

Mr. SMEATON'S Memorial concerning Hexham Bridge.

WHEN Mr. Smeaton was applied to by Mr. Errington, for the building of Hexham Bridge, it was not till after the total destruction of a bridge at the west end of Tyne Green, near that place, built under the patronage of Sir Walter Blackett; which, about twelve or fourteen months after it was finished, was totally destroyed by an extraordinary flood, that has ever since been distinguished by the name of the Great Inundation, which happened in November 1771; but as this bridge was standing at dark in the evening, and totally demolished the next morning, no other information could be drawn from this very fatal and alarming accident, but that this river was capable at times, from a certain combination of causes, of being swelled to a degree of violence far exceeding any thing that had before this been experienced, handed down by tradition, or imagined.

As an evidence of this, amongst many others that might be given, the water rose seven or eight feet, or thereabout, upon the main ground floor of Mr. Fenwick's new-built apartments at Bywell; which being erected from the designs of that eminent architect Mr. Payne, it is not likely that he would direct the main floor to be laid within flood-mark, as it had, at that time, been known, or then thought likely to happen; and yet, Bywell being many miles below the junction of the two Tynes (that is of the North and South Tyne, about a mile above Hexham) and after it had had much room to spread over the wide haughs that laid between Hexham and Corbridge, and also in the space between Corbridge and Bywell, we must conclude, that the rise of the water was less at Bywell than in the neighbourhood of Hexham.

Under this degree of information, and experience of the utility of a bridge at Hexham, (Sir Walter Blackett having chosen rather to forfeit the penalty of a bond of three thousand pounds, that he had laid himself under for the upholding thereof, than attempt to rebuild or re-establish the bridge), the erection was taken up by the county; and, for this purpose, consulted that eminent engineer Mr. Wooller, then engaged for the town of Newcastle, in the re-establishment of Tyne Bridge there, so far as the magistrates of that town were concerned therewith, and (which through the Fan down the river, and in the tides-way, suffered also an almost total demolition) Mr. Wooller, on faith of borings made by a surveyor, a person employed by the magistrates of the county for that purpose, who reported, that a bed of clay laid at no more than four feet under the bed of the river, at a place about fifty yards above, or westward of the bridge built by Sir Walter Blackett, formed a proper

design for building a bridge upon the foundation described, upon the principles of piling and planking under the piers, and which was begun accordingly in the year 1774; and, after building the north land-breast, Mr. Pickernell was recommended in the beginning of the year 1775 to the county, by Mr. Wooler, and employed as surveyor under him for the erection of this bridge; who having sunk the foundation pit for the first pier from the north abutment, as directed, to the depth of four feet below the bed of the river, to find the bed of clay; instead thereof, came to a stratum of a very different nature, which, after examining, he reported to Mr. Wooler, then at Hull, viz. "A quicksand full of
 "bubbly springs, and of so loose a texture, that by hand only, a bar of iron entered
 "into it forty-six feet without meeting any resistance; and that a trial pile of whole timber
 "entered twenty-six feet, at two inches and a half per stroke of the ram without sloping;
 "and that the gentlemen concerned were eye-witnesses to the facts."

Upon the above report Mr. Wooler declared his opinion, that the attempting to set a bridge upon such an enormous depth of quicksand, over a river so subject to great floods as the Tyne, may be deemed so hazardous, as to be next to imprudence itself — and again, that this wretched quicksand, rendered the attempting a bridge on such principles (that is piling and planking under the piers) little better than folly — a quicksand, which, from its resistance to the iron bar, cannot be deemed much better than a heap of chaff. For, says he, "let it again be supposed, that a flood like that which overturned the late bridge
 "should happen, it cannot be doubted, that when the loose gravel under the bed of
 "the river (only four feet thick) shall be swept away between any of the piers, the
 "quicksand under it will presently follow like water itself; and an excavation may be
 "made in a few hours, as deep or deeper than any of the piles that guard the piers;
 "when a downfall must be the immediate consequence. On these principles therefore,
 "the bridge ought not to be attempted in this spot; and, if no better can be found in
 "any other situation, there is but one method of dealing with such ground, which has
 "succeeded where expense was not regarded: that is, by carrying a solid wall quite
 "through the river, from side to side, about six feet high; and in this case it must be
 "forty-two feet broad." The preceding extracts are made from a copy of Mr. Wooler's letter of the 19th of July, 1775, to Mr. Pickernell; the perusal of which will more amply set forth the grounds and reasons of Mr. Wooler's opinion; that no bridge under such circumstance, is likely to be accomplished at any limited expense; he concludes with saying, "I had the honour to mention this method (that is of the solid wall)
 "to Mr. Aynsley, when there was a doubt about the nature of the ground, sometime
 "before their surveyor found out the stratum of the clay; but he then looked upon the
 "expense to exceed their abilities; but however, after all, if ever a stable bridge be
 "made

“ made there, I do not know any other means to effect it — You will lay this before the gentlemen for their consideration.”

After this, Mr. Pickernell proceeded to sink a well or shaft in the solid soil of Tyne Green, near the place where the south abutment of the intended bridge was to be; when passing through the stratum of gravel, found the quicksand at nearly the same depth, (that is to say, four feet below the bed of the river) as in the foundation pit for the pier on the other side, into which he thrust his iron bar as before, and covered up the shaft, till Mr. Wooler should come and examine the premises.

He also proceeded to try the river, by boring in other places; and particularly in the pool below the east boat; that is, a little above the place where Mr. Smeaton afterwards pitched upon, to build a bridge for Mr. Errington; an account of which boring being transmitted by Mr. Pickernell to the clerk of the peace, reference being thereto had, will more fully appear; but which went to prove, that whenever Mr. Pickernell had penetrated the bed of gravel, universally a stratum of quicksand was found.

Under these circumstances Mr. Wooler attended at Hexham, to survey the premises; and in the presence of some of the magistrates assembled on the occasion, repeated the trial of the bar, both in the foundation pit near the north, and in the shaft near the south-end of the intended bridge, and which succeeded as before mentioned. The existence of a stratum of quicksand under a bed of gravel in this place, then, does not depend upon the simple testimony of Mr. Pickernell, but is alike witnessed by very respectable, as well as competent judges.

The result of which view and survey was, that no other place appearing more eligible and likely, than where the beginning had been made, and being unwilling to go on upon the principle intended and began, of piling and planking under the piers; and the magistrates not giving ear to the solid wall proposed by Mr. Wooler (across and under the whole bed of the river, from side to side, as an artificial foundation whereon a bridge was to be erected), on account of the expense thereof, which was not likely to be uncertain, but so great as to be very imprudent for even the county to enter upon, the whole undertaking was at that time given up or suspended: and Mr. Wooler having been urged, as too easily desisting from his original plan, on going away, he very sagaciously and prophetically said, whoever meddled with a bridge there, would burn their fingers. After this the gentlemen of the county, unwilling to lose sight of a bridge at Hexham, an advertisement soon after appeared in all the Newcastle newspapers, as from the bench of magistrates of the county

county, importing an invitation to all adventurers to undertake the erection of a bridge, taking the risque of making a foundation upon themselves, and taking their own method of doing it, but to build the superstructure according to a certain design to be produced to them, and security for the permanency of the whole for the term of seven years. This advertisement was continued till the latter end of the year 1776, in which interval several adventurers had in succession offered, but all of them on a closer view, before the completion of a contract, started off; several expensive preparations having been made at the expense of the county, and the materials lying upon their hands: this work being therefore, as will appear from what is preceding, generally considered as a derelict scheme, or at least a forlorn hope; some time in the latter end of the year 1776, Mr. Donkin, agent of Mr. Errington, came to Mr. Smeaton in Mr. Errington's name, to know if he would undertake the direction of building a bridge over the Tyne, somewhere between the Lowford, and the Eastboat at Hexham, for Mr. Errington, provided he (Mr. Smeaton) could find a place for the founding thereof which he thought sufficient, as that he would risque his credit upon it as an artist: in which case, if it could be done upon a moderate estimate, he (Mr. Errington) would make a proposal for building it to the county; urging, that as the county had been so long baffled in the attempt, as it would be an advantage to his estate, if it could be done there, it was probable that if it could be done at a moderate expense, the county might accept of a bridge there, rather than none, and if he (Mr. Errington) was two or three hundred pounds out of pocket on the above account, he would think it worth his while.

Mr. Smeaton, being somewhat surprized at the uncommonness and newness of the proposal, desired time to consider of it, as previously to that time, he had studiously avoided having any thing to do with it; though he had been frequently in that neighbourhood for a course of years, comprehending, and even preceding, the time of first undertaking thereof by Sir Walter Blackett; but considering it on this occasion as a great advantage to the public, that if that could be done which they then seemed unlikely to get done; he began to consider the causes of failure in those that preceded, and in thinking seriously of the subject, there occurred to him a mode of construction, that could not only be executed for a very moderate expense, considering the extent of the subject; but the only mode in which a bridge could be executed, on such a kind of foundation as was then generally supposed, at any moderate expense and with a reasonable prospect of safety.

This considered, Mr. Smeaton acquainted Mr. Donkin, that he was willing to examine the situation; and if he found it competent, so that he could hazard his credit as an artist

upon it, he would be willing to give Mr. Errington an estimate. The trial was made, afflicted by Mr. Pickernell, who on this occasion recounted the principal part of what is above stated, so far as he was concerned; the estimate was made, presented and accepted, the bridge undertaken, built, and suffered the fatal overthrow that has occasioned the present litigation.

The preceding narrative will sufficiently show, that none of the parties pressed themselves into this unfortunate, this ill-fated business, or proceeded in it from any interested motives.

Respecting Mr. Errington, he neither professed nor could ever have any view of profit from the undertaking, the contingent benefit that it might in that situation be to his estate, being the sole motive of the pains and trouble that must necessarily attend it.

Respecting Mr. Smeaton, he neither asked, expected, sought, nor received more than his accustomed daily hire, and he trusts, that it will not be supposed, that he could wish to undertake this business for want of employ; and in respect of Mr. Pickernell, if he wanted employ, he would have been much more likely to have met with it, by the bridge being proceeded with, if he had reported a good gravel to an unfathomable depth, knowing or believing there was a quicksand at nine or ten feet under it, than he could expect from reporting a quicksand, at nine or ten feet under the surface of the gravel, knowing or believing it was gravel unfathomable; because being then not at all acquainted with Mr. Smeaton's ideas of the proper method of treating such a subject, he must suppose it more likely for a bridge to be undertaken and proceeded with, if the foundation was a gravel unfathomable, than if it was a gravel with a quicksand under it.

What remain, therefore, as questions material to the county and to all the parties, seem to be the following, and what they who undertake to judge of the whole matter, should be acquainted with.

1st, Whether Mr. Smeaton from the whole matter before him, at the time of forming his project, did it with that deliberate judgment and reasonable probability of success, that have characterized him in other things?

2dly, Whether

2dly, Whether Mr. Errington was sparing of any thing necessary to give success to that mode of building which Mr. Smeaton had adopted?

3dly, Whether Mr. Pickernell did to the best of his power and abilities execute, to a reasonable and possible extent, what he was directed by Mr. Smeaton?

4thly, Whether under all the experience and knowledge of the subject, as it now stands, the present bridge should be attempted to be re-inflated, or a new one built at Hexham?

With respect to Mr. Smeaton's scheme for the bridge, the following matters are worthy of observation:

1st, That from the failure of Sir Walter's bridge in the night, no estimate could be formed, of the fall or velocity that the water had in passing that bridge, at the extreme of the flood, before its failure: for though the marks of the flood were left very visible, which shewed it to have risen many feet higher than any former flood, in point of height; yet this gives no light into the streis laid upon the bridge by the velocity of the water, for no bridge, even tolerably built, ought to suffer from the water's rising any height upon it whatever, if stagnant or rising very slowly, by the counteracting of a rising tide opposing the natural current.

2dly, That it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that at the place where Mr. Wooler began, there in reality existed a quicksand of an unfathomable depth, covered with a bed of gravel, of a very moderate thickness and consistence, and intermixed with large tumbling white stones.

3dly, That not only from the faith of Mr. Pickernell's subsequent borings, but from the proximity of the two situations (not one-third of the breadth of the river asunder), it appeared in the highest degree probable, that the same, or some such stratum of loose matter, lay under the foundation of the bridge built by Sir Walter Blackett, and was the cause of its destruction; otherwise, its sudden and total destruction, in so short a space of time, was to Mr. Smeaton totally unaccountable; who in the way of curiosity (as other business often carried him to Hexham) had sometimes viewed the operations of that bridge while it was building: that bridge having been in his judgment at that time competently well founded to guard against accidents, considering in what manner

it was done, when compared with the manner of founding on gravel used by our forefathers; and which, for Sir Walter Blackett, was designed and undertaken at the risque of that ingenious and well experienced builder Mr. John Gott, of Woodhall, in the West-Riding of the County of York, who for several years previous to that, had been undertaker of the building and repairs of the county bridges in the said West-Riding, and also surveyor of the rebuilding and repairs of the navigation works upon the rivers Aire and Calder; a man rendered truly respectable to all who knew him, from a long series of successful experience in this kind of arduous undertakings; and who, moreover, previously to this undertaking at Hexham, had with great success and credit to himself, then undertaken and completed the new bridge at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, which was done upon the self same principles that he afterwards put in practice upon the Tyne, and which bridge still stands unhurt upon the river Aire (there also united with the large river Calder) to the praise of the skill of the worthy builder thereof.

This person, Mr. Gott, being personally known to Sir Walter Blackett, as well as his works, Sir Walter pitched upon him as a proper person to ensure success to his favourite project; and still the more effectually to do it, he joined with Mr. Gott, Mr. Brown, a very worthy and experienced mason of the neighbourhood; a person that had acquitted himself by many works done for Sir Walter and others, and some in the bridge way, and was also at that time surveyor for the bridges of the county of Northumberland: and still the further to secure their care and industry in this undertaking, he had them bound to him as undertakers for the sum for which they contracted with him, to uphold their works for the term in which he stood engaged to the county; but as a demonstration, that shews how well he was satisfied, that the care and skill of the undertakers were fully and properly exerted, he, after the accident and a full examination, gave them up the bond they had entered into with him, contenting himself to pay the penalty in which he stood engaged to the county.

And now, as it will throw a considerable light upon what I have to say further upon the subject, it will not be lost time to explain the mode of founding, adopted and put in practice by Mr. Gott, as it appeared to Mr. Smeaton by ocular inspection, and who at the time was acquainted with the undertakers, but more particularly and previously with Mr. Gott.

Having constructed large and broad coffer dams of earth to fence off the water, by the help of chain pumps, they sank the foundation pit about three feet into the gravel, then they drove piles over the whole area of the intended foundation of each pillar, from ten to twelve feet long, and from ten to twelve inches diameter in the heads, and tapering according to the natural taper of the timber, proper for driving into gravel of considerable resistance. The heads being cut to a level, the whole was covered by a platform, made of whole (that is twelve inches) Riga barks, rabbetted or halved into each other, so that each could not subside without its neighbour going with it, and upon this platform the pillars were respectively built.

Mr. Smeaton has reason to believe (though he never happened to be there when any piles were driving), that the undertakers finding their piles go into the ground more easily than they expected, and the upper part the hardest, did not in all the pillars make the excavation of the foundation pit quite so deep as above mentioned, but yet all were founded below the bed of the river: and, in a conversation with Sir Walter Blackett, after the founding the bridge was done, Sir Walter observing to Mr. Smeaton, that a rumour had gone forth, that the founding of the bridge had not been made sufficiently strong, Mr. Smeaton said, that had they increased the circumference with plank or sheet piling, as he had done in all the gravel foundations of the kind, that he had had the ordering of, it was all he should have done more than was done; but as the laying a solid platform, and even the piling itself, were things that our forefathers had not generally practised in such cases, and yet we found many of their bridges standing after many years trial; it must be something very extraordinary that could hurt a foundation so laid, far beyond any thing wherewith we were then acquainted.

This serves to shew what the opinion of Mr. Smeaton was at that time, before any derangement had happened, so that it was a matter to him of very great surprize, that notwithstanding the extraordinary height of the water, a bridge so founded should be so entirely demolished in so small a space of time; but when the operations of Mr. Wooler were known, his surprize ceased: looking upon it as a certainty, that the violence of the water having taken off the crust of gravel, wounded also by the excavation for the piers, so as to let loose the quicksand, he no longer wondered at the sudden demolition of the bridge.

The third matter to be observed is, that Mr. Smeaton had at that time, (that is, at Mr. Donkin's application) finished with success two capital bridges in Scotland, over

two of the reputed most rapid rivers of their magnitude in that part of Great Britain; that is, over the Tweed at Coldstream, which was finished about the year 1767, and the Tay at Perth, which was finished in or about the year 1770, and which in the interim before Mr. Donkin's application, had sustained many severe attacks from floods, but without any injury, except (in some slight degree) to the rough rubble stone deposited round the piers by way of defence, and which being occasionally replaced, the whole remained and does still remain unhurt.

These bridges, the first being in part, and the latter wholly upon gravel of unfathomable depth, were founded on bearing piles, encased with sheet or plank piles, below the bed of the river, the space being filled up, and the foundation farther defended by the deposition of rough quarry rubble stones: and Mr. Smeaton having experienced the great dependence and power of resistance of stones so deposited, not only in the cases of building the bridges above mentioned, but in a great variety of cases, preceding those undertakings as well as after, wherein he found them the most effectual means, not only of controuling the violence of rapid rivers, but of the sea itself, he was naturally led to place very great confidence in that species of defence.

4thly, That partly from the report of Mr. Pickernell's borings, partly from the similarity of situation of the place proposed by Mr. Errington, to that where Sir Walter Blackett and Mr. Wooller had worked, being both of them near the bottom of an extensive pool, wherein the water is kept up by a bed of gravel just below them, and forming as it were a natural dam, whereby the motion of the water in the pool above, in the low state of the river, was scarcely perceptible; I say, from similarity of situations, Mr. Pickernell's report of the ground, just above the place pitched upon by Mr. Smeaton, and the trials that he (Mr. Smeaton) made himself, by driving a sharpened iron bar from nine to ten feet into the bed of the river in several places, which was very considerably less resisted, and particularly in the main current, after it was driven down some feet, than it was in entering the upper crust of the gravel bed, which was apparent to him, by his assisting personally in the operation; from all these considerations he thought himself well justified in concluding, that at some depth, exceeding nine or ten feet, at this place, there either actually existed a stratum of quicksand, similar to that at the west end of Tyne Green, or at least matter so little compact or capable of bearing weight, that to drive piles into it would only weaken the stratum. The question therefore, that he had to decide for his own guidance was, Whether there was a bed of gravel of sufficient thickness and compactness to bear the weight of a bridge, in case it was unwounded and unbroken? And the experiment of the bar abovementioned

(which was tried in several places across the river), determined his judgment, that what he had felt and experienced was sufficient.

It may here naturally be enquired, why Mr. Smeaton did not bore the bed of the river, instead of driving the bar in the manner described? and he answers, because former experience had taught him to have very little faith in boring in gravel, for the purpose of founding bridges; for the colliery borers, though exceedingly expert in boring for the purposes to which they are to apply them, yet are no competent judges of the compactness of the stratum for the purpose of building a bridge; and in the trials formerly made by Mr. Smeaton himself, from the continual falling in of the smaller parts of the gravel itself, while the shank of the instrument is turning round, thereby occasioning a continual grinding; and if the instrument is attempted to be withdrawn, the holes immediately filling, made it never appear to him in the light of a satisfactory operation, convincing to his mind of any certain conclusion: he has therefore, for many years past, contented himself with trials by the bar, which being driven by a hammer, he judges of the compactness of the gravel, by the number and strength of the blows that it takes to go down; and on the faith of trials of this kind, where the bar went down with a competent resistance and a near equality, he built the bridge of Perth upon piles encased with sheeting.

From a mature consideration of the above particulars and circumstances, Mr. Smeaton found himself led to the following conclusions, viz.

That to build a solid wall across the river as a foundation for the whole bridge, in the manner proposed by Mr. Wooler, would not only be attended with an enormous expence, but, in the place where he proposed it, likely to be in itself impracticable: for it did not, nor does it occur to Mr. Smeaton, how this is to be done without draining off the water from the bottom of the very large excavation that would be necessary to be laid open at once; which must not only go down to the quicksand, but in reality considerably into it, to lay the proposed foundation of the wall; that in case the quicksands should break up and run, as it was most likely to do, the drainage of this liquid matter would be endless; and if any part of it was attended with so much success as to get founded, yet the part so founded would be sapped, when the sand is so broken up in any succeeding part.

That though in the place pitched upon by Mr. Smeaton, the bed of gravel appeared both thicker and firmer than where Mr. Wooler had begun; yet, as it appears evidently

dently to him, was likely to partake of the same quality, the execution of the scheme of the solid wall, or of penning as proposed by others (to make which effectual must amount to the same thing) could not be done upon any limited estimate; and at any rate, would exceed all bounds of expense, that it appeared to him likely or indeed prudent to be gone into by the county.

That to attempt the building of the bridge upon the principles of that of Perth; that is, to sink an excavation pit considerably into the bed of the river, and in this to pile and encafe, would be, in effect, first to destroy the very best and firmest part of the stratum, and then by driving piles into what was likely to be incapable of bearing the weight, would be in reality to repeat the errors, that, as it seemed to him, had been committed in Mr. Gott's erection; and as, last of all, the security of the bridge in any of these methods, must ultimately depend upon the defences to be made by the judicious and proper deposition of rough quarry rubble; it appeared to him a folly, first to destroy the firm upper crust of gravel that he reported verbally on his trial thereof to be comparatively hard, like the pavement of Hexham streets, and then, at a great expense, substitute something not so much to be depended on, and this still want defending by quarry rubble, which in every case could be applied: and he must here beg leave to remark, that a quarry, situated most commodiously to this situation of the bridge in the estate of Mr. Errington, offered the greatest plenty of this kind of material, and of the most excellent quality for the purpose that he has any where had the experience of.

From the whole of the premises he concluded, that the safest way would be to preserve the upper crust of the bed of gravel inviolably unbroken even by a pile; and particularly in the main channel of the river, where the diminution of the hardness of the upper crust principally to him appeared; so that, concluding to build the two land-breasts upon piles, with casting, and also the two pillars next thereto, in the same method, with coffer dams to drain out the water (he having found that within that compass the bed of gravel appeared equally hard and compact) the method that naturally offered itself was to found the rest of the piers by caisson; a method the most easy and ready, and attended with the least cost of any. So that having before abundantly experienced that good quarry rubble would resist the action of a current to a greater degree than any kind of gravel, it appeared that the pillars so sunk, being defended from accidental flood till they could be surrounded by a slope of rubble (which the depth of the water naturally admitted in this place) hence would arise every degree of security that the nature of the subject would admit of.

He concluded therefore to build a bridge of nine arches instead of seven, that it might have more legs to stand upon, in consequence of the natural weakness of the stratum; and by way of security to the piers, before they could be properly and sufficiently surrounded by the proposed slope of rubble, as well as after, in case of any derangement to the rubble defence, a girdle of stones in blocks of a ton weight and upwards, was proposed to be let down, and surround the base of each pier, to be fitted to each other, and to the pier they surrounded, and to be cramped together.

Upon this idea of construction Mr. Smeaton formed his original estimate; and which, from the simple mode of it, could be executed for a very moderate sum of money, in proportion to the largeness of the river and extent of the work; and which, in consequence, was bargained for by Mr. Errington, and the work proceeded with accordingly.

The north land-breast and the adjoining pier were successfully built upon piles encased as proposed; and the gravel being there very sufficiently compact (so as to afford only a moderate quantity of water) Mr. Smeaton determined to try to go on as far as he could upon that principle, and therefore ordered the second pier from the north abutment to be tried with a coffer dam, to encave and found like the first; but when the pit was sunk but two feet under the level of the water outside, and not much more than half as much under the natural bed of the river, the water boiled up between the interstices of the gravel stones, bringing sand along with it, that it required forty men continually at the pumps to keep it down; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the pier was founded on that principle at that depth.

The fourth abutment and contiguous pillar were also successfully founded, according to the original intentions; but at the second pier from the south, the water being much deeper (being in the main channel, and the gravel bottom clean washed, like the second from the north) Mr. Smeaton judged it in vain to attempt any more pillars by coffer dams, because it would be an useless expense to construct a coffer dam without the least probability of mastering the water.

Early in the summer of 1778, the remaining five pillars were begun to be executed by caissons, and Mr. Smeaton attended the execution of the first that was laid, which was the fourth pier from the north side of the center arch; and which was done with so much expedition, ease, and convenience, that the season and weather turning out remarkable fine, the whole body of agents and workmen pressed forward to get as many
of