

of them done as possible while that favourable season lasted; but a number of blocks for the girdle course not immediately arising out of the quarries of a sufficient size for the purpose, about the latter end of July four out of the five caisson piers were grounded upon the bottom of the river, and brought above water, when only one of them had any of the girdle stones brought and deposited, and this only in part around it; beginning from the western or up stream salient point, and extending from thence about half way round the pier on each side: in this state of things, after a remarkably dry season of some months, there came a violent rapid flood, not indeed a very high one, but the river being previously empty of water, and the rain which occasioned it falling very suddenly, it came down (being also urged by a violent wind at west) with uncommon rapidity; the consequence of which was, that the four caisson piers, totally unguarded except as above-mentioned, were all underwashed at the west end, to the depth of about 15 inches at a medium, at the borders, and some to a greater breadth and some less; but the pier that had the half girdle course round the west point having been found to suffer along with the rest, though not in so great a degree, this induced Mr. Smeaton to think of a mode of defence not merely terminating upon the upper crust of the gravel as the girdle stones (which this event shewed was not sufficient to resist the increased velocity of the current, when passing by a new object), but instead of the girdle stones, to go some depth into the gravel; which it appeared practicable to do, by driving a casing of plank piles to surround every caisson pier at the distance of three feet, which would also enable him safely to underpin the parts underwashed.

To this proposition (though attended with an addition of expense unthought of before, of between five and six hundred pounds) Mr. Donkin very readily consented on the part of Mr. Errington. This was therefore immediately put in hand before further proceedings were gone upon.

Hitherto I have been particular, as it seemed absolutely necessary to give an adequate idea of the natural difficulties attending this work, and what a very small portion of them were known before it was originally enterprised by Mr. Gott; how gradually they unfolded themselves in consequence of the steps that from time to time had been taken; and how very far all were from being aware of the whole, when the work was begun by Mr. Errington under the direction of Mr. Smeaton. Suffice it therefore to say, that the casing of the damaged piers, and the undersetting of three of them, was proceeded upon with the greatest alacrity, and completed that season; nor did any other adverse accident happen to the completion of the bridge.

It may be proper to mention that when the first casing was completed, which was about the fifth pier from the north side, Mr. Smeaton ordered a trial to be made to pump out the water, which, if practicable, would have afforded the most easy way of under-setting the under-washed parts; but this being attempted, Mr. Pickernell reported, that with four double pumps and two single ones they had not been able to sink the surface of the water within the case above an inch below the surface on the outside. In this method, however, the coffer-dam cases used at Perth Bridge were driven so as to keep the water out of the foundation pits, when the surface of the river (when the tide was in) was from six to seven feet deep upon the bed of the river, and consequently against the sides of the casing, it would therefore have seemed that there had been some very palpable defect in driving these cases, had not the operations at the second pier from the north side sufficiently shewn how extremely open the bed of gravel is to the passage of water, and how impracticable every method was likely to prove that depended upon the drainage of the water, for the piers to be placed in the main channel of the river.

Several very rapid and much larger floods than that which did the mischief happened in the course of the succeeding winter, particularly one upon the 12th of December, when the water was within nine inches of the top of the inpost; when Mr. Pickernell marked a fall of two feet three inches, but without any material damage to any thing, which naturally induced all those concerned to proceed in the way they were then going on.

The season of 1779 was begun by new founding the western half of the pier, that the weather prevented from being completed the year before, which was the fifth from the north, and was done without caisson or draining the water, by means of an air chest or diving machine, that had been very successfully and conveniently employed in under-setting the other five damaged piers; and the pier before unbegun (being the sixth from the north) was the next in course founded by caisson; but with this difference, that the case was first drove all except the down stream salient pointing, before the caisson was floated into its place through this opening.

It would cause too great a prolixity to describe the particular operations of what followed the disaster of August 1778; nor can they be done without reference to figures; I shall therefore proceed to say that in the beginning of the year 1779, and also afterwards while the arches were throwing, the whole of the cases were guarded all round by a deposition of rubble; and to render it the more effectual against the torrents that this river then appeared subject to, the up stream points of the rubble bulwarks were extended to the length of 30 feet above the salient point of the cases respectively.

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That the underfetting of the three piers fo treated, was done fo as to be as fo lid and effectual as the gravel stratum which the whole flood upon, as alfo the new founding of half of the fifth pier, and the original founding of the fixth, which was the laft founded; and that the whole flood upon one bottom equally capable of fupporting the weight of the fuperftructure built upon it, appears from this, that in the whole of the mafonry, from the time of the accident in 1778 to the time of its total overthrow in the year 1782, there never appeared the leaft crack or fet in any part of the work, not even in the parapets, which to thofe who are well experienced in bridge-building, will appear a remarkable inftance of the foundnefs of the work; and furthermore, that the whole was fufficiently guarded againft every accident that could be forefeen or expected appears from this; that in the year 1779 a remarkably rapid flood happened: which Mr. Pickernell obferved, from marks upon the bridge, above and below, fhewed a fall of three feet nine inches, occafioning a velocity of above 900 feet per minute, which not only paffed without any material derangement; but, on the contrary, fuch changes as had been made in the bed of the river had been for the better, as it had acquired a more equal depth from fide to fide; the shallow parts becoming deeper, and even the deeper parts, by the deposite of gravel, had become shallower, and every flood that happened after, occafioned reports of the fame kind till the laft. In this manner, and with thefe ideas, every thing was fatisfactorily finifhed, and the rubbleing completed, according to Mr. Smeaton's direftions, at or about Chriftmas 1780; and in the beginning of January 1781, Mr. Smeaton viewed the whole, in the prefence of the magiftrates of the county, who attended for that purpofe, and found every thing done to his great fatisfaction as well as theirs; and as fuch reported it to the county, as being completed according to Mr. Errington's agreement.

After all fucceeding floods, every account was of the moft flattering kind; fo that previously to the laft flood, every perfon concerned therein or therewith feemed perfectly eafy as to the fecurity of Hexham Bridge.

On Sunday evening the 10th of March 1782, there happened in that country a great downfall of fnow, fo great as to be a foot thick upon the plain ground; which was immediately fucceeded by a violent hurricane: and as the nature of fnow is to drink up the rain like a fponge, till it becomes perfectly faturated with water, it then burfts at once like a fnowball in the fire, and may be fitly compared to an immense refervoir, extending over the whole country, and breaking loofe altogether; and as the hills, and whole face of this country, are fteep, comparatively like the roof of a houfe, the water is capable of coming down very fuddenly; it then meets altogether, by the junction of the two Tynes, a little above Hexham, without having any confiderable flat ground to fpread itfelf upon. The next morning,

viz. Monday, March 11th, Mr. Donkin perceiving an extraordinary high flood in the river (which runs from west to east) attended with a very high westerly wind, he was led to go down to the bridge, to observe the effects of the water upon it; but without the least supposition of any damage happening thereto; when he observed, that the water was up to the top of the dooming (as there called), that is, the tops of the caps of the salient points upon the piers of the up stream side of the bridge, when it scarcely touched the down stream side, which makes a difference in level in passing the bridge of no less than between four and five feet, and which, according to the known rules of hydraulicks, will occasion a velocity of one thousand feet in a minute; but yet he was so far from apprehending any danger to the bridge, that he had just sent his son over it, to the south end, with two or three masons, to examine the state of the land-arches there, who reported all safe, but they had not returned above five minutes, before he began to observe symptoms of failure, when to his great surprize, "he perceived some particles of lime fall from the fourth arch, about the size of chaff, and the lime coming from thence and no where else, he pointed his observations to that part only. That the falling of the lime continued to encrease in size and quantity, for the space of a minute; that soon after he observed a crack across the bend of the arch towards the upper side of the bridge, which crack gradually widened, and in about a minute more, the splinters from the stones in the plain part of the spandrel, between the third and fourth arch, which he could perceive shake, gave way, and the two arches and a pier fell together; that the whole bridge was destroyed in half an hour," only two arches remaining whole, and one fell in part in the evening. Such was the sudden catastrophe of this much commended unfortunate bridge.

The second question is, Whether Mr. Errington was sparing of any thing necessary to give success to that mode of building, which Mr. Smeaton had adopted?

To this Mr. Smeaton can only bear his testimony, that he was not; nor did he ever hear him find fault with any expence, thought necessary by Mr. Smeaton; on the contrary, he always expressed his wishes to have the bridge completed in the most substantial and effectual manner. Nor did he ever appear disquieted by the disaster of 1778, nor at the expence of what Mr. Smeaton had proposed as a necessary addition, though at so considerable an increase as five or six hundred pounds, as has been already stated.

Thirdly, respecting Mr. Pickernell, whether he did to the best of his power and knowledge, execute to a reasonable and possible extent, what was directed by Mr. Smeaton? And to this Mr. Smeaton thinks it but just to say as a witness, that he always looked on Mr. Pickernell throughout the whole proceeding, as a person particularly attentive to execute

execute orders and directions given by him, and upon whose capacity for that purpose, he could safely rely, after having shewn him the mode of going about any new operation, and upon whose reports of these operations, he could also safely rely; and as the general workmanship of the bridge has been applauded by many, and discommended by none, it seems there is only one point in which Mr. Pickernell's execution of Mr. Smeaton's orders can be called in question, and that is respecting the driving down of the cases of piles, round the caisson piers, to a proper depth; it is therefore necessary to state this matter particularly.

Mr. Smeaton's written instructions were as follow; "The length of the piles should conform to the depth of the water; I would not wish the sheeting piles round the west end, and the first bay of the return on each side, to go into the ground more than about ten feet, and if they do not drive kindly, must be contented with less; from thence, each bay may be gradually less depth into the ground, so that round the down stream pointing seven feet will be sufficient. If the gage piles drive kindly, they may be longer by eighteen inches or two feet than the sheeting, but if not, they need not be above one foot longer."

To the above, in the course of the work, Mr. Pickernell reported, that having driven the piles of the fifth pier from the north, which was the first to which the casing was applied, the gage piles went down very well and entered two or three inches at a stroke, but when he came to drive the plank piles, they could not be got into the ground more than from five to seven feet.

He further reported in the course of this business, in regard to the sheet piling of the seventh pier from the north (or second from the south side) which was the last casing driven of the four damaged piers; that the bed of the river at the south side, is entirely full of large flat stones, such as they got out of Oakwood bank quarry, which have been the ruins of the boats' landings, taken away by floods and ice from time to time, and those stones had obstructed their sheet piling round that foundation, and had occasioned many of them to go out of their places at bottom, so that sundry cavities were occasioned thereby, more than in the last.

These were the representations of Mr. Pickernell, concerning his execution of Mr. Smeaton's orders, respecting the piling; so that if they were driven to a less depth, or in any manner less effectual than as above represented, Mr. Pickernell must answer to it, as Mr. Smeaton was totally unacquainted therewith, nor was any insufficiency in this part of

the work ever suggested to him by any person whatsoever during the course of the work, or since, till he heard of an opposition to Mr. Errington's bill for relief from his obligation.

But whether in reality Mr. Pickernell did this part of the work equal to the above representation of it or not, that the standing or falling of the bridge may not be wholly left to rest at Mr. Pickernell's door, Mr. Smeaton, in justice to Mr. Pickernell as well as himself, thinks it necessary to declare, that for the reasons already assigned, (as well as the verification thereof during the course of the work, by every flood that happened) so great and absolute was his dependence upon the application of Oakwood bank quarry rubble, as an ultimate defence to controul the violence of the Tyne's floods (no part of it laid round the coffer dam foundations, having ever been moved); that provided the piles of the casings were but driven into the ground, so far as to fix fast therein, and so close together, that though the cases might not hold water, they might retain the gravel from being washed out through the chinks from under the piers; he had not the least doubt of preventing any material damage ever being done to the pile work, by the application of the said rubble to surround them. This sentiment, however, though it dictated that part of his instructions, "get the bays of sheet-piling at the west end of the piers down to ten feet if you can, if you cannot, we must be contented with less;" and also made Mr. Smeaton contented with what was above reported to him, as the most imperfect part of the performance; yet he never communicated this opinion to Mr. Pickernell, or any other person; lest the workmen from hearing thereof, might be induced to satisfy themselves with doing less than otherwise they might be capable of, in the way of getting them down as far as they could.

Whether Mr. Smeaton's opinion, concerning the security of Oakwood bank quarry rubble, was well or ill-founded, will be further examined in the sequel; but this is certain, that the driving of the cases not being completed before the middle of September, and being then very desirous to take advantage of the security they afforded, to get the piers underfet, if possible, or otherwise secured before the heavy winter floods came on, he concluded, that if the experience of these floods should shew a need of greater strength and defence, it might be added in the course of the next season.

This autumn of 1778, in reality, afforded the experience of a considerable number of floods, amongst which, the last, which was of December 12, was a capital one, and the highest that had been since the great inundation of 1771; and the water on the west or up stream side of the bridge, was within nine inches of the top of the impost of the second pier

pier from the north, when at the east end it was one foot three inches below it, so that the fall was then no less than two feet three inches, and which would produce a velocity of above seven hundred feet per minute.

After the water was subsided so as to afford a full examination, Mr. Pickernell reported the effect; viz. that there were but very few of the rubble stones removed from where they were thrown in round the foundation; what were moved, were from the west shoulders; but that from the third pier to the north, round which no stones had been deposited, it had torn up the gravel from the salient point and west shoulders, to the depth of three feet; and that from thence to the stones that were laid round the second pier, it had deepened the bed of the river full eighteen inches, (which before was too shallow); but as to all the other part of the river's bed, he could not perceive it altered in the least.

The experience therefore of these floods, and particularly that of the 12th December, all concurred in proving, that the Oakwood bank quarry rubble was a sufficient defence against every violence of the Tyne: so that it did not appear necessary to introduce any new mode of defence, but only to apply the rubble in the most effectual manner; and as the west shoulders appeared to be the parts that the greatest stress came upon, Mr. Smeaton ordered that the water might not meet with so sudden an opposition there, but be more evenly, slopingly, and gradually brought thereupon, that the west salient points of the rubble should be extended westward of the salient points of the caes respectively, to the length of at least thirty feet; which was accordingly executed by Mr. Pickernell upon all the caisson piers.

4thly, We come now to the fourth and last question, viz. Whether under all the experience and knowledge of the subject as it now stands, the present bridge should be attempted to be reinstated, or a new one built at Hexham?

This question is indeed of far the most material import; for it is of little consequence to the public, in the present state of things, whether Mr. Smeaton misjudged of the subject? Whether he was deceived himself, or was deceived by others? Or, whether Mr. Pickernell did or did not do his best, towards a full execution of Mr. Smeaton's orders, in regard to the driving the casing piles? Nor is it of any consequence to know, that in point of art, but without any regard to, or limitation of expense, a bridge is possible to be built: the true question is, Is it fitting for the county to undertake it? Supposing the Treasurer in possession of whatever sum can be recovered from Mr. Errington, in consequence of his obligation, will it not (like Sir Walter Blackett's three thousand pounds)

pounds) be a temptation to the county to spend still much larger sums upon an unfruitful project; and it may reasonably be supposed, that the whole county stock is not an unlimited sum; nor can it be properly expended in the erection of a bridge at one single passage.

It is now known for a certainty, what was not, and could not have been known before the erection of this bridge, that there is a possibility of natural causes being so combined, as to produce a flood so large, and of so sudden a nature, as to produce a velocity of the water exceeding one thousand feet in a minute; and whether even this may, or may not, be the uttermost limit of Nature, is not in the power of any man to calculate:—

That the velocity of seven hundred and twenty feet per minute, arising from a difference of two feet three inches, as per flood of December 1778, was sufficient to tear up and remove the natural bed of gravel, which forms the bed of the river in this place, wherever there was a particular set upon it, but was not capable of moving or materially deranging the defences composed of Oakwood quarry rubble.

That the velocity of nine hundred and thirty feet, resulting from a difference of three feet nine inches, in a flood of the 1st of December 1779, still made not the least alteration in the defences, nor to any part of the bed of the river, save that the rubble stones deposited at the third pier where the current had torn up the natural gravel in the flood of December 1778, were now wrecked full and covered with gravel, and reduced to the level of the adjacent parts. Another flood succeeded this in the compass of ten days, that rose within eight inches as high as the former, but in this nothing happened of any kind; in short, the bridge being now erected, as far as it was concerned with the water, all the arches cleared, and the defences completed, after a considerable number of great floods, and nothing happening in consequence, every one seemed so entirely satisfied of the stability of the bridge, that even the Gilligate people, Mr. Pickernell observed, ceased their visits, who before had constantly, after every flood, come to inspect, in hopes of finding something correspondent to their prayers and wishes for the downfall of the bridge.

Mr. Smeaton was, however, agreeably surpris'd on having this account, that the fall of water had been so great, and no harm ensued; for had it been possible for him to be apprised of such a fall before hand, he never should have recommended to Mr. Errington to have undertaken to erect a bridge upon that bed of gravel.

It therefore at this time appears plain, that though the Oakwood bank rubble will lie still, and resist a velocity of the water of nine hundred and thirty feet in a minute, yet it is capable of being all removed and carried away by the velocity of the water of, or a little exceeding, one thousand feet per minute; a velocity resulting from a difference of forty-four, as it was or upwards in the flood of March 1782; and that the gravel bed itself is capable of being torn up by a much less degree of velocity; the question then is, How in such situation a foundation can be laid and effectually secured?

Shall we attempt to build a wall across the bottom of the river, according to Mr. Wooller's proposition? Experience has shewn in the building of the last bridge, that the gravel is of so open a nature in the main channel of the river, that it is impracticable to drain off the water. Mr. Smeaton means not to put limits to the invention and ingenuity of men; but neither his observation, experience, nor invention, has hitherto suggested any effectual method of founding such a wall, without draining off the water; and the same will apply to the penning the bottom across the river.

But for a moment, suppose the thing done: this wall or this apron, must have a termination; and wherever it terminates, experience shews, a rapid current will form a deep hole, to twenty, or even thirty feet depth, and upwards; and if the gravel under the foundation gets loose, the downfall of the whole is the consequence.

2dly, Suppose we attempt to build it in an excavation upon piles encased, as was done at Perth, the same difficulty arises; we cannot get out the water; and if done, as rubble will not lie to defend it, the gravel bed being scooped out, beyond all practicability of driving piles, the piers being sapped, the same unfortunate circumstance must ensue.

3dly, Suppose we attempt it by excavation with ballast lighters, and drive down piles even with the bottom of the excavation pits, to found the piers upon; which may doubtless be done, without taking off, or drainage of the water; still, if neither the bed of gravel itself, nor quarry rubble, is capable of resisting the violence of the current, when the gravel bed is destroyed or deranged, so that the piles are laid bare, the pillars will be sapped, and destruction equally ensue: nay, even suppose the piles could be encased without taking off the water, yet this is only giving the river a little more work to do; for if rubble is carried away, as we find it must be, it is no defence; and we do not know the depth to which the gravel can be scooped out and excavated by the violence of this river;

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the foundations therefore, however deep, can be ultimately fapped, and the same ruin ensue.

In short, turn ourselves which way we will, nothing seems certain in this business, but a very great expense, how commensurate with the county's funds, must be left to those to judge of who know them : but this Mr. Smeaton will take upon himself to say, that he sees no way of making foundations for a bridge to stand upon, for the whole sum in which Mr. Errington stands obligated to the county, that is likely to be attended with any certainty of permanency, much less also to build a bridge upon those foundations, for the same sum.

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