining districts. £5.50 plus £1 postage and packing from Landfall Publications, Landfall Penpol, Devonam, Penpol, Truro, Cornwall TR3 6NW.

Seathwaite Wad & Mines of the Derwent Valley is by Ian Tyler and has 220 pages and tells the story of hundreds of years of graphite industry in the Borrowdale valley and of copper mining around Derwentwater. It costs £13.99 plus £1.50 postage and packing from Blue Rock Publications, 33 Townhead Road, Cotehill, Carlisle CA4 0DF.

Friends of Killhope publications. I can report that work continues on the various books in the pipeline. Material is still needed for the next collection of essays to be produced in the same format as "Men Mines & Minerals." We have recently had a further 250 copies printed as this continues to sell steadily.

BOUNDARIES, BOUNDARY STONES
AND BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Harold Beadle

This article was prompted by a query from a fellow member of the Friends of Killhope Lead Mining Centre. Leslie Blackett, who asked if I could assist in the identification of an inscribed stone which he had discovered on a prominent point on the boundary between Burnhope Valley and Yad Moss which, it so happens, I had seen when exploring the Ashgillhead mining area and in particular the northern boundary of the Ashgillhead Sett which is full of interesting remains. Remains which had suffered little disturbance until the shaft heaps and other dead heaps were processed for fluorspar in the 1950's.(1)

Boundaries between the royalty owners and their lessees, particularly when they crossed valuable mineral bearing areas, often created disputes which were not easily resolved. The main reason being that the boundary had never been clearly marked along the watershed between the valleys of the Tees and the Wear. Although the high points along the ridge were a good guide there was often lying between a large tract of comparatively flat fell land where it was almost impossible to decide the exact dividing line. One solicitor or land agent when drafting the conditions to be included in a lease which reached the boundary on the north side of the valley, got over the problem by defining part of the boundary to be, "... as heavens water divideth..." leaving the parties involved to decide just where that was!

There was little difficulty in defining the boundary at lower levels where a stream was often used as the boundary between different royalty owners or lessees, but here again, a named stream normally began by the union of two or more smaller streams, often unnamed but called grains, which all had their source near the watershed, and the problem arose as to which grain was to be accepted as the boundary. That such a situation as this arose on the north-west boundary of the Ashgillhead Sett will be seen later.

The perambulation of the Manor of Middleton frequently took place, mainly, it would seem, to safeguard and preserve the boundary of the Upper Teesdale Estate or Manor of the Lord's of Raby and their successors. It is also clear that at the same time some attention was given to possible infringement by tenants on the estate and, in particular, by those who were in possession of leases or agreements to prospect or mine for lead ore who, in the earlier years, were very often limited to quite small clearly defined areas.

The party usually assembled at Shaftwell Head on the Middleton-in-Teesdale to Stanhope road which is within 500 yards of Long Man, the most easterly point of the manor on which stands a boundary stone.(2) It is from this point where I should expect the perambulation would begin. How often this took place is not clear but there was one in 1737, 1758, 1786 and again in 1803 when the organisers and leaders of the event were John Barnes and Ralph March who were reminded by one

Charles Richardson, that it was the third time he had been present at the boundary riding for Lord Darlington and that each time he had been presented with raisins and halfpence. It appears that by this time the halfpence had been dropped for he was given only raisins on this occasion! Then at a later date the "Expenses attending the Perambulation of the Manor of Middleton 10th & 11th August 1826" amounted to:

John Tarn for provision of ale etc as per Acc	£	38-5-0
Matt Walton Baliff, serving notices of the adjoining Lords of Manors		1-15-0
do For a flag		4-0
do For Raisins		9-0
		<u>40-13-0</u>

(3)

Successive perambulations resulted in the boundary being marked with various markers. Posts, stakes, ditches, piles of stones, sod and stone curricks or currocks (both spellings are used) and boundary stones here and there. Some of the curricks are not now on the present boundary as shown on the 1953 six-inch edition of the ordnance survey. Indicating that there has been from time to time differences between the land or royalty owners as to the precise position of the boundary. (4)

However, whatever disputes there may have been in Upper Teesdale it is most probable that the one between Greenwich Hospital Estates (G.H.E.) and the London Lead Company (L.L.C.) exceeded any other in the size of the area involved, and it would appear that it dragged on until 1880 before a final settlement was reached. There is no evidence on the G.H.E. side that any lessee was involved, only that the L.L.C. had by August 1842 driven a level to the most westerly grain of the two which, in about half a mile from their source would join to become Crookburn, and, had in fact dug a short ditch to connect the grain to the boundary ditch dug in 1846 between the Ashgillhead Sett and the Bishop of Durham's Liberty (B.D.L.) (5)

There is no evidence to suggest that the level discovered any workable ground, or if it did there was no development, probably because the operation was in dispute. However, it is easy to see that neither side claimed to win the dispute but arrived at an amicable solution by dividing the area equally between them and erecting boundary stones which began with a square one inscribed with a year of erection, 1880 and the letters G H, E C and D C, which I interpret as being Greenwich Hospital, Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Duke of Cleveland, indicating that all three royalty owners were party to the agreement. The main stone is followed by others at intervals down the shallow valley inscribed G H and D C. (6)

With the boundary between the Cleveland's Sett and the Bishop of Durham's Liberty it was different. Both royalty owners and their lessees were involved, but not to the extent one might have expected having regard to the length and the irregularity of the boundary, and the line of the veins which were to be worked, the main one being the Ashgillhead Vein which to the east crossed the boundary and they became known as North Langtae Head Vein. However, the large ditch dug in 1846 along the watershed to mark the north boundary of the Ashgillhead Sett would no doubt be honoured by both parties. But this was not completed before the L.L.C. had driven into the Scraith Head ground to the extent of six chains by August 21, 1828, which connected with Scraith Head Level driven by the Beaumont Company and, in addition, had also been involved in at least two areas to the east where their levels had joined with those of Beaumont's Lodgegill Level which, it is said on the mine plan, to have been commenced Martinmas 1842.

Finally, I hope that all my interpretations are correct. It is a subject which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been researched in Upper Teesdale and is, in my opinion, worthy of such an operation before any more of the evidence disappears, as it has done over the years for different reasons. Road widening has claimed some, mining has played a part as has weathering and collectors, (I suspect!)

As a beginning for further study when were the following set up, who by, what for and what do they represent?

Location	Inscription	Remarks/Clues
Bleagill, Newbiggin-in- Teesdale	B	It was there early in the Nineteenth Century
Howgill, Middleton- in-Teesdale	D	ditto
Lord's Allotment, Newbiggin-in- Teesdale	P T W H	Ancient
Cowgreen Mining Sett	Teesdale Mining Company Boundary Stone	Originally there were more than two

Having regard to the increasing number of local historians and experts in lead mining I should expect to very soon have interesting answers to my questions.

References and Notes:

(1) Different names were used to describe an area which was leased by the royalty owner to anyone wanting to mine for minerals. However, during the latter part of the nineteenth century the name "Sett" or "Set" was progressively used in Teesdale. (See plan of Royalty)

(2) Large dressed boundary stone at (NY 996 318) with the letters M M on the north-west side and E M on the south-east side which I interpret as being Manor of Middleton and Manor of Eggleston. A similar stone lies in the heather some 250 yards south-east of Long Man marking the beginning of the south boundary of the manor as it runs down the fell to connect with Candleseive Sike and Little Eggleshope Beck.

(3) Extracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Middleton and other notes made from time to time when researching the history of mineral mining in Teesdale.

John Barnes (sen). The principal Mining Agent to the Earl of Darlington.

Ralph March. A Freeholder, Corner Merchant and Juror.

John Tarn. An Innkeeper occupying the Cross Keys Inn.

(4) Curricks or Currocks. A high cone shaped pile of sods or stones. Little has survived of those made of sods but the remains of those made of stones can still be seen. A roughly restored one survived on Long Man until recent years when it was destroyed by vandals. Fortunately it was photographed in October 1977. (see photographs)

(5) "General Plan of Ashgillhead Mine and Mineral Ground leased by the Gov'r & Comp'y of the Marquis of Cleveland." Scale. Four Chains to One Inch by Joe Millican, Surveyor. (undated.) (See section of mine plan for disputed ground etc.)

(6) Enlarged section of the 1923 edition six-inch O.S. sheet showing how the disputed ground was equally divided and accepted by the survey as being the county boundary.

(7) The early levels and other mine workings described in the text were all carried out from Ashgillhead High Level (NY 804 326)

(8) The reference to the size of disputed areas refer to mineral mining only and should not be confused with others of which there has been not a few.

(9) In addition to the letters E M on the south-east side of the Long Man stone can be seen C L and a lower mark which remain unidentified, unless it happens to be a mason's mark.

(10) Having regard to the importance of the London Lead Company in Teesdale it must be counted remarkable to have to record that Ashgillhead was the only sett for which they held a lease in the Township (later the Parish) of Forest & Frith.

Harold has again generously shared with us the fruits of his original research. Let us hope someone will follow up the leads he has given in the above article. For my part I have reserved space in the newsletter and I look forward to printing your findings. (Editor)

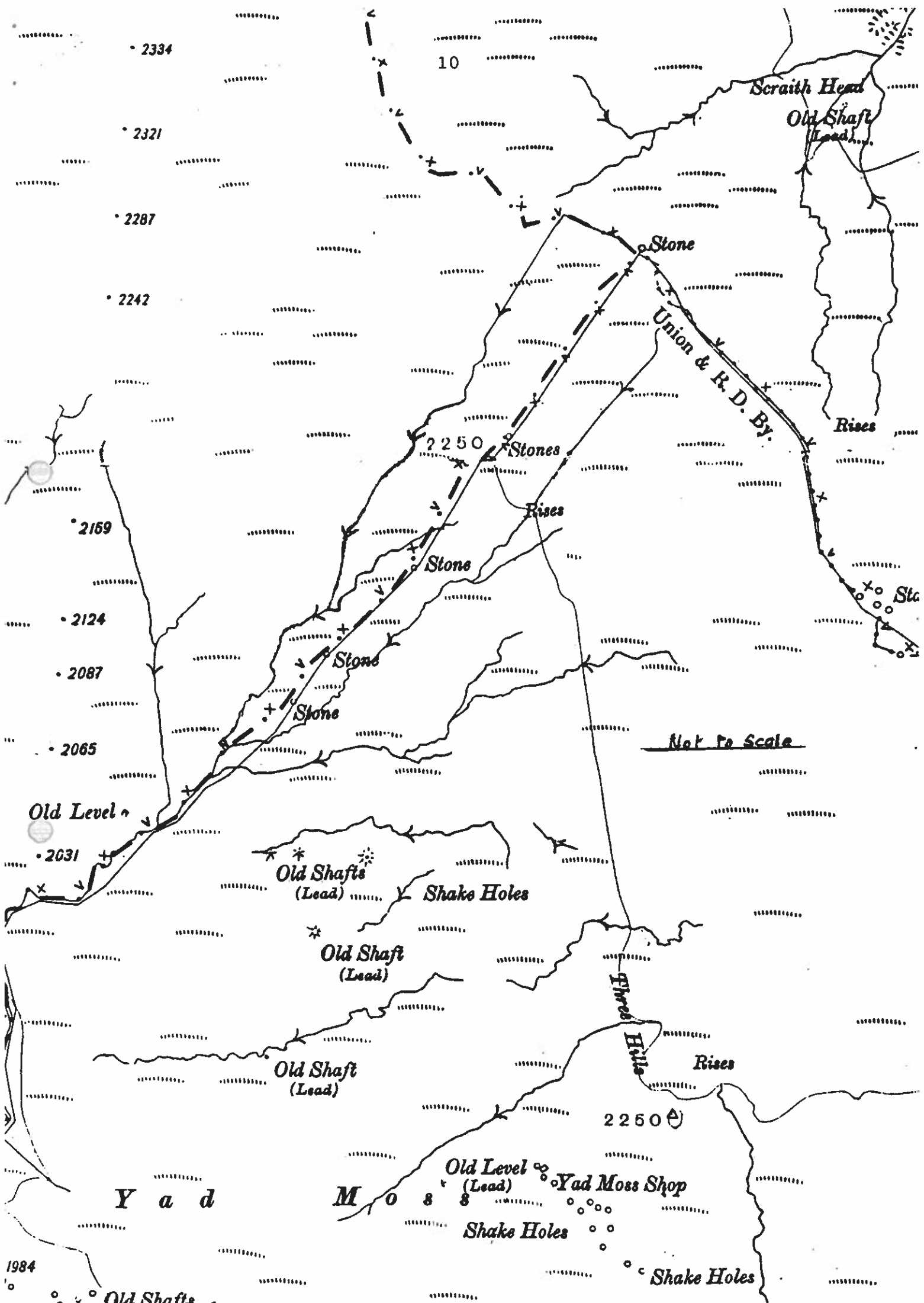
Restored Currick and Boundary Stone on Long Man. A high point reaching 1750 feet and easily seen from the main road



The Boundary Stone which has been fashioned from course Sandstone



Photographs taken by Harold Beadle - October 1977



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10

• 2321

• 2287

• 2242

Scriath Head

Old Shaft
(Lead)

Stone

Union & R. D. By.

Rises

2250

Stones

Rises

Stone

• 2159

• 2124

• 2087

• 2065

Old Level

• 2031

Old Shafts
(Lead)

Shake Holes

Old Shaft
(Lead)

Old Shaft
(Lead)

Yad Moss Hills

Rises

2250

Old Level
(Lead)

Yad Moss Shop

Y a d

M o s s

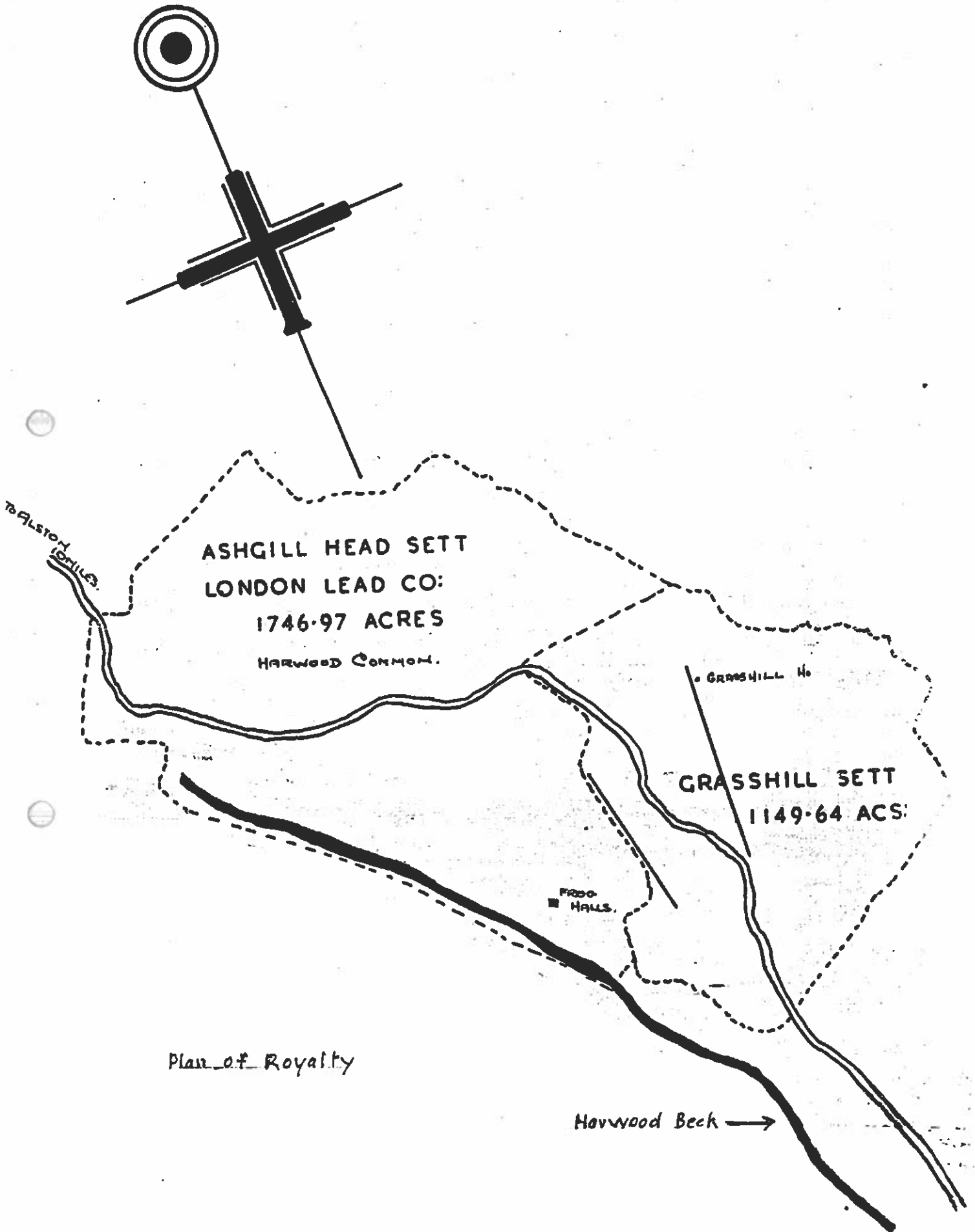
Shake Holes

Shake Holes

1984

Old Shafts

Not to Scale



Plan of Royalty

HAYWOOD BECK →

B

I
Perched, Aug. 21, 1828

Scale 4 Chains to 1 Inch.

Genl. G. Co. Regt.

Base Post

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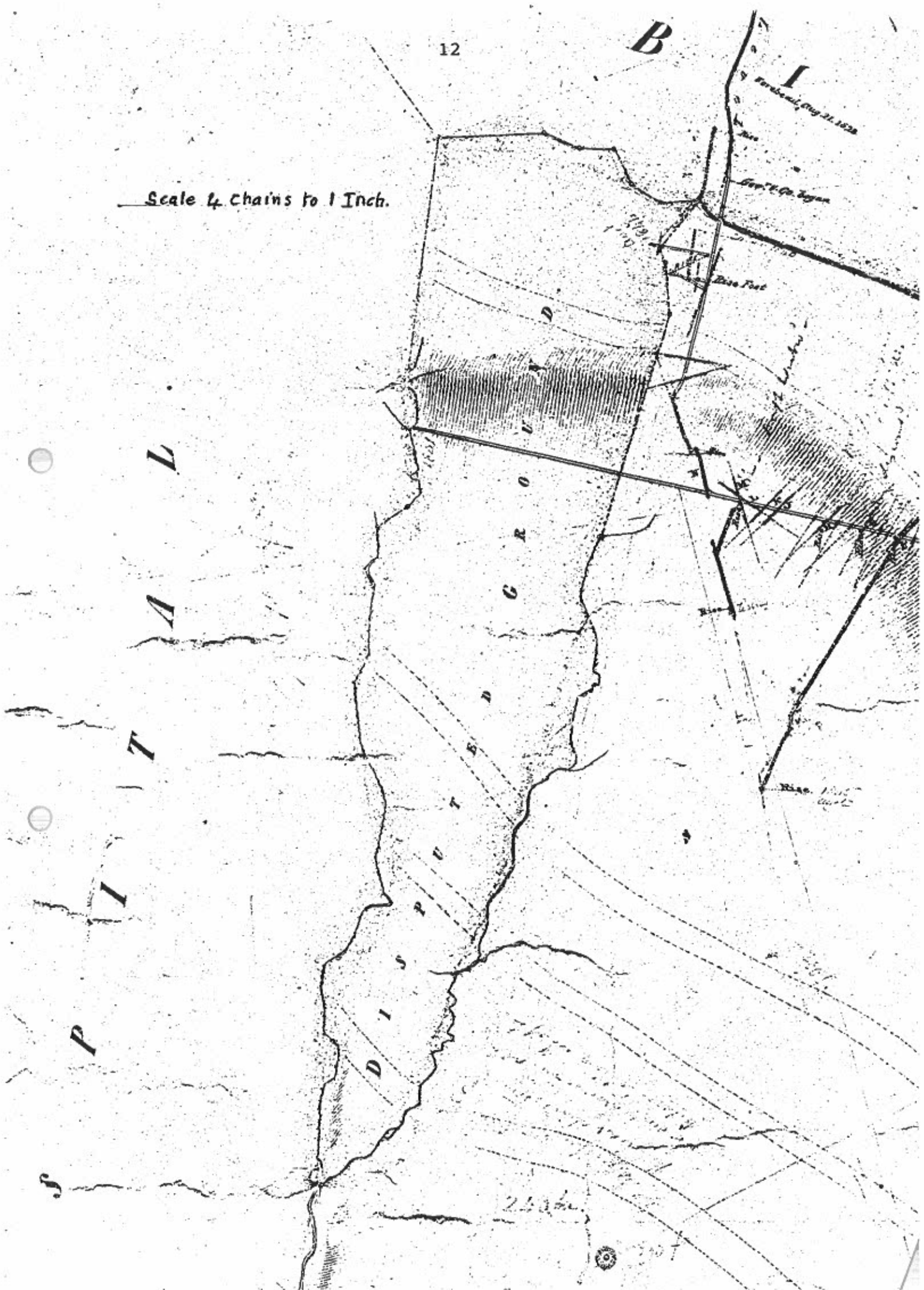
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Washer Applications c1860

W.F. Heyes

The employment of washerboys in the North Pennine lead mines is a well-documented fact but, unlike school records for the same era, no lists of names were known to have survived - until recently. The discovery of a lead miner's notebook has provided valuable information regarding the employment of washerboys in Teesdale. A detailed analysis of this information has been published in a recent edition of the Teesdale Record Society Journal. (Applications for the Position of Washerboy with the London Lead Company in Teesdale, 1862-1866 by Dr W F Heyes; Teesdale Record Society Journal, Volume 3, 1995). The paper lists the 60 or so applicants for each year, giving name, age, father's name, residence, any special circumstances, (such as hardship or illegitimacy) and the washing floor to which boys were assigned if successful. Data presented show that approximately 50% of applicants were employed and that the London Lead Company were not prejudiced against those applicants described as illegitimate. The extensive lists of names may be of particular interest to persons seeking information about family members from this era.

A copy of the paper has been lodged in the Friends archives. Alternatively, copies of the journal may be purchased from Curlews Book Shop, Barnard Castle, or from the Hon Editor, Teesdale Record Society Journal, Low Crag Farm, Lartington, DL12 9DJ, price £2.50 + p&p.

COPYRIGHT & NEWSLETTER MATERIAL

The Committee has been considering the matter of copyright and although we think any concerns about this are largely unnecessary perhaps we should nevertheless indicate our views on the subject. They are as follows.

Everyone who has work published in the newsletter retains the copyright and therefore we expect anyone wishing to use such material should obtain the permission of the author and ourselves. We assume work submitted for publication is that of the person subscribing unless acknowledged with full references in or at the end of the article. The accuracy of submissions is the responsibility of the author and will not necessarily be checked by the Editor for validity. Responsibility for obtaining permission to use someone else's material also lies with the person submitting the article to the newsletter and not with the Editor.

PROJECT OFFICER'S REPORT**Ian Forbes**

The development of Park Level Mine is still THE big project for everyone involved in Killhope, and Friends are continuing to help where appropriate. When Durham's mine design team and Compleat Works (the contractors fitting out the mine) needed to examine details of stone arch construction, particularly at junctions in the level, we organised a trip down one of the old mines for them. Frank Unsworth lent helmets and lamps, and he, Brian Young, and Trevor and Shelagh Bridges led the expedition.

If I can write for a minute as a member of the mine design team rather than as Project Officer for the Friends, it is gratifying to know that we can call on the expertise - and enthusiasm - of Friends when we need to, and I am very grateful to everyone who is helping on the mine project.

Doug Tyerman and Pete Andrews have again given smithying demonstrations in the forge at Killhope, and Doug has also printed some more of the Walter Beaumont handbills you can see flyposted all over the site. Dorothy Chambers donated some more old pens and nibs for the mineshop office, and Frank Shepherd a superb tree fossil, in shale, from his coal mine at Alston. When our mine is finished we hope to place the fossil in a corner of the engine chamber. David Newby gave us an old chain link ladder, of wrought iron, found at a Weardale mine, and Blue Circle - as always - continue to help us in practical ways. Recently the company has donated some cement and some floor protection mats.

We have had two wonderfully entertaining talks so far this year. Kevin Watson gave a thoughtful account of the cultural interaction between North Pennine emigrant leadminers, Primitive Methodism and the American West, and Sir Kingsley Dunham and Dr. Tony Johnson gave us the definitive account of the Rookhope borehole which proved that a deep granite - the Weardale granite - underlay our area. This talk was followed by an opportunity to see the actual cores, including the granite, in store at Rookhope. The borehole project was, of course, very much Sir Kingsley's dream, so it was a rare privilege to listen to him - and to Dr. Johnson - talk us through what they discovered.

Friends have also had an opportunity to view developments at Park Level Mine, as noted elsewhere in this newsletter.

I would like to thank Durham County Council for their continuing support for Friends, expressed by a recent grant of £500 towards our work. We value our good relationship with the County Council.

Finally a couple of dates for your diary. The sheep shearing, spinning and weaving weekend is now fixed for the 15th and 16th of July, and our November meeting, on Wednesday 8th, will consist of Ian Tyler talking about *Mining in Cumbria*. I hope to see many of you at these and our other events, and at the AGM.

In the last newsletter we promised you an extract from *Emma, or the Miner's Cottage*, a short novel written about, and just after, the affair of the Garrigill poachers. This incident, which took place in 1819, is still well remembered in the village. It is clear that the poachers had the sympathy of the whole community, and that this, together with their knowledge of the area and its mines, made the Militia's job impossible. The author lived at Garrigill and therefore probably witnessed the events she describes below:

The Poachers were now under great fear and apprehension; though, by their notorious conduct, they had not only forfeited their own peace, but the good name of the inhabitants of the whole vale.

They concealed themselves first in one house and then in another, never daring to sleep in their own beds: many a mother mourned for her son, and many a nymph for her swain; the whole village was in sorrow and dismay.

Thus situated, the much dreaded Soldiers came scampering into the Village, with a posse of Constables at their heel, by break of day, and proceeded to search for the culprits.

They had ranged through most of the houses of the village without succeeding to their wishes; when lo! they ascended the banks of the vale, to search also in the surrounding Cottages, where some of the poor lads lay concealed.

Ned Stripling, a lively youth, observing this manoeuvre, bounded across the fields, and outshot the Constables just as they had reached the Cot, in which four of the Poachers were concealed. A race took place, the clumsy Constables had no chance of coping with these active young men, who, from their infancy, are accustomed to travel and run upon these mountains.

The scene was truly alarming to the spectators: the Soldiers galloping in all directions to obstruct their passage to a Mine, for which they seemed to be hastening, while the Constables were close in their rear; add to this the shrieks of mothers, lovers, and friends of the pursued, and you may form an idea of the tumult that prevailed.

The lads, however, out-braved all danger, and rushed safely into the Mine. Here the Bludgeon Men and Men of War were put to a stand, they did not choose to venture into this land of darkness and impenetrable shade.

They soon procured lights, and with cautious steps began to search these unknown regions, but without effect; the companions of the fugitives, who were in the Mine, had secured them far out of their reach. And the Ensign very pertinently observed, that there were holes to the right, and holes to the left, and, for ought he knew, they might have as much room above as below, and if so, all search would be fruitless, and, at the same time dangerous, as they might roll stones down upon them.

With these cautious and prudent remarks, having got their toes cooled and their clothes dirtied, they thought proper to file off, and leave these poor fugitive Miners in possession of the field of honour.

.....Some very worthy gentlemen of the country now thought fit to interpose and call a parley; to which both pursuers and pursued were equally ready to attend. A petition was consequently drawn up, addressed to Colonel Beaumont and Charles John Brandling, Esq. M.P. in which the Poachers promised to give up their guns and dogs, and to trespass no more upon the manors of those gentlemen - which they condescended to accept.

My thanks to Dr. Malcolm Henry and Helen Cannam for drawing *Emma* to my attention.

EMMA AND THE GARRIGILL POACHERS

Peter Wilkinson

In a brief discussion with Ian Forbes regarding his article in the last newsletter I mentioned that the book in question was known to me though I had never seen a copy and that I believed a short play had been adapted from it and presented at Alston some time in the 1930's. The story of the Garrigill Poachers is well remembered in the district by older residents, a number of whom have vague memories of the play but can provide no details. Ian asked me if I could supply more information for the newsletter.

I think Dr. Henry has set himself a difficult task in researching a family history which includes Westgarth Forster amongst the antecedents. The Rev. William Nall, Curate at Alston in the late 19th century wrote a Memoir of the famous geologist, mining agent and surveyor at the beginning of the revised third edition of a "Section of the Strata." This memoir was only part of an extensive investigation into the history of the Forster family which Nall continued to work on until at least 1907 by which time he had left Alston to become Vicar of Alnham in Northumberland. He traced various branches of the family back to the seventeenth century and found interesting links with other mining families such as the Bacons, Erringtons and Dickinsons.

In later years he corresponded at length with relatives of the Forster Brown family (Phoebe married Thomas Brown) particularly Thomas Forster Brown of Cardiff and London, himself a mining engineer. The amount of work Nall did on the Forster family tree is quite remarkable if you consider the number of pedigrees, wills and church registers that he examined over the years. The full results of his genealogical investigations were never published, though his letters and correspondence reveal many interesting facts and figures relating to North Pennine history.

It is perhaps worth noting that the Rev. Nall's long term correspondent, T. Forster Brown, the grandson of Phoebe Brown, Westgarth's sister became Chief Mineral Inspector for the Crown, as did his eldest son at a later date. He wrote to Nall in September 1903, "You will be glad to hear that my eldest son Westgarth has been appointed to the Crown Chief Mineral Inspectorship, as well as to the Deputy Gavellorship, without my having to use any influence whatsoever. His younger brother..... is hard at work underground in the Rhondda Valley for a short time, after which he goes abroad for six months." The Forster Brown's continued as Mineral Agents and Surveyors, certainly up to the 1960s, still retaining strong links with the North East.

Some of the letters reveal details of ownership of Ivy House at Garrigill, the family home, of T. Forster Brown's father who worked for the London Lead Company at Middleton, of efforts to trace Westgarth's mineral collection and some of the crested family silver as well as references to Westgarth Forster's Seal and a Manuscript of Emma.

The latter brings me back to the main topic. I should mention that the Rev. Nall was from a Garrigill lead mining family and an expert on local history. He had a particular interest in mining matters, hence his revision of Forster's "Section of the Strata" in 1883. He also prepared much of the text for a further revised and expanded Fourth edition of the work, which was never published. He wrote many articles for newspapers and society publications on a wide range of subjects, including northern history, geology, mining, religion and even literature. Among the latter were a series entitled "Our Literary Club" which appeared in the Newcastle Chronicle. Those for the 16th and 23rd June 1882 were headed PHOEBE FORSTER - parts I and II and give brief details of her background with a lengthy description of her book called "Emma or the Miners Cottage" published by John Pattinson of Alston in 1821. The small volume did not carry her name which later led to some confusion as to the author. Nall notes that "...Phoebe was distinguished among her local contemporaries as a writer of tales and short poems," though he was unable to trace her other works. The story was written shortly after the events of 1819 and although of no great literary merit, Nall compliments the author on her natural, honest and factual style. He wrote that the book has long been out of print and will probably never be reprinted and that copies are very rare. He then goes on to give a resume of its contents which takes up the remainder of his articles.

At the time of writing Phoebe was married to Thomas Brown and living in Garrigill at Ivy House, which had been let to them by Westgarth after he abandoned his farming interests in 1809 and moved away to follow his mining career.

I came across another reference to Phoebe's work in a newspaper article titled "Town and Country" dated 29th August 1899, (not specified, but probably a Cumberland paper.) This article describes the poaching activities of the Garrigill miners over the Rotherhope Fell, Cashwell and Melmerby moors and goes on to describe the events of 1819 as recorded "in a little book published about that date by John Pattinson of Alston and written by a Miss Shaw of Garrigill." The reference is obviously to Phoebe's book but attributed to the wrong person. The Shaw family were friends of the Forsters and were, I believe, living at Shield Hill near Garrigill at the time. The second part of this article is interesting as it describes another pitched battle between poachers ("most desperate characters from Alston, Stanhope, Blaydon!") and gamekeepers and Penrith constables, which took place in about 1833 at the Old Coach Inn on the Penrith road. The cause of the battle which was described as "drawn" was again poaching on Rotherhope Fell moors.

**Alston Vicarage Tea Party - Circa 1934.
Fancy dress - some in their Garrigill Poachers costumes
(short on men - only one Hussar!)**



Mrs Francis Walton of Alston, the Vicar's wife in her poachers costume. Was she Emma?



I heard many years ago that the story of Emma had been presented as a play at Alston during the 1930s, but had no details of this event. During a talk at Nenthead in 1990 I displayed two slides of old postcards supposedly showing some of the cast of the play in their costumes, but a lady in the audience who was on one of the pictures (as a child) said the occasion was the annual Vicarage Tea Party at which fancy dress was worn. She thought the year was about 1934, but couldn't remember anything regarding the costumes. It transpires, however, that some of the people on the photographs were wearing their Garrigill Poachers costumes. It seems sensible of course to wear ready made "fancy-dress" rather than make up new outfits. One of the prominent figure is wearing a crinolene dress and several individual photos of her exist. She was Mrs. Francis Walton, the Vicar of Alston's wife and producer of the so-called play. I am told the dress style is significant, as during the poaching episode, food was hidden under the wide garments to be carried, under the cover of darkness, to the mine. Here it was lowered down the shaft in a basket to the miners below.

What details have we of this elusive play? Well, it turns out not to have been produced as a play, but as part of a pageant and I managed to find a copy of the full programme. It is entitled "A Pageant - Episodes in the History of Alston from the Roman Period to the Nineteenth Century."

1. Roman Camp 2nd Century. Produced by Mr. G.T. Elliot & TOC.H. (Has been suggested that Mr. Elliot was Manager of Martin's Bank.)
2. St. Augustine exorcising the evil spirits and erecting the Cross on Cross Fell. Produced by Mrs H. Walton. (The mother of Joan Walton - a well known figure in present day Alston life.)
3. King Alexander III of Scotland erecting the Boundary Cross on Hartside. 13th Century. Produced by Miss Burnup and Mr. G. Bowlam. (Miss Burnup lived with Miss Blakett-Ord at Brownside House, off the Hartside road and I believe, owned Alston Laundry, near the Old Brewery. What of Mr. Bowlam - my informant thought he was an incomer!)
4. The King's Silver Mines. Royal Enquiry into the Rights of the Miners. 1290A.D. Produced by the Vicar. (The Vicar was the Rev. N.A. Walton - well known local historian with particular interests in geology and lead mining.)
5. Border Raid on Roundalholme. 14th Century. Produced by Mrs. Pratt. (I think the Pratts owned the Lemonade Factory at High Fairhill, Alston.)
6. Earl of Derwentwater Episode. 1715 A.D. Produced by Mrs Lawson. (Headmaster's wife. Samuel Kings School.)

7. Market Place. 1735 A.D. Proclamation of the King's Grant of the Derwentwater Estates to Greenwich Hospital. Produced by Miss Burnup and Mr. T. Kearton. (Tommy Kearton - one of 'Keartons the Builders' family.)

8. John Wesley preaching in the High Market Place. 28th July 1748. Produced by Miss Burnup and Mr. W.H. Wilkinson (possibly the Alston Postmaster at the time.) Wesley records: "At Noon I preached at the Cross, to a quiet, staring people, who seemed to be little concerned one way or the other."

9. Garrigill 1819. Poachers Episode. Produced by Mrs. N.A. Walton. (The Vicar's wife - an ex school mistress and much involved in Alston life for several decades.)

10. May Fair Day in the Market Place. Produced by Miss Burnup.

Obviously a rivetting evening full of local history! It must have been quite a long one as well, because the script of the Poachers Episode alone ran to eight foolscap pages and was put on in two acts. Multiply this by ten episodes with scenery and cast changes and you have a lengthy evening's entertainment which must have taken much time and effort to put together. Imagine the number of costumes and the amount of background research involved.

I eventually came across an original script of the Garrigill Poachers section. Accompanying notes indicated it had been reworked and tried in several different versions to obtain a satisfactory final draft. Put on in two acts and set in a miner's cottage, it was written in local dialect and based directly on Phoebe Brown's book "EMMA." As in the book, the main characters are Emma (Dean), the miner's daughter and her sweetheart George (Dixon), a local miner. It would appear the poachers hid in Wisings Level, which is the old adit entrance to Tynebottom Mine on the west side of the river, just north of Garrigill and close to Redwing Chapel. They were fed by lowering food down a nearby shaft under the cover of darkness, which explains the ball and string on a stick, together with a basket, seen lying on the cottage table in scene two of the Episode. The second scene ends with a petition to Colonel Beaumont and Mr. Brandling and the Hussars collecting the poaching nets and guns. The cast all recite at the end: "Nentheed lads for mining, and Aaston(Alston) lads for fun, But neane can cum up t't' Garrigill lads, A wid their dogs an guns."

The Pageant was performed at the old cinema in Kings Arms Lane, Alston, now demolished. It was usually nick-named the Tin Tabernacle and is still remembered with affection by many older residents, in spite of it suffering from a noisy, leaky roof! None of the material examined gives a date for the Pageant, but two of the "children" on the photographs suggest about 1934.

THE GARRIGILL POACHERS.
 ----- (1819.) -----

Scène: A Miner's cottage, fireplace to left, chair near fender, a kitchen table, on which are bread-baking utensils, a chair near table, game nets lying on floor in front of table, an old gun leaning against table near the nets, large cupboard door and door to staircase on right. George sitting on chair near fire asleep. Emma at the table in the act of baking bread. Emma pauses and looks at George, resumes her baking, looks again at George:- George snores.

Emma. Thoo's a nice un, cummen t' see a body an' gannan t' sleep o'ur t' fire.

George. (Waking up) Wey, thu knows, Emma, these tve neets w've been oot on t' fells as weel as slavin' aa' day in ~~the~~ t' mines, we r' aa fair deean.

Emma. Wey, thu wad'nt be sae tired if thu wad dea as saah bid thã, an' stop gannan on ~~the~~ t' fells neet efter neet poachin'. Aah tell the' ye'l a git copped yen o' these days, en' ~~then~~, what 'l aa dea then? Aa wad think fair shem o' thec, en what wad th' fatter say?

George. Aa wad ha' spop't lang syne if ~~the~~ t' had'nt been for t' tuther lads, en times es that bad w' ha' t' heve summet t' eat frae sumplease.

Emma. Thoo thinks mair o' t' lads er me; en onyway, we've always had what sarr'ed hus en tean nea hurt.

George. Wey, niver mind lass. Cum thee ways ower heare a bit en aa 'l sharp weaken up.

Emma moves over and is just about to sit down on George's knee when Raechel (an elderly woman) suddenly enters. Emma hurriedly stands up.

Raechel. (excitedly) Heares bad wark, Gourdie, bad wark.

Emma. Nu Raechel, what's wrang?

R. Neuf's wrang. Uur Hannah Lizzie 's just cum back fra t' fair at Aaston wi' seck a stoory. Sh' says t' toon ~~is~~ 's full o' souljers, sean efter cummen back fra Watterloo. The'v gitten Bonnypart en nu the've cumt for ye fellows that 's been repurted for poaching.

G. Souljers! divent talk sefond, woman.

R. Nut se fond let m' tell the'. Hannah Lizzie heard them readen' oot t' 'neancs en tho's yen o' them, en a gair few

shoot like that if t' soul-----
 (Rachel is interrupted by the boys rushing in and shouting.)

BOYS. (Very excitedly) Hurrah! Heares Guordie, Emma, heares Guordie!

(Enter George, looking most cheerful.)
 (Emma bounces towards him, places her hands on his
 shoulders and beams with delight, then clouds over.)

EMMA. A lad, aa IS pleased t' see the' ----- but is t' shure
 its seafe thu cummin oot like this.

GEORGE. Div'nt fret, liss, seafe eneaf. Hes t' nut heard?
 Word 's cumt up fra ^uAston this efternean that some vara
 worthy gentlemen doon iv ^uAston ha' sent a petition t'
 Colonel Beaumont and Mr. Brandling t' put an ned t' t'
 heale business; se it hes been agreed atween them en us
 that if we will gi' up oor nets en guns, en stop porchin'
 on their fells, they will ca' t' souldgers off. Se its a'
 settled. Theere 'll be a souldger cummin in yenew for ma'
 net en gun.
 (Loud knock, and a Hussar enters.)

HUSSAR. Hand over those nets and guns.

All recite:--

"Nentheed lads for ~~fun~~ mining,

And Aston lads for fun.

Put neane can cum up t' t' Gerrigill lads

A wid their dogs en guns."

I have given no factual historical account of the events which took place, nor the circumstances which brought them about - that is another story but suffice to say it was a "sign of the times." Perhaps I should add a few brief observations. It seems strange that a group of normally law abiding hard working miners should risk their employment, homes, freedom and possible lives for game. Poaching had always gone on, but what caused the eruption of activity during 1818, 1819 and 1820, of which the Garrigill Poachers episode is but one notable event? What brought about the sudden escalation which resulted in the situation getting out of hand?

From information available no precise explanation can be given, though here are a few clear indications. The period immediately following the end of the Napoleonic Wars saw a fall in lead prices and a slump in mining which seriously affected the mining companies and communities during the 1815-1820 period. The 1803 Enclosure Acts for the Manor of Alston had changed the balance which previously existed and restricted the miners traditional rights and activities, a situation no doubt exacerbated by their resentment of wealthy and influential outsiders. Furthermore it seems strange for poachers to hunt in such large gangs to merely put food on the table. It is more likely that there was a commercial, though illegal, interest in these hard times and that they were killing game to make money. A quote from W. Wallace (Alston Moor) referring to the period supports this view: "Since I can recollect, very large quantities of grouse were brought, during the season, to the Fox Inn in Garrigill and sold to the dealers on Saturday evenings" - even though prior to 1832 it was illegal to trade in game. He also adds: "the inhabitants of Garrigill considered the claims of the landlords of the Manor to the grouse, as an unjust interference with their rights."

We know the names of the main group involved from correspondence which usually describes them as the Garrigill Poachers, but occasionally as the Alston Poachers. They are given in a "List of Garrigill Poachers" laid before the Penrith magistrate Major Brougham in September 1818, with a note of the penalties against each man (here shown in brackets.) Richard Hetherington(8), William Dobson(7), Henry Dobson(8), Thomas Winshall(or Winscale)(12), William Hirdman(3), John Archer(7), Joseph Spark(10), Thomas Spark(12), John Stout(1), Joseph Thomlinson(14), Thomas Vipond(7), Joseph Richardson(1). This shows 97 penalties against the group, all miners.

They were prosecuted for not having game certificates and were convicted in November 1818, in their absence, none of them having answered the summonses. The offences were not taken separately but were grouped together with each man being fined £5. They could have been fined much more with additional charges brought for using guns without licences. This would have been futile as it had already been established that they could not pay the fines, nor had any possessions worth seizing. The prosecutions were brought by C.I. Brandling, M.P. of Gosforth House, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Convicting them was one thing, but arresting them was another and this situation was the prelude to the events later described by Phoebe Brown in her book "Emma."

To conclude, in case there are any suggestions that the story of Emma and the Garrigill Poachers is exaggerated or tarnished by poetic licence, I include a brief extract from a letter of September 1818 written by the Steward of one of the estates involved: "The Poachers have been very troublesome of late. There has been one set of eighteen, another of ten,..... all disguised in Women's Clothes or their faces black'd, not one of them were known, they shoot almost every day..... and the watchers dare not go near them."

What a sight to see! Maybe Ian Forbes and the "Killhope Players" should get dressed up one Sunday, with guns and nets hidden under their dresses and faces blacked and go up on to Mr. Stone's moor - all in the best possible taste of course, as the late Kenny Everett would have said!

Peter Wilkinson has supplied copies of the newspaper articles mentioned in the text which contain a wealth of detail of Phoebe and the events surrounding the Poachers incidents. Unfortunately there is not space in this newsletter to include them. (They amount to almost four pages wo I have deposited them in the Friends archive. Perhaps they might be included in future newsletters.)

KILLHOPE NEWS

Killhope welcomes a new face this year. Annie Macdonald has recently been appointed clerical assistant and has the thankless task of keeping the office - and its inhabitants - in order. We can only wish Annie good luck and a stout heart!

We also wish good luck to Julia Marshall about to go off on maternity leave.

A RECORD?

A few weeks ago at least fifty Friends took advantage of the offer to have a preview of the "show mine" at Park Level. Guided by our Projects Officer (on his day off) these tours were very well received and bode well for the success of the mine when it opens to the public. On the "middle shift" were two of our most senior members, Jack Gardiner and Dr Frank Gilbert, both approaching their 90th birthdays. Surely this must be some kind of record? At the other extreme on the back shift was young Luke Blackett, not yet two years!

REG EMERSON

Willie Drea

It is with deepest regret that we learned of the death of Reg Emerson recently. To those not fortunate enough to have known him he was the principal stone mason to the restoration of Park Level Mill during the early years of the project.

Reg joined Community Task Force (CTF), the County Council's Contractors, at a time when we were in dire need of stone masonry skills. Having previously been employed with British Steel's mining operations at Allenheads he brought with him to Killhope the art and attitudes of traditional mining and country ways. His gentle nature, knowledge and expertise in building and mining practices affected all who worked with him.

He never criticised or spoke ill of others not even when he had charge of the most wayward group of Youth Opportunity Programme lads you could ever have met. His patience prevailed and relying on tuition by example and demonstration he had his successes. Even on his last day at Killhope when I arrived too late to witness Jack Gray and his colleagues make his retirement presentation I found him busy near the small stock of building stone. There were ten minutes to go to his retirement. I suggested to him as he dressed one of two stones that he might consider himself retired. Again never one to belittle another mans effort he nodded towards the spoiled stone "It wasn't quite right" he said and continued to expertly square the quoin.

Dedication and loyalty were conspicuous aspects of his character. After the heavy snows of 1982/3 I remember following the snowplough as it cleared the way to Killhope just to see if the weather conditions had allowed any progress on the site during the month or so I had been unable to get up there. There was about three foot of snow across the valley with deeper drifts in heaps and in the hollows. But also there was a set of deep footprints leading up the valley to the Mineshop. An investigation was called for. Lifting each snow filled welly in turn as high as I could manage I struggled to the building. There I found Reg working alone and proceeding steadily. We exchanged greetings as though it were any other day and stood at the top of the steps in the sunshine casually debating the job and the weather. I inquired, lightly, if there were any others coming to work that day. "Ah you couldn't expect them to make it in these conditions" he sighed. I didn't ask the obvious question.

Reg Emerson is all around Killhope where the art of the stonemason matters, like the bouse teams which he rebuilt, the Mineshop where his advice buttressed my doubts and in most of the other structures throughout the historic monument. He was a man of many talents with an ability to lath and plaster, to slake lime and so many other skills. He may perhaps best be remembered, however, for his mild manner and his respect for all those with whom he came in contact and, of course, his respect for his craft, a craft in which he was a master and from which the buildings of Killhope and those who visit them have and will continue to benefit.

On behalf of the Friends I would like to offer our sincere condolences to his wife Edna and the family.

Reg Emerson dressing his final stone on 13th September 1985



AN APOLOGY

Again I regret that in order to avoid an over-large newsletter it has been necessary to hold over some excellent articles. I hope both readers and writers will be patient.

W.B.(WILLIE) WATSON.

John MacPherson

Hilda and I first met Willie some twenty years ago when the old Hudgillburn dressing floor was being converted into a caravan park. Thereafter our acquaintanceship quickly ripened into a firm friendship and, each year, we looked forward to our visits to Hudgillburn and to "cracks" with Willie (of which there were many) in our caravan whenever he happened to be at the farm.

Willie was a very friendly and entertaining man with a fund of most amusing anecdotes. Since Hilda and I are interested particularly in the mining history of Alston Moor, Willie was very happy to share with us his experiences in that line. His own involvement in mining started when he was a schoolboy at Leadgate, since he passed the road to Rotherhope Fell mine daily and sometimes was allowed to lead a trace horse back to the mine from the top of Blackburn Bank. He also told us of the time he and a brother paid a wholly unauthorised, not to say forbidden, visit to Cashwell Mine, after it had ceased working and the shafts had filled with water. There must have been some sort of natural syphon operating at that time for there was a sudden surge of water up one of the two shafts and he and his brother left the mine rather hurriedly and, as far as I know, never returned. The experience did not kill his interest, however, and he was employed for a time in Rotherhope Fell mine (where, incidentally, one of his uncles was killed in an explosion). Until quite recently Willie was happy to be taken into any of the Alston Moor mines and enjoyed a visit to the bottom of Brewery Shaft in Rampgill Mine.

Over the last two or three years Willie's health had deteriorated and, although he continued to visit us at the caravan, the walk back up the hill to the farmhouse became more and more tedious for him. His general cheerfulness was unaffected and his death has been a considerable shock to us. Yet one more of the few remaining links to the lead mining history of Alston Moor has been lost. He will be sorely missed.

STOP PRESS!

Just before we sent this newsletter to the printers (19th May) we heard that a snowplough had to be used in the last week on the road past the Killhope site leading to Alston. What was that old dales expression? Nine months winter and three months bad weather.....!

REPORT FROM DURHAM COUNTY COUNCIL

Summer is upon us, and while we experienced heavy snow and high winds during April, the start of the 1995 season has been very promising in terms of visitors. We look forward to a busy summer.

Behind the scenes a great deal is happening. As you know Compleat Works have been progressing on fitting out the Mine, and difficulties with water are, we hope, being overcome. It is anticipated work on the Mine will be completed during 1995.

With projects of this nature, working to a precise timetable is extremely difficult so it has now been agreed that the Mine should open to the public at the beginning of the 1996 season (barring any unforeseen technical difficulties). Hopefully towards the end of this year we will be testing the operational arrangements for taking visitors down the Mine, and ensuring all Health and Safety requirements, together with those of the Mines Inspectorate, are in place.

Naturally 1996 will provide an excellent opportunity to 'relaunch' Killhope and hopefully market the Centre to a wider audience. The opening of the Mine, complete with Waterwheel, thanks to the Friends, will provide a facility that should appeal to a wide range of interest. From dedicated industrial archaeologists to families looking for a good day out, Killhope has a great deal to offer. In the next newsletter we will be able to report in greater detail about plans for 1996.

Behind the scenes, we have been able to improve administration and support services to Killhope and IT is now installed! With increased workloads arising from visitor numbers, information enquiries, and increased educational demand, this has been necessary to maintain the high professional standards that Killhope has provided over the years.

It would be remiss of me not to comment on the overall financial position facing Durham County Council. As you know 1995/96 has been a very difficult year for Local Government and Durham has had to reduce expenditure by £15 million. Realistically the immediate future does not look that promising bearing in mind public expenditure policies of Central Government. Despite the difficulties Killhope remains a high priority for the County Council, and its financial commitment remains constant. The Lead Mining Centre is a key part of our mission to make County Durham the best place to live, work and bring up a family. To that end we are all determined to ensure visitor numbers grow, and that the unique quality of the 'Killhope Experience' is further developed.

Since the last Newsletter, the news came through Killhope had won the Customer Care category in the North of England Museums and Gallery Annual Awards for 1995 sponsored by British Telecom. Winning this section is particularly laudable because the endorsement comes not from professionals but visitors who are asked to make commendations. It is a public acknowledgement for my colleagues at Killhope whose commitment and dedication help to create that very special feeling so evident when one visits the Centre.

The Friends of Killhope's support and hard work over the years has been invaluable, and I look forward to meeting you during the summer months.

Patrick Conway, Director, Arts Libraries & Museums

EMIGRANTS' CORNER

BY

KEVIN WATSON

PART 3 - SCRATCHING THE SURFACE AND SETTLING DOWN

In 1976, the Bionic Man was caught speeding in Los Angeles, fined \$60 and ordered to be dismantled for six months. The bionic boy, who lived on the north side of Liverpool at the time, was asked to step in and keep the world a safe place for decent folks to live in until the older superhero could resume his duties. I didn't mind because I was bionic and facing perilous danger was old hat to me. I had ridden the range, explored far-distant galaxies and was soon to discover the secret of invisibility with all its peculiar perks. Even in Liverpool, so long as the weather held out there was nothing a young boy couldn't do and nowhere he couldn't go if he had enough imagination.

Traditional histories of the United States run along a parallel track to this idealised image of childhood. Daniel Boone cuts his way through the Cumberland Gap because he is driven by a desire for adventure, the settler keeps moving west because of the adventure of discovering what lies beyond the horizon and the astronaut heads out into space because of the adventure of the unknown above. According to this perspective, there are no limits to what humankind can achieve and there is no doubt that greatness will be attained the American way.

However, the bionic boy had a problem in the practical sense. How could world safety be guaranteed when its saviour was not allowed more than half a mile from home and had to be in bed by eight? Once I walked too far from home and got scared. It was getting dark and within every shadow I sensed the presence of the bogeyman. A few years later I was watching a late night movie, one of several thousand in which the killer is downstairs waiting to pounce on a teenager. Geoff and Charlene hear a noise so Geoff goes to investigate. He knows somebody is in the house but he does not call the police and he does not switch any lights on. Inevitably the bogeyman gets him and Charlene spends the rest of the movie screaming. In one version of this film there's a twist in which Geoff turns out to be the bogeyman. He goes into the unknown, scary places and all the time he is what makes them dark.

Another parallel - European settlers arrived in America and headed west. White American Dreamers blew holes in the sides of mountains and sent trains into them. Indian tribes were given new diseases, driven onto reservations or shot in a process known as "**progress**". Daniel Boone cut his trail through the Cumberland Gap to increase white territory, the settler headed towards the horizon because he was possessed by a greed for gold, and the astronaut blasted into space to devise a way of getting at the Russians.

We have reached the other extreme, cynicism's historical rewrite and it is not a pleasant place to be. Nor is it any more convincing than the traditionalist's perspective. Somewhere there is a middle path, a moderate path along which walked the settlers from the North Pennines, experiencing adventure but not living for it, pursuing material gain but not being possessed by greed.

In 1849, the United States was gripped by gold fever. The Mississippi lead mining region was prospering but much of the male population left for California, prepared to endure incredible

hardships in the hope of getting rich quick¹. The immigrants from the North Pennines, however, were not caught up in this frenzy. They made their homes on the banks of the Mississippi and nothing could tear them away from this new existence, not even the atrocious cholera epidemics that struck at that time. To some extent, we must see the traditional Protestant work ethic playing its part here. Easy money was not to be trusted whilst hard work resulted in God-given currency. An earlier article noted the manner in which a cholera epidemic in Shullsburg was interpreted as punishment from God for the behaviour of those men who had gone to California. Such was the logic of Primitive Methodism.

However, in choosing to stay at the proverbial first base, the North Pennines settlers were being guided by more than the tradition of their church. The 1849 arrivals from Allenheads, for example, were unlikely to miss the potential to make money on mining claims abandoned by California-bound gold diggers. To them, the region's galena was their grey gold, a surefire winner in contrast to mere possibilities further west. Furthermore, as the region's most recent arrivals, the Dalesfolk tended to be attracted to the idea of roots, the American dream which has the foundation of "Home Sweet Home" rather than Horace Greeley's advice to "Go west, young man". A new country was adventure enough and unexciting as letters about haytimming, prices and daily routine might appear, there is within them an increasing sense of confidence and ease brought about by the stability of a way of life that was becoming familiar. As towns like Benton, Leadmine and Jenkynsville become more respectable, one can detect a sense of relief among residents, relief that the frontier experience resulted in improvement rather than anarchy.

To understand the extent of change experienced in the Mississippi lead mining region, it is necessary to examine what kind of an environment existed immediately prior to the arrival of the Dalesfolk. The settlement which became known as Galena, Illinois was first settled by the Johnson brothers of Kentucky in 1822. Within five years Galena had become an important town primarily because of its position on the Fever River and the abundance of lead ore. At that time, the main lead miners were actually Winnebago Indians, who scratched their way to European luxuries by extracting lead ore from very near the surface and smelting it in a crude, inefficient manner. As lead ore was so plentiful, efficiency did not seem to matter and since the white community lacked a significant labour force, Indian miners were seen as quite acceptable for a while. Unfortunately for the Winnebagos, however, the region was changing rapidly and white settlers arrived in increasing numbers eager to have their slice of the wealth sitting just beneath the surface. To travel this far only to discover that the best ore-bearing land lay in Indian territory which whites were forbidden to exploit by federal law was unacceptable to this new society of white miners. Furthermore, to allow an Indian to do the same job as a white man - i.e. mining - was regarded as degrading to white workers and,

¹There are many books published on the Gold Rush of 1849 but the most enduring is *The Diary of a Forty-Niner* (currently published by Turtle Point Press, New York), a journal found in a miner's cabin at the turn of the century. The writer was obviously motivated by the possibility of becoming wealthy but this did not diminish his curious romance with the harsh world he inhabited. The journal includes considerable detail of mine workings and has enough dramatic appeal to make it excellent general reading.

therefore, equally unacceptable². Conflict was inevitable. In 1827 a Mr Shull built a cabin on Indian land and started a mining operation. The Winnebagos drove him off without resorting to violence. Shortly after this, however, two keel boats on their way up the Fever River to deliver supplies to Fort Snelling, stopped off near a Winnebago Camp, gave whisky to some Indian men and then kidnapped half a dozen Indian women. The women were raped and taken to the fort. The Winnebagos formed a war party and, it has been claimed, murdered a family in the north of the lead mining district. Henry Dodge expressed a commonly held local view:

"I am convinced that we are not to have peace with this banditti collection of Indians until they are killed in their dens. They watch from the high points of timber our movements in daylight, and at night pass through the prairies from one point of timber to another, and communicate with the main body which are in the swamps of Rock River."³

The Winnebago "War" which followed was actually a one-sided sort of affair which predictably ended with the Indians being subdued. Five years later came the Black Hawk War, a far bloodier affair which passed through the lead mining region just months before the arrival of the first known North Pennines emigrant, and involved, among those fighting the Indians, a young Abraham Lincoln.

In the 1830s, then, the lead mining region of the Mississippi was still troubled by the fear of Indian invasions. This fear was a binding influence on the white community and was shared by new arrivals from the North Pennines who welcomed Indian demise:

It appears to me now that the Indian race is doomed to utter extirpation. This I think is a judgement from God in consequence of their thriftless idle habits and the debasing and demoralizing influence of their indolence."⁴

In addition to the possibility of Indian invasion, the area surrounding Galena in the 1830s relied on old Indian trails as the only means of overland communication and in winter, the Fever River was prone to freezing over, cutting the local community off from all contact with civilization to the south and east. It was the frontier and the frontier was as much, if not more, to be feared as welcomed. Into this society came immigrants from the North Pennines who played their part in establishing a free labour society by stopping the Indians from working and concentrated their efforts on creating a world in which all they had to worry about was haytimming, prices, and their daily routine.

The above mention of haytimming is indicative of many settlers desire to be farmers rather than miners. In the North Pennines an arrangement which allowed men to work both in the mines and on small farms was perfectly acceptable and even encouraged, but the nature of mining operations around the Mississippi made such a combined livelihood rather more difficult. John Leekley, who emigrated from Teesdale in the 1830s was the most significant voice in a chorus of dalesfolk who drew similarities between the Mississippi lead mining region and the North Pennines. Leekley wrote of hills and valleys and a landscape similar to that seen from the top of Kirk Carrion in Teesdale. His imagination must have been strong. South-west Wisconsin

²The same argument was put forward with rather more vigour as one of the main reasons why northerners found slavery unacceptable - slave labour degraded free labour because it made the black man equal to the white man.

³Dodge, Henry quoted in Carver, Margaret S. New Diggings on the Fever 1824 - 1864, Darlington WI, 1984, p.24f.

⁴Dinsdale, Matthew writing home to family and friends in Wensleydale, 1846.

and north-west Illinois have slight undulations but nothing on the scale of Teesdale's hills. The landscape is pleasant but quite different meaning that the style of mining operations common to the North Pennines was alien to the Mississippi. How could levels be driven into hillsides if no hillsides existed? The Winnebago Indians had extracted lead ore by working at the surface and white miners tended to do the same. Extensive underground excavations were also rare because the veins were of a poorer quality, as John Leekley noted:

*"The veins are weak, nothing like the old country veins; they are more like the strings or leads that run by the side of a main vein."*⁵

This does not come across as encouraging information but Leekley followed with a significant punchline:

*"[The veins] are also very numerous and easy to come at."*⁶

Why work hard when easy pickings are available, especially when most miners worked in small collectives without the resources or capital for large scale operations? The problem with surface mining, however, is its tendency to leave the landscape unfit for farming purposes. Until the early 1830s the federal government attempted to hold onto the mineral lands of the Mississippi. Miners who worked there were legally bound to give up a proportion of what they mined to the federal authorities. Few did, however, and many new arrivals registered the land they worked as for agricultural purposes when they were actually using it for mining. Thus a state of utter confusion occurred by the 1840s in which it proved impossible for land agents to keep track of what land had been officially used for what and how the unofficial story compared. Imagine buying a tract of land to farm on only to discover fields full of holes where you were expecting to find corn. The miner was not the farmer's friend. Imagine the further confusion caused by the occupation of whites on land before the federal government had made it available. When Washington opened up certain areas of land for sale it was discovered that the same areas had been bought and sold by white people for a number of years already causing all manner of legal wrangles over who owned what, when, and for what purpose. The first article in this series noted that people emigrated to the western United States because of the abundance of cheap and available land but few realised the possible complications involved in getting that land. Matthew Dinsdale expressed frustration along these lines when he wrote home to his mother in Wensleydale:

"I know of no work so difficult as searching for land in this country, for tho' there is plenty of it and of first rate quality for sale, it is hard to learn which is and who owns it or where they are to be found. There is some Government land at liberty, and if a person wants to purchase it he as to enquire of the settlers who are nearest him. Perhaps they might want it for themselves or for some of their friends and will not tell him. If he does go to the land office he can learn which is at liberty in any given township, then he has perhaps to travel 20, 30 or 50 miles in order to see it; and when he has reached the neighbourhood he will have the greatest difficulty to find the various sections and parts of sections except some settler will go with him and this is not always the case, and if he should find the land that is at liberty, he may not like it. And this process may be repeated till a man has spent both his pittance and his money."

The confusion illustrated above is a typical product of frontier individualism. Settlers in the west resented the attempts of distant voices in Washington who seemed to serve no purpose except to restrict their lives in some way. Thus they deliberately and even proudly ignored federal rulings and the result was a bewildering sense of chaos which new arrivals from the

⁵Leekley, John writing in Primitive Methodist Magazine, 1851.

⁶ibid.

North Pennines had to try and fit into be it as miners or farmers. George Vickers had the right idea. He moved to town and opened a store. It was easier somehow.

By 1853 most of the California adventurers had returned to the lead mining region bearing no pot of gold and badly in need of work. In their absence the North Pennines settlers had been able to build better houses and churches. The pace of life was settling down. They were respectable. There was change ahead in increased industrialisation, the railroad, and the advent of the big company which would remove the little man from its path, but the dangerous days of adventure were over. Or were they? In 1854 a wound opened in Kansas because white men could not agree on whether slavery should be allowed or not. The state erupted into violence, violence which within seven years would escalate into the most brutal, tragic and bloody conflict in American history. When the Battle Cry of Freedom hit the air, the North Pennines immigrants would be put to the test as Americans. Were their loyalties to the homeland the only ties that bound them or did the interests of the United States include a cause worth dying for? Time would tell...

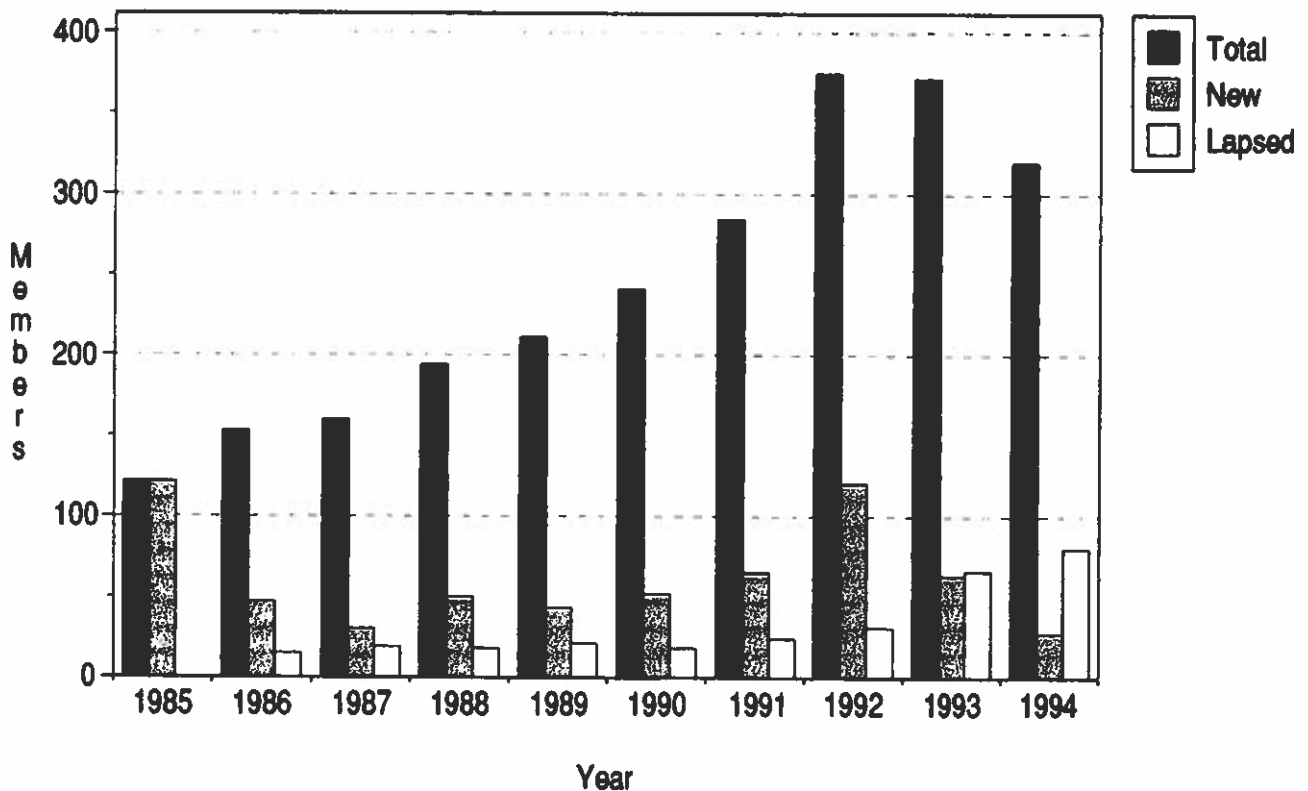


Another memorable Friends of Killhope event - Sir Kingsley Dunham and Dr. Tony Johnson revisiting the cores from the Rookhope Borehole with forty or so Friends and local people after the recent lecture at Rookhope.

FRIENDS OF KILLHOPE MEMBERSHIP

Indefatigable committee member Doug Tyerman from Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire who not only provides invaluable help by supplying printed labels for the newsletter and occasionally operates the forge at Killhope, has supplied this graph on our membership statistics. These provide an interesting illustration of our "performance" over the last 10 years. Dare we suggest that our "growth" has been satisfactory overall but what about the growing number of lapsed members? Any comments?

FoK Membership



FRIENDS OF KILLHOPE

HAPPENINGS OVER TEN YEARS

- Aug. 1984** informal talks between a handful of enthusiasts.
- Autumn 1984** follow up discussions in Fieldfare Cafe, Wearhead with Eric Ryan, Environment Dept, Durham County Council, "I have a dream!" DCC approached, "Friends" approved, Steering Committee formed.
- Friday 29th
March 1985** Inaugural lecture by our President, Sir Kingsley Dunham, FRS, former head of British Geological Survey and Geology Department of Durham University. FOK "born" Sir KCD presented with oil painting of Killhope. 100 attended.
- 1985** Brunton Buddle wheel rescued from Allendale
- May 1986** Barbecue
- June 1986** 1st Annual Quoits Championship
- June 1987** 1st Brains Trust
- 1987** Graham letters
- Autumn 1987** Brunton Buddle wheel re-commissioned
Park Level dig begins
- Spring 1988** FOK help launch Steve Race's new book - The Two Worlds of Joseph Race
- March 1989** Death of Eric Ryan
- April 1989** Candlelit lunch for European archaeologists in Jigger House
- Summer 1989** Eric's wheel brought from Devon
- October 1989** Eric's book begun
- Spring 1990** Wheel appeal launched.
- 9th September
1990** Eric's wheel launched
- Spring 1991** Wheel appeal closed at £45,000
- 8th September
1991** The Great Drink - Big Wheel turns
- 26th September
1991** Bryan Gould MP, Shadow Environment Minister launches big wheel

- October 1991 Teesdale wheel rescued
- Spring 1992 1st craft weekend
Eric's book published
- September 1992 1st Grand Mineralogical exhibition
- Spring 1993 First 500 of Eric's book sold - 500 more ordered
Friends via NEI Parsons begin underground water wheel of 18ft. diameter.
- Summer 1993 Graham letters and "Journal" publications begun
- March 1994 Joint 10th birthday celebrations with staff.
Work starts on archive catalogue
- 19th May 1994 Bishop of Durham - via Friends - opens 10th Birthday celebrations and become an Honorary Friend.
- October 1994 Friends hold a Day School at Killhope
- December 1994 18ft. dia. waterwheel built and installed in Park Level mine by Parsons/Rolls Royce Industrial Power Group Manufacturing Training Centre students on behalf of Friends of Killhope and Durham County Council

FRIENDS PROGRAMME 1995 - A REMINDER

Saturday 17th June, 11am Killhope - Annual General Meeting

Sunday 18th June, 2pm Killhope - Annual Quoits Competition

Thursday 29th June, 7.15 Talk by Sir Kingsley Dunham, "Rookhope in Restrospect" Stanhope Church Hall, Front Street, opposite Barclay's Bank - please note not our usual venue.

15/16 July - Sheep shearing, spinning & weaving weekend at Killhope.

2/3rd September - Grand Mineralogical Exhibition/Competition.

Wednesday 13th September - 7.30 Stanhope Old Hall - Talk "A Journey to Work" by David and Eileen Redfearn.

Saturday 7th October - Day school at Killhope, details in next newsletter.

Wednesday 11th October, 7.30 Stanhope Old Hall - Talk by Brian Young of the British Geological Survey about aspects of his work in Northern England.

Wednesday 8th November, 7.30 Stanhope Old Hall - Talk by Ian Tyler about Mining in Cumbria.

Wednesday 13th December, 7.30 Stanhope Old Hall - Members night and Christmas social evening.

(Details from Ian Forbes on 01388 537505)