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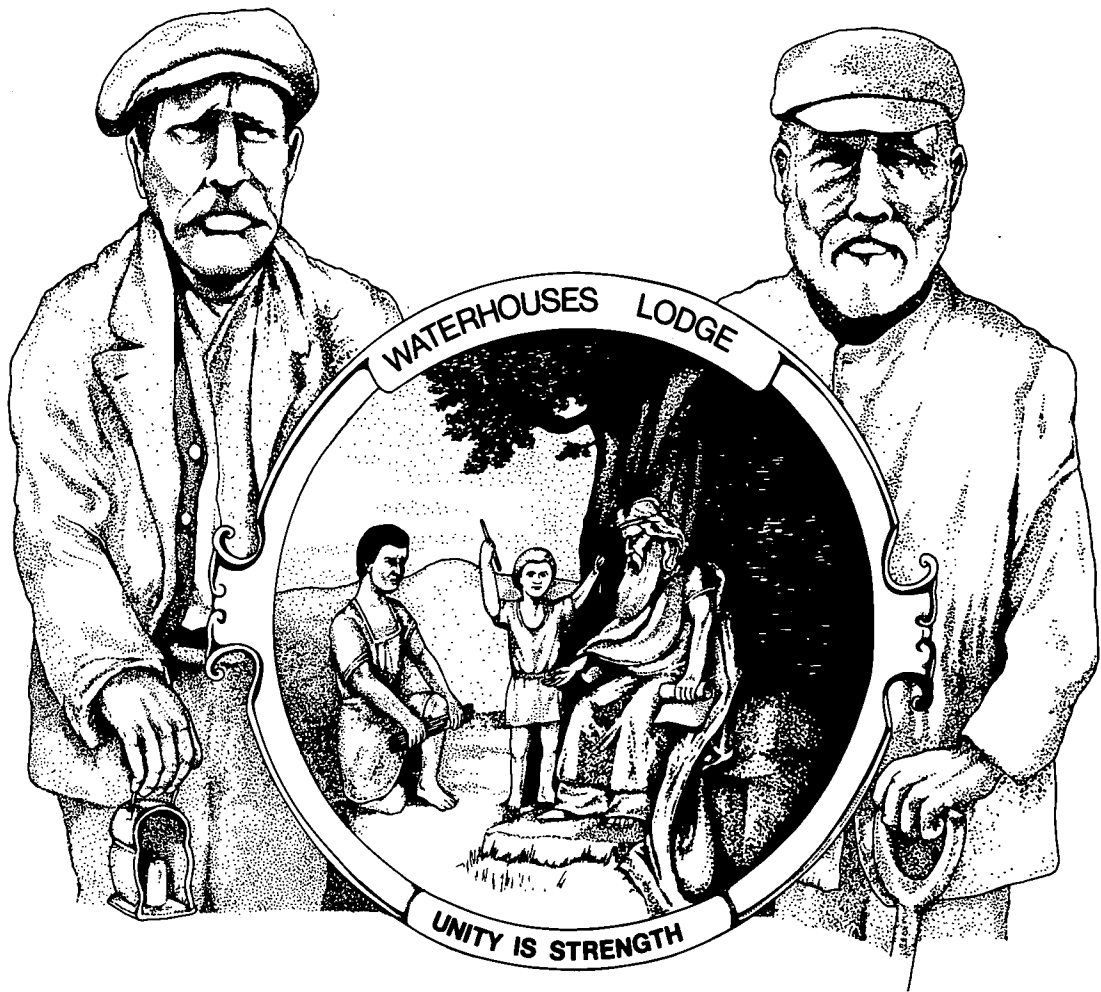
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A B S T R A C T

PEASE AND PARTNERS AND THE DEERNESS VALLEY : THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WATERHOUSES, ESH WINNING AND USHAW MOOR

This is a study of the life and times of three colliery villages in a west Durham valley, part of the business empire of the Darlington based Quaker firm of Pease and Partners Ltd. Four topics - the Pease family and their business interests, life in the villages, pitwork, and industrial relations - are examined in order to assess the impact of the Peases on the conditions of life and work in their villages. Comparison is made between their policy of paternalism and the attitudes of other coal owners in County Durham and elsewhere; and the changing conditions and attitudes which affected the relationship between owners and workmen are also examined.

PEASE & PARTNERS AND THE DEERNESS VALLEY



ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WATERHOUSES, ESH WINNING AND USHAW MOOR

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
BY
NORMAN EMERY

DEPT. OF ECONOMIC HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

1984

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20 FEB 1985

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INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of County Durham the things which immediately spring to mind are Durham Cathedral and coal mines. Before the middle of this century pithead winding gear in the villages of Durham was a common sight, for the county was literally 'founded on coal'.

500 million years ago, when Britain was largely covered by sea, volcanic activity during the Ordovician period raised up new land, particularly in the area that is now Scotland. As a result marine conditions receded southwards across England. During this gradual retreat the environment changed with sediment deposition from the north into a delta covering a massive area, including Durham. In this Carboniferous landscape coal forests had developed, surviving until the arid conditions in the Permian, about 280 million years ago¹. Subsequent geological action, glacial deposition, and vegetational development has produced the Durham landscape of today. The low lying ground by the North Sea coast rises gradually west of Durham city towards the great ridge of the Pennines, yet below it all are the stratified seams of a once great coalfield.

The first clearly documented evidence of the mining of coal in County Durham is in the Boldon Book of 1180. Small mines were worked in the 17th and 18th centuries, and their number rapidly increased during the Industrial Revolution, with pits and associated communities dotted throughout the county. No reliable figure of the number of mines worked in Durham has been produced, but it is clear that by the late 19th c. a sizeable number of collieries had been established in the valleys of western Durham, with others scattered around the coastal lowlands, many of which were in the hands of large industrial concerns. Amongst those who came to exploit the rich seams of west Durham was the firm of Pease and Partners Ltd., who established pits and villages at Waterhouses and Esh Winning in the Deerness valley, and later added Ushaw Moor to their valley operations. The impact of this Quaker firm on the life and work



in these three villages forms the basis of the present study.

The late 19th c. was the heyday of the mining industry in the valley, in Durham and generally throughout the British coalfields. Output had expanded throughout this period and continued to do so until the mid 1920's when economic depression led to falling demand, and reduction both in output and employment. This process of decline in the industry has continued, and since the 1960's has seen a dramatic reduction in the number of working pits in the county. Only a few coastal pits in east Durham, and Sacriston in the west, are now working. Over a lifetime of about 100 to 150 years the Durham coalfield has gone from being one of the leading coal exporting and coke manufacturing areas in Britain to an area considered peripheral to Yorkshire with its new pit at Selby, and the rich seams of the Vale of Belvoir in Leicestershire.

The closure of mines in County Durham by the N.C.B., including the three valley pits in the 1960's, has had a dramatic effect on the pit villages, for in many cases it has removed the only major source of employment.

William Geetney, the County Planning Officer in the 1940's-50's, examined the existing pattern of settlement, including villages like those in the Deerness valley, industrial trends and population forecasts, and produced a plan for future occupation and the role of the County Council in the new development. This included a grading of villages viability from A down to D. In his 1951 grading Waterhouses was classified as D - physically unsuitable, and, with the closure of the colliery, unlikely to attract new industry. Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor had also lost the main employer when the collieries closed, but their settlement form, and potential for the creation of new urban nuclei, favoured their survival and both were placed in the A category.

Since the 1964 amendments to this County Development Plan large sec-

tions of colliery housing have been demolished, most prominently the original rows close to the pits, and surface remains associated with the workings have been cleared. In essence this programme has removed the original character of the villages, which owed much to the fact that they were created by the remarkable Quaker Peases. Since the 1960's the traditional way of life, the methods of work, the terminology of pitwork and coke manufacture, and the distinct features of the Pease influence on the villages have gone or are now only memories. The present study, therefore, chose to look at four related topics which illustrate the extent of the Pease's influence on and in their villages in the Deerness valley.

The first topic for study is the Pease family, its background and the changing roles and attitudes of various members. Inextricably linked with this is the business and its expansion into a vast capitalistic empire, of which the Deerness valley collieries were merely a part. It was decided to look in some detail at the firm's assets - plant, holdings, related companies, and to trace their financial and industrial record over the years until the nationalisation of the mines in 1947. In this way it would be possible to see what effect market trends, economic depression and industrial disputes had on the firm of Pease and Partners Ltd., and how it also manifested itself on the Deerness valley collieries.

From this basis an examination of the second topic, the actual villages, was undertaken. Much has been written on the Durham pit village - from the Victorian newspaper columnist to the sociologist and industrial archaeologist. The literature ranges from the accounts of the early 'frontier' settlements with poor housing, appalling sanitation and unsavoury-reputations, to the later records and reminiscences of the close-knit village communities with their prominent chapels and co-ops. How did the villages of the Deerness valley fit into the norm, if there was

such a thing, and what special effect did the Pease influence have on life and conditions? As members of a sect with a reputation for concerning itself with social matters and the welfare of those in their employ, how different were they from other employers, and did the policy of paternalism, which they followed, survive the test of time?

The last two topics for study concern the nature of mine-work and industrial relations. After all the Peases were capitalists, and the villages they established were to house the miners and related workers who raised the coal, converted it to coke, and made a profit for them. It was considered necessary to look first in some detail at how the pitmen worked the coal, their wages and conditions, and how the coal owners controlled the operations and the men, before moving on to the Pease's relations with their workmen, who had united to protect their labour and were members of the Durham Miners Association. As the miners union grew in strength and its representatives entered the political arena in support of labour, the Owners were forced to adapt to the situation. But when economic depression and industrial discontent brought the miners as a national body into conflict with the Owners, did attitudes change, and what effect did it have on the policy of paternalism?

SOURCES

The sources on which this local study is based include written records, physical remains and other artefacts such as photographs and oral testimony. Although the Pease family were major industrialists there are surprisingly few published works devoted to them. Most references are fairly general and usually concerned with their involvement with the early railway system. For genealogical purposes a vital work is the *Photographic Pedigree of the Descendants of Isaac and Rachel Wilson*, compiled in 1920 by R. Seymour Benson (Darlington Library, acc. U400e). Biographical works include Mary Pease's affectionate account of the life of her late husband Henry, and Eliza Orme's life of Lady Fry, formerly Sophia Pease. Biographical sketches of other members of the family are also given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Burkes Peerage and Baronetage*, *Who's Who*, and in the *Times* obituaries. Actual documents referring to the Peases, and original family papers, have been deposited at the County Record Office in Durham and Darlington Library. The latter collection also contains photograph albums and framed portraits which help to bring each character to life. In addition, A.F. Pease edited the diaries of Edward Pease (1907), while Joseph Pease's diaries covering the 1820's, and odd volumes from the '50's and '60's are now held by Cleveland County Archive in Middlesbrough. Mr. Gurney Pease of Penrith, Cumbria, still has a number of Joseph's diaries in his possession. The diaries are essentially concerned with everyday events, general health, family etc., but contain glimpses of business activity.

On their business interests, apart from the original site ledgers, the *Times* and the *Economist* provide useful information on shareholders' meetings and contemporary views on the firm's financial position, assets etc. Of their many entrepreneurial involvements, their early association with George Stephenson is perhaps best known. On this subject the mas-

sive work by Tomlinson. *The North Eastern Railway : Its Rise and Development* (1914) is a classic. A number of county and town histories mention briefly their ironstone mining and working, along with accounts in Consett Iron Company's history of its own works (1893), Jeans (1875) and Almond, Harrison, Harrison and Owen (1979). Their major interest - coal, receives minimal attention; but for the Deerness valley a considerable number of original records exist. The managers' monthly and annual reports, in particular, are almost overwhelming in the amount of detail on mining operations and plant. They are, however, mainly concerned with the 20th c. and records for the 19th c. workings are virtually non-existent. In addition, the records of the Waterhouses and Esh Winning collieries are far more numerous than those for Ushaw Moor.

When we look beyond the business to the actual people who came to live and work at the colliery villages of the Deerness valley the most useful source is the census enumerators' returns. Unfortunately, due to the 100 year rule on declassification of these documents the returns are only available up to 1881. They provide details of the occupants of each dwelling place on one night, their names, relation to head of household, marital status, sex, age, rank, profession or occupation, birthplace, and whether blind, deaf or dumb. Thus the population structure of the villages can be assessed, although, for the purposes of this study, all of those who described themselves as 'visitors' have been excluded from the analysis.

The life and work of the villages has been discussed in part by Robert Moore in *Pitmen, Preachers and Politics* (1974). His sociological study, covering the period 1870 to 1926, examined the influence of Methodism in the valley, and concentrated particularly on the Primitive Methodists. By far the most informative overall primary source for the wider life and work of the villages are local newspapers, particularly

the *Durham Chronicle* and the *Durham Advertiser*, which provide notices of building operations, opening ceremonies, local events and personalities, colliery operations, disputes etc. The *Durham Chronicle*, in the early years of the valley collieries is the most informative source with the odd few lines in its local events column and, occasionally, the police notices. In the early 20th c. it had a strong bias towards Liberalism, and viewed Socialism with suspicion. In the years around the Second World War the *Durham Advertiser* began to include more notices on the area. The County Record Office in Durham has recently taken possession of the files of these papers from the *Durham Advertiser* office, and has also acquired Cooperative records, parish registers and chapel papers. Of the latter group, the greatest number are Methodist documents, many from the Bourne Primitive chapel at Waterhouses. Papers relating to other churches and chapels are more limited in both number and information potential. Some are still in situ in church safes and cupboards.

More generally, some relevant papers are, no doubt, still in private hands, but others have clearly either been lost or destroyed. Amongst the numerous colliery records for the valley the information on industrial disputes, for instance, is negligible. Apart from the colliery agreement books, and the discovery of a mechanics lodge register in private hands², no lodge minutes relating to the time of the Peases has been found. Even the archive of the D.M.A. at Redhills holds surprisingly little on the Deerness valley pits. As A.J.P. Taylor wrote 'Much of the evidence on which we could base our knowledge of the past either has been destroyed or was never recorded. We guess from the few remaining fragments much as a geologist reconstructs a prehistoric monster from a single bone. Even at the present time, when thousands of trained experts are engaged in assembling and analysing the statistics of economic life, experts and governments have only the vaguest idea what has happened, and no firm idea

of what is likely to happen¹³.

The chance survival of papers relating to one group or institution creates the danger of over-emphasizing one element to the detriment of another. In recording the way of life in the villages (Chapter 2) a determined effort was made to provide an overall account of the various groups, whether social, religious or otherwise. In Chapter 4 on industrial relations, however, the limitations in the surviving record force one to look at the leaders of the lodges; to discuss their characters and views. Although they are important, it would be interesting to know in more detail the views and changing opinions of the rank and file they represented. As the county union became part of a Federation, and later the N.U.M., accounts of the individual lodges tended to fade into the background as mining affairs entered the national arena.

Of the physical evidence, since the 1960's much of the colliery housing in the three villages has been demolished, particularly the rows near the pit. At Waterhouses up to two-thirds of the village was bulldozed. Some colliery housing still remains for examination today alongside private housing and later council and commercial housing estates.

Associated with the clearance of the houses was the removal of the heapsteads, sheds, track and other gear of the collieries. Only at Ushaw Moor is there still a shaft, used for pumping purposes. At the other villages, although the sites of the shafts and buildings have been removed, in the woodland on the south side of the valley can be found traces of the mine workings. Blocked drift mouths, ramps, collapsed tunnels and old wire rope bear witness to the great days of mining in the valley. In one instance there was a determined effort at preservation of a colliery structure because of its significance to industrial archaeology. In 1964 the N.C.B. made drawings of an old whim-gin at Waterhouses colliery, and in the following year it was removed to Beamish museum for preservation.

The layout of the villages at various stages of their development is best revealed by the Ordnance Survey maps. The 25" scale, in particular, allows a detailed examination of the streets, the number of houses per street, the other buildings of the village, and the colliery and cokeyard. Old photographs supplement this evidence of the structural remains, either with wide angle shots of the villages and collieries or in the more detailed views of streets and houses.

Photographs are an important visual record of times past. In the early days of photography there were those who either took photographs simply out of interest, or who set themselves up in the villages as commercial photographers. Today examples of their work can be found in many households, and some attempt has been made to acquire them for archives. The County Record Office in Durham has a particularly useful collection on the villages of the Deerness valley, while a small number has been given to Beamish museum.

The County Record Offices 'Mining Record Project' has also acquired a number of examples of ephemera like poems, pay-slips etc., which add a little more flesh to the bare bones of what life was like in the pit villages.

Another source which played an important part in reconstructing the life and times of the three villages under the Peases was oral testimony. In many cases it proved to be the only source of information on a wide range of subjects, but wherever possible confirmation was sought, either through further interviews or other sources.

From what has survived an attempt has been made to provide a view of life and work at Waterhouses, Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor - three villages out of a long list of mining settlements in County Durham, but linked together by the Quaker firm of Pease and Partners Ltd.

ABBREVIATIONS

In the text and references a number of abbreviations have been used -

C.R.O.	-	County Record Office
D.A.	-	Durham Advertiser
D.C.	-	Durham Chronicle
D.C.O.A.	-	Durham Coal Owners Association
D.M.A.	-	Durham Miners Association
I.L.P.	-	Independent Labour Party
L.R.C.	-	Labour Representation Committee
M.F.G.B.	-	Miners Federation of Great Britain
M.P.R.F.	-	Miners Permanent Relief Fund (Northumberland and Durham)
N.C.B.		National Coal Board
N.U.M.	-	National Union of Mineworkers
P.M.	-	Primitive Methodist
P.P.	-	Parliamentary Paper
P.R.O.	-	Public Records Office
R.D.C.	-	Rural District Council
T.W.E.	-	Times Weekly Edition
U.D.C.	-	Urban District Council
W.M.	-	Wesleyan Methodist
W.M.C.	-	Working Men's Club

CHAPTER 1. THE PEASES AND THE DEERNESS VALLEY

Before the 19th century County Durham was essentially a rural area, with industry and manufacture dotted along the main rivers and by the coast. The Tyne had seen the shipping of coal from Newcastle since the Middle Ages, and the Wear at Sunderland was developing as a major ship building area by the 18th c. Linen and worsted were made at Darlington, glass at Sunderland, South Shields and Gateshead, while iron was worked in a number of scattered centres from Shotley Bridge to Blackhall¹.

It was iron, including the vast resources of the Cleveland Hills, along with the coal deposits of the Great Northern Coalfield, which formed the lifeblood of the Industrial Revolution of the 19th c. In County Durham from 1836, Matthias Dunn noted that 'the successive exploration of new coalfields has proceeded with the greatest vigour' to feed an ever increasing demand². The developing rail network connected the mining settlements, allowing transportation of produce to towns, industrial works, harbours and staithes, for internal use or for export. As a result of the expansion of industrial employment, the population of Durham increased noticeably from 149,384 in 1801 to 390,997 by 1851³, a rise of 161.74% compared with 100.85% for Britain as a whole, with an increasing proportion of the male population working for the new firms and partnerships which made their fortunes by exploiting the rich mineral resources of the county. Amongst the new industrial enterprises which grew up in Durham and Cleveland at this time was the partnership of Straker and the New Connexion Methodist, Joseph Love; Henry William Ferdinand Bolckow, a capitalist from North Germany and John Vaughan, the son of an ironworker; and, in particular, Joseph Pease, a Quaker from Darlington, who was to exploit the coal seams of the Deerness valley.

A. The Pease family and their business interests

The Quaker Pease family, (Fig.1) based in Darlington, had extended and diversified their operations since the 18th c., when the woollen industry had been the foundation of their early wealth. Edward Pease (1767-1858), with his son Joseph (1799-1872), (Plate 1) had established the family's place in the history of the Industrial Revolution with the financing of the Stockton and Darlington railway for the conveyance of coal and ironstone. Joseph, the first Quaker Liberal M.P., had expanded their involvement in coal, lime and ironstone extraction, shipping it from the docks at Middlesborough⁴. One journalist said of Joseph Pease 'the imagination staggers under the attempt to realise the colossal enterprises which either originated with or were sustained and were developed by this man's brain'⁵. At the time of Joseph Pease's death in 1872 nearly 10,000 men worked in the firm's pits and quarries.

Joseph formed 'Joseph Pease and Partners', and his son Joseph Whitwell Pease (1828-1903) (Plate 2) led the firm of 'J.W.Pease and Partners'; the former concentrating on coal, the latter on the ironstone side of the business. However, in 1898 'Pease and Partners' became a limited liability company, though in essence it remained a family concern.

The interests of the various members of the family, through the generations, had become wide and complex, though their operations concentrated on coal mining. Their wage bill for 1917 shows the eventual range of activities:-

<u>OPERATION</u> ⁶	<u>WAGE BILL</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
Coal Mining	£ 886,000	58.1
Ironworks	£ 235,000	15.4
Ironstone mines	£ 211,000	14.0
Cokeworks	£ 107,000	7.0
Chemical works	£ 35,000	2.2
Limestone quarries	£ 30,000	2.0
Waggon building and repair	£ 20,000	1.3
TOTAL	<u>£1,524,000</u>	<u>100.0</u>

JOSEPH

JANE JOSEPH-WHITWELL EMMA RACHEL ELIZABETH EDWARD JOHN ARTHUR GURNEY ALFRED CHARLES FRANCIS

EMMA ALFRED-EDWARD SARAH JOSEPH-ALBERT MAUD HELEN LUCY AGNES ARTHUR-FRANCIS HERBERT ALICE ROSA WINIFRED CLAUDE EVELYN

EDWARD CHRIS LAVENDAR

MIRIAM JOSEPH FAITH

RICHARD-ARTHUR MARY DOROTHY ELIZABETH

FIG.1 PEASE FAMILY TREE (SIMPLIFIED)

SOURCE - DARLINGTON LIBRARY :
SEYMOUR-BENSON, R. 1920.

By the early 20th c., the Peases operated the great Peases West complex of pits and cokeworks in the Crook-Roddymoor area, and their three pits in the Deerness valley. The firm also had a director on the board of T. & R.W. Bower Ltd., which owned the Allerton Main collieries, and they also operated a pit at Thorne, near Doncaster. Around 1920 Pease and Partners spent £771,233 on sinking at Thorne down 2,820 ft. to work the Barnsley and Dunhill seams: at the time this was the deepest shaft in the country, requiring the freezing of the water bearing strata. When completed the intended output was to be 1,200,000 tons per annum. W.F. Pease and Arthur Pease (Plate 3a) also held shares in the Dorman Long dominated Horden Collieries Ltd., which covered Castle Eden, Shotton and Hutton Henry pits in County Durham⁷. By 1939, when Williams examined the subject of coal combines, he found that the Pease and Partners group owned 8 collieries employing 4,841 men, producing annually 1,650,000 tons of coal. They also controlled the coal firm of Henry Stobart and Co. Ltd., the North Bitchburn Fireclay Co. Ltd., with J.A. Pease acting as trustee for £287,302 debenture stock in the Weardale Steel, Coal and Coke Co.Ltd.⁸

The Peases were not simply coal owners. Much of their high 'rank' West Durham coal was converted into coke in the Deerness valley yards and at the great cokeoven and bye-product works at Bankfoot. Joseph Albert Pease (1860-1943) (Plate 3c) was chairman of the National Association of Coke and Bye-product Plant Owners. From their own bye-product works tar, sulphate of ammonia and benzole were extracted. The firm owned 52,000 shares in the National Benzole Co. Ltd., and as chief shareholders had a director on the board, while they also had a controlling interest in the Power Gas Corporation Ltd.⁹

Outside their coal and coke interests, iron manufacture was of great importance. By 1875 J.W. Pease and Partners were the largest

workers of ironstone royalties in Cleveland; and with the supplies of limestone from their quarries fed the ironworks and foundries of Middlesborough. Sir David Dale (Plate 3d) who became manager of the Pease's collieries and ironstone mines in 1872, and chairman of Pease and Partners after 1903, was also a director of the Barrow Haematite Steel Co., and Consett Iron Co.¹⁰

Without the railways, however, the development of their industrial interests would almost certainly have been less rapid, and it was Edward and Joseph's involvement with Stephenson and engine building that led to the development of railway systems, and the creation of the North Eastern Railway Company. Peases sat on the board of that company along with the early directors, Leeman and Pulleine, and continued to sit after the amalgamation which resulted in the formation of the London and North Eastern Railway¹¹. Joseph Whitwell Pease, who became a director of N.E. R. in 1863, was the only Pease forced to resign from the Board due to a banking collapse. For by their family and marriage connections, the Peases also became connected with the banking world. Linked with the bankers Overend and Gurney¹², the Peases established their own finance house of Messrs. J. and J.W. Pease. Due to an inter family dispute this company later fell into difficulties and ultimately collapsed in 1902, affecting several enterprises, particularly the N.E.R. Co., who held accounts with the bank. The initial N.E.R. loss, due to the collapse, was £230,000 and there were suggestions that the banking house should be declared bankrupt, though this was never pressed. However, J.W. Pease was forced to sell his 2,700 acre Hutton estate in Cleveland, whilst Quaker colleagues assisted in reducing the debt to under £125,000¹³ and Barclays took over the Pease bank. J.W. Pease paid a higher price, dying of heart failure less than a year later¹⁴. By the 1920's, however, there were again Pease directors on the board of Barclays and Lloyds, and the family had links with the Pearl Assurance Co.Ltd., and the Prudential.

As entrepreneurs the Peases believed in free enterprise in their operations, and took risks in the hope of a successful outcome - as their support of steam powered transport of minerals in the 1820's, the purchase of swampy south Durham farmland for conversion to Middlesborough docks in the 1830's, and the deep shaft at Thorne in the 1920's indicates. When giving evidence to the Sankey Commission, Arthur Francis Pease (Plate 3b) said that the only efficient way a business could be run was by having a directing mind with a complete and general knowledge of the concern¹⁵ - old Joseph Pease in his counting house being a prime example of just such a businessman. But once a business got too big that one mind could not grasp all the intricacies, then he believed efficient control could be lost. What attracted private investors to firms like the Peases, with their involvement in mining was, in Joseph Albert Pease's opinion, the speculative nature of the industry. He recalled occasions when they had paid no dividend at all, and at other times they paid out 15%.

Politically, the leading businessmen of the Pease family were Liberals, representing at various times, South Durham, Tyneside, Whitby, Saffron Walden and Rotherham: Joseph Pease being the first Quaker M.P. In the Commons Joseph was described as conscientious and acting from principle, though it was said that he was not the most shining of members¹⁶. His descendants, however, rose to high office and received many honours. J.W. Pease, a staunch Gladstonian, received a knighthood, and Joseph Albert became the first Baron Gainford. The Baron was chief whip of the Liberal party, serving at the Treasury, and as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Postmaster General. Arthur Francis, meanwhile, became second civil Lord of the Admiralty.

The '*Northern Echo*' in 1874 said that their Liberalism was more than just a political profession, it was a personal faith¹⁷. Their

Quaker faith had also significantly influenced their political behaviour. The earlier members of the family were fervent in their opposition to war. Joseph, his brother Henry, and J.W. Pease, were all at various times presidents of the London based Peace Society, and Henry in particular had travelled with a peace mission to Russia in an attempt to stop the hostilities which led to the Crimean War¹⁸. Later members of the family were less willing to support this pacifist belief. Sir Edward Pease, the son of Sir Alfred Edward Pease, served in the Great War and was severely wounded, and Arthur Peter Pease (1918-1940) was killed in the Second World War.

Earlier Peases opposed the traffic in opium to China and the subsequent Opium War of 1839-42; they opposed slavery, and favoured the abolition of hanging, while their Quaker beliefs also extended into industry and business with their paternalistic concern for their workers. 'Many of them recognise and habitually act upon the principle that they are but stewards of the wealth and influence which they possess, and they administer their trust with stern conscientiousness and scrupulous exactitude'¹⁹. They were concerned with the moral and spiritual well-being of their employees, providing, by the standards of the time, high quality housing with large gardens which their workmen could tend to supplement their diet. The firm also provided land for chapels at extremely low rents; members of the Pease family laid foundation stones and provided financial aid to both church and chapel - Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, all received assistance in some way from the Quaker Peases. The leading members of the family also gave their open support to the temperance groups in the villages, although one black sheep, Thomas, the youngest son of Edward Pease, had a wine and spirits business, and his own blend of whiskey²⁰: In 1860 Joseph Pease brought J.C. Booth from Huddersfield to lecture on total abstinence at Crook²¹, and the Peases

employed several temperance missionaries to press home their case on the evils of drink. Education was another field which the Peases supported. J.W. Pease compared the need for the spread of educational facilities with the parable of the seed cast amongst stoney and fertile ground²². Joseph Pease set up reading rooms and travelling libraries for the pitmen²³, built schools and provided teachers, and when the Government Inspectors found a teacher to be incapable, the firm removed him.

In labour relations, as members of the Durham Coal Owners Association, they were bound to act according to the decisions of that group, and as the trade demanded, but in other ways they sought the improvement of working conditions. In 1893, for instance, the firm sent a deputation, with John Wilson of the Durham Miners Association, to meet Gladstone over the northern miners' objections to the Eight Hour Bill²⁴. The Peases also at an early stage recognised the unions as a legitimate body designed to seek better conditions for workmen, and to acquire reasonable and justifiable rates of pay. To solve industrial disputes they favoured arbitration and the use of the Durham Conciliation Board, a policy which Sir David Dale, in particular, worked hard to foster. But they were still the 'masters', leaders of a capitalistic enterprise. Their management held firm control of both pits and villages, and during several strikes they were willing to employ blacklegs and to dismiss militant workers. Nevertheless they also contributed to the purchase of a union lodge banner²⁵, and even offered their men the possibility of acquiring shares in the Company²⁶.

This Quaker paternalism made the Peases distinctive among the great employers and entrepreneurs of the late nineteenth century, and consequently the collieries and mining communities under their control differed in significant ways from the 'average' in the north-eastern coal-field. The special features of the Deerness valley owed much to the Peases.

B. The Origins of the Deerness Valley Mines

The Pease's mining operations in western Durham had centred around the Crook-Roddymoor area where the West Emma, Lucy and Edward pits had been sunk between 1846 and 1849. These workings concentrated initially on extracting the rich Main coal, and converting it to coke. By 1857 11,000 to 12,000 tons per month was being transported to the Middlesborough docks or to other ports of Britain²⁷. Soon, however, the Peases were looking for additional high quality coking coal, and located a suitable area in the Deerness valley, 3 miles to the north (fig.2). The valley was still comparatively isolated in the early 1850's, with a rural economy based on scattered farms; 'bleak, secluded and unproductive' was how J.W. Pease saw it²⁸. Much of it had been enclosed for agricultural purposes by 1700, the eastern half capable of producing wheat and barley or potatoes, or a good yield of useable grass; the western half limited to two key crops with average yield²⁹. Much of the ground, and all that lay under it, belonged to the Brancepeth, Esh and Flass estates. There had been a long tradition of Catholicism and recusancy in the area, and the Smythes of Esh and Leadbitter - Smiths of Flass Hall retained allegiance to the 'auld faith'³⁰. Lord Boyne, descended from the Hamiltons who had fought for William of Orange in Ireland, was an Anglican, and ran his vast estate from Brancepeth Castle.

Though the valley surface was 'unproductive' in the eyes of an industrialist, below it was a stratigraphical sequence of Westphalian coal measures laid down during the Carboniferous; this coal was of a high quality, some of it being almost 80% pure carbon, perfect for the production of metallurgical coke. Sealing the coal, rock and pre-Glacial valley was a thick deposit of boulder clay, in parts 81 feet thick, containing brecciated conglomerate, calcspar, blue limestone and ironstone laid down by glacial action³¹. After acquiring permission for mineral surveys in a tract of the Brancepeth estate, Peases

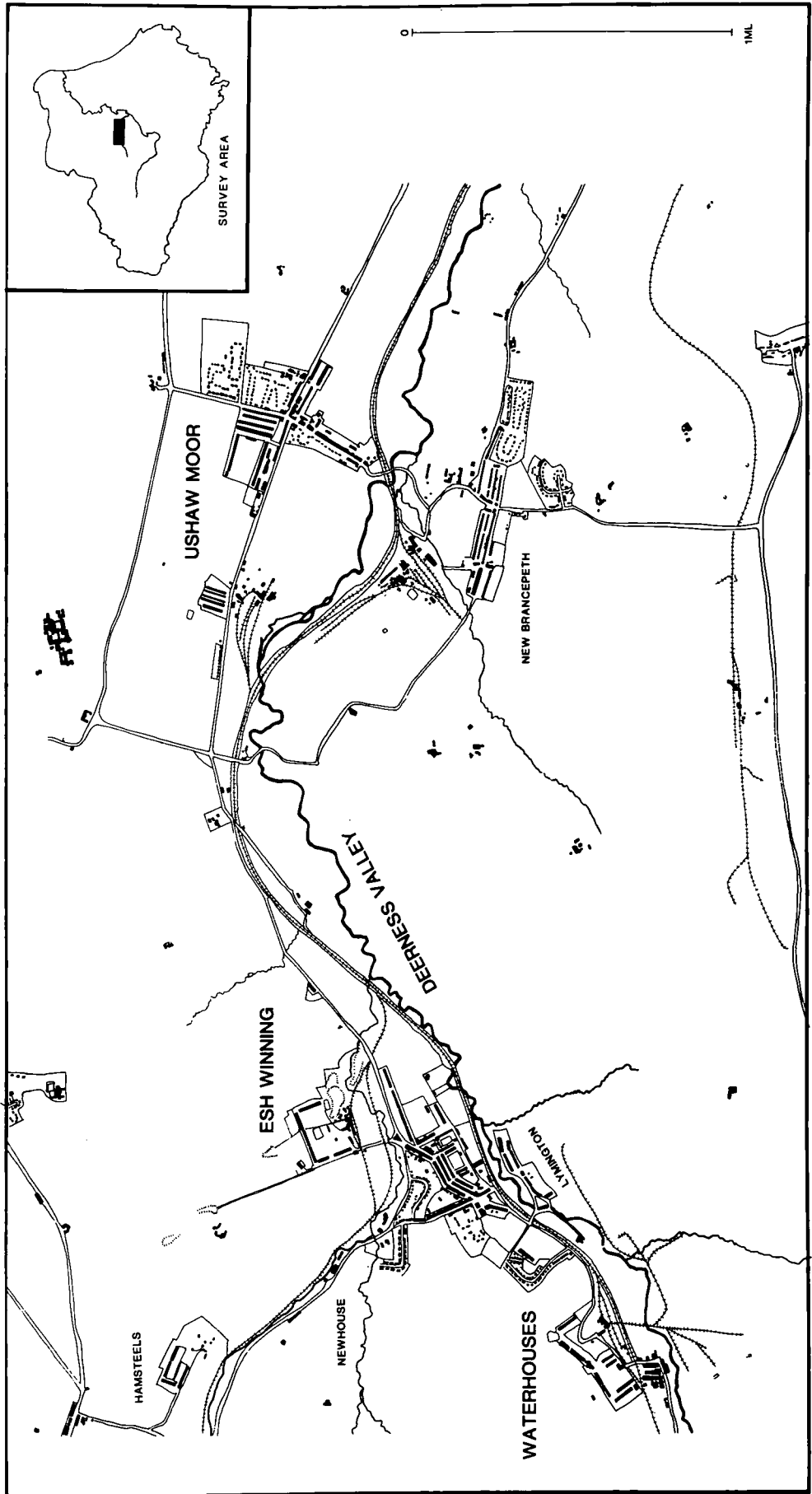


FIG. 2 THE DEERNESS VALLEY

began test drilling near High Waterhouses farm in 1854 and hit the Harvey seam³². Two years later they began sinking their first shaft in the valley, the Mary pit. By 1857 the Main seam was reached, though difficulties, probably with water, delayed the extraction of coal until the beginning of the 1860's.

Once the coal reserves had been located, what was needed was a reliable means of transporting coal out of the valley. Pease, with other officials of the N.E.R.Co., set up the initially independent Deerness Valley Railway Company, and presented a Bill for incorporation to Parliament in 1855, which received the Royal assent on the 30th July³³. The line would run from a connecting point with the Bishop Auckland line at Reilly, near Durham, up the valley to where Hamilton Row stands today. In 1857, however, during the construction work on the line, the N.E.R.Co. took over control of the Deerness Valley line, which was completed in 1858. In July 1855 the valley was further connected to the outside world when the Stockton and Darlington Railway Co. obtained permission to build an incline railway from the Hamilton terminus of the Deerness line southward to Crook³⁴. Once Waterhouses colliery was operational, the Peases began test drilling around Heugh farm near Esh Village in 1857 and it would seem that attempts were made to sink a shaft in 1858 but water halted work and it was not until 1866 that the Main seam was reached³⁵. Meanwhile, further down the valley, Henry Chaytor of Witton Castle was exploring the area around Ushaw. The Chaytor family had acquired Witton Castle in 1816 but sold it in 1839 to Donald Maclean M.P., on whose bankruptcy it was reacquired by Henry Chaytor³⁶. Test drilling was carried out in 1857 and 1867, but the main boring was done in 1870. Forty-nine fathoms of strata were examined, and the Harvey (10"), Busty (3'2") and Brockwell (2'10") seams were located. The favourable results led to the sinking of a shaft. In 1871 the

pit was a small scale affair with a sinker still present lodging in a farmhouse at Broadgate. Chaytor's nephew, Lawrence, acted as colliery agent, and by the early 1880's the pit was employing around 200, drawing coal for conversion to coke, although the men were working in 18" of water³⁷. Unlike the Peases, Chaytor was not a member of the Durham Coal Owners Association; he did not accept unions, and his management team acted as a law unto themselves with regard to their workers, some of whom lived in appalling conditions at the new village of Ushaw Moor. From 1881 to 1883 the village was the scene of a particularly violent and vindictive strike, which led to considerable loss of output of coal, even though a small force of blacklegs was employed. The coke ovens were put out and the cooling resulted in the collapse of two chimneys and serious damage to others³⁸. In 1893 the 81 year old Chaytor sold the pit to the Peases, and many of the 500 men and boys were retained by the firm.

Once the shafts had been sunk at the three sites, batteries of beehive shaped ovens were built close to the heapsteads so that the majority of the newly won coke, initially from the Main seam, could be screened and moved by 'small runners' to the ovens for conversion to coke. There were 229 of these ovens at Waterhouses, 170 at Esh Winning, and 122 at Ushaw Moor in 1874³⁹, but little is known of the actual markets for the valley's coke in the 19th century. It is clear that the product was moved by truck down the Deerness valley line to the main N.E.R. track, perhaps for export, while output from the pits was also taken by the incline railway to Crook/Bankfoot, though this connection was out of use by 1897⁴⁰. Prior to the First World War about half the total output of the Durham coalfield was transported by the North Eastern Railway to the staithes of Tyne Dock, Dunston and Hartlepool for shipment to the continent, primarily to Germany⁴¹.

By the 1920's, however, it is clear that Deerness valley coal was being sent to Dunston for export to Italy⁴².

While the Main coal was being worked by bord and wall, additional seams began to be exploited from the late 1870's by shaft and drift. Five Quarter coal, around 2'2" thick, was being mined in the 1880's, both north and south of the river, and by 1900 the Ballarat seam had been opened up. In 1904 available figures for Waterhouses colliery show that it was producing a total of 530 tons of coal per day, 200 of which came from the Main, 270 from the north and south Five Quarter, and 60 tons from the Ballarat. The Five Quarter was, apparently, at this time of poor quality, and the Ballarat contained band, and there was always the problem of water, either seeping through the roof or working its way down the valley from other workings. During the winter of 1906 1,000 gallons of water a minute was being pumped from the Ballarat.

C. Pease and Partners operations from 1900 to 1947

By the beginning of the 20th century the lifespan of the important Main coal was clearly troubling the manager. At 200 tons a day output from the seam, the Manager predicted Waterhouses Main would not last longer than 1914, and by 1919 Esh Winning output of Main coal was also diminishing⁴³. Additional finds extended its life, though the content of Main being sent away for conversion to coke in 1927 was described as 'farcical'. In order to keep the pits alive a small scale attempt was made at Waterhouses in 1913 to drift from the Five Quarter to the Yard seam, but the high working costs and produce described as 'hardly fit for fire coal'⁴⁴ led to its abandonment. Esh Winning Yard was hit in 1904 and was worked until around the 1920's by which time the colliery was actively exploiting Main, Five Quarter, Hutton, Ballarat and Brockwell coal. The Brockwell was 2'8" thick, a bright

coking coal, with low ash and sulphur⁴⁵, and was the lowest seam exploited in the early decades of the 20th century, though test drilling at Waterhouses revealed a 2'9" seam of Victoria, 56' below the Main, and an even lower seam of 2' Marshall Green. In 1918 the estimated reserves of coal in these two seams was 3,409,300 tons and 3,896,400 tons respectively⁴⁶.

In addition, after the Great War, Pease and Partners also set up a relatively small scale speculative project to work thin veins of baryta, which, in a ground form, was used as a filler in paint and a flux in glass production. In order to work it, a lease was acquired from Lord Boyne in 1919⁴⁷, but it was not really until 1927 that a sondage at Standalone farm revealed a vein in the Oakenshaw Exchange Boundary fault. Samples from the vein showed it to be 96% barium sulphate, 'heavy spar'; and work on extracting it was undertaken by drift near the farm, and by driving the South Ballarat south heading from Waterhouses colliery. In the Ushaw Moor workings the spar was brought up and stored in empty coke ovens, and milled using pit water, but the operation as a whole was short lived. By the early 1900's the coke production side of Pease and Partners Deerness Valley works was also declining. At the end of the 19th century Esh Winning and Waterhouses had high production figures, each producing 100,000 - 120,000 tons annually (Fig. 3), while Ushaw Moor maintained a somewhat erratic yearly output. By 1905 there was a marked drop in output, and this recurred in 1912 when the Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor yards output fell below 50,000 tons in the year. The high quality coke of the past, produced from Main coal, was declining in standard with the input of poorer coal to the ovens. There was more ash and phosphorus in the coke, and there was a greater effort to maintain quality⁴⁸. The ovens too were old fashioned, and the only conversions made to

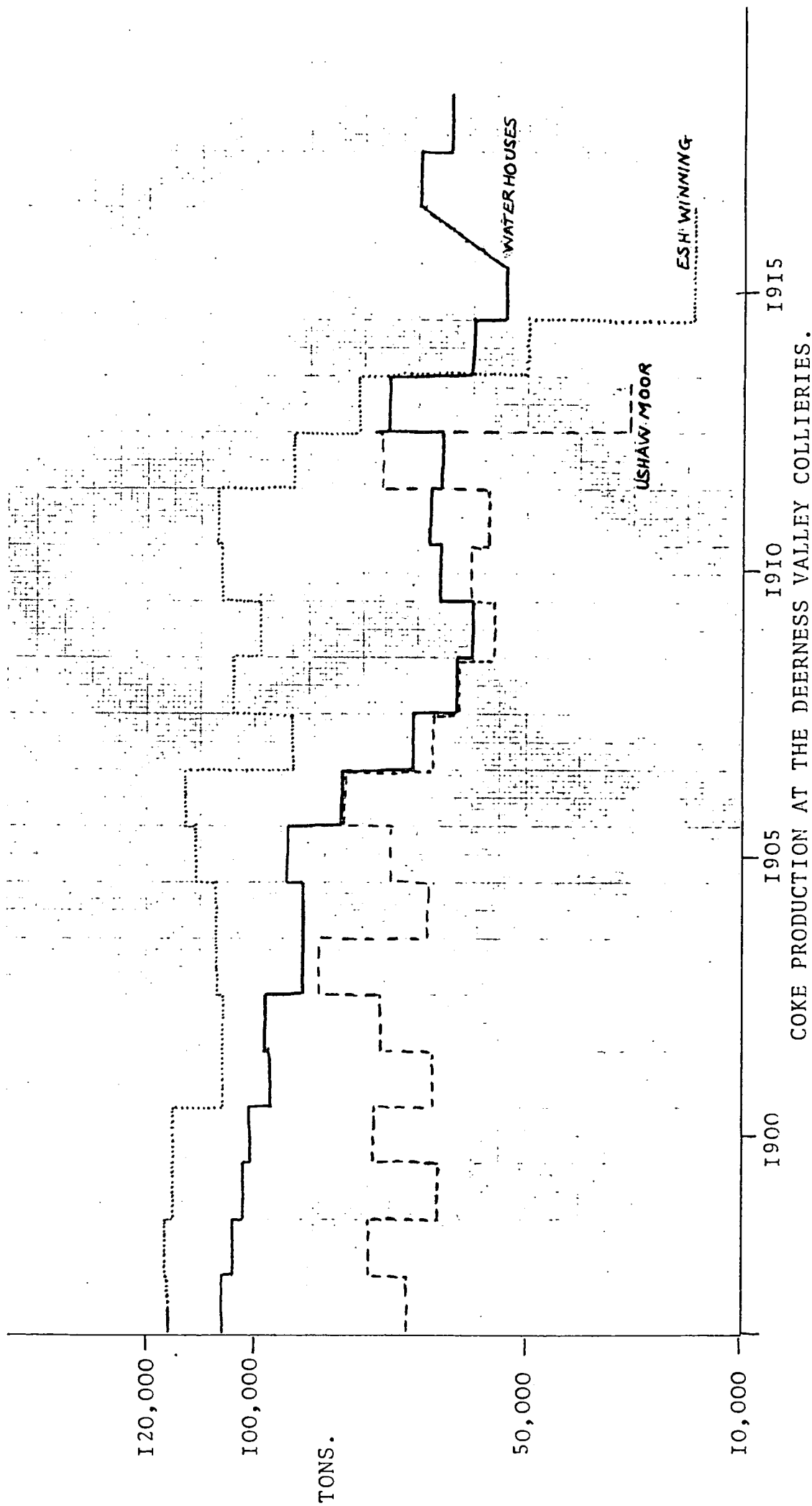


FIG. 3

them had been to use hot waste gas to heat boilers. Experiments had been carried out by the Peases at Crook in the 1860's to utilise the waste ammoniacal liquour, but these had failed, and it was not until the early 1880's that they began the recovery of bye-products by using patent ovens, developing an extensive battery of French and German ovens at the site⁴⁹. The Bankfoot yard ultimately became the largest individual producer of foundry coke in the country⁵⁰. Von Bauer visited the valley yards and 12 of his ovens were built at Ushaw Moor in 1902, reputedly 15% more efficient than beehives, but at the other yards the old ovens were retained.

The state of post-war trade also affected Pease's cokemaking operations, due mainly to depression in the iron and steel industry with the fall-off in orders for shipping, which consequently affected their ironstone mines and limestone quarries. At Waterhouses cokeworks 127 of the 229 ovens were put out in 1915, and at the end of the Great War 81 ovens were still unlit. The lockout of 1921 was, however, the death blow to the valley cokeyards, when the beehives were put out. At Esh Winning an attempt at relighting during the dispute caused considerable damage, and the directors, examining their operations generally, decided that if the market did not justify full relighting, then they would close some of their older yards. The Deerness Valley took most of the brunt, and though some of the Esh ovens were repaired, the workforce was ultimately dismissed, the ovens gutted for scrap, and eventually demolished.

During the early 1920's Pease and Partners began new projects and made a number of purchases of shares or works including the sinking of the Thorne pit to provide new coal supplies as the best Durham seams were considered to be working out. They also acquired 80,000 ordinary shares in William Whitwell & Co. to ensure a regular output of coal and

limestone, and they absorbed the Lackenby blast furnace - pig iron works to fit in with the organisation of their ironworks department. Lackenby belonged to the Tees Furnace Co. which had borrowed money from the North Bitchburn Co., a Pease and Partners subsidiary, which later acquired a controlling interest in their share capital⁵¹. Pease, in acquiring the Lackenby furnaces considered at the time it was simply consolidating its assets at an opportune moment.

By 1924-5, however, the iron trade had reached stagnation, and Lackenby only remained viable due to the sale of tarred slag. William Whitwell & Co.'s works closed down due to the impossibility of selling their haematite iron; the Teesbridge blast furnaces at Stockton were damped down, and Newton Cap pit was closed due to lack of demand⁵².

Even with these problems the firm made an overall profit of £61,491 in 1924, though the continued economic depression led to a loss of £185,127 by March 1926. The strike of 1926 had an even more serious effect, resulting in the worst balance sheet in the Company's history with a deficit of £357,195⁵³. At Waterhouses it took 5 months to work up to 460 tons per day after the strike had been settled, and in October the low selling price of coal led to the firm closing the colliery until 1929. In 1927 Ushaw Moor was closed down for two years, and at Esh Winning 597 men and boys were dispensed with in July 1930. Output at the colliery was maintained at 200 tons per day until November when the remaining 246 workers were finished, and the pit closed until 1942⁵⁴.

During this period some of the men were taken on at valley pits that were still working, but many left the area for good. Although all the pit villages of the valley, along with those in South Wales and elsewhere, suffered the hardship of the Depression, it appears to have been felt particularly severely at Ushaw Moor during the pit closure period, and the Mayor and people of Deptford 'adopted' the village,

sending clothes, boots and meat tickets⁵⁵.

In an attempt to improve the viability of the Deerness collieries the company attempted a greater unification of the three pits in the late 1920's by asking the manager to examine the possibility of connecting the workings underground and concentrating the drawings at Esh Winning, as one large colliery. This would have involved new connecting drifts, extensive underground haulage, and doing away with the heapstead, screen, and crusher at Waterhouses colliery⁵⁶. The scheme came to nothing, for Esh Winning would have been incapable of coping with the increased traffic, and the three pits retained their individual identities.

The temporary closure of the valley pits, along with other works, was the bitter culmination of a battle the company had fought to maintain employment by keeping their works going, on their own terms. In 1930 their directors and salaried staff had taken a voluntary 10% reduction in wages⁵⁷, but even so, unsold produce accumulated at their works, and reduction in output and a consequent slimming down of their workforce continued.

In 1930 an advisory committee of George Balfour M.P., John Fergusson, and Sir Gilbert Garnsey K.B.E., F.C.A., undertook an examination of the firm's financial and commercial position, and at the end of the financial year 31 March 1931-2, when the firm made a loss of £48,216, the industrialist Mr. Frater Taylor was appointed to carry out a reorganisation of the business⁵⁸. A scheme was devised in 1932 which, however, left the company with a complicated capital structure, and this was modified in 1936 with a reorganisation scheme and the issue of £1,250,000 of 5% cumulative preference shares to repay loans, which put the company on a firmer footing⁵⁹.

By the late 1930's there was a general improvement in overall

profit though the temporary pit closures marked a decline in the fortunes of mining in the Deerness valley from which, in the end, it never totally recovered. Ada Temple, visiting the area around 1940, wrote 'A decline in employment is ... noticeable in the upper Deerness valley, west of Durham. Esh Winning, Hamsteels and Quebec are practically abandoned by industry, and Cornsay and Waterhouses are but shadows of their former selves'⁶⁰.

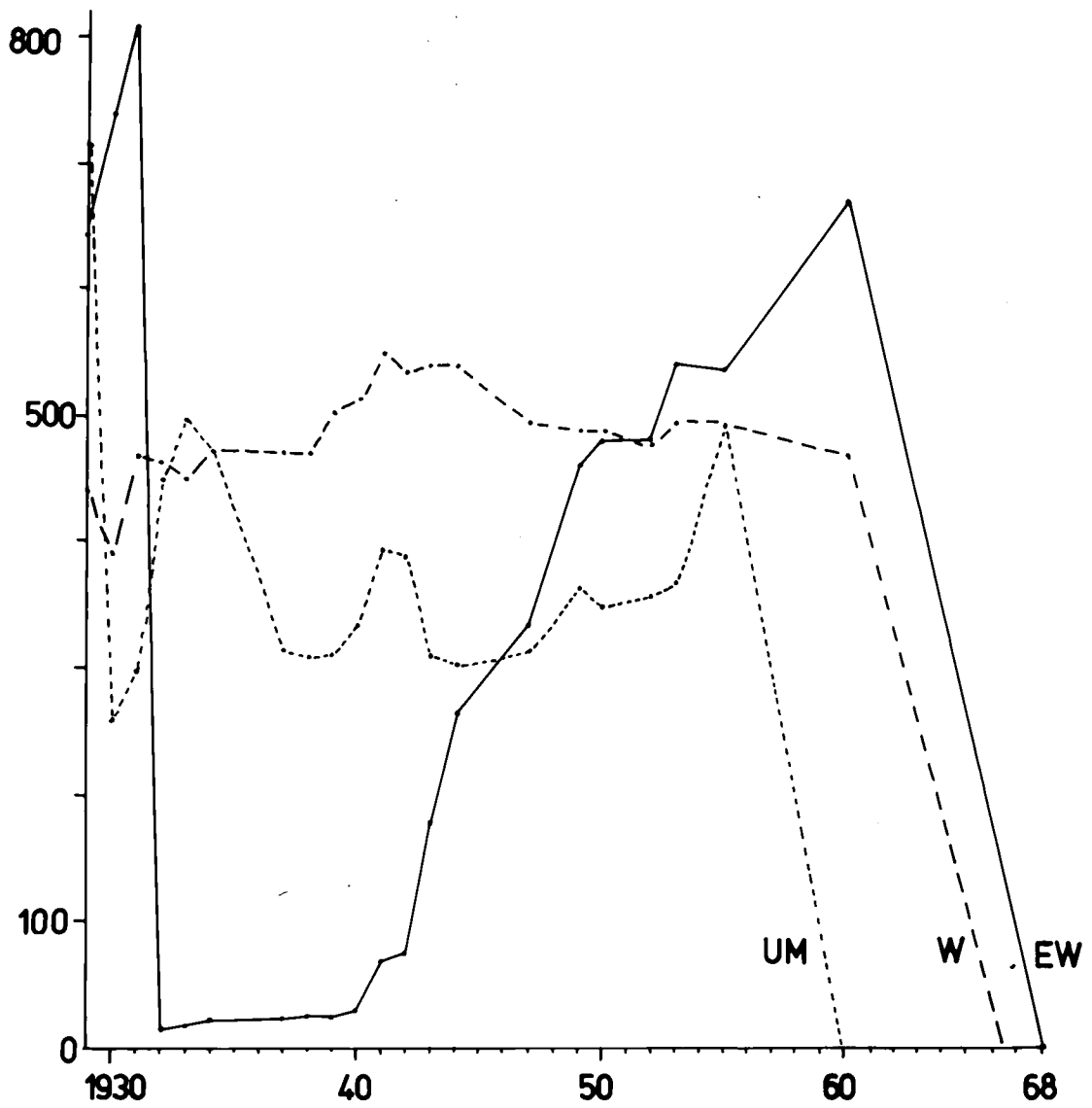
The outbreak of war and the demand for armaments saw an increase in the output of coal from the low of 2,307,167 tons in 1932-3 to 3,127,932 tons in 1939-40, with a similar increase in Pease and Partners' other operations. All their works were active, including the valley pits, and the company continued to make a profit overall of between £4½ million and £5 million, though by the end of the Second World War the proposals for nationalisation took most of the market interest from the rising trend of colliery profits⁶¹.

D. Nationalisation and after

The Coal Industry Nationalisation Act of 1946 resulted in the takeover of the Pease's coal business, including the Deerness valley works; and the later Iron and Steel Nationalisation took away their involvement in the Lingdale ironstone mines, the pig-iron works at Normanby, and affected their investment in Skinningrove. At the Deerness valley pits the on-site management was retained after the take-over, and there was an increase in funding and supplies of equipment. Machinery, including coal-cutters, were brought into work with the 'pickmen', hewing with 'windy picks', though the low areas and water affected the efficiency of the machines and rotted the conveyor belts⁶².

At Ushaw Moor a high peak in colliery employment was reached in 1955 with 491 workers, and at Esh Winning there was an almost continuous

Fig. 4 Workforce at the Pease collieries
[Source - Colliery Yearbook]



yearly increase up to 671 men by 1960 (Fig.4). At Waterhouses a work force of around 470 to 500 men was maintained throughout the 1950's, but even with this number it is clear that the colliery was on the decline, and in 1951 Durham County Council expected a considerable fall in population and placed the village in a D-category⁶³.

Throughout western Europe the use of coal as a fuel was on the decline by the 1950's, due to a greater dependence on oil from the Middle East, Nigeria and Venezuela. The higher energy yield from oil compared with that of coal, and the transportation developments in pipelaying and increased tanker size had a considerable effect on the competitiveness of coal. U.K. refining capacity had increased from 3,500,000 tons in 1938 to 20,000,000 tons in 1951, and the evidence given to Viscount Ridley's committee on Fuel and Power Resources in the latter year suggested that, although coal would remain the dominant U.K. fuel, oil demand would double in the following ten years⁶⁴. World crude production increased, and by 1958/9 there was a glut of cheap oil on the market, which affected the coal trade, already under increasing threat from other alternative fuels, natural gas and nuclear power.

The N.C.B. consequently planned reorganisation and streamlining to improve efficiency and competitiveness, and proposed expenditure on new mechanised pits, while phasing out 'marginal' collieries with low production and high costs in the period 1966 to 1970⁶⁵.

Plans for increased output for the 1960's in the northern coal-field fell well below the 'plans for coal', and the N.C.B. considered that the most urgent need was for a redeployment of miners to the long life collieries. As a result the smaller collieries, particularly in the western half of Durham, many of which were around 100 years old, came under increasing threat of closure⁶⁶. Alf Hesler, general sec-

retary of the Durham N.U.M., in 1967, spelt out what this meant:-

'The price we in Durham must pay is the sacrifice of our traditional mode of life; dwelling in houses clustered around the pit and walking the back lane to the colliery yard. Men must be prepared to go where the work is, to live in one place and travel to another, or to move house and reside in a district where one of the long life collieries is situated. The alternative is to leave the industry and find other employment'⁶⁷.

As a result of this programme House and Knight recorded a 32.8% decline in the British coal mining labour force between 1958 and 1965, with the number in the Northumberland and Durham coalfield falling by 35.3%⁶⁸. During this phase, in 1960 the N.C.B. axed 46 collieries throughout the British coalfields, redeploying many of the 17,666 unemployed to other collieries⁶⁹. Among the 1960 list of closures was Ushaw Moor. The uncertainty at other pits, and the government's support for a major closure programme in 1966 to 1967 led to 'removals'⁷⁰. In 1963 there was a mass exodus of miners from Waterhouses to the Midlands and Wales, and by March 1964 drawing at the pit had been reduced to one shift, with only 146 men left⁷¹. The pits were now working increasingly lower seams, down to the Victoria, a highly important seam, with low ash and the lowest volatile content of the Durham coals, perfect for coking and as a mix with poorer coals⁷². It was around 1'6" to 2' thick, but the working of the seam was made difficult by the condition of the roof, and the problems of water meant that men had to work in full waterproof clothing.

Due to these problems and the declining output, the Deerness valley mineral railway was closed in 1964, and coal was taken by road from the pits to the modern washery at Pit House colliery, opened in 1961⁷³. Even with this output it is clear that the pits were near death, and

when the N.C.B. manpower profile for April 1966 to March 1967 suggested coal reserves at Waterhouses were only sufficient to last until March 1967, the end came for the pit in August 1966 when the last shift was worked⁷⁴. At Esh Winning there were similar problems. In 1964, 49 workmen, including 17 mechanics, were made redundant and transferred to other No.4 area pits⁷⁵, and by the beginning of 1968 the workforce was down to 230, hand hewing and producing 1,400 tons per week. The mine was making a heavy loss and was closed in June 1968⁷⁶.

For roughly 111 years the coal seams of the valley around Waterhouses, Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor were exploited, 90 of those years by the Peases. Though other sections of the valley were worked by a number of firms, Samuelson at East Hedley Hope; the Weardale Steel, Coal and Coke Co. at Hedley Hill; John Kellett at Hamilton Row; and Cochrane at New Brancepeth (Sleetburn), the three colliery villages in the central area of the Deerness valley were in many ways different from the others, each bearing certain aspects of the Pease hallmark. Their influence was not only to be found in the settlement pattern and the workplace, but was to be seen even in everyday life, from education to horticulture, from religion to sport.

CHAPTER 2. LIFE IN THE PIT VILLAGES

When Pease began the process of sinking the shaft of the Mary pit at Waterhouses, and locating the coal, it became necessary to build up a team of miners and other workers to operate the pit. It is unclear whether all the first team of workers came from another Pease establishment, but as the mine developed and a larger workforce was required, an increased number moved to Waterhouses whose birthplaces were scattered over the length and breadth of the British Isles. As the new winning at Esh, and Chaytors pit at Ushaw Moor got underway, so the same pattern was repeated.

In 1851 there were only three people living at High Waterhouse farm, but after the sinking of the pit a workforce of miners and cokeworkers were gathered together on an initially small scale. At the time of the census in 1861 they totalled 172 people (including those at the farm), increasing to 776 in 1871 and 1,053 at the time of the last available census in 1881. At Esh, after the main sinking, by 1871 there were 262 people at the settlement, 195 at the colliery, and 67 in the houses around the Stags Head Inn. By 1881, as the two focal points of the settlement became connected with new housing, the population increased to 1,549. Chaytor's pit at Ushaw Moor was at an early stage of development in 1871 with only 31 people, though it increased to 708 by 1881. These figures are, however, statistics for residents of the village on one night, and simply show a rising population from 1861 to 1881 without revealing the intermediate figures which may be higher or lower than those given in the decennial returns. After 1881, the lack of accessible census papers makes it impossible to follow the population size and structure with any degree of reliability, but for the crucial growth period of the colliery villages it is possible to analyse the demographic structure of these immigrant communities in some detail.

A. The Immigrant Population, 1861 - 1881

Of those who came in the early decades of the collieries' existence, those from the northern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland formed an overwhelming majority of the population, their number never falling below 70%, and at Waterhouses and Esh Winning, in particular, it was over 80% (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 BIRTHPLACE OF THE POPULATION

REGION	1861		WATERHOUSES		ESH WINNING		USHAW MOOR						
	1861	1871	1871	1881	1871	1881	1871	1881					
NORTHERN	150	87.2	685	88.3	90.7	151	77.4	1209	78.0	29	93.5	567	80.1
NORTH WESTERN	6	3.5	13	1.7	0.7	1	0.5	31	2.0	2	6.5	22	3.1
NORTH MIDLANDS	-	-	2	0.3	0.6	2	1.0	30	1.9	-	-	5	0.7
MIDLANDS	2	1.2	2	0.3	0.9	1	0.5	38	2.4	-	-	8	1.1
EASTERN	-	-	16	2.1	3.1	5	2.5	67	4.3	-	-	3	0.4
LONDON & S.E.	-	-	-	-	0.6	-	-	14	0.9	-	-	-	-
SOUTHERN	-	-	-	-	0.2	1	0.5	13	0.8	-	-	-	-
SOUTH WESTERN	-	-	16	2.1	1.3	-	-	36	2.3	-	-	14	1.9
SCOTLAND	3	1.7	10	1.3	0.5	1	0.5	12	0.8	-	-	-	-
WALES	1	0.6	-	-	0.4	1	0.5	7	0.4	-	-	6	0.8
IRELAND	10	5.8	32	4.1	2.1	30	15.4	77	5.0	-	-	54	7.6
OVERSEAS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
UNKNOWN	-	-	-	-	0.9	2	1.0	11	0.7	-	-	6	0.8
TOTAL	172	100.0	776	100.0	1053	195	100.0	1549	100.0	311	100.0	708	100.0

Of all the northern counties, Durham provided the largest proportion, never less than 60%, but of this number a significant proportion were children of 14 years or less. At Ushaw Moor and Esh Winning their number had risen steadily, but at Waterhouses there had been a gradual decline between 1861 and 1881 from 52% to 47.4%.

Fig. 6 BIRTHPLACE OF THE CHILDREN

REGION	1861	WATERHOUSES		ESH WINNING		USHAW MOOR								
		1871	1881	1871	1881	1871	1881							
NORTHERN	66	95.6	302	96.8	382	99.5	73	90.1	608	99.4	12	92.3	312	97.8
NORTH WESTERN	2	3.0	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	10	1.5	1	7.7	2	0.6
NORTH MIDLANDS	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.5	6	0.9	-	-	-	-
MIDLANDS	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1.3	-	-	-	-
EASTERN	-	-	1	0.3	2	0.5	1	1.2	14	2.1	-	-	-	-
LONDON & S.E.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0.7	-	-	-	-
SOUTHERN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.6	-	-	-	-
SOUTH WESTERN	-	-	6	1.9	-	-	-	-	7	1.0	-	-	1	0.3
SCOTLAND	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	1	0.1	-	-	-	-
WALES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1	-	-	3	0.9
IRELAND	-	-	3	0.9	-	-	3	3.7	11	1.6	-	-	-	-
OVERSEAS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.3	-	-	-	-
UNKNOWN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.3	-	-	1	0.3
TOTAL	69	100	312	100	384	100	81	100	678	100	13	100	319	100

As the villages developed and families settled down, so the number of children born in the new villages increased. At Waterhouses the proportion had risen from 16.4% in 1861 to 44.8% in 1881, and there is a gradual increase at Esh Winning. None of the children at Ushaw Moor were actually listed as being born in the village though 54, 19.3% of all County Durham children in the village, were stated to have been born at Esh, the centre of the parish.

Many of the other migrants came from coalfield areas, particularly Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Wales. The Welsh, numbering 18 between 1861 and '81 in the villages, were mainly to be found in Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor. Another established mining area, Cornwall, though concentrating on tin, copper and china clay, rather than coal, is represented by small numbers of people in the valley, including some miners from the main tin centre in the Camborne - Redruth district. They travelled north as a depression developed in the Cornish tin industry from the 1870's, and many were impoverished, travelling in open railway trucks². Several settled in the Deerness valley while others founded 'Little Cornwall' at Murton colliery.

Outside the mining areas, several residents of the villages listed birthplaces in rural counties like Norfolk, Somerset and Cambridgeshire. The decline in the size of farm labour forces, with increased mechanisation, the agricultural depression of the late 1870's, and the comparison of agricultural wages and those available in industry and mining, led farm labourers and their families northward, along with a number of Irish.

The Irish, decimated by starvation and typhoid from 1846 to 1851 left their homeland for America, Canada and England. Probably around 300,000 landed in mainland Britain and sought work as labourers and navvies in the factory towns and on the expanding railway network. By the 1850's there were small numbers scattered around many Durham mining villages, and as the coalowners expanded their operations into the Deerness valley, so small

numbers came to the new pits. There were Irish labourers at Waterhouses pit around the time of its sinking in 1857, and they formed 5.8% of the village population by 1861, a high peak, from which the number of Irish born fell to only 2.1% in 1881.

It is not known how many of the Irish incomers were Protestant or Catholic, but a higher number came to collieries at Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor which were on an old established Catholic estate. By 1871 there were 44 Irish at Esh Winning, 16.8% of the total, falling to 5% ten years later. The number of Irish was such, however, that Esh Winning colliery housing north of the Priest Beck acquired the title of 'Little Ireland'. At Ushaw colliery there were no Irish at first, but by 1881, 55 had come to the settlement, forming 7.8% of the population.

Many of the Irish did not say precisely where they were born, but of those who did, a wide scatter over the length and breadth of Ireland is clear, from Sligo, Roscommon and Mayo in the west, Kildare and Meath in the east, Tipperary in the south, and Fermanagh, Down and Antrim in Ulster.

The employed Irish worked mainly as labourers or in the heavy work of drawing cinder. Though several had acquired houses, many lived as boarders or lodgers. In the 1871 village of Waterhouses, of the 32 Irish, 18 were boarders, many of whom were in their twenties and unattached. Of the 18 boarders, 12 were actually living in the houses of other Irishmen, in some cases packed so tightly that in one instance in East Row 15 people were living under the same roof.

In the 19th c. it is unclear how involved they were in union activity, or what relations were like with other groups, though it is clear that in church matters, particularly marriage, Catholic and Protestant did not mix, and Catholic children went to their own schools, where education was heavily laced with Catholic doctrine. The Irish apparently took some interest in the condition of their homeland, giving money to a relief fund when the

potato crop failed in Ireland in 1898, attending a meeting given by a Sinn Fein speaker at Ushaw Moor in 1921; while St. Patrick's Day was celebrated by the wearing of the shamrock³. The priests were held in great respect, and Father Forlin of Newhouse established a separate club in 1898 for the Catholic workmen.

Many of the inhabitants of the villages had, before they came to the valley, travelled around in search of work, a factor most clearly revealed in the census, by the birthplaces of a couple's children. In many instances such movements from one place to another were frequent occurrences. If we take just one example, Christopher Hammond, who was born in Yorkshire in 1839, is a prime example of the wanderer. He married a younger woman and then crossed the Tees into Durham. In 1864, at the age of 25, he and his wife were living in Shildon, but a year later they moved to the colliery village of Bowden Close, near Crook. They remained there about two years before taking up residence in West Auckland. Again this was a short stay of about two years before their move to Helmington Row, where they were living in 1869. It is not clear how long they remained there, but by 1874 they were back at Bowden Close. Their stay lasted about three years before they moved to Cornsay colliery, where it is clear they were living in 1879. Two years later they were at Waterhouses living at 21 North Terrace, with Hammond taking up employment as a colliery joiner.

B. Subsequent Migrations

Relying heavily on couples with children to trace migration, it is clear that the movement was frequently carried out step by step, and no doubt some of those who were listed as resident in the villages were only at another stopping-off point on a journey which might eventually end in a long term resting place. In relative terms the majority of the movements had been over short distances, and the census returns reveal only a few long-range movers, such as Robert Simpson. He was born in Northumber-

land in 1827, and moved to America sometime between 1859 and 1864. He worked there for at least seven years, and then, for what are now unknown reasons, he returned to County Durham, the birthplace of his wife, and made his way to Esh Winning to work as a miner⁴.

While Robert Simpson had made a long journey to Esh Winning, at times residents of the villages were prepared to make long outward journeys. In the 1879 county coal strike, for instance, Thomas Mason and Thomas Hindley, members of the Russell St. chapel, left for Brisbane in Australia⁵, while others had travelled to the port of Liverpool to take ship for Illinois and the coalfields of Pennsylvania⁶. Throughout the Durham district the decline in the numbers of men and boys working in the pits became noticeably apparent in 1879. In 1876 there had been 68,223 miners in the county, but the strike produced a trough in the graph of employment figures, when the numbers dropped to 56,728⁷. Once the strike was settled the numbers gradually recovered, and by 1883 conditions were almost back to the high peak of 1876. The strikers from the valley who emigrated formed a part of the 104,275 Britons who emigrated in 1879⁸.

Though there were no doubt many personal reasons for people moving, economic factors such as strikes, the effects of unemployment, and the desire for a 'living wage' were particularly important influencing factors. Such movements occurred at various times throughout the 19th c. and particularly in the 1920's and 1930's when the collieries were temporarily closed⁹. The rundown and closure in the late 1950's and 1960's also caused movement away¹⁰, but there were also instances of miners who had gone in search of work to the Midlands and Wales, returning to their old homes in the valley. Since the closure of the mines, the original colliery housing in all three villages was demolished, and the occupants resettled in new housing in Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor. Residents in surrounding category D villages were also moved to these new centres. In addition, the close proximity of Esh

Winning and Ushaw Moor to centres like Durham, and industrial sites at Meadowfield and elsewhere, also attracted people from outside the valley to live there and to commute to work. As a result the population of these villages today is estimated at 2,500 at Esh Winning, and 4,000 at Ushaw Moor (with the eastward expansion of the Broompark estate). Waterhouses, at the more isolated western end of the valley, has been allowed to decline, and today its residents probably number about 150.

C. Age and Sex Ratios in the New Communities, 1861-1881

Once the workers and their families arrived at the colliery villages of the Deerness valley the structure of the population can be examined from the census enumerators returns. The figures for the three villages from 1861 to 1881 are tabulated in Fig. 7 and converted into histogram form to produce population pyramids (Fig.8). In every village throughout the three decades there were more males than females, a factor noted in other Durham colliery villages, like Crook or Monkwearmouth¹¹.

Children, those under 15 years of age, formed almost half the total population of the villages; between 39.1% and 40.1% at Waterhouses, 41.5% - 43.8% at Esh Winning and 41.9% - 45.1% at Ushaw Moor. At Waterhouses in 1861, Ushaw Moor in 1871 and Esh Winning in 1881 there were slightly more girls than boys. Of those children under 5, Waterhouses had had an equal number of boys and girls in 1861, and though females had become more numerous by 1871, males had succeeded to the highest number by 1881. The details for the latter two decades are the reverse for Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor where girls eventually achieved a higher total than boys by 1881.

Between 5 and 15, however, the number of boys increased over that of girls, apart from Ushaw Moor in 1871, though the number of boys and girls at Chaytors pit is extremely small.

The high number of adult males present in the villages demonstrates the main requirement of the collieries for strong, relatively young men to

Fig. 7 AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

WATERHOUSES

1861	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	14	14	28	16.28
5 - 9	13	8	21	12.21
10 - 14	9	11	20	11.63
15 - 19	10	8	18	10.46
20 - 24	8	3	11	6.40
25 - 29	15	6	21	12.21
30 - 34	7	5	12	6.97
35 - 39	9	7	16	9.30
40 - 44	7	4	11	6.40
45 - 49	0	0	0	-
50 - 54	4	3	7	4.07
55 - 59	2	1	3	1.74
60 - 64	3	1	4	2.32
	101	71	172	100 %

1871	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	53	64	117	15.07
5 - 9	53	52	105	13.53
10 - 14	55	34	89	11.47
15 - 19	54	31	85	10.95
20 - 24	61	32	93	11.98
25 - 29	60	18	58	7.47
30 - 34	31	22	53	6.83
35 - 39	23	19	42	5.41
40 - 44	21	14	35	4.51
45 - 49	-5	-3	28	3.61
50 - 54	16	13	29	3.74
55 - 59	9	7	16	2.06
60 - 64	11	4	15	1.93
65 - 69	2	7	9	1.16
70 - 74	1	1	2	0.26
	445	331	776	100 %

1881	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	80	65	145	13.77
5 - 9	67	69	136	12.91
10 - 14	70	61	131	12.44
15 - 19	76	57	133	12.63
20 - 24	74	31	105	9.97
25 - 29	46	35	81	7.69
30 - 34	35	32	67	6.36
35 - 39	32	25	57	5.41
40 - 44	34	23	57	5.41
45 - 49	23	22	45	4.27
50 - 54	16	15	31	2.94
55 - 59	12	11	23	2.18
60 - 64	14	10	24	2.28
65 - 69	7	4	11	1.04
70 - 74	2	0	2	0.19
75 - 79	0	3	3	0.28
80 - 84	0	1	1	0.09
85 - 89	0	1	1	0.09
	588	465	1053	

ESH WINNING

1871	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	15	14	29	14.87
5 - 9	13	11	24	12.31
10 - 14	14	14	28	14.36
15 - 19	9	11	20	10.25
20 - 24	22	1	23	11.80
25 - 29	14	3	17	8.72
30 - 34	11	5	16	8.21
35 - 39	6	7	13	6.66
40 - 44	4	2	6	3.10
45 - 49	3	3	6	3.10
50 - 54	4	4	8	4.10
55 - 59	3	-	3	1.54
60 - 64	-	-	-	-
65 - 69	-	1	1	0.51
70 - 74	-	1	1	0.51
75 - 79	-	-	-	-
	118	77	195	

ESH WINNING

1881	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	109	128	237	15.30
5 - 9	130	119	249	16.07
10 - 14	91	101	192	12.40
15 - 19	97	68	165	10.65
20 - 24	73	44	117	7.55
25 - 29	69	50	119	7.68
30 - 34	51	41	92	5.94
35 - 39	55	45	100	6.46
40 - 44	43	39	82	5.30
45 - 49	38	31	69	4.45
50 - 54	25	20	45	2.91
55 - 59	15	10	25	1.61
60 - 64	16	20	36	2.32
65 - 69	4	4	8	0.52
70 - 74	4	1	5	0.32
75 - 79	1	2	3	0.19
80 - 84	1	3	4	0.26
Unknown	1	-	1	0.06
	823	726	1549	

USHAW MOOR

1871	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	4	3	7	22.58
5 - 9	1	2	3	9.67
10 - 14	1	2	3	9.67
15 - 19	2	2	4	12.90
20 - 24	3	-	3	9.67
25 - 29	3	1	4	12.90
30 - 34	1	2	3	9.67
35 - 39	1	-	1	3.26
40 - 44	-	-	-	-
45 - 49	-	-	-	-
50 - 54	-	-	-	-
55 - 59	-	-	-	-
60 - 65	-	1	1	3.26
65 - 69	2	-	2	6.45
	18	13	31	

USHAW MOOR

1881	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
0 - 4	50	68	118	16.66
5 - 9	68	50	118	16.66
10 - 14	47	36	83	11.72
15 - 19	33	31	64	9.04
20 - 24	42	21	63	8.90
25 - 29	41	22	63	8.90
30 - 34	25	21	46	6.50
35 - 39	23	15	38	5.36
40 - 44	15	12	27	3.81
45 - 49	17	18	35	4.94
50 - 54	20	6	26	3.67
55 - 59	8	7	15	2.12
60 - 64	3	3	6	0.85
65 - 69	3	1	4	0.56
70 - 74	-	1	1	0.14
75 - 79	1	-	1	0.14
	396	312	708	

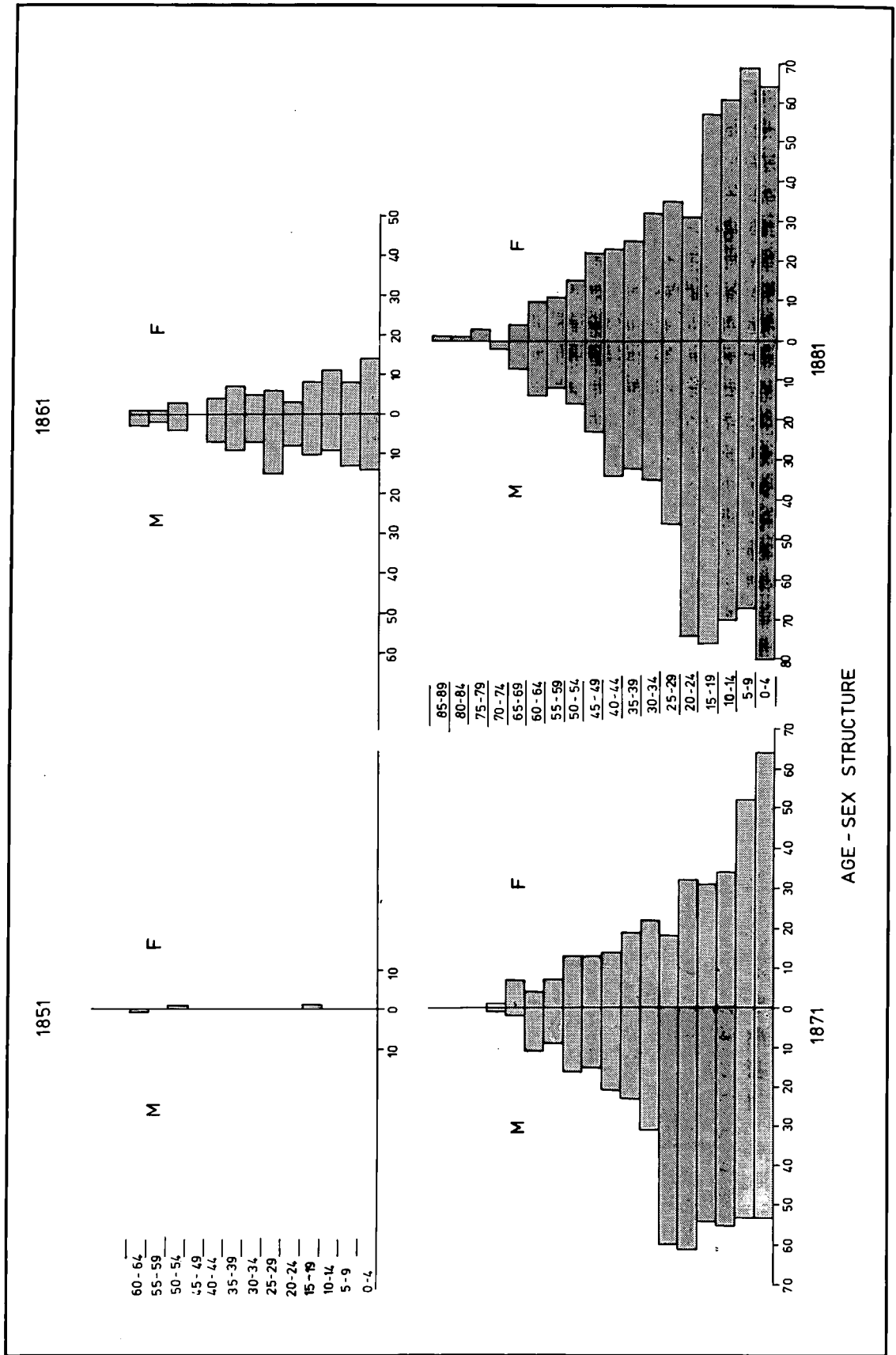


FIG. 8a POPULATION PYRAMIDS :
WATERHOUSES, 1851-1881

ESH WINNING

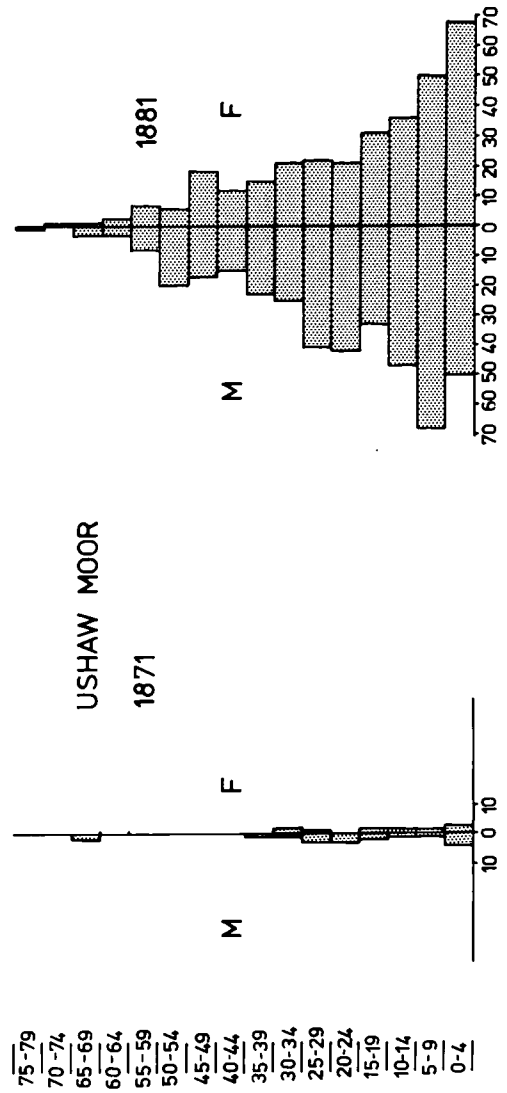
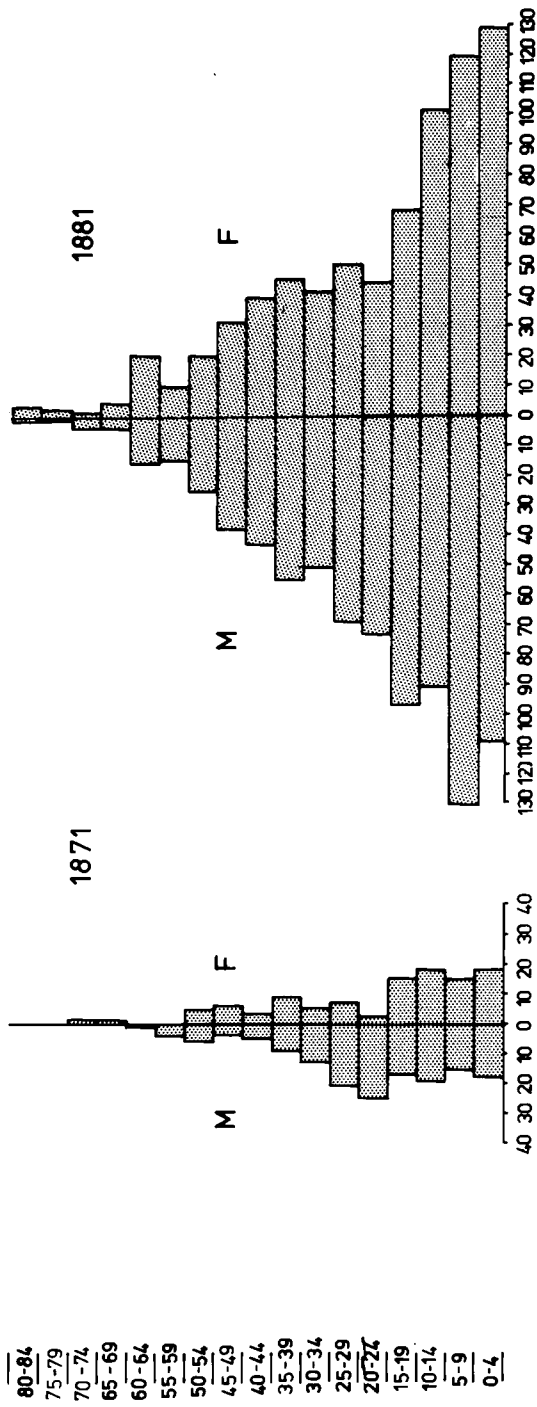


FIG. 8b, c.

POPULATION PYRAMIDS :
ESH WINNING AND USHAW
MOOR, 1871-1881

work the coal. The highest number in the five year age groups for adult males (those over 15) was in the range 20 - 30 years, though at Waterhouses and Esh Winning in 1881 the 15 - 25 year range contained the highest number of males. The general range 20 - 30 includes amongst its number the hewers, who were normally over 21.

Just over half the total population of the villages in the three decades were under 20, and between 80 and 90% were under 40. Those over 50 form a very small proportion of the total, never more than 10%. The number had risen slightly over the decades at Waterhouses and Esh Winning, but at Ushaw Moor it had fallen from 9.7% to 7.5%. As for the over 65's the number was under 2%.

The structure of the pyramid could be altered by movement to, and movement away from the villages, and there could be sudden alterations to the number of each sex. In 1899, for instance, a large number of families left Waterhouses because they did not like working low seams, and the coal-owners brought in unmarried men to work the colliery¹². Bad health, lack of hygiene and accidents also played their part.

Beyond the effects of migration and mortality, the high proportion of men to women produced a sexual imbalance, noted also in other Durham pit villages, though many men had acquired wives before settling in the valley. Throughout the decades, between 30% and 40% of the population were married, though at Ushaw Moor in 1881 the number was particularly small, only 16.7%. In these marriages it was common in all three villages throughout 1861 to 1881 for men to marry younger women, as can be seen in Fig. 9.

Fig.9 : Marriage

Village	Married males present	Married females present	Males older	Females older	Equal	Comparison not possible	Theoretical couples
Waterhouses	1861	30	27	23	4	-	30
	1871	124	124	78	31	15	124
	1881	161	165	114	27	18	167
Esh Winning	1871	38	36	28	7	1	38
	1881	263	264	179	53	24	270
Ushaw Moor	1871	5	5	5	-	-	5
	1881	110	108	81	17	8	112

The majority of men married when they were between 25 and 30, while their partners were most frequently 20 - 25 years of age¹³. From the census it cannot be positively ascertained what the total family size was, and where details are given in the census of the number of children present (the surviving children), there is considerable variation in the figure for the most frequently occurring child total per couple, but it was most common for there to be two to three children to a house.

D. Housing

Housing in the colliery villages of Durham varied considerably in the quality of the structures, sanitation, services and other facilities. Many villages were set up with the aim of providing the maximum accommodation for workers in minimal space for little cost. At South Hetton, J.R. Leifchild reported to the 1842 Children's Employment Commission that housing was in rows, with no privies¹⁴. Similar conditions were found by a visitor to Kibblesworth in 1874; the enormous foul smelling ash heaps and the 'piggery style of architecture'¹⁵. Many housing areas were developed by speculative businessmen. At Crook a large part of the dwellings were built by John Kellett, who owned the Ivesley colliery in the Deerness valley. The appalling state of sanitation, with open sewers and accumulated manure from pig styes contributed to an outbreak of cholera in 1853. At Ushaw Moor, too, it would appear that accommodation was initially provided in a row of wooden huts, and at Esh Winning in 1871 a husband and wife were living in a hut near the 'Stags Head'. Chaytor later added five parallel rows against the valley side at Ushaw Moor by the early 1880's, though the huts were still occupied and were said to be 'the most wretched dwellings it is possible to conceive'¹⁶. In 1882 a representative of the Lanchester Rural Sanitary Authority went to the village and reported 'On visiting this place the other day, I found some of the privies filthy, and water standing in many of the ash pits. Some of the privies were without roofs, and many of

the sinks were choked up. Such being the state of matters, the Sanitary Authority should again take action against Mr. Chaytor, and COMPEL HIM to put and to keep the village in a REASONABLE SANITARY CONDITION'¹⁷. Further up the valley Dr. Henry Smith, the Medical Officer of Health, found three 'wretched dwellings' in 1894 at the Deerness brickworks at Lymington near Esh Winning. Four to six people were sleeping in a badly ventilated room where there was no proper privy accommodation¹⁸. But such conditions were exceptional in the Deerness valley. As Benson has suggested there was 'a growing awareness of the possibly corrosive effect of living in one of rows upon rows of almost identical houses'¹⁹. The Peases made early attempts at providing better quality housing for their workforce, taking the pit as the central point and building three or four rows of a square around it. At Roddymoor four sides were built, one row being mainly for officials, and at Grahamsley three rows were built around a square green²⁰. This plan was brought into the valley and was first used at Waterhouses, where three sides of the square were built. At Esh Winning three sides were built in the late 1860's - early '70's, just above the pit, though a fourth side was added in the late 1870's. (Plate 4) A reporter for the 'Colliery Guardian' in 1863 was greatly impressed by the quality of housing and sanitation at Waterhouses, and described it as a 'model village', a title also used for Esh Winning. Nevertheless, though the housing was sound, water had to be carried, possibly from the main tap, and there were early outbreaks of typhoid and enteric fever. The early provision for baking in the houses seems to have been inadequate too, if any existed, for outside communal bread ovens were built at Waterhouses. One stood at the bottom of West Terrace, near the Bourne chapel. Such ovens were common in pit villages according to the 1842 Commission, and at Waterhouses they were fired by the cokemen.

Because of the isolated rural condition of the valley, the primary

housing development, following custom, was provided by the coal owners. The rows of the model villages were two storied, each house 15'9"(l) by 25'6" (w), with the end house slightly larger. Invariably the firm's own bricks were used in the building work at Waterhouses, Esh Winning and the later buildings at Ushaw Moor. Each white brick bearing the 'Pease' stamp, being used mainly for the frontage, while ordinary red brick was used for the other walls (Fig.10, plate 5).

The majority of colliery houses had four main rooms, a large sitting room, a back kitchen-dining room, and two bedrooms. These were known as 'double houses'. The end houses of the rows were divided into two premises, with each half having its own kitchen cum dining room-sitting room, and a bedroom. These were 'single houses'. In some of the rows the slate roof projected as a 'cat-slide' at the back, so that the front wall of the house was always higher than the back wall. This form of roofing reduced the headroom of the back bedrooms and was done away with in the late 1870's housing at South Terrace, Esh Winning.

Houses were provided with outside privies, usually placed on the opposite side of the back street to the house, or else in the back yard. They were usually of ashpit or earth closet type, and were cleared by a scavenger under contract. Beside the privy was normally a coalhouse. Some colliery workers received free coal or paid 6d. for leading it. The coal was tipped in the street and had to be shovelled into the coalhouse by the recipient.

The model colliery villages were also provided with long gardens. 'Gardens and allotments were, apparently, regarded by contemporaries as being both morally and economically beneficial to the miner'²¹. Many of them kept pigs in allotment crees, and the quality of the produce from garden and greenhouse paraded in the local vegetable and leek shows attracted visitors from all over the county.

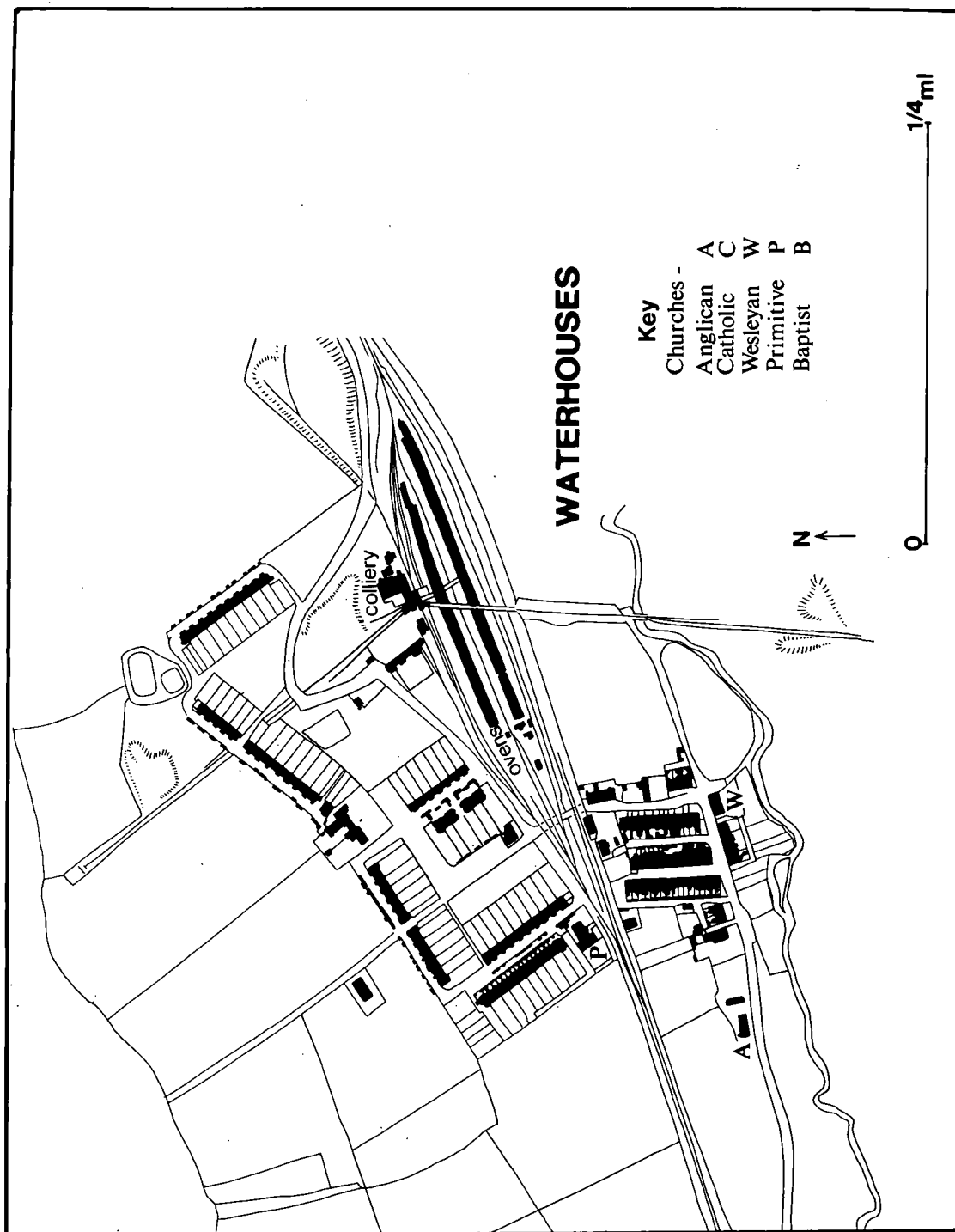


FIG. 10a. THE VILLAGE PLANS :
 WATERHOUSES (1897)

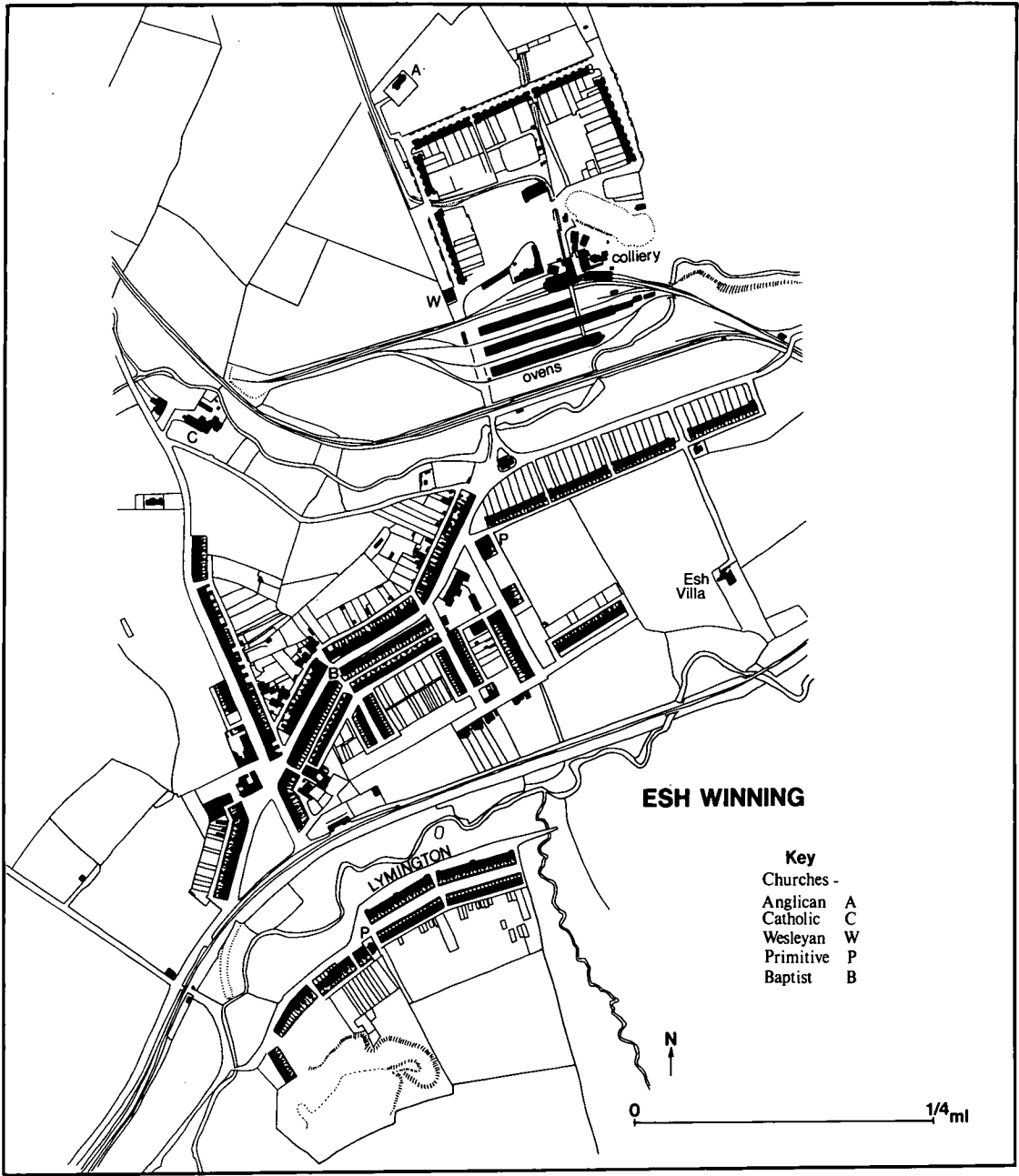


FIG. 10b. THE VILLAGE PLANS :
 ESH WINNING (1920)

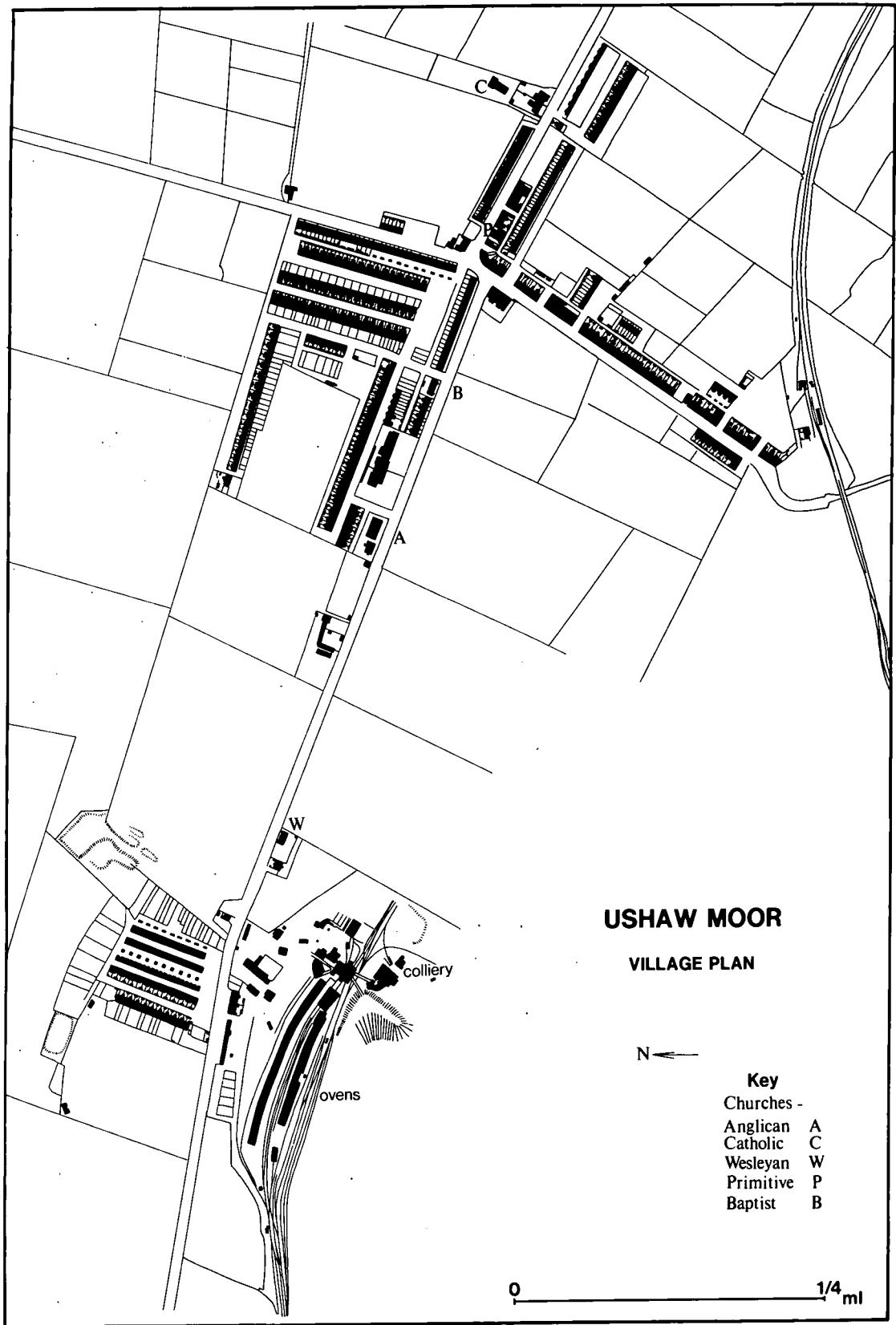


FIG. 10c. THE VILLAGE PLANS :
- USHAW MOOR (1920)

Certain grades of colliery workers were traditionally provided with free houses. At Esh Winning, of all the 180 men employed at the pit in 1875, 142 received free houses²². The number included not only officials and underground men, including overmen, deputies, shifters, stonemen and hewers, but also banksmen--keeker, weighman, cartman, platelayers, and also mechanics, such as smiths, joiners, masons and the winding enginemen. On several occasions, workmen had sought houses for men, based on true or assumed colliery customs. When Pease took over Chaytor's Ushaw Moor pit, for example, they claimed 'we do not find houses for stonemen and shifters unless there are workers in the house, and have not done so since we took charge of the colliery...'²³. The case went to arbitration until an umpire decided that stonemen were entitled to houses, but newly arrived shifters were not. By 1925, of about 180,000 colliery houses in Britain, 68,000 were free and almost all were in Northumberland and Durham. Only 561 were in South Wales²⁴

Other working heads of families were paid a rent allowance in lieu of the free house, and where neither free house nor allowance was available workers lived as boarders or lodgers in the houses of other workers. Moore has said that Pease and Partners required tenants to accept single men as lodgers as a condition of their tenancy²⁵, though it was rare for there to be more than two lodgers in a house. Most lodgers were single men, though there were also married men without dependants, as well as a few families. Lodgers were also taken into private houses, but in all three villages there was a gradual decline in the number of lodgers between 1861 and 1881, as can be seen in Fig. 11.

Once a worker gave up his employment he would be required to leave his tied cottage, a daunting prospect for those who had worked all their lives in the mine. In 1895 David Dale had made a concession for those who were aged or infirm in that they could retain a free house and coal if they accepted three general workers occupying the house, or two workers if one was a hewer²⁶.

Fig. 11 LODGERS

Village	Year	Occupied Houses	Houses with Lodgers	% of all houses
WATERHOUSES	1861	28	12	42.8
	1871	137	35	25.5
	1881	189	32	16.9
ESH WINNING	1871	37	17	45.9
	1881	280	44	15.7
USHAW MOOR	1871	5	2	40.0
	1881	116	31	26.7

Also in the 1890's a scheme was put forward to provide aged miners with their own homes where they could live out their remaining years in peace and dignity. By the end of 1909, 284 houses had been erected in County Durham²⁷. In 1908 the Esh Winning miners agreed to pay one penny per week to a Homes fund, and the Peases offered £100 a year for five years towards the scheme²⁸. In 1911 a foundation stone was laid on the site of 20 aged miners homes²⁹. Each house, once built, comprised two ground floor rooms, a scullery, pantry, and a small garden. They were built in a row to retain a communal group, and were sited with pleasant views of the river and valley side (plate 6b). Mrs. Moule, wife of the Bishop of Durham, laid the main stone, and there were others from the colliery management and the lodges. John Wilson, one of the leading organisers of the movement, spoke at the ceremony, and showed a keen interest in other cottages built at Ushaw Moor³⁰.

While the more paternalistic Durham coalowners expended a sizeable capital outlay on housing to provide, initially, the majority of free housing, the situation was very different in South Wales where more housing was built by the pitmen than by the mine owners. In the Rhondda, for example, 60% of the houses were occupied by their owners, and there were a large number of building clubs³¹. In the Deerness valley there was some small scale private house building in the villages at an early stage, which increased noticeably from the 1870's. At Waterhouses, the

most suitable village to examine, with its layout being complete by the late 1890's, the colliery and private housing was in two distinct blocks forming respectively 67% and 33% of the total; the railway line cutting the village in two.

At Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor two foci of settlement were of importance, the primary colliery villages and public houses - the 'Stags Head' at Esh Winning, and the 'Flass' at Ushaw Moor. Private housing developed near the public houses, and there was linear development connecting the two foci, largely completed by the mid 1890's. The second phase of building formed a major framework, added to which in a third phase was infill development of terraced housing, with the provision of a central open space, grassed or converted into allotments. (Plates 6a, 7)

The private housing was built by colliery and cokeyard workers, local entrepreneurs and the Coop society. Henry Bowes, the Waterhouses cokeyard inspector arranged sites for Coop stores in the village, and built a number of other houses, while outside the newly developed local building firms added later housing. The Baptist, James Robson, built large sections of the housing in Esh Winning, and was supplied with bricks by his relations who ran the Deerness Brick and Tile works at Lymington. Certainly some of the streets show the habit of adding one house onto another to form a line, often in a variety of materials and styles.

The actual number of people living in colliery and private housing in the three villages varied, as can be seen in Fig.12. Up to six people to a house was not uncommon, nor in many colliery villages was it considered overcrowded, though the house of Robert Burn of Waterhouses is an extreme case, with fifteen people - an extended family with five boarders under one roof.

Because of the size of households, and the amount of housework involved, particularly where several members of a family were working, sometimes in different shifts, several heads of household employed servants to help with the heavier domestic tasks. The majority were girls between 15 and 20 years of age, and their numbers increased with each decade.

Fig. 12 HOUSING/ACCOMMODATION

Persons per House	WATERHOUSES						ESH WINNING						USHAW MOOR						
	1861		1871		1881		1871		1881		1871		1881		1871		1881		
	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	No.	% a	
1	-	-	-	-	2	1.1	-	-	-	5	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1	3.6	11	8.0	16	8.5	1	2.7	20	8.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3.4	-
3	5	17.9	20	14.6	29	15.3	4	10.8	37	15.7	-	-	1	20.0	10	8.6	18	15.5	-
4	4	14.3	18	13.1	24	12.7	4	10.8	38	16.2	-	-	-	-	17	14.6	17	14.6	-
5	3	10.7	21	15.3	27	14.3	2	5.4	46	19.6	-	-	-	-	17	14.6	17	14.6	-
6	3	10.7	22	16.1	25	13.2	5	13.5	46	19.6	-	-	3	60.0	19	16.4	15	12.9	-
7	3	10.7	16	11.7	23	12.2	4	10.8	36	15.3	-	-	-	-	15	12.9	7	6.0	-
8	4	14.3	12	8.8	14	7.4	3	8.1	20	8.5	-	-	-	-	7	6.0	5	4.3	-
9	2	7.1	7	5.1	18	9.5	5	13.5	18	7.6	-	-	-	-	3	2.6	1	0.8	-
10	1	3.6	5	3.6	4	2.1	6	16.2	8	3.4	-	-	1	20.0	3	2.6	1	0.8	-
11	-	-	2	1.5	5	2.6	2	5.4	6	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	1	3.6	-	-	2	1.1	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	1	3.6	1	0.7	-	-	1	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total occupied	28	100%	137	100%	189	100%	37	100%	235	100%	5	100%	116	100%	120	100%			
Housing Total	29	-	140	-	194	-	37	-	237	-	6	-	120	-					

a. Percentage of total occupied

After the first world war Pease and Partners made no major attempt to increase their housing stock in the three villages. Dwellings had been built by local builders in the period between the 1890's and 1920's, but by 1920, either through natural increase or immigration, the population had risen to such an extent that there was a clear overcrowding problem. In an attempt to alleviate it local authorities took it upon themselves to supply extra housing. Legislation already existed for them to do this. Part 3 of the Housing of the Working Class Act, 1890 (53 & 54 Vict., c.70) allowed local authorities to acquire land and to build lodging houses. Immediately after the war this was updated by the 1919 Housing, Town Planning etc. Act (9 & 10 Geo.5, c.35), known as the Addison Act), which made it the duty of local authorities to 'consider the needs of their area with respect to the provision of houses for the working classes', and to produce schemes that would implement part 3 of the 1890 Act. As a result council houses were built in Esh Winning (Newhouse Avenue), and near Waterhouses (College View)³². As Ryder noted, 'By comparison with most earlier and later council dwellings Addison houses were built to a more generous standard of accommodation and, for the most part, a more pleasant standard of design'³³. The houses in College View were of good quality, brick built, and in blocks of two, each with its own garden. All were substantial, two storied dwellings with a kitchen, living room and two-three bedrooms. They were also supplied with bathrooms.

Under the 1923 Housing etc. Act (13 & 14 Geo.5, c.24) the Minister of Health could financially assist local authorities in the building of council houses, and this was further extended by the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act of 1924 (14 & 15 Geo.5, c.35). Under these Acts additional housing was supplied at Hill View and Fair View in Esh Winning, at Hall, Hunter and Flass Avenues in Ushaw Moor, and Joyce Terrace and Deerness View, on the outskirts of Ushaw Moor. The lodge officials and local poli-

ticians William Hall, Robert Hunter and Jack Joyce played an important role in getting the local construction scheme off the ground.

By 1951, however, the County Development Plan accepted that mining in the valley was on the decline and classified villages like Waterhouses and nearby Hamsteels and Hamilton Row as category D. Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor were considered viable units and were consequently graded A. It was expected that these villages would absorb people from the D villages, as they gradually declined, and new council housing was provided. Throughout the first half of the 1950's Lanchester District Council built houses on the north-western outskirts of Esh Winning, while other houses began to spring up in clusters west of the 'Stags Head'. At Ushaw Moor extra council housing began to be built in 1950-51 at the secondary settlement nucleus, east of the colliery and its old terraces. This secondary cross-roads nucleus contained the main service facilities and gradually became the dominant nucleus. By the mid-1960's council housing was spreading east from the nucleus, and later commercially built housing estates have extended it still further east, almost to the village of Broompark.

E. Shops and Services

Though the coal owners made immediate provision for housing, it is unclear how the Peases proposed supplying the new and expanding villages with food and other provisions. It seems most likely that they expected supplies either being collected or transported from Crook, Esh or Durham. During severe winters in the late 19th c. it is recalled that women travelled to Crook in coal trucks up the incline railway to purchase supplies³⁴. There was certainly no 'company shop' operating the Truck system in the Pease villages, though contemporary mining settlements in Scotland, South Wales and Yorkshire suffered from this form of exploitation³⁵.

In the valley small scale local enterprise setting up close to the

colliery housing supplied the population with meat and vegetables, retaining a virtual monopoly until the 1870's when the Cooperative movement developed its activities in the area. In 1864 the villagers of Waterhouses were getting flour from a mill at Crook, which later became the Crook Co-operative store³⁶. The store set up a small shop at Hamilton Row and another branch store was added to Waterhouses in 1872³⁷. This branch was considerably expanded in 1885 (plate 8), and the Crook Coop opened branches at Ushaw Moor and at Esh Winning, where the Annfield Plain Co-operative Society added its own branch³⁸.

Purchases could be made directly at the stores, or a member of the society could order and pay for goods fortnightly in the pay week. In addition, as a mutual benefit society, members also received 'dividend'. The amount of 'dividend' was dependent on the amount spent at the store, and on 'dividend day' clerks from the main store came to the valley to either pay out the money or enter it into a share book. It was an important day, for many depended on the 'dividend' for extras.

The range of goods in the various departments of the store was extensive and meant that most people did not need to leave the village for any form of supplies. It was possible to purchase groceries, boots, hardware, furniture, clothing; everything from a coal shovel to a suit cut by a bespoke tailor. On a Monday an order man wandered the streets with a long list of goods, and each member listed his requirements which were delivered the next week. This was particularly valuable for those who lived at a distance from the store. Waggons pulled by two or three draught-horses travelled to the outlying farms and settlements of the area; the butchers cart sometimes set off at 9 a.m. and did not return until 7 p.m.³⁹. During severe winters supplies from the store were packed and sent in tubs through the mine workings to connected pits⁴⁰. The recipient then paid the white bill at the end of the fortnight at the store office. Members of the

society were also balloted for the election of store committeemen who met quarterly. Occasionally a schoolmaster would be elected and given the task of auditor, though the majority of committeemen were miners, frequently including union men and those involved in local government. They interviewed applicants for jobs, and they could override the manager in business matters, but rarely did⁴¹. The balance sheet was particularly healthy in the late 19th c., their half yearly sheet for the end of 1890 totalled £29,690, with an average 3/8d profit in the pound⁴², and it was not until the 'Hungry Thirties' that the Waterhouses store fell into financial difficulties and it was left to Kit Plant of the Crook office to restore the situation by freezing members' money in the store and halting the payment of dividend.

Outside the Coops, the original suppliers continued in trade, and others set up shop in streets where business premises have remained ever since. By the 1890's Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor, in particular, had acquired butchers, grocers, fruiterers, along with craftworkers, suppliers and services. Farmers supplied both milk and meat on the hoof to butchers, the Coop having custom built houses for the slaughtering and sale of meat, though there were still the small scale operatives who had pigstyes and 'hunger houses' in the back streets; the animals being poleaxed in the back room of the shop. Miners sold the produce of their gardens, while their wives made cakes or confectioneries and sold them from the front room of their house. Other women made dresses for sale, while others produced Durham quilting, for purchasers who usually 'took out a club' to pay for it. In addition to the resident entrepreneurs, there were the 'travelers', pedlars carrying heavy packs of goods from village to village, or the hawkers carting baskets, mats, brushes, even herring. Tinkers repaired furniture and utensils, while itinerant tailors, who were often highly skilled, worked at the store for a few weeks before travelling on.

One of the earliest commodities made available was beer. At Waterhouses it was sold in one room of a house by the son of a local farmer. Residents at Esh Winning patronised Sam Coxon's 'Stags Head', while those at Ushaw Moor visited Mrs. Dawson's 'Flass Inn', Jacob Henrici's pub at Broom Park, or that at Stonebridge near Durham. There was no sex discrimination over sales of alcohol at these houses and newspapers refer to incidents of drunkenness by residents of both sexes.

F. The Religious Groups

The moral and spiritual wellbeing of the population of County Durham had long been a subject of concern to all the religious denominations, but it presented a special challenge to the Church of England's ability to cope with the rapid increase in population. Catholic, and numerous Methodist churches had sprung up in the new mining areas where there was frequently no Anglican church. In 1857, 36 of the 41 parishes in the diocese of Durham had an average of one church for 7,800 people, and one clergyman for 5,000 people⁴³.

In the area of the present study large tracts of the western and southern sections of the Deerness valley belonged to the vast Brancepeth parish, while the northern side of the valley was covered by Esh parish. Once the pits got underway the old parishes found that settlements were developing in what were outlying border areas of their spheres of influence. Robert Moore suggested that the Church of England was the late-comer to the Deerness Valley villages, after Methodism was firmly established⁴⁴. In fact, the Church of England was one of the first religious groups to be active in the new villages, and it was also one of the first to build churches or chapels of ease.

At Waterhouses the Anglicans held meetings in an old farm building and were ministered to by the vicar of Brancepeth, who took a deep interest in the early village. In March 1867 the Anglicans, with Douglas, Pease's

head viewer, and J.G. Crofton, the colliery manager, discussed the building of a church⁴⁵. Lord Boyne, as landowner, granted a rood and twenty perches of ground⁴⁶ and in the Autumn of 1867 Sandersons of Durham constructed a nave and chancel, with side vestry and porch. On the 28th of February 1869 the completed building was packed to overflowing as the Bishop of Durham formally opened it as a chapel of ease to Brancepeth⁴⁷. (plate 9a)

The minister of Esh had greater problems than his counterpart at Brancepeth. He too had an extensive parish to cover, but unlike the Brancepeth estate with its Anglican landowner, the Esh estate was owned by the Catholic Smythes. Vicar W. Stuart White of Esh wrote in 1902 'The quasi-lordship has had, and continues to have, a very important influence which naturally does not assist but hampers the work of the Church of England'⁴⁸. However, at both Esh and Ushaw Moor the church carried out its ministry. In 1873 Rev. A. Buckley of Esh raised £265, largely from his own money, to build a church and Sunday school at the New Winning⁴⁹. Pease and Partners were the second largest contributors, and at the end of the year a stone-built mission church was completed and dedicated to St. Stephen, though served from Esh church⁵⁰.

At Ushaw Rev. Lee held cottage meetings around 1878 when there were 5 or 6 Anglicans⁵¹, and later a substantial iron structure was erected. The building was dedicated to St. Luke and served by a curate from Esh. In 1902 colliery officials met the vicar of Esh and sought a more solid church for the village, but it was not until 1913 that a red brick church was actually built.

The workmen coming to the new villages also brought with them Non-Conformist religious beliefs and customs. They met first in their own houses, but as their numbers grew the colliery provided accommodation for them in the temporary, and later the brick built British schools. Amongst

the Methodists, the Wesleyans were the first to build substantial chapels in the villages. After raising money by bazaars, street singing and sewing clubs they built a chapel at Waterhouses. Gurney Pease laid the foundation stone and Rev. Peter Mackenzie formally opened it on 16th March 1872 (plate 9b)⁵². The Primitives in Waterhouses had seen the need for a church in 1868, building work was undertaken in 1872 and it received its certificate of worship the following year⁵³. At Esh Winning the Wesleyans, again, were the first to build a chapel on land provided by the Peases in 1886⁵⁴. The Primitives, who numbered 20 in 1894, used the iron school until, after the opposition of the Smythes over land had been overcome, a red bricked chapel was built in 1899 (plate 11a)⁵⁵. The Ushaw Moor Wesleyans built their chapel near the colliery in 1900 and the Primitives built theirs 12 years later, on the site of an iron building.

A small group of seven Baptists, formerly members of the ancient Rowley chapel, also began meetings in Peases iron school at Esh Winning⁵⁶, until one of their number, James Robson, built a house which became their chapel (plate 10a). Later the house was demolished and the site used for a considerably larger chapel in 1901⁵⁷. The Raws, leaders of the chapel, established other mission chapels at Langley Park (1895) and Ushaw Moor (1897), where J.W. Pease laid the foundation stone (plate 10b)⁵⁸.

In the area of Esh and Ushaw there were a number of long established Catholic farming families close to Ushaw College seminary, and as the number of Irish workers came to the pits, the need for a priest became increasingly urgent. Father Fortin, a Londoner by birth, began working near the site of a 17th c. secret farm mission at Newhouse, establishing schools at Cornsay, Newhouse and Ushaw, and between 1871 and 1883 built a large and architecturally elaborate church at Newhouse, while Father Shelly added the church of St. Joseph to Ushaw Moor in 1930, on the site of a corrugated iron church of 1909⁵⁹.

The communities of the valley developed a hard core of people who were devoted to their church and chapel, and who gave their lives in service to it and the community, though there were also those with less interest in religion and the life of the church: as in 1869, for example, when the Waterhouses schoolmaster commented that he found that Bible lessons for the children were not appreciated by parents, and that few children had Bibles⁶⁰. Once the chapels got underway many villagers saw them as places for social gatherings and applied for membership only to be removed from the books for having 'fallen' or for 'immorality'. Certain areas of settlement also acquired notoriety; Lymington, near Esh Winning, was described by Patterson as an evil place⁶¹. Sprinkled into the lives of some members of the community there was intemperance, leading to disorderly conduct and violence, and there was more than one miner who threw away his wages in pitch and toss, and the card schools held in nearby woods. In 1894 a 'well wisher' writing to the editor of the *Durham Chronicle* said of the young men of the Deerness valley that they were 'drawn away by this evil habit of gambling'⁶².

The religious groups turned themselves immediately to attempting to solve the problem of drunkenness by forming temperance societies in the early 1860's and they were supported in their efforts by the Quaker Peases. They deplored intemperance and warned against visiting drinking houses and theatres, and at their base in Darlington their moralistic attitude had resulted in what was described as 'drab rule' in the town⁶³. There was, however, a clear drinking problem in County Durham, which had increased throughout the 19th c. In 1869 the rate of drunkenness cases to county population had been 0.849%, and by 1875 it was 2.08%, with 12,045 incidents⁶⁴. Compared with the South Wales coalfield this peak in 1875 was extremely high. In Glamorgan in the same year there had been 2,853 incidents against a population of 300,000, a rate of less than 1%⁶⁵. Drinking after pay-day, particularly over the weekend resul-

ted in loss of productivity. William Cockburn, the manager of Pease's Ironstone and Limestone mines, gave a rough estimate that about a sixth of the miners drank on a Sunday, and in consequence up to 25% of the workforce failed to turn up at the mines on the first three days of the working week⁶⁶.

To combat the drinking problem the Peases began sending temperance missionaries to spread the message of the evils of drink, and as early as 1862 William Lapsley, agent of the Northern Temperance League, lectured in the valley, when nine signed the pledge⁶⁷. By the end of the 1860's a Temperance and Mutual Improvement Society and a Band of Hope had been formed⁶⁸. The first missionary, Thomas Rhymer, arrived at Waterhouses around 1871 and was provided with a colliery house in East Terrace, while his successors, Thomas Binns and, later, James Dack (plate 12), lived in one of the few Pease colliery houses in nearby Hamilton Row. Dack, and probably Rhymer, were Primitive Methodists, and Binns was a Wesleyan, though they did not confine themselves to their own sect.

The career of Thomas Binns gives an indication of the background of one such missionary, and his lifelong involvement in his task. Binns had signed the pledge in 1839 and began advocating temperance around 1851. After becoming a Son of Temperance in 1862 he was appointed agent of the Northern Temperance League in 1871⁶⁹, during which year he visited Waterhouses and lectured at the school⁷⁰. By 1881 he had succeeded Rhymer as missionary to the valley, and was active in the temperance society (which included in its aims total abstinence and prohibition⁷¹); the Band of Hope; and the Deerness valley lodge of the International Order of Good Templars, before his death in 1897⁷².

The full membership of the groups in which the missionaries played such a leading role, is not clear until the 20th c., when the few available figures for the Primitive Methodists at Waterhouses shows 30-40 in

the Band of Hope, and 50-60 adult abstainers. At mass meetings, up to 300 in one week had signed the pledge, but we do not know how long the pledges lasted⁷³. Notices of group meetings appeared in church and chapel notes and newspapers, but it is noticeable that although the movement played an important part in the lives of many church and chapel members, they did not succeed in closing down any of the village pubs, although no pub was re-established in Waterhouses after the "Keeper" had moved to larger premises at Hamilton Row in the late 1860's. The pubs continued to be used by miners; there were occasional strike meetings in pubs, and two or three cases of drunkenness and disorderly conduct per week were not unknown. By 1890 of all counties outside the Metropolitan Police District, Durham had the second largest number of convictions for drunkenness, 10,773⁷⁴. The death of James Dack in 1924 appears to have marked the end of Pease's missioning to the valley, by which time in addition to the public houses, the working men's clubs of the area had registered under the 1902 Licencing Act and were selling drink to their members. At the end of 1902 the yearly income of the Esh and Waterhouses club was £3,946-4-0d., of which £3,780-14-3d was derived from the sale of drink⁷⁵.

Joseph Ritson in *The Romance of Primitive Methodism* noted the part played by the Primitives in the cause of temperance, and pointed out an equal involvement in trade unionism. Of Primitive Methodism he said 'Here is a church which gave its laymen a larger share in its government than any other religious denomination in the country. Its whole genius was in favour of democratic institutions and against tyranny and class domination'⁷⁶. In the Deerness valley a noticeable number of Primitives became involved in unionism, village and district politics, and administration (a subject discussed in more detail in chapter 4)⁷⁷.

The religious groups had also at an early stage begun the education

of their children in Christian values by the setting up of Sunday schools⁷⁸. Although figures are rare, the available numbers for the Bourne chapel show that by 1893 there were 203 children on the books. However, by 1900 a decline had begun which, even with a few increases in membership, continued gradually downward until by 1937 there were only 10 children listed, see fig. 13⁷⁹.

The fall off in children's attendance was part of a general decline in chapel numbers. Even with the amalgamation of the different branches of Methodism into a united Methodist church in 1932, the economic depression, closure of pits, scarcity of funds, movement away of chapel adherents, and the growth of secular thinking resulted in the closure of six valley chapels between 1905 and 1936⁸⁰.

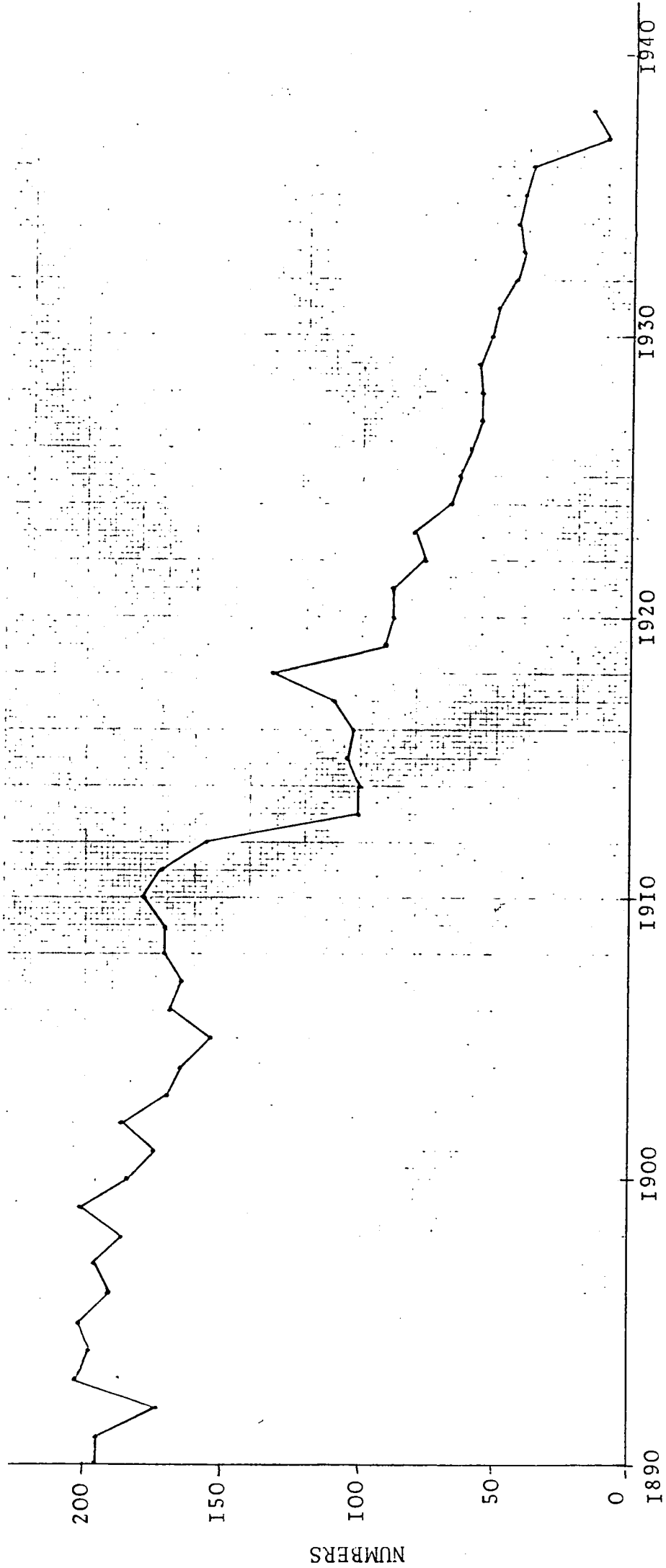


FIG. 13. SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AT THE BOURNE PRIMITIVE CHAPEL.
 (Source C.R.O. Durham M/BDV 66)

G. Social Services

In the provision of social services to the colliery communities the coalowners certainly made the major contribution in terms of education, medical care, welfare and recreational facilities.

i. Education

The initial educational needs of the miners' children were met by the churches. At Waterhouses the Anglican group had formed a school in an old house and charged a small subscription. It continued, apparently in the same house, until its closure in the late 1870's⁸¹. Rev. Alfred Buckley of Esh referred to his building of a school, as distinct from a Sunday school, in 1873, at the New Winning⁸², while at Ushaw Moor there is little indication of Church of England activity, whereas the Catholic involvement is far more apparent. Father Fortin of Newhouse, Esh Winning, who built a Catholic school in 1871 near the new church, also built a corrugated iron school close to Chaytors pit. Of the denominational schools, the Catholic schools were the most resilient. At Ushaw Moor a new Catholic school was built in 1910 for 269 pupils, and is still in use, while the pupils at Newhouse transferred to the more spacious Pease school in Esh Winning when its pupils moved to a new community school in 1978.

The Select Committee on Mines in 1866 found that many coalowners were not prepared to allow time for pit boys to go to school, though the miners of Northumberland and Durham advocated a relay system to ensure that boys had at least half a day at school⁸³. The Peases certainly ensured that facilities for education were provided at an early stage in their villages, and the majority of parents were willing to send their children to school, even though there was a fee.

At Waterhouses Pease's first school was at the colliery, probably in a room above a stable⁸⁴, until the number of scholars increased to

such an extent that Joseph Pease built a brick school in 1863, transferring a master from the colliery to the new building⁸⁵. The school was a non-denominational British school, and for a time worked in competition with the church school, charging a slightly higher rate than the Anglicans, until the 'school pence' fee was removed by law in 1891⁸⁶.

Once Esh New Winning got underway Pease provided a temporary corrugated iron school in 1871, and transferred the master of Waterhouses to take charge of it. Ultimately the increasing needs resulted in the Owners providing a large white brick school in 1892, and the bowler-hatted master, Daniel Ostle, cane under his arm, moved across from the iron school to the new building⁸⁷.

On the takeover of Chaytor's colliery by the Peases, a substantial building was also required for the burgeoning school age group, and in 1899 they opened a red bricked school in the village. David Dale and Francis Pease chose the martinet master of Waterhouses, John Potts, to be the new master of Ushaw Moor British school, (plate 13a). The colliery school at Waterhouses was taking in about 80 pupils at the end of 1862, though it was probably large enough to accommodate 160; while the Esh colliery school was designed for 290 pupils. In March 1871 when the iron school was established it had 13 scholars, and by November the number had risen to 50⁸⁸. The British brick built schools were designed to take 730 at Waterhouses, 440 at Esh Winning and 420 at Ushaw Moor.

The financing of the schools was by Parliamentary grant computed on attendance and examination results, checked by a Government Inspector, while the running was supervised by the school managers; general maintenance being carried out by the colliery mechanics⁸⁹. Books and slates had to be provided by the parents, which could be a problem if money was short, though sometimes such equipment was loaned to pupils.

Children attended the village schools from the age of 3 and stayed up to the 15th year, though boys left in their early teens to seek work at the pits until the school leaving age was raised to 12 in 1899. The Mines Inspection Act of 1860 required boys between the ages of 10 and 12 to have a school certificate before they could be employed, though Marx found that the lack of inspectors meant that at some collieries the Act was a dead letter⁹⁰. At Waterhouses certificates were required, though the schoolmaster in 1869 complained that he had to issue a certificate to a boy under 12 years of age⁹¹.

Attendance at the schools before compulsory education under the Mundella Act of 1880 was, initially, highly erratic. J.W. Pease referred in a speech at the Esh iron school to the masters' difficulties in getting the children to attend classes⁹², and at Waterhouses the master John Jack, in 1867, ruefully noted in his logbook that some children returned to school five weeks after the summer holidays⁹³. The strict régimes imposed by masters like Ostle and Potts improved the early poor standard of education, and increased the regularity of attendance. When the school inspector visited Waterhouses in 1895 he reported that the school had an excellent reputation where the children were 'thoroughly well prepared'⁹⁴, and William Crawford of the Durham Miners Association added to the Pease's educational reputation by openly praising them in the press⁹⁵.

The system of education followed the 'standards' of the Revised Code of 1862⁹⁶ which provided basic knowledge in the three R's, with needlework for the girls, additional subjects being added by the subsequent codes. The teachers were assisted by monitors and pupil teachers, who were often more of a hindrance than a help. The pupils at Waterhouses in the 1870's and 1880's were described as rough and disorderly, and several masters maintained a strict authoritarian régime over them. Potts punished children by leaving them in a corner holding slates above

their heads, while Ostle sent an unruly child to buy a cane with which he would be punished⁹⁷. Caning was generally used in cases of lateness, absence without excuse, failing to prepare work, lying, rude language or truancy. There was certainly resentment towards the methods used by Potts, and when he planned to leave Waterhouses for his new appointment at Ushaw Moor several children planned to stone him.

The pupils were also described in 1875 and 1882 as very dirty, with infestation of lice, and when fever broke out in the villages the schoolmaster noted the fall in attendance and spread chlorate of lime to disinfect the yard and drains. There was a school visit by Dr. Mackenochie in 1870⁹⁸, a rare occurrence and 37 years ahead of official legislation⁹⁹. However, by 1899 a newly arrived schoolmaster said that the children were 'above the normal run of colliery children and very respectful'¹⁰⁰ (plate 13b).

ii. Medical Services

The first medical practitioners probably came to the new villages from established settlements like Crook and Esh village, though their quality was suspect. At Crook the doctors had been rebuked by the *Lancet* for their unseemly accusations against one another of unfitness and drunkenness in the early 1850's¹⁰¹. Around 1873, however, a Caithness man, Alexander Mackay was appointed medical officer for Crook, and he moved into Palmfield House, near Helmington Row¹⁰². He represented the new type of trained professional, and carried out the requirements of the 1872 Public Health Act, operating both as officer for the Bishop Auckland Union and as vaccinator. He had an extensive practice, serving as surgeon to the Pease's collieries, while acting as consultant to the other mining firms in the area¹⁰³. By the 1890's, at least, Dr. Mackay was appointing doctors to work in the Waterhouses district, and in 1891 he appointed Frederick Hare of Glasgow to that district¹⁰⁴.

Deerness House was built and became the residence of Dr. Joseph French, who succeeded Hare. During his time a succession of doctors worked a separate practice in the same area, while Dr. Daniel Robinson of Belfast covered Ushaw Moor. Henry Rollin, James Dickinson and Dr. Millyard worked from a base at Deerness House which formed the basis of the later group practice.

Prior to the formation of the National Health Service doctors were paid by villagers' contributions, and to assist with the care of patients the Peases formed a valley nursing association. A.F. Pease acted as president, with the colliery manager as chairman. The Association was financed by workmen's contributions and donations from the firm, and two nurses were brought from the Queens Jubilee Hospital in London to cover the valley. One of the later nurses, Miss Adinal, who arrived in 1930, had been trained in nursing, midwifery and infectious diseases at Queens, and on taking up the valley post received £108 per annum, out of which she paid for lodgings and £5 for a uniform¹⁰⁵. From May 1925 to 1926 the nurses attended 204 cases involving 5,817 visits¹⁰⁶.

There was certainly a need for qualified doctors in the early years, for although Waterhouses and Esh Winning were termed 'model villages', the sanitary arrangements were defective and there was an unspecified number of cases of typhoid in 1894 and 1895, and in 1869 there had been a case of "English cholera", not necessarily actual cholera, which had appeared in England from Bengal two or three years earlier¹⁰⁷. The term seems to have been used to describe any violent intestinal disorder, and may be related to incidences of 'enteric fever' which occurred in small numbers in the valley in later years.

Streptococcal infections produced cases of scarlet fever, of which John Spear wrote in 1881 'statistics and the testimony of medical practitioners, prove that the disease is constantly present in one or other of

the colliery villages, and that at frequently recurring periods there is an epidemic outburst'¹⁰⁸. There was a 'raging outbreak' at Waterhouses in 1869, contemporary with an outbreak of almost epidemic proportions in England between 1869 and 1870¹⁰⁹ but, in this case, as in many other medical incidents in the area, the scanty documentation does not allow for a precise assessment of numbers and effects, from which comparison could be made.

Smallpox had occurred in two violent outbreaks in 1871 and 1874, perhaps the savida major variety, for in both incidents there were 'several' deaths. In 1925 smallpox reappeared in County Durham, and in 1926 Esh Winning, Lymington and Waterhouses were affected areas, the outbreak being defeated at the end of the year by mass vaccination. Attempts were made to isolate fever cases generally, though Spear found that in pit villages the visiting of neighbours at infected houses frequently occurred, and that disease was spread by infected children attending school¹¹⁰. In addition to other cases relating to general health, there were the various injuries and diseases resulting from working at the colliery and cokeyard. Dr. E.H. Greenhow in a paper written in 1858 said that 'There is no class of places in which the influence of occupation on health is more powerful or so evident as in some of the mining districts'¹¹¹. Working underground has obvious inherent dangers and even with safety precautions miners in the valley pits were killed by stonefalls, lost limbs and were blinded. Damage was done to their internal organs, muscles and bones, with cases of fracturing and ankylosis, bent elbow and knee, and rheumatic and osteoarthritic changes.

Working in the flickering light of a candle or lamp could produce the involuntary oscillation of the eyeball, the 'miners' nystagmus'. Working 'tub height' also had a characteristic effect, as one informant recalled - 'when my brothers were "putting" their backs were all scraped

and coal dust got in. They washed in the tin bath and mother cleaned their backs and put vaseline on'. The effect of this abrasion to the skin over the spine was described as being like 'buttons down the back', a feature that George Orwell noted amongst the Yorkshire and Lancashire miners¹¹².

Dust got into wounds and left its blue-black stain in the scar, and this same dust, with its equally dangerous potential for explosive ignition, produced the most insidious of the occupational effects, the fibrosis of the lungs, pneumoconiosis, due to its inhalation. Engels in 1844 wrote of the saturation of the miners lungs with dust, the black mucous expectoration and coughing¹¹³. Dust was produced in hand picking and blasting, but the introduction of machinery into the valley pits increased the dust, and there seems to have been little early attempt at masking. A hewer working in a low seam cutting coal with a 'windy pick' found that the coal dust in such a confined space just blew back into his face. Inhalation resulted in gradual debility, and, to take just one example, a miner died of heart failure as a result of pneumoconiosis, 13 years after his dust filled lungs had become a problem.

Even with the many dangers, miners were often unwilling to wear protective clothing. It was often uncomfortable or constricting, and was, therefore, neglected. Yet by the late 1930's, through advice from the lodge, the men began to make requests for safety helmets, gloves, knee pads, goggles and shin guards, though it took a long time to catch on with some workers.

H. Recreation

To escape from the daily toil, with its constant hazards, and the insanitary, poor quality housing, many workmen in mining areas retired to the warmth and conviviality of the alehouse. Those socially minded employers who did not have interests in the brewing trade, therefore supported recreational pursuits, which were considered morally suitable for their workers.

Music, traditionally most popular in the mining areas of South Wales, with their chapel choirs, was equally popular in the pit villages of Durham. In the Deerness valley united choirs of workmen and officials were formed, which were active in general entertainments and for specific causes - church and chapel needs, the temperance societies, aids for injured workmen¹¹⁴. Fife and drum bands and brass bands developed. In 1897 the owners agreed to a festival in aid of the Waterhouses Institute band, which was held underground in the Ballarat landing. Guests were brought into an unreal world of chinese lanterns, holly and mistletoe in a 6' high ballroom lit by coloured lamps. Pit lads were transformed into cloakroom attendants and refreshment sellers¹¹⁵, though they, in turn, were entertained around the beginning of the new year by colliery officials¹¹⁶.

Outside the world of music, the garden served not only as a source of food, but as a testing ground for horticultural ability. In 1869 garden produce began to be displayed¹¹⁷ and was exhibited every year afterwards, with visitors attending from Durham, Newcastle and Shields. As the show developed, so did the entertainments, with military tatoos, and showground amusements brought up by train and hauled to the showfield by carthorse. J.G. Crofton, the colliery manager, presided over the early horticultural society meetings, and it became the tradition to elect the manager to this position¹¹⁸.

Sport - football, cricket, bowls, tennis, were popular, and groups involved in more specialised hobbies like amateur dramatics, photography and the like, were developed, until in 1920 these individual groups became integrated into a wider recreational project when Pease and Partners implemented section 20 of the Mining Industry Act which had made provision for a fund 'for such purposes connected with the social well-being, recreation and conditions of living of workers in or about coal mines...'¹¹⁹. The scheme, sponsored by Richard Pease, covered Waterhouses and Esh Winning, and had on its council, workmen's representatives along with colliery officials. Three pence per week was deducted from workmen's wages for the scheme and at its peak had 500 members¹²⁰. Institutes provided by many colliery owners as meeting and recreational centres, had appeared in the Deerness valley in the 1870's and 1880's, run by a committee of workmen's representatives, colliery officials and outside figures like the minister or priest¹²¹. Here workmen could play billiards and dominoes, or read a wide range of current newspapers and periodicals. Workmen also began to attend Working Mens Clubs and Institutes which appeared in the 1890's and early decades of the 20th c. in the valley¹²². The Clubs, registered under the Friendly Societies Act (1896, 59 & 60 Vict., c.25), had trustees, committeemen, and members who paid a subscription. In 1902 Esh Winning and Waterhouses W.M.C. had 727 members. Such clubs were designed originally for meetings, recreation and mental and social improvement¹²³, though from the beginning of the 20th c. they became establishments where members could drink, discuss, display leeks and vegetables at annual shows, and be entertained by acts arranged by the committee.

Though the Peases never supported the clubs and pubs, they became established features that formed a part of village life, and existed alongside the Peases recreation scheme with its football and cricket.

The majority of provisions made by the Peases were essentially designed for the social, physical and spiritual betterment of the community - aid to the nursing scheme, support for the Esh Winning child welfare centre, the Aged Miners Homes etc. A.F. Pease boasted 'we have always had the interest of our workmen at heart'¹²⁴, and the building of houses, schools and institutes gave the villages an air of stability. The image of the wandering miner and his family living in a pit village for a year or so before moving on, so familiar in the 19th c., had gradually given way to more settled communities who had accepted the way of life and conditions, and decided to make their home in one particular village, and where subsequent generations chose to remain. The result was a close knit community, where people could actually reel off the names of occupants of each house in almost every street, and if they did not know them to talk to, they knew them by sight. There was a community spirit, where neighbours would help each other out in time of need, where you were drawn together in the congregation of church and chapel, where your relations might live next door, and where you worked in the pit with your marrow. The cart, charabanc, and bus, had joined with the passenger train service to increase communications, to Durham, Newcastle and elsewhere, but many stayed in the village and made only an occasional journey to the city - to the Gala or for a special shopping trip. But who needed to go to Durham when you could buy all you needed at the Coop? This insularity can be seen in the relationships between the villages. Due to their close proximity, villagers in Waterhouses knew many people in Esh Winning, but those only 2½ miles away in Pease's third village, Ushaw Moor, were considered something of an unknown quantity. What was familiar to all three villages was the pit, the sight of men walking to work, or returning home black with coal dust, the crakeman calling a union meeting, and the 'caller' rapping on miners windows to wake them ready for their shift.

CHAPTER 3. AT THE PIT

The houses of the pitmen surrounded the main work area, the colliery, with its shafts, drifts, heapstead, hoppers, workshops and stables, and the long batteries of cokeovens which converted the new won coal to coke ready for transportation by trucks brought to the collieries' own sidings (plate 15-16). The pit was the dominant landmark in the villages, with the noise of engines, the smoke from furnace chimneys, and the gas from 'slaked' ovens; it was the main form of employment on which the villagers depended.

The essential test drilling had proved the geological sequence, and located desirable seams of good quality coking coal of a high 'rank'. Initially the main method of working the coal in the valley was by shaft (plates 17 & 18), though, later, particularly at Waterhouses and Esh Winning, drift mining became an important method of working. Below the blueish and gravel mixed beds of clay in the valley there was a brown clay over a fathom thick, which was full of water, and the close proximity of all three pits to the river Deerness seems to have caused considerable problems for the sinkers, but once the technical problems of sinking were overcome the workforce increased to work the seams, and a structure of administration and work was established.

A. Authority and Management

In the early operations of the pits there were no resident managers, overall control came from elsewhere. At Waterhouses in 1861 and Esh Winning in 1871 the overman was the highest official. At the former pit control probably came from the Peases West main office, but by 1871 at Waterhouses there were two resident managers, father and son, perhaps suggesting that one of them controlled the nearby operations at Esh. There was a close relationship between the two collieries in the early years, not only in administration but also in terms of the unionism of

the two workforces. In 1881 there were two men at Ushaw Moor termed 'mining engineers', though from newspaper evidence it is clear that one was the manager and the other the mine agent, but by 1893 their power of control was taken over by the Peases.

The arrival of John George Crofton at Esh Winning was probably the most important stage in a programme of establishing firm control of the Peases operations in the Deerness valley. Prior to his arrival as mining engineer, the viewers had worked only short periods from one or two years, but his appointment was to be long term. Crofton was a young, up and coming Durham Engineer who trained under Douglas, the chief agent at the Peases West office. He first visited Waterhouses in 1863 in the company of Joseph Pease¹, and was subsequently appointed to the management of that colliery, but remained only a few months until the beginning of 1867 when he moved with his wife to Denbighshire. Probably in 1879 he returned to Durham and was given control of the Pease's collieries in the valley, (including Ushaw Moor after 1893), taking up residence at Esh Villa in Esh Winning. Esh Villa was a creation of brick with an air of grandeur and elegance, the colonnaded front facing out onto a lawn and the wooded valley side, and looking away from the pit. At the rear were the stables and sheds for the manager's private carriage, and from the rear of the house a gravel roadway, lined with well maintained flowerbeds led down to the colliery houses and the pit.

From Esh Villa Crofton controlled not only the running of the pits, but also the maintenance of the colliery houses and the public buildings provided by the coalowners. All necessary repair work to the houses was carried out by the collieries' own workmen. At the schools they repaired the yard surface, maintained the school road and carried out the painting of classrooms, and Crofton checked on their work. In 1897 when the medical officer objected to the blocked state of drains and the condition

of earth closets at Waterhouses it was Crofton who arranged to have the problem dealt with². He rode on horseback round the streets checking on the housing, making sure it was kept clean and tidy, and that the gardens were well maintained. If an employee did not cultivate his garden he would be threatened with eviction.

Crofton was an Anglican, supporting particularly St. Stephens church in Esh Winning³. He was linked to the Waterhouses, Hedley Hill and Hamilton Temperance Society, presented prizes at the art and science classes, and acted as president of the Floral and Horticultural Society⁴. Politically Crofton was, like his masters, a Liberal. He had given his support to Pease's electioneering for Parliament, and had connections with the Waterhouses Liberal Association, whose secretary was Tom Pearson, the miners secretary⁵. Crofton remained in charge of the collieries until June, 1913 when he suffered a paralytical seizure. Electrical treatment at Harrogate failed and he died there in August of the same year⁶.

Young Joseph Pease, who was receiving management training from Crofton, was left at Esh Winning in charge of the valley pits. His retention was a mistake for, due to his intransigence over a relatively minor problem the Waterhouses miners came out on strike. Head Office forced him to solve the matter amicably and the strike was called off⁷.

In the latter half of 1913 Meyrick Palmer, who had managed Pease's collieries at Bowden Close and Wooley, came to the Deerness valley and took charge of the three collieries. He remained six years before being appointed agent for the Allerton Main collieries, and was succeeded by Percival Ryle, who had been at Peases West. He trained at the firm's office under Tom Greener, and then moved to Pease's Thorne colliery as surveyor under Herbert Greener, Tom's son (plate 14a). On Herbert succeeding his father as manager of Pease's collieries at Crook and the Deerness valley, Ryle took charge of Thorne in 1914⁸. In late 1919 Ryle took over the management of

the Deerness valley collieries and remained there until Pease and Partners carried out a major reorganisation of their management structure, giving Herbert Greener chief agency of all Pease's collieries, and moving Ryle to the Peases West office. P. Widdas, who had been in charge of Roddymoor colliery, then took over the Deerness valley operations. By the late 1920's, however, he was moved to Ushaw Moor and D.G. Wylie was given control of Esh Winning and Waterhouses, and this division of management continued through nationalisation, until 1953, after which the three pits had separate managers.

The managers were trusted officials, usually over 25 years of age, who, in accordance with mining law, had passed an examination, including a viva with a mining board of owners, workers, mining specialists and Mines Inspectors, set up by the Secretary of State. The manager held a ticket proving his competence in all aspects of mining - engineering science, mathematics, geology, use of machinery, theory and practice of ventilation, use of explosives, and general management of the colliery and its workforce. The Deerness valley manager was responsible to the agent or headviewer at Peases West, and it was to the agent that the manager sent his monthly and annual reports, plans, estimates, predictions, relations with the work-force - in fact every aspect of the working of the collieries, from the estimated tonnage of coal remaining in a seam, to the names of ponies injured during working.

During the period of three colliery control by a single manager, he was aided by under managers stationed at each pit, who reported and consulted with him, while the actual underground operations were overseen by the overmen, who were responsible for particular areas of the pit, and the deputies or deputy overmen. At Waterhouses in 1874 the ratio of overmen to deputies was 1:4, and by 1928 it was 1:3, with 7 overmen and 21 deputies⁹. The deputies were usually drawn from the hewers, and were men who were

regular and trustworthy in their work, and generally respected. They were given responsibility for a flat and the work undertaken there, and the safety of both men and workings. When the men entered the pit or drift they met the deputy at his 'kist' or wooden case that served as a desk, and from there he allocated work. He was responsible for writing reports and informing the overman on daily conditions.

An important safety aspect in which the deputies were involved was the provisioning of supports in the work area, setting up props with lids and cross-trees to hold up the roof, and checking on packing. Enough timber was brought in so that the workmen could insert their own props as they progressed. The deputy also removed props which had become redundant, with his prop maul. This made his job one of the most dangerous in the pit because of the possibility of a roof collapse once the prop was removed. In 1885 a 44 year old deputy, Whitfield Maddison, was caught in a fall of stone and died two months later. At the subsequent inquest, coroner Thomas Dean declared his death to be accidental¹⁰. John Atkinson, a Government Inspector of Mines said that fatalities amongst deputies was higher than among the workmen they were there to protect¹¹, though the introduction of the 'Sylvester' increased safety by hauling out the props from a distance by chains and crank.

The deputies also fitted brattices and doors to control the air flow in the workings, and they ensured that the ventilation was adequate. While doing their rounds they checked that the furnaces used in the ventilation system were burning or that fans were working. The Mines Acts required a deputy to enter the workings first to check for gas using a safety lamp - a development of the lamps of Dr. Clanny and Sir Humphrey Davey. At Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor there was some gas, and in 1882 John Briscoe was brought before a caution board for contravening the Mines Regulation Act by entering Ushaw Moor pit with a naked light¹². At Waterhouses there

does not appear to have been gas, except for foul air, probably stythe, found when breaking into or reopening old workings. Testing was done by entering with a lamp and checking for a blue mantle over the flame, and then clearing by ventilating with fresh air. The lack of dangerous gas at Waterhouses meant that the miners could use a naked flame in the workings. In some cases candles were used, deputies are known to have carried candles through the mine, and miners stuck candles into lumps of clay which they stuck in a suitable place. Small 'midge' lamps were used, as were carbide lamps until the introduction of the battery powered lamp.

Deputies were also responsible for shot firing, using a variety of techniques as blasting methods developed, from kittys and squibs to electrical exploders. They examined tubline to ensure it was secure and in good order. An amount of money was collected under the title of 'deputies nails', which was used to buy 'dogs' at the Coop. This money seems to have been raised by the deputies, and they were reimbursed by the management, who tried to ensure that the nails were used economically in the laying of track¹³.

B. Underground Workers

Like the officials who had a structure based on rank, so the 'miners' had a grading of work by age, strength and experience, from the trapper lad to the hewer who dug the coal at the face (plates 19b and 20). It was possible for the hewer to ascend the ladder to the ranks of the officials, by study and examination to become a deputy, and even to take a managers ticket, but for the vast majority there was a lifelong experience of labour below and above ground.

Mining historians have frequently concentrated on the underground worker to the detriment of other colliery workers, and the majority of published reminiscences detail activities of the particular grades underground.

Details concerning their number in County Durham are provided in some of the early D.C.O.A. published lists, managers reports, and the yearly totals of all underground workers which appeared in Coal Trade directories. Examining their number in detail in each village is, however, extremely difficult, particularly with the census, as the descriptions in the 'occupation' column are invariably imprecise, and 'miner' is the most frequent term used by colliery workers. From other sources it is clear that 'miner' does not always mean an underground worker - lampkeepers, for instance, and other surface workers used this title, while others probably hid themselves under the equally general title of 'labourer'. Even boys of 11 and 12, who probably cleaned tubs or opened trap doors, called themselves miners.

Due to their size young children provided a readily exploitable labour force to work in low and narrow areas. Since the Royal Commission of 1842 on the Employment of Children and Young Persons in the Mines¹⁴ had revealed the horrifying conditions under which children under 10 years of age worked below ground; the Mines Act of 1842 forbade the use of boys under 10 underground. The minimum age of 10 continued throughout legislation on mining practice up to 1887 when the Coal Mines Regulation Act¹⁵ forbade the use of children under 12 years of age above or below ground, and a child of 12 was not to work more than 10 hours a day. Later amendments raised the minimum age to 13 in 1900, 14 in 1911 and 16 in 1954¹⁶.

Young children under 15 were set on to work at the new valley pits. In the majority of cases they were sons of miners, or if their father was dead, an elder brother might be a miner, so that family connections with the mine would be a major influence on the choice of employment of a child, although, with mining being the dominant industry in the villages, the alternatives were limited. Some began work as surface workers, starting off with menial tasks such as cleaning tubs, and removing the hewers' and

putters' tokens from the tubs before they were sent back underground. At Esh the banksmen were responsible for finding lads to do these jobs¹⁷. Other boys coupled and uncoupled tubs, while others greased tub axles, working underground and receiving 2/11d for a 10 hour shift in 1874. Some were also sent to work on the heaps for a 1/- a day¹⁸.

A boy's first real job underground was as a trapper, operating the doors which diverted air from the downcast shaft or drift entrance, through the workings to the upcast. In the early 1870's they were few in number, suggesting that they were operating doors on main airways, where the sets were being moved. Canvas doors would be hung in other areas for diverting the air. The trapper's job was a lonely task, alleviated only by the passing of tubs, and if the lad did not concentrate and a door was damaged, he would be given a thrashing by the deputy. Trapping was a form of initiation to underground conditions. In 1902 a trapper worked 10 hours for 5½ days at 10d a day, a penny increase on the wage of his 1888 counter-part¹⁹.

By the 14th or 15th year trapper lads moved on to become pony drivers, taking a number of tubs, called a set, from a flat to the landing or drift mouth. Although some of the lads cursed the ponies and were rough with them if they were being temperamental, they were generally liked by the men, and some were certainly considered as pets. The poor animals had a heavy working life. In 1875 a pony pulled a 'set' of five tubs 264 yards out, and brought empty tubs back. In one day the pony raised 100 tubs, weighing roughly 75 tons, and had walked approximately 6 miles²⁰. In the 1870's and 1880's drivers were paid around 1/8d a day, though Pease and Partners gave a premium to boys who produced their ponies in the best order at the end of the year. The boys plaited the mane and tail of the ponies, and covered their heads with coloured cloth decorated with beads²¹.

Around 16, as a boy became stronger, he moved on to 'putting'. At Esh

Winning and Waterhouses it appears that the moving of tubs to the hewers, and the removal of full tubs, was done by hand, though at Pease's Ushaw Moor pit, pony putting was employed as well as hand putting. There were different terms for the putters, depending on their physical strength. A putter who did not have the strength to push tubs alone was known as a 'headsman', and was assisted by another boy, known as a 'foal' if he was younger. Those of equal age were called 'half marrows'. Even the older putters needed assistance on some gradients, and a 'helper upper' would be called for, although he could only assist if the slope was greater than that fixed by agreement between the union and the management. In 1883 a helper upper could assist if the incline was over 1:25 for full tubs and 1:5 for empty tubs²².

Putters were paid by the score of full tubs brought out by winding engine and wire rope, or by cage, coupled together as a set. Once a tub had been filled by a hewer, the putter attached his token to the tub, from a bundle he kept near him, and then pushed the tub out along the track, bringing back a 'chum'. Due to the varying distances to which the putters had to travel to supply the different hewers with tubs, payment was also made to the putter at a scale based on distance. A set starting distance was known as a 'rank' or 'renk' of 80 yards for which a particular amount would be paid. In the 1870's the rank was 1/4d, and a penny per score paid for every 20 yards beyond the rank²³ for hand putters, and 130 yards rank with a penny per score for every additional 20 yards for the pony putters. Their allocation to particular hewers was decided, like the hewers positions at the face, by cavilling, discussed below in relation to the hewers. At Waterhouses in 1928 there were 60 putters serving 160 hewers, with 21 drivers taking out the tubs²⁴.

The change from putter to hewer was not always instant, but often involved a gradual acquisition of experience of the new task - from hewing

but concentrating on putting, to become a 'hewing putter', and ultimately a hewer.

The hewers were the coal winners, and were usually over 21 years of age. It was their job to produce good round merchantable coal, and they were paid on piecework with some allowance for conditions. The main method of working was by bord and wall (or bord and pillar) (Fig.14), which involved the creation of a 'flat', a wide area where track and switches could be laid, one line to take full tubs outbye, and a 'chum way' inbye. 'Bargain men' then worked a main headway, and from this the hewers, marrowed together, began working off at ninety-degrees on either side. Once a particular distance had been reached, 'walls' were then cut at right angles, and parallel to the roadway, resulting in the creation of pillars. The cutting through of the coal at various points to connect a number of bordways resulted in the creation of through passages called 'headways'. Bordways were usually wider than headways, and this extractive process was known as working the 'whole'. At a later stage the pillars were worked in what became known as the 'broken' mine. The cutting into a pillar was known as 'Jenkins' or 'Jenkings' - 'fast Jenkins' where the cutting was made into the pillar from a headway that did not break out sideways into the bordway; and 'loose Jenkins' which cut from a bordway.

Bord and wall continued in use in the valley pits throughout their history, though 'longwall' was also adopted, where the hewers worked a long advancing face, a system which, however, did not allow the same degree of independence which the hewer found in his 'stall'.

The actual digging out of the coal was done by 'kirving' the seam or undercutting, and then supporting it with sprags until the face was brought down by a shot fired by a deputy. The hewer then used a broad leaf-shaped shovel to remove the coal into tubs supplied by the putters. For this, the hewer was paid by the score of tubs filled with the coal he had dug.

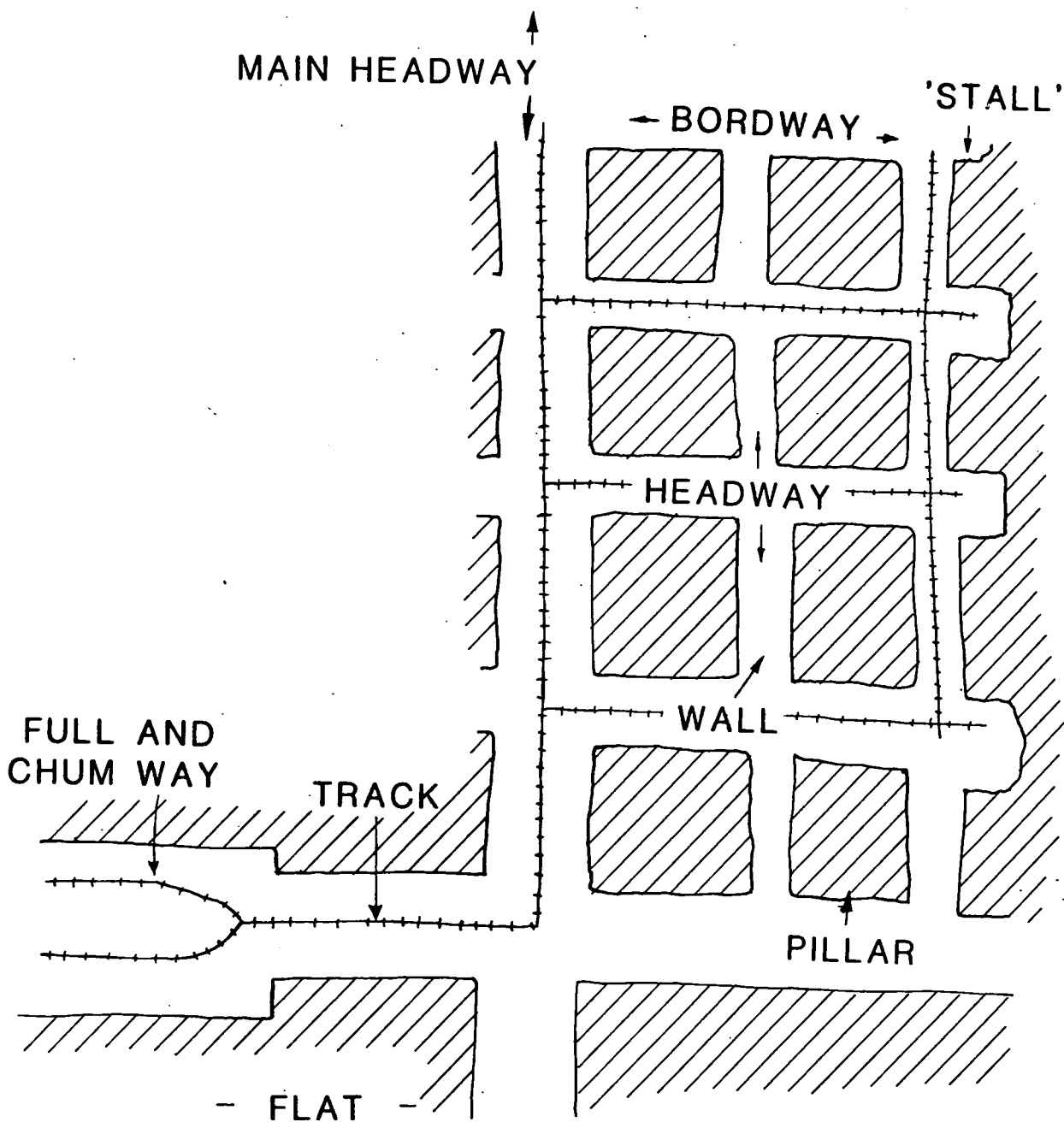


Fig.14 BORD AND WALL MINING

A score was not 20 but 25, and each tub was to contain 6cwt. 1 quarter and 17 lbs of good coal. Thus the hewer was expected to dig 2 tons and 25 lbs of coal to make a score. Score price varied according to selling price, and if a tub did not contain the required amount, no payment would be made on that tub. Excessive amounts of stone mixed with the coal could also lead to a fine, and the tub would be 'set out' or 'laid out', the token indicating the hewer responsible. The hewer's wage was also affected by the different conditions and aspects of the job, and the monies paid out were also dependent on local and county agreements. Working the 'broken', for instance, meant a lower payment than working the 'whole'. Between 1876 and 1890 the difference in score price in the whole and broken of the Main coal seam at Waterhouses varied from 5d to 3/3d. Geological conditions - the height of the seam, the presence of faults, hitches and rolls, and water also influenced the wage, as did the amount of clay and ramble that had to be moved.

As a check on the amount of coal raised from which the wage was computed, the owners employed a weighman. The workers, in the early years feared that this appointment could be used to fraudulently alter the weights in favour of the management and they themselves paid for a man to check the weight. However, due to a clause in the 1860 Mines Regulation and Inspection Act it was found that 'If the masters do not approve of the man whom they choose, the masters have the power of putting him aside'. 'The men think that when they have the choice of the man who is appointed to weigh on the pit heaps, and when they pay him, they should have the power of placing any man there that they think fit'²⁵. The 1887 Coal Mines Regulation Act made it possible to have checkweighers - men trusted by the workers, and victors of a works ballot, to check the weights. The checkweighers were usually lodge officials and, as Joe Gormley noted in his autobiography, they had to be tough enough to stand up to the management over decisions made on weight²⁶.

Due to the unavoidable natural conditions in certain areas of the workings, inequalities in working could arise, and thus an attempt at equalling out the difficult and easier workings among the men was made by 'cavilling'. This was a system of drawing lots for work places each quarter, and at most collieries there were established rules on the subject. The system resulted in rotation so that when men were cavilled inbye and outbye side of a flat, the first cavil on the outbye side would be the first to move inbye side, and the last cavil on the inbye side would be the first to move outbye side. The putters supplying the different hewers with tubs, were consequently affected in the number of tubs they moved by the same conditions that affected the hewers' output. They were, therefore, subject to cavilling, varying the distance of putting, but rotating so that things were equalised. The first cavil usually meant the putter working for the hewers who were the closest to, and furthest away from, the flat. The second cavil worked with the hewers who were second closest and further away from the flat, and so on.

In the shift system it was common for two hewers to 'marrow' themselves together to work a stall for which they shared the going rate of pay. This system developed a close friendship between miners who shared out the work equally. On one cavilling day a pitman threw up the cavils when he found that he was not working with his marrow²⁷.

From the miners actual wage the hewer had to provide his own drill and pick, usually bought at the Coop, and one penny per week was deducted to pay a boy who carried picks for sharpening. Also, when he required a shot firing, his name was entered into a book at the magazine cabin, and a deduction would be made to cover the cost of explosive. Other deductions included money for the health and recreation schemes. The Owners, for their part, provided housing or rent, and at the pit they allocated shovels, mauls, wedges, besoms and tokens to the workers.

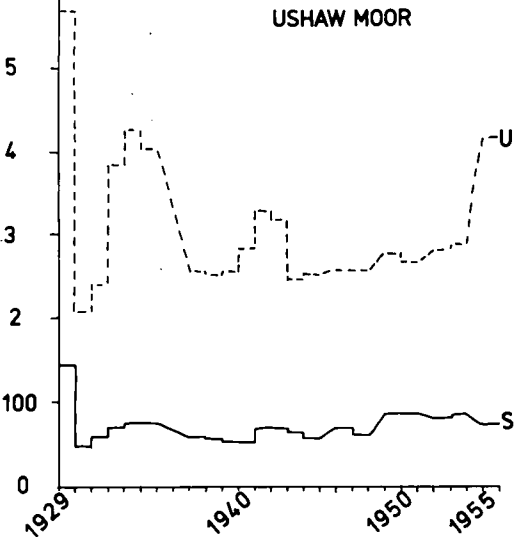
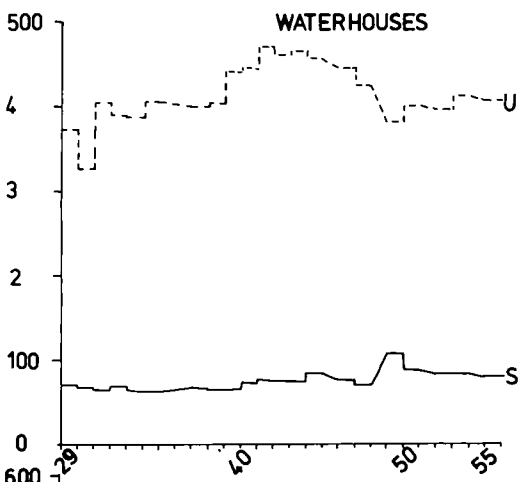
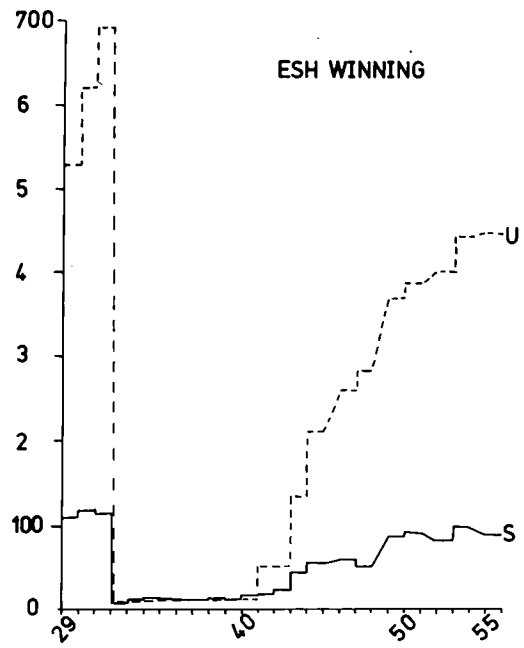
C. Surface Workers

The bringing out of full tubs, handling and processing of the produce, and the returning of tubs to the underground workers, was dealt with by a surface workforce with a variety of jobs, some specialised, while some were just general labourers. In terms of documentation they are less well recorded than the underground workers, and are also difficult to identify in census material. It is unclear from this source whether craft workers are colliery mechanics or in private business, construction trades, etc., while the unspecific term 'labourer' could refer to surface workers, coke-yard men or others. Certainly, based on D.C.O.A. lists there are far more 'labourers' listed in the census returns than were officially employed at the collieries. For later years the figures provided in the Colliery Yearbook and Coal Trades Directories indicate that at all three pits surface workers were always fewer in number than underground workers - see fig.15.

In the haulage process, the tubs brought out by the putters to the flat, were transferred to the landing by the drivers and organised by the onsetter who dealt with full and chum tubs. Once a full set was ready he 'rapped' to the 'offtake man'. Different signals rapped could indicate that full tubs were ready or empty tubs were needed, and also the number. Rapping was superseded by the advent of the telephone.

The 'offtakes' man at the drifts changed the ropes when moving tubs back to the drifts or on to the heapstead. Hauling engines pulled the tubs on 'main and tail' rope, and at the shafts, winding-enginemmen raised and lowered tubs and men, in cages (plate 21a). In the raising operation whimgins were used at some pits, and at Brandon in 1860 a gin was turned by a bull²⁸, though at Waterhouses at the same time 'the most approved machinery is in operation'; at Esh Winning this was a beam engine. The descent shafts were later sealed, though at Waterhouses the upcast

FIG. 15. - UNDERGROUND & SURFACE WORKERS
 [Source - Colliery Yearbook & Coal Trades Directory]



shaft was kept open, and occasionally men were lowered down it in a 'kibble' to clean and maintain the pumps (plate 17b). Heavy equipment was also lowered by 'whimgin'-a drum of rope and winder, with the rope running over the headstock and down the shaft (plate 21b). The turning of the winder, either by carthorse or men, sometimes in combination with an engine, raised or lowered the burden. Yet even with approved machinery, the shafts were dangerous places. At Ushaw Moor in 1882 the cage became stuck in the shaft²⁹ and at Waterhouses a labourer, George Franks, was struck and killed by a cage³⁰.

Once the tubs reached the heapstead they were pushed one by one by 'banksmen' into the 'kickups' - supports into which the tubs were securely set and then tipped over so that the coal fell down a shute. Once emptied, the tubs were hauled back and released ready to be sent back to the workings.

The tipped coal fell onto the screens where it was graded, and where stone and 'band' was removed, usually by young boys aged around 13 or 14, called 'wailers', although some older men and those unfit for other work performed this task. A spare screener usually pulled the coals off the screen for crushing, and moved coals onto a 'slide'. Once this had been done a 'lobby lad' pulled the slide, filling the tubs below. There were hoppers at the colliery for house coal, but until the 1920's the majority of coal was sent to the pits own coke ovens.

The actual control and smooth running of the surface colliery operations was given to a 'keeper' or 'bank inspector'. The surface was a busy area, particularly at the heapstead, and around the pit yard and the workshops of the mechanics. These workers were not only employed in construction and repair work underground and at bank, but they also maintained the colliery housing and public buildings. The term 'colliery mechanic' covered a wide range of jobs - masons, bricklayers, fitters, blacksmiths (plate 19a), strikers, welders, carpenters, sawyers, electricians and painters. At their

workshops tubs were 'mended', electrical repairs carried out, and ponies shod. Both horses and ponies worked at the pits (plate 28), with stabling above and below ground; 30 to 43 of them working at Esh Winning and Waterhouses in the 1920's³¹. For those below ground feed and straw was brought in by tub, and manure was taken out by the same means. All the ponies were named, and some like blind 'Old Briton', at Waterhouses, had worked for so long that the guidance of a human driver was virtually unnecessary, the pony knew exactly what to do.

The men who looked after the horses and ponies were often older workers or shifters, though some managers preferred men with previous knowledge of horses. In 1874 they received 23/8d a week, along with a colliery house³². The horsekeeper's duties included the maintenance of healthy ponies capable of the daily task of pulling tubs, and a basic veterinary knowledge was needed in the treatment of the injuries and ailments, skin diseases, cracked heels and worms to which the ponies occasionally succumbed. One horsekeeper, Joseph Emerson of Waterhouses referred in his black leather bound notebook to curative mixtures which included turpentine in pennyworth amounts, laudanum and olive oil³³. He was also responsible for the maintenance of the harness, which comprised the bridle, bit and blinkers over the head, with a braffin round the neck. Reins from the bridle ran through rings fitted onto the braffin, and over the back. On the pony's back was a narrow saddle, and harnessing which was strapped round and underneath the pony's tail. 'U'-shaped 'limbers' fitted round the rear of the pony, and bars on either side of its body were secured onto the harness and braffin by chains. A metal coupling on the limbers could then be connected to the tub by inserting a through-pin. The pony then pulled, depending on its strength, from two to four tubs.

The dangers of underground work, accidents and deaths from roof col-

lapse, explosions, gassing etc., have frequently been reported on by writers and official boards of inquiry³⁴, but the surface was also an area beset by potential hazards, the source of both accidents and deaths, though far less well documented. One of the most dangerous areas, it would seem, was the colliery railway track and sidings where coal trucks were being moved. In 1882 Thomas Tinion, a screener lad at Waterhouses, climbed down a ladder from the heapstead screens and was caught by a passing truck and killed³⁵, and at Esh Winning in the same year a banksman had to have a leg amputated after he was knocked down by a truck³⁶. William Dewhurst, a 57 year old truck shifter, also received extensive injuries in 1889 when he was crushed between trucks. He died 2 years later³⁷. The hazards of the heapstead are also highlighted in the death of a boy working in the area of the screens and hoppers at Waterhouses, who was caught by tipping coal, and on being recovered from the heap was found to have died of suffocation³⁸. No doubt there were other injuries in the workshops and forge, but details and figures are rare.

D. The Cokeworks

From the heapstead the majority of coal raised, prior to the 1920's, was sent the short distance to the ovens for conversion to coke. The Deerness valley ovens were beehive shaped domes 10½ - 11 feet in diameter and about 7 feet high, constructed of firebricks. At the top was an opening 1'3" diameter with a rim of firebrick voussoirs, and at the front an arched door 3'6" wide. The ovens were constructed in rows, either single or back to back, with cross walls to support overhead track (plate 22a). Between the rows was a central flue which took waste gas to a chimney, sometimes the hot gas being used to heat boilers. In front of the batteries of ovens was a raised bench with railway track at a lower level.

The coal was taken in special tubs holding 18 cwt. to the ovens pre-

pared by the drawers at the time of the pit starting to draw. Men known as 'small-runners' pushed the tubs along the overhead rails by running on low plates or planks (plate 22b). This was an athletic task, as the plates were often very narrow, and the runner could easily fall onto the oven domes. The runner positioned the tub over the mouth of the oven, a slide was removed from the base of the tub, and the coal funnelled into the oven through the tub's 15" aperture. Six or seven tubs were usually required to charge the oven. The coal was then spread by men called 'levellers' using rakes. These men ensured that the fine and rough coals were equally mixed, and properly levelled to ensure that burning, which began at the top, continued evenly to the bottom.

The heat from connected ovens resulted in the combustion of the coal which was controlled by the 'burners', who were men skilled in regulating the flow of air to the oven. The loose firebrick blocking of the arched door allowed air to pass into the oven, and it was the flow of air which had to be controlled to ensure that its mixture with the gases from the coal produced the right state of combustion to form a bright, hard and dense coke. The gaps between the bricks could be blocked by plaster applied by a 'dauber lad'. The oven would be left to burn, with an occasional check at various times of the day to ensure that everything was alright.

Fordyce, in 1860, wrote that it was 72 to 96 hours before the coke was ready for drawing³⁹, however, in 1879 there had been a complaint by the East Hedley Hope cokemen that they were required to draw their ovens after 42 hours⁴⁰. It is clear that at Waterhouses, Esh Winning, New Brancepeth, Hamsteels, Bearpark and Cornsay the normal system was to draw after 48 hours.

Under the supervision of the burner, the 'coke drawer' would carefully take down the first two rows of quarls at the oven door, and insert a hose pipe into the burning furnace, and spray the oven's contents. This process

was called 'slaking'. There was a particular technique to the spraying, applying the water in the right direction to ensure proper cooling. The amount of water applied had to be judged by the drawer; over watering could destroy the coke, and underwatering before drawing could result in the coke retaining fire, requiring further watering which could turn it into useless ballast. Once the cooling was complete the drawer began removing the firebricks from the door with a hooked implement, saving the firebricks for re-use. He then used a heavy rake or shovel fixed to a bar and balance, to remove the coke by forcing the shovel into the oven and hauling the fuel out onto the bench. A drawer normally cleared three 11' ovens in a working day.

Once out on the bench the coke was loaded into rail trucks by 'fillers', and any remaining breeze and rubbish was cleared away by the general cokeyard labourers.

Workforce totals are difficult to calculate from census material and D.C.O.A. lists are unfortunately unreliable or not complete enough to be precise, though a general range of 40 to 50 workers were probably active per yard, and at Waterhouses in 1877 an arbitration case indicates 71 employees, though it also hints at overmanning at that time⁴¹. There were usually only one or two specialist burners at each yard, and usually around 5 small-runners, levellers, daubers and labourers. The greatest number of workers were those involved in drawing and filling, probably up to 20 in each group. Due to the nature of the burning process there were no stated hours, and the men were paid on piece work, the drawers were paid by the oven, the runners and levellers also by the oven, and the fillers by the number of trucks loaded⁴².

The overall running of the yards was in the hands of coke inspectors, of whom the earliest recorded was Henry Bowes (plate 14b). He came to Waterhouses in 1864 and two years later was appointed manager of Pease's

Deerness valley coke ovens. This job he held for 22 years until he resigned in 1887, three years before his death⁴³. He was succeeded by Moses Wharton, first as manager and then as general coke inspector. Through his scientific knowledge the production and quality of the coke from the beehive ovens was increased⁴⁴. By the time of his retirement in 1922 the valley yards were finished as a viable concern.

During the Pease control of the Deerness valley collieries their operations were labour intensive. Mechanisation made only limited inroads, and output by this method only increased after nationalisation. The method of extraction relied heavily on the pick and shovel, and bord and wall work.

The bord and wall method was common throughout the northern coalfield, as was the hierarchical structure of the workforce, based on age, experience and strength. Throughout Durham and Northumberland, with some small variations, a boy would proceed through the grades from trapper to putter and on to hewer. This system allowed for progression through the underground grades and was not constrained by distinct craft groups with restricted entry. Even though it was possible for a few workers to become officials, for most men the highest grade was the hewer - a high status, well paid, piecework job, with considerable autonomy. Unlike South Wales where the manager allocated work places,⁴⁵ the north-east cavilling system ensured an equitable work allocation at the face. The defence of the miners high wage status and work rate, along with the loyalty and support built up with the system of marrowing, contributed to the strength of the miners union. Just as a father brought his child into the mine, he also saw to it that the child entered the union. As soon as a young miner received his first wage he paid his contribution and joined the lodge. It was a means to protect his labour and a force to work for better wages and conditions.



CHAPTER 4. 'UNITY IS STRENGTH'

Prior to 1869 the miner was employed on a 'Yearly Bond', usually entered into on the 5th of April when the colliery official read out the rate of pay and the conditions available at the pit. Those who signed up were usually given 2/6d to start work, and the normal system was to pay wages fortnightly, the non-pay week being known as 'baff-week'. Compared with other industries the Durham miners, and particularly the hewers, were on the whole well paid, and the provision of free houses and coal to certain grades of worker was an added incentive for them to work in what were sometimes isolated regions.

But set against this was the considerable fluctuation in the trade which affected employment and the rate of pay, and which resulted in determined efforts by the miners to retain their high wage status.

There was, however, no standard rate of pay even in one pit or in one grade of work. Both piecework and day wage rates were paid. The quality of the cavit, the geological conditions, the amount of water, the value of the renk and its additional rates, and the effort made by the worker influenced the amount which appeared at the top of the pay note, before the deductions for pick-sharpening, powder etc. The piecework wage of the hewer was based on the 'score' of tubs filled, not 20 but 25, and there was an unerring regularity in the alterations to score price, which often differed from seam to seam. He could also be fined for the amount of stone mixed with the coal. At Brancepeth the full tubs which failed to come out-by with the coal level with the tub top were rejected, and the hewer lost money. At that same pit the coal owner and Methodist preacher, Joseph Love, worked children 16 hours a day in 1871¹. But if anyone broke the Bond he was liable to arrest, trial and imprisonment. If he struck in an attempt to improve conditions, the law was largely against him. If he stood on a picket line, and even looked at a blackleg, it could be construed as coercion under the 1871 Criminal Law Amendment (Violence) Act

for which he could receive 3 months imprisonment.

Several attempts had been made to form a miners union in the north of England, most notably in the 1830's and '40's, but the owners succeeded in smashing them, yet the general desire for unity was not quenched. According to John Wilson, four incidents in the 1860's led to the creation of a new union in 1869 - the Mines Regulation and Inspection Act of 1860; the 1862 disaster at Carr and Co's. colliery at Hartley in Northumberland, when 205 men and boys died because the owners did not provide two ventilation shafts; the Brancepeth 'Rocking strike' over filling tubs, in 1863; and most notably the breaking of the Yearly Bond in the courts by W.P. Roberts in 1869. In that same year the Durham Miners Mutual Association was formed in the Market Hotel in Durham, (henceforth referred to as the D.M.A.), which was to stand the test of time, strike and economic depression.

A. The Valley Lodges : Early struggles and Liberalism

The formation of lodges of the D.M.A. in the Deerness valley occurred probably at the beginning of the 1870's, and certainly before 1872. William Patterson, the union agent, and Tommy Ramsey (plate 23) began meetings in the area at this time. Tommy, a 'sacrificed man', and pioneer of the union, who was well known for carrying a crake to attract people to listen to speeches, held meetings on street corners and in the public houses, and succeeded in persuading the local miners to form lodges of the union. The important part played by Tommy in forming the Waterhouses lodge was recalled on the 1892 banner which showed him entering a room to inform William Crawford that 'They are all in the union now'². By 1872 there were 190 members of the Waterhouses lodge, 230 at Esh Winning and 100 at Ushaw Moor³. Due to the problems of estimating the total number of miners in each village, it is not possible to calculate the proportion of union men to non-unionists, though there seems to have been an extremely

high percentage of men who belonged to the union. Later evidence, particularly from Waterhouses in 1881, however, indicates that there were non-unionists working at that colliery⁴.

Soon after the lodges had been formed a subscription was opened, and a joint banner was acquired for Waterhouses and Esh Winning. It portrayed Joseph Cowen, the editor of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, who aided the Tyneside engineers in their strike for a nine-hour day in 1871, and the hopeful message -

'May miners flourish, and trade increase

And effectually grant a lasting peace'⁵.

The hope was, unfortunately, short lived. The lodges had been formed during a period of relatively good trade in the British coal industry, but by 1874 the high peak in coal sales had come to an end, and the need to be competitive and profitable led to a demand by the coal owners for a reduction in the mens wages of 20%. John Wilson recalled that the leaders of the D.M.A. considered the state of trade, and agreed to offer 10%, but many of the rank and file members objected to any reduction, and there was a strike for a week from the 8th of May 1874 until the 10% was generally accepted⁶. Waterhouses, it is clear, was one colliery which was involved in the strike, and it led to a number of families leaving, and more families left as the Owners Association continued to demand a 20% reduction later in the year. Arbitration led to a 9% reduction in wages, based on the 43% advances gained since 1871. Almost immediately, at the beginning of 1875, the owners demanded further reductions, and the schoolmaster at Waterhouses wrote in his log book of fears at Waterhouses that another strike was imminent. In an arbitration case the men's wages were reduced in April, 5% for underground men and 4% for banksmen. In January 1876 the wages were again reduced by 7% and 4% for the two groups of workers, and in September the next arbitration case led to a reduction of 6% and 4%.

These arbitration cases ended on the 10th of March 1877, when a sliding scale was adopted in County Durham, remaining in force for two years⁷.

Throughout the winter of 1878 the coal trade was in a depressed state, and on the 4th of February 1879 the Owners and the D.M.A. met. The Owners demanded reductions of 20% for underground workers and 12% for banksmen, which the D.M.A. considered unjustifiable, and they offered 7½% reduction with open arbitration⁸. The Owners then offered to split the reduction up, 10% and 7½% for the two groups of workers, beginning in March, and 10% and 5% referred to arbitration. The D.M.A. tried to compromise; 10% and 7½%, or 7% and 6% with the remainder to go to arbitration⁹. The Owners refused, but later returned to the table and demanded 15% and 10%. The miners refused and urged open arbitration, at which the Owners issued notices to quit on the 5th of April. The miners were left with little choice, but balloting was undertaken to see if any would be willing to accept the Owners terms. 25,000 workers voted against acceptance, and on the 7th of April a county coal strike began¹⁰.

On the 12th, 5,000 workers from 13 collieries met in a field at Esh Winning and they demanded simply open arbitration or a return to their original wages. The D.M.A. again made an offer to the Owners of 7½% and 6%, or, if the members agreed, a single reduction of 10% and 7½%¹¹. The Owners refused.

In the pits of the valley, as elsewhere, the Owners succeeded in getting a number of men to work on, much to the anger of the strikers. Vast crowds jeered and tin-canned them as they walked to and from work protected by police. One man was injured by broken bricks thrown by a crowd at Waterhouses, though he was saved by a policeman; other blacklegs were beaten or threatened, and at Hamsteels a near riot broke out between strikers and blacklegs protected by police¹². Truncheon was matched against pickaxe handle, and the situation was only saved from even greater

violence by the arrival of police reinforcements from Durham who remained in the district.

On the 26th of April the coalowners met to consider the situation. J.W. Pease offered common sense proposals. He saw that neither side should be seen as coming out of the dispute as the victor, and he urged open arbitration. But in the end he was overruled¹³. Two days later representatives from Waterhouses, Esh, Hamsteels, Cornsay, Quebec, Sleetburn, Bearpark, Langley Park, Brandon, Findon and Boyne met at Hamsteels. One speaker, Mr. Pyle of Quebec, scoffed at the report by secretary Bunning of the Owners Association that a miner would still get 4/- after the 15% had been removed. Mr. Pyle earned 3/9d a day, and the employers wanted 15% off that, even before he had paid for pick sharpening, blasting powder and other gear. All Mr. Pyle could see ahead was destitution and starvation, and a general call went up for open arbitration. James Hope of Waterhouses, fearing reprisals, also made the plea that all men should be reinstated before work commenced¹⁴.

By May the Owners had agreed to set up liaison committees with workers representatives, and these in turn eventually sought the arbitration of Judge Bradshaw¹⁵. Bradshaw awarded reductions of 8 3/4% and 6.3/4%, and these figures both sides accepted¹⁶. On the 21st May the men went back to work, and received a further reduction from Lord Derby of 1.1/4% for both groups of workers, underground and surface.

During these early days very little is actually known of the early officials of the valley lodges, due mainly to the lack of lodge minutes and registers. Occasionally the signatures of men's representatives are to be found in the colliery Agreement Book, but in the majority of cases there are no further details, such as what position each signatory held in the union. Also, due to the election of lodge officials annually, the position held by an identified individual in one year may be totally

different the next. It is often impossible to fully trace a person's career from becoming a member to holding office, and to produce precise dates. At Waterhouses George Ashworth, James Fell and James Greener were representing the men in the 1870's but little else is known apart from their names. Yet one figure is more clearly identifiable, the checkweighman who had been appointed by the men by 1881. He was Tom Pearson (plate 25a), then only 25, born at Evenwood in County Durham¹⁷. Although the pit had begun to produce coal in 1863 it was not until about 1873 that a weigh machine was installed, and George Benson Davison given the job of master's weighman¹⁸. The Pease's attitude on weighing and checking is clearly given in an employment form of 1879 - 'A person appointed by the workmen to keep an account of the hewer's coal must be approved of by the owners and their agents'¹⁹. At the time this form was circulating, a Thomas Pearson was living at Waterhouses, but was working as a master's weighman at Esh pit²⁰. If he is the same Pearson as that of 1881, then it would be interesting to know why he changed sides, possibly the '79 strike influenced him. Clearly from 1885 he is signing agreements as a workmen's representative, and became lodge secretary, a post he held virtually until his death. Tom Greener, the manager of Peases West, said of Pearson that he was an able and honest man. They did not always see eye to eye, but there was always mutual respect²¹. If a workman had a dispute, Pearson always demanded the truth and threatened to leave a case if he had not been given the true facts. In 1900 when a number of putters in the Ballarat came to bank earlier than they should, resulting in the hewers losing money, it was Pearson who dealt with them, witnessing their letter of apology to the Management, and their promise to compensate their fellow workmen²². Several old miners considered Pearson to be 'the boss of the men'. Other workmen at Waterhouses pit who became men's representatives at various times, included Matthew White (plate 25b).

He was born at Edmonsley in 1861, and was lodge president from at least the 1890's until his death in 1932. Matt's brother, John Ramsey White, born around 1873, started at the heapstead when he was 14. He became a union member, and served on the committee for 12 years before becoming financial secretary, a position he held until retirement at the age of 76 in 1949²³. Other miners included Isaac Johnson, born at Brandon in 1867. He started at the colliery when he was 13, and was treasurer of the lodge for twenty years²⁴; while John Stephenson was a signatory in 1889. The enginemmen, meanwhile, were represented during the 1890's by John Elliott; the mechanics by William Jackson; and the Waterhouses and Esh Winning deputies by John Henery, from Whitwell Street. The brusque Yorkshireman, John Boville, a burner, whose integrity was said to be beyond doubt, represented the cokeworkers²⁵.

Many of the lodge officials were non-conformists, as were the leading figures of the D.M.A. - New Connexion Methodists like William Patterson and Sammy Galbraith, while others, such as Crawford and John Wilson attended the Primitive Methodist church, one of the most sympathetic towards trade unionism and political action. In the valley Tom Pearson, Matt White, Ramsey White, Isaac Johnson and John Stephenson, of the miners; John Henery, of the deputies association; and George Benson Davison and Joseph ('Jossie') Davison, treasurers of the M.P.R.F. were all Primitives. They played an important part in the running of the chapel, acting as trustees, preaching, and working on various committees - activities which played such an important part in developing the techniques of oratory and reasoning needed in union negotiation²⁶. Pearson, Matt White and Henery became involved as teachers at the Sunday school around 1880²⁷, Pearson becoming Superintendent of the school, and White his assistant. Isaac Johnson was Sunday school secretary. Most had been involved in the small committees which dealt with chapel property, lighting etc.²⁸. John Stephenson,

who was present at agreements between Waterhouses men and management from the 1880's up to 1904, lived at Lymington. He was associated with the Bourne P.M. chapel, but also helped with the building of an iron chapel at Lymington in 1897²⁹. There he served as a local preacher and class leader until he moved to Ushaw Moor in 1904³⁰.

Robert Bell, the Waterhouses miners lodge delegate, was a Wesleyan, one of the founders and builders of the Russell Street church. Another Wesleyan and local preacher was William Jackson, of the mechanics, who attended the same church as Robert Bell. Jackson (plate 25c) was a church trustee, and frequently led the anniversaries³¹. Ernest Foster (plate 25d), a coke drawer, living at Esh Winning, was a Baptist preacher. He played a leading role, with Crawford and Patterson, in forming the Durham Federation Board of miners, mechanics, cokemen and enginemen in 1878. Later he became secretary of the Durham Cokemens Association.

B. Industrial Relations at the Local Level

In industrial matters throughout the 1880's and 1890's the spirit which had prevailed between men and management, in the majority of cases, was one of amicable agreement achieved by negotiation. The vast quantity of documents, mainly concerned with hewing price, to be found in the Agreement Books, bears witness to this. Since the 1879 strike, wages followed the sliding scale agreed to on the 11th of October 1879, and its amendments of the 29th of April 1882, and the 12th of June 1884. Throughout this period there was only one major strike, at Ushaw Moor; the few instances of workmen attempting to alter wages and conditions were confined to restriction of output and the refusal to draw cavils. In 1881 the Waterhouses men began restriction of output, to which the Owners demanded a reduction in hewing price. In this incident, intimidation had been used to ensure the restriction; more than one man used the phrase that if he did not comply 'he would get his head broken'³². At Esh the Owners

closed the pit in 1891 when the lodge attempted a restriction³³, and Douglass has shown that at Ushaw Moor, in 1879, the men refused to draw cavils when the manager tried to reduce the tonnage hewing price at the changeover period between cavils³⁴. In 1891 cavils were not drawn in the Waterhouses Main, as the men claimed wages to be paid to off-hand men and lads, and the Owners had agreed to pay under protest³⁵. At the same pit in 1891 the Owners had refused to cavil a hewing-putter as a hewer, and the hewers refused to draw cavils³⁶.

At Ushaw Moor in 1881 Henry Chaytor's resident manager, Thomas Robinson, formerly of Wardley, ran the colliery as he thought fit. He was known to reduce wages and to alter cavils, giving the best areas to his friends, and when the men complained of working in 18" of water he swore at them and accused them of laziness³⁷. Union leaders had objected to him, but he used the threat of expelling 50 to 60 workers if the representatives were not removed³⁸. Burns and Carol, lodge secretary and treasurer had already been removed, and Crawford wrote that Robinson 'has harrassed our men in the most shameful manner, leaving no device untried for that purpose'³⁹.

At the end of 1881 Robinson picked on Thomas Westoe, a 38 year old hewer from Felling, sacking him for allegedly sending 'dirty coal' to bank. Chaytor said that Robinson had already absented himself from work, and when he was sacked had sworn at Robinson and threatened to rip him up⁴⁰. It would seem that the overman had ordered Westoe not to fill 'hitch' coal, but Robinson had then told him to fill what was good for colliery use⁴¹. Once the tubs were at bank, clearly marked as hitch, Robinson objected to the state of the coal and gave Westoe his notice, evicting his family. The reason for the dismissal, however, ran deeper than a simple case of hitch coal, for Westoe was the lodge delegate to the D.M.A. The miners also saw the incident for what it really was, another attempt

to break the union, and they came out in support of Westoe. The men had D.M.A. support, but then handed in their fortnight's notices! On the 23rd of December the notices expired, the men were, therefore, no longer employed at the colliery, and the manager simply proceeded to evict them⁴². The colliery officials, along with a former workmens representative, Elijah Mole, acted as candymen, protected by police. The first families to be evicted were those of the lodge officials, John Lee, the 29 year old Scottish president; and Henry Smith the secretary, and Walter Jones, the treasurer, both from the West Country⁴³. When Forman and Patterson of the D.M.A. protested, Robinson began throwing out the miners' furniture himself, and would have taken the mattress from under a sick child if a police sergeant had not warned him that he had gone far enough⁴⁴.

Father Gillows of Ushaw College offered a field for the men to set up a tent as protection from the winter weather, and Father Fortin gave his schoolroom as a place of shelter for the women and children⁴⁵. Robinson brought charges against several strikers for obstructing the highway with the furniture he had just thrown out, and tried to get the Inspector of Nuisances to close the school down because of overcrowding⁴⁶. On failing at these attempts, he took the furniture of the evicted families and had it dumped in a ploughed field near the Flass Inn.

The strikers were regularly visited by Patterson and Nicholas Wilkinson, treasurer of the D.M.A., who paid out allowances. Crawford in his monthly circulars reported events at the pit, and urged support from other lodges⁴⁷. Money and food was sent and the strikers received deputations and letters of support from other miners.

The discontent which had preceeded the strike led Chaytor to threaten Crawford that 'If you dare to strike, I will fill the pit with blacklegs in a week'⁴⁸. Once the evictions had been completed, Chaytor's officials looked around for workers. An agent went to Weardale, where the lead

mines were in difficulties, but failed to recruit any workers, for Forman reported to them the true state of affairs at Ushaw Moor⁴⁹. Other workers were brought from Scotland and Staffordshire, unaware that there was a strike in progress, and they refused to cross the picket line⁵⁰. Edward McCulloch had even been told that the pit was Tow Law so that they could get him to sign the contract book⁵¹.

As the strike progressed, some strikers began to leave the area, and as the pit gradually increased the number of blacklegs, incidences of violence began to multiply. There were woundings and beatings, but the culmination was the murder of a blackleg, Thomas Pyle⁵². There were tit for tat charges brought by management and strikers over jostling, women were charged under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act for heckling; and serious fights, frequently near the 'Flass Inn', were numerous⁵³. Equally numerous were guns, carried by both sides in the dispute. When a group of children jeered blackleg John Todd, described by Crawford as an unmitigated scamp and vagabond, he fired a revolver to frighten them away⁵⁴; and when a crowd at the 'Stags Head', Esh Winning, shouted at Robinson, he pulled a gun and fired at them. At Durham Petty Sessional Court, Robinson said later that it was a blank, and he was fined just £1⁵⁵.

Throughout the dispute Father Fortin maintained his support for the strikers, and was angered by Robinson's retaliation for the Catholic school being used by the strikers' families. Robinson had evicted the schoolmistress and thrown her belongings into the street, and when Fortin visited the ten Catholic families in the village to minister to them, Robinson tried to stop him and ordered the police to remove him⁵⁶. The priest simply asked the police to remove Robinson for threatening behaviour; and in a moment of anger Robinson said that he wished he had enough explosive to blow up the schoolroom. Due to the occupation of the schoolroom by the women and children, the school did not function as it was intended,

and it consequently lost its Parliamentary grant for 1882, and though the priest subsidised the building for a time, the lodges of the D.M.A. decided to make up the loss⁵⁷.

At the end of 1882, at a strike anniversary party, there was still a strong determination to continue the dispute, even though the hated Robinson had been replaced by a Mr. Turnbull⁵⁸. However, throughout 1882 the ovens were being fired, men and boys were being employed at 6/- to 7/- per day, coal drawing was increased, though still only one shift, and the colliery housing was being filled. In the later months of 1882 a number of lodges began to voice their discontent at the length of time the strike had gone on, and the expense. Also, the Bishop of Newcastle and Hexham ordered the families to leave the schoolroom, and for the tent to be taken down⁵⁹. Strikers were also leaving; of the original 118 financial members, less than half were still there by December 1883. Equally, the enthusiasm which Crawford had shown in the early stages of the strike, had been diminishing, and a circular sent to the lodges by the Executive of the D.M.A. on the 29th of December 1883 suggested that the strikers should leave Ushaw Moor and seek work elsewhere⁶⁰. The battle was lost; Chaytor, 'the rich and determined man', had smashed the strike.

C. The Miners and Politics

On the question of industrial relations, wages, hours and conditions generally, the D.M.A. had sought legislation since the time of the first Gala. They complained of the slowness of Parliament to respond to their needs, and began to seek more power to influence the legislature. The Durham Miners Political Association and the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. urged Gladstone to introduce measures for the extension of the franchise to workmen outside the boroughs. J.W. Pease approved of the new political moves, and at the opening of the Waterhouses Institute

in 1882, he advised that through education a working man could 'lay hold of political questions with an enlarged understanding, and to judge of politics from his own mental analysis of matters before him, and not leave him dependent on others for his views and opinions'⁶¹. Partly as a result of deputations and other representation, the Third Reform Act was passed in 1884, and at the general election of 1885 labour representatives, including the miners officials, William Crawford and John Wilson (plate 24) were elected as Liberal M.P's. With the redistribution of seats Crawford took Mid-Durham and Wilson Houghton-le-Spring, though he held it for just one year. Crawford had won Mid-Durham with a majority of 2,554 in 1885 and was returned unopposed the following year.

Soon after Crawford's second victory, probably around 1887, a Liberal Association was formed in Waterhouses, and Crawford was appointed its honorary president. The first local president was George E. Ward, the colliery engineer, a 'Liberal politician of the most earnest type'⁶². He was a Primitive Methodist, involved with the Coop, and held his position in the Association until 1891, when he was succeeded by the village schoolmaster, John Potts, who had previously been vice-president. Tom Pearson, and later Matt. White, were secretaries of the Association - with Joseph Huthwaite, the north hauler engineman, assistant secretary, and Hall Armstrong, another engineman, as treasurer⁶³. Colliery management amongst the list of officials included Lowden, the manager of Hamsteels pit, and John George Crofton. The total membership was around 100, though apart from its officials, the composition of the Association is not known.

For administrative purposes the Deerness valley was largely divided between Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. and Lanchester R.D.C. Esh Winning however, was a divided village, the boundary running along Durham Road, resulting in the pit and all the housing north of the road being covered by Lanchester, and streets south of the road by Brandon. The valley was

further subdivided into the Civil Parishes of Esh and Brandon.

Several officials became particularly active in local politics. Pearson, John Henery, Potts and Crofton were representatives at various times on Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C., Pearson and Henery becoming chairmen⁶⁴. Pearson, Potts and Henery also served on the Durham Board of Guardians, and White, Pearson and Henery were appointed magistrates of the Durham County Division⁶⁵. Tom Pearson was also president of the Crook Coop in 1893-4, with Potts its auditor, while Henery and Stephenson served on the committee⁶⁶.

In July 1890 Crawford died and a bye-election was held for Mid-Durham on the 17th of the month. Wilson fought the seat and succeeded in defeating the other contender F.A. Vane-Tempest by a majority of 2,094⁶⁷. Wilson was, of course, well known in the valley, visiting the villages frequently on union business. His power and influence in the D.M.A. had been noticeably increasing and his influence on the lodge is not only seen in evidence of personal friendships, but in the later prominent representation of Wilson on the Waterhouses lodge banner⁶⁸. In the House of Commons Wilson supported the Prime Minister on Irish Home Rule, and this subject along with the Eight Hours movement and nomination of Association members to the Board of Guardians etc. was discussed by colliery management and union members sitting together as members of one political group.

D. The Strike of 1892

This rosy picture of political cooperation, however, sustained a blow when the Durham Coal Owners Association sought a further reduction in miners wages. Since the summer of 1889 there had been an improvement in the coal trade which resulted in wage rises - 10% in August and December 1889, 5% in March, and another 5% to take effect from the first of January 1891. The maximum realised price of coal was, however, reached

in the last quarter of 1890, and from then on it declined. The Coal Owners met the miners, enginemen, mechanics and cokemen, united as the Durham Colliery Mining Federation, and demanded a 10% reduction in wages, open arbitration, or the submission of proposals for reduction. A mines ballot rejected these proposals outright, and although there was a further offer of an immediate 7½% reduction, or a 5% reduction with another 5% in May⁶⁹, this was again rejected and a county coal strike began in March 1892.

The strike had its greatest support in the eastern pits, and though the valley pits joined the strike out of loyalty to the union, it is clear that here there was less desire to come out. At the end of March 1892, in the weekly balloting, the majority of men in the Waterhouses district favoured the idea that the Durham Federation should bring the strike to an end; though as the strike progressed and the rate of wage reductions increased, they decided on no reduction but open arbitration⁷⁰. The Peases also favoured arbitration and made concessions to the strikers by giving them permission to take coal from the Waterhouses north five quarter heaps and the Esh drift heaps, and they were willing to lead coal to the villages from Peases West⁷¹. Even so there was distress in the villages, and the vicar of St. Pauls wrote in his magazine of 'an amount of suffering which is truly appalling...'⁷². Relief committees were formed, soup kitchens appeared, and social events were held for each village's disaster fund⁷³. By June, through the mediation of Bishop Westcott, the two sides were brought together, with the result that the miners submitted to a 10% reduction, the figure which the Owners had demanded before the strike. Not surprisingly there was bitterness, not only at the waste and suffering, but also at the coal owners, and during the strike William Attle of Esh said at a mass meeting of striking miners from the surrounding area 'that this

meeting urges on all classes of workmen at the coming election not to vote for coalowners'⁷⁴. Within a month of Attle's speech, Greener, Pease's agent, was at the Bourne chapel when William Patterson unfurled the new lodge banner. Greener reported on J.W. Pease being returned to the Barnard Castle Division, and hoped for an equal success for John Wilson in Mid-Durham⁷⁵.

Having been brought to its knees by the 1892 strike the D.M.A. joined the Miners Federation of Great Britain in the latter half of the year, but found itself in difficulties at the beginning of 1893. In February the state of trade resulted in valley pits being down to a four or five day week⁷⁶. With continued trade difficulties throughout the country, the Owners suggested a 10% reduction, but agreed to a temporary 5% drop⁷⁷, later seeking, in July, 25%. The Birmingham conference of the M.F.G.B. met after the D.M.A. membership had voted 291 to 92 for conciliation and arbitration to solve the problem, and 362 to 104 for another strike. The federation conference chose to demand back all reductions over the past two years, and the D.M.A. voted 262 to 201 for an advance of 15%, though when Patterson, Wilson and Forman met the Owners the 15% was refused, though arbitration was agreed to. On a vote of whether to strike to regain their losses there had been a majority of 1,078, but not a two-thirds majority necessary to make a strike definite. Consequently the D.M.A. did not support the M.F.G.B., and at the Westminster Palace Hotel meeting of the Fed., Derbyshire, seconded by Yorkshire, passed a motion refusing the admittance of the Durham delegates to the conference⁷⁸. As a result Durham was expelled from the M.F.G.B., and returned to its independent area status.

E. The Early Days of Socialism

Meanwhile, in the political field, a number of socialist groups had been formed during the 1880's and 1890's, particularly the Fabian Society,

the Independent Labour Party, and the Social Democratic Federation, and in 1892 Keir Hardie entered Parliament as a representative of Independent Labour. The Fabian Society was formed in London in 1884 by intellectuals led by the Webbs and George Bernard Shaw, aiming to achieve socialism by gradual alteration and reform of society rather than class war, - what Sidney Webb called 'the inevitability of gradualism'. They were as Hobsbawm noted, 'an over-whelmingly non-proletarian socialist body with an appeal specifically to intellectuals'⁷⁹. Yet it is clear that Fabian socialism had spread outside the Metropolis. In 1892 societies began to spring up in County Durham, with groups meeting in Newcastle, Jarrow and Darlington, and in 1896 the one-hundredth society was formed in the Waterhouses district⁸⁰. The local Fabian Society was composed, apparently, of miners, though the total number is not known. Its first secretary is identified as James Moffat from Esh Winning. In London the society's formation was welcomed, with a pointed reference that the district and trade had usually been unfavourable to socialist ideas. Moffat said with enthusiasm that the members were prepared to work, and clearly by 1897 an active group was in existence. In November 1896 Tom Taylor of the I.L.P., Keir Hardie's national organiser, preached socialism to them, and in February 1897 Harry Snell of the London Fabian Society spoke to them on 'The sphere of the municipality in industrial reconstruction', as part of his northern tour of Hutchinson trust lectures⁸¹. Snell later wrote of his tour that many men in the county were prepared to accept the Fabian presentation of socialism. In October 1897 John Pyle from Chester-le-Street came to the church hall at Waterhouses and gave a lecture on Fabianism, though the vicar Rev. G. W. Smith was not happy that such a meeting had been held in his hall, and wrote of his objections to it in his parochial magazine.

The churches and chapels, along with the old political parties, were picked out by Tom Mann as the defenders of the social conditions of the

time. Mann, who had been picked up by the Paris police and expelled before he could give a speech to French trade unionists, came soon afterwards, in May 1897, to Waterhouses, and spoke of the new hope represented by the Labour Party. With the new political party he could see enough for everybody, with not too much work for anyone⁸². In his early political career Mann had been an engineer, and later active in the 'new unionism' of 1889-91, but in 1894 he accepted the secretaryship of the I.L.P., a position which he held until around 1898. Later he returned to union activity and syndicalism, subjects at the heart of his speeches at the Miners Galas of 1898 and 1899⁸³.

In 1898 the Waterhouses Fabian society lost one of its most active members, John W. Ward, who was killed by trucks at the colliery. Little mention is made of the Society's activities after that year, and by the time of the Boer War, and a period of increased wages, interest in the Society had waned considerably, with only 8 members in 1901. From then on the Society appears to have disintegrated. Pelling believed that the main reason for the collapse of the 'socialist boom' was a change in the national political atmosphere due to the imperialistic, jingoistic feelings which resulted from the Boer war, linked with the departure of the strong personality of Tom Mann in 1898/9⁸⁴. The small number of Fabians who remained, believed that the good times would not last long, and that falling wages would bring the workers back to thoughts of social questions, and they, therefore, planned to keep the framework of the organisation in a state of readiness for the time when it would be needed again. The local Fabian Society was correct in its prediction, for not only had wages been falling since 1900, but the position of unions had also been seriously threatened by the Taff Vale dispute and the House of Lords judgement. What Labour needed was greater representation in the House of Commons to seek measures to reverse the judgement, and to seek

greater protection, but on what platform?

In July 1905 one of the leaders of the 'Labourites', Keir Hardie, attended the Miners Gala with Philip Snowden, the crippled propagandist of the I.L.P. Snowden portrayed the I.L.P. as the new progressive party that would deal with social problems, a claim that the Liberals always cherished in the past. He said that 'They were well aware that it was socialism, and socialism alone, which could deal with the glaring extremes of the direst poverty and the consummate riches to be found in the land at the present day'. He urged a break with the old parties; they should, as Keir Hardie advised, 'take a lesson from their ancestors - to be men and prove it. They should join the I.L.P. and strive for a reformation ...'⁸⁵. Early in 1906 there had even been a discussion in the D.M.A. Council on affiliating with the Labour Representation Committee, but it had been rejected by an overwhelming majority⁸⁶. But Tom Cann, the treasurer of the D.M.A. had to admit that there was a movement abroad to capture the union for socialism, though many of its officials opposed it. Their political position, and particularly that of John Wilson, had become a bone of contention. Wilson believed that he was representing Labour while sitting as a Liberal M.P., and did not agree that it required a distinct Labour party to deal with the workers' needs. He saw with despair the threats to many of the things he had worked for and believed in - the support of conciliation, the amicable agreements with Management by negotiation. He had always stood out against the eight hour movement, and had met Gladstone in 1893 to put forward the case of the northern miners who, by union agreements, were already working 7 hours. Now the pressure had returned for a Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Act, supported by the M.F.G.B. and the Socialists. In 1907, after a ballot in Durham, there was a majority of 29,023 for the D.M.A. joining the M.F.G.B.⁸⁷. Wilson was hamstrung, and in 1909 the Eight Hours Act became law, though

it did not come into effect in Durham and Northumberland until July 1910, where it caused extreme unrest.

Wilson's political position, and particularly the 1903 Lib-Lab agreement on allocation of constituencies for their candidates to fight, was also upset. At the annual D.M.A. Council meeting on 14th December 1906 the Lintz Green lodge proposed a motion 'To support Labour candidates, independent of any political parties'⁸⁸. After a heated debate there was a majority of 56 in favour of the motion. However, soon after the D.M.A. joined the M.F.G.B. the Federation chose to ballot the membership on affiliating the whole union to the L.R.C. Because of the new rule on independent candidates the D.M.A. could not legally vote on the matter, but the remaining section of the M.F.G.B. unanimously chose to join Labour. The implications of this move, and the resolution that all districts must carry out Federation decisions, must have been clear to Wilson. Yet, at the Northern Liberal Federation annual gathering in Newcastle, he made his position perfectly clear, 'I have always been a Liberal and shall always remain so this side of the great uncertain'⁸⁹. He refused to accept the Labour whip and remained until 1915 one of the few Liberals to represent the miners in Parliament.

Meanwhile County Councillor Richardson of Washington had noted at the 1905 Gala that, after something of an uphill struggle, I.L.P. branches were spreading throughout the county, and by 1907 there were 60, one of which was at Ushaw Moor where William Hall, the lodge representative, was branch secretary⁹⁰. In the following year an open-air I.L.P. meeting was held at Esh Winning, under the presidency of Robert Barren c.c., the lodge secretary and checkweighman at Cornsay colliery⁹¹. Esh Winning already had an eloquent and determined Socialist in the Wesleyan preacher, Rev. W.J. Bull. He was the president of the Waterhouses and District Free Church Council, and had been active in forming a Durham city branch of the

I.L.P.⁹². Young Tom Clough was one of his congregation⁹³. I.L.P. branches were then formed at Esh Winning and Waterhouses, but it is difficult to ascertain the true membership, all were probably fairly small, and at Esh Winning and Waterhouses they do not appear to have even paid their 1908 fees⁹⁴. There is evidence that at least the Esh Winning branch was still active in 1909, but none of the three villages were reported to the I.L.P. in 1910 or 1911⁹⁵.

The Parliamentary Labour Party had already suffered financially from the 1909 Lords judgement on Osborne v. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and the question of constituency representation had caused disagreement with the Liberals. In the elections of January and December 1910 the Liberals, (plus Labour and the Nationalists), had maintained a majority of 124 and 126 against the Unionists; Labour having held around 40 seats. Roy Douglas concluded in a detailed essay, that there was no 'reason for thinking that there was any substantial public demand for "socialism"' in Britain at that time⁹⁶, and Gregory had to confess that 'Labour had certainly not yet won over the bulk of the miners'⁹⁷. Even Philip Snowden wondered about Labour's prospects when speaking at Blackburn on 21st January 1910, 'He thought the development would be rather on the lines of an active Labour party, socialist to a very great extent, influencing other political parties, who had the means, by their numbers, to give effect to legislation to democratic demands. After all, he did not know that it mattered very much who did it, so long as the work was done'⁹⁸.

Whatever the party structure was like in 1910, it is clear that the socialist message was still being spread through the valley into the heartland of the old Liberals, not least by the circulation of the 'Daily Herald' which began to appear in the Miners Institutes around 1912⁹⁹. What activity there was, was clearly troubling the Liberal Association at

Waterhouses, whose officials were still lodge representatives. Tom Pearson, the lodge secretary, and old friend of John Wilson, had given up the secretaryship of the Association to Matt. White, around 1902, but both men took on the socialist challenge by seeking to draw into the Liberal fold the younger miners of the village whom the Socialists had sought to woo¹⁰⁰. In March 1911 a Waterhouses and district branch of Young Liberals was formed, part of the National League¹⁰¹. John Wilson was again invited to the village to be its honorary president, and of the 23 officials the majority came from the village, with around 3 from Esh Winning. Its branch chairman was Bill Jackson, a farrier by trade, and mechanics lodge official since 1900, while other union men included John Ramsey White and J. Johnson. The number also included colliery management - Thomas James and Harry Bone, the undermanager; with outside interests represented by Roger Turnbull, the Coop head cashier, and George Sutcliffe, the schoolmaster, who acted as the group's secretary. Speakers still offered up the Liberal party as being the party with the interests of the people at heart, and gave as examples Old Age Pensions and Lloyd George's Insurance Act¹⁰².

In the miners lodges of the valley, evidence of change was beginning to appear at this time, for while the old guard remained, younger and, in some people's views, more headstrong men were being appointed to positions of influence in the local unions.

Since the 1892 strike there was general approval of the lodge officials at Waterhouses, and they were invariably re-elected. Tom Pearson had been re-elected as secretary in 1913¹⁰³, but at 56 he was growing increasingly deaf. In 1916, after an illness, he was forced to retire, and within 4 years he was dead¹⁰⁴. Matt. White continued the Liberal tradition, and succeeded Pearson as secretary of the Waterhouses Liberal Association. He retained his post as lodge president¹⁰⁵. On the

death of John Wilson M.P. in 1915, the D.M.A.'s Labour candidate for the Mid-Durham constituency had been Ald. William House, but he was opposed by Sammy Galbraith, formerly D.M.A. financial secretary, who had resigned his post to stand as a Lib-Lab. In the nominations proposing Galbraith, Tom Pearson, Matt. White, Ramsey White, Joseph Davison and Isaac Johnson of the Waterhouses lodge had supported him¹⁰⁶. Galbraith, a former checkweighman at Browney colliery, was well known to them, particularly those who had sat with him on Brandon and Byshottles Urban District Council. Ernest Foster, the old Liberal and former Esh cokemen's secretary, presented original minutes of Wilson's election as Mid-Durham candidate to Galbraith and the Liberal whip. These papers indicated Galbraith's legitimate claim to the seat, and to prevent a major clash, Arthur Henderson M.P. persuaded House to withdraw¹⁰⁷. Yet during the same contest, at a meeting held in the Miners Hall in Durham in support of the candidature of House, there were delegates from Waterhouses and Ushaw Moor, though they are not specifically named.

Under section 16 of the 1911 Coal Mines Act, provision was made for two miners to be appointed by the men and to make monthly inspections of the pit, with the manager. These men at Waterhouses were Tom Gott (plate 30a) and James McKenna. McKenna, a Catholic, came to the valley in 1899¹⁰⁸; in 1913 he was president of the Waterhouses branch of the M.P.R.F., and had for some time been a representative on the Institute committee, while Gott was on the M.P.R.F. committee¹⁰⁹. Both were socialists, Gott being one of the founders of the Waterhouses Labour party, and in 1907 they had been involved in securing greater control of the board of management of the Institute from the colliery management, and had stirred up similar demands from the Esh lodge¹¹⁰. From c.1917 McKenna took over the job of colliery checkweighman.

At Esh Winning the lodge officials included Samuel Dove, Thomas

Clough, Samuel Garr and Thomas Reddon (plate 27b). Sam Dove, a moderate and Liberal, was born in 1870 at Greenfields in County Durham¹¹¹. In his youth he had been a local Primitive Methodist preacher, though he had secular interests, particularly in football, and he was secretary of the 'Dreadnought' workmens club in Esh. At the colliery he was checkweighman, and as a workmen's representative, signed agreements with the management from around 1908¹¹². In social matters he was involved with the Durham County Hospital management committee, the Aged Miners Homes scheme, and frequently at Christmas killed one of his pigs and offered the meat to needy in the village. Tommy Reddon was born in America in 1889, and came over to England with his parents to their first home in Spennymoor. At 12 he started work at New Brancepeth pit, before moving to Esh colliery 5 years later¹¹³. He was an adherent of the Church of England; a member of the Esh and Waterhouses Workmens club, and was lodge treasurer. Sam Garr was compensation secretary, and Tom Clough, the lodge secretary. As a young man Clough became an accredited Wesleyan local preacher, and was on the circuit plan in 1908¹¹⁴. Both he and Garr were eloquent speakers, members of the village debating society, and both were socialists¹¹⁵. Another socialist and popular lodge representative was William Hall of Ushaw Moor. By 1905 he was signing agreements, and in 1912 at the very latest, he was checkweighman. On numerous occasions he had been nominated by the lodge as representative to the Trade Union Congress, the M.F.G.B. conference, and as D.M.A. agent, and although he was not selected by the county for these events, they had accepted him onto the Executive Committee¹¹⁶. In 1902 he was elected onto the Broom parish council, and in 1907 he was a member of Durham R.D.C. Another member of Broom parish council was James Clark, the lodge president. He was born at West Auckland around 1868, and came to Ushaw Moor colliery when he was 20. In 1908 he became president, and held the post until 1946. He was a

member of the local working mens club, and served on New Brancepeth Coop Committee¹¹⁷.

F. Industrial Unrest, 1909 - 1914

Throughout these early years of the 20th c. until the outbreak of war in 1914 there had been considerable industrial unrest throughout Britain, amongst the railwaymen, dockers, cottonworkers, carters, London cab drivers; and in 1909 the question of miners' wages, and the desire for a minimum wage for men and boys began to be voiced. In July 1909 trouble started when Scottish miners proposed coming out over a reduction in wages, and other coalfields offered to support them by sympathetic strike, with the valley lodges following the trend. Back in 1891, during the Silkworth dispute over deputies joining the miners union, there had been evictions and a police baton charge in which innocent villagers were injured, and Waterhouses had chosen not to come out in a sympathetic strike¹¹⁸, but now in 1909 Waterhouses men were willing to come out over Scotsmen's wages! Churchill, the President of the Board of Trade, however, eventually brought the two sides in the dispute together, and a settlement was achieved with the setting up of the Scottish Conciliation Board. In the autumn of the same year the idea of a minimum wage had been accepted as policy by the M.F.G.B. conference, and was endorsed in 1910. At the annual conference on October the 3rd 1911, Lancashire and Cheshire produced a resolution proposing a conference to consider a general strike if a minimum wage of 7/- a day was not conceded¹¹⁹. It was then left to a ballot to decide the issue. John Wilson thought that in terms of business a minimum wage was impractical, for a man could receive a minimum wage whether he worked hard or shirked his task¹²⁰. The vote in January 1912 produced a majority of 329,880 in favour of a strike, and conference proposed the handing in of notices on February 29th¹²¹. On the district requirement for their minimum wage Durham sought 6/1¼,

but joint meetings failed to reach a settlement¹²². As a result the miners struck. In the valley things were quiet, but at Crook the Peases kept the great Bankfoot works going¹²³. The government, meanwhile, published minimum wage proposals subject to safeguards, and the Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Midland owners accepted it as the only alternative to a disastrous stoppage¹²⁴. Durham and the other areas stuck by the Federation to ensure that all areas achieved agreement, but as the dispute dragged on distress began to be felt in the valley. Father Beech, who had succeeded Father Fortin as priest of Newhouse, gave his support to a distress fund and to a soup kitchen¹²⁵. Money raised at the Waterhouses Institute was also given to that village's distress fund¹²⁶. On the 19th of March the Government produced a minimum wages Bill, and the M.F.G.B. decided to take a vote on a return to work pending a settlement of rates by district boards to be set up under the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act. The voting of the lodges in the valley is given below -

	<u>Against</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>%</u> ¹²⁷
Waterhouses	141	50.7	137	49.3
Esh Winning	219	40.2	325	59.8
Ushaw Moor	316	81.3	59	18.7
County Durham	48,828	66.6	24,511	33.4

The miners at Esh Winning were clearly keen to go back to work. At Waterhouses, however, there was almost a split vote, choosing against a return by 4 votes. Only at Ushaw Moor is there a clear indication of the lodge's desire to stay out, by the substantial majority of 257.

The district board failed to settle the rate for the Durham district in the time allotted by the Act, and its chairman, Sir Robert Romer, made an award giving the hewers a minimum of 5/6d¹²⁸.

The first test of the new award came at the beginning of 1914, when the manager, without warning, decided not to pay the minimum to Water-houses hewers working hard coal in the Klondyke Ballarat. The 'masters' did not consider that the coal was hard, and the men, fearing that if they refused to pay the minimum wage in this case they could do so again whenever they liked, called a mass meeting and chose to stop work¹²⁹. Tom James, the undermanager, wondered what had happened to the old system of amicable negotiation, and said the mens' decision was unconstitutional. Tom Pearson asked why the union officials had not been informed of management's intentions to refuse the minimum over Ballarat coal. 400 workers were idle as a result of their refusal to meet the men. The dispute was eventually sorted out after an umpire had been called in.

G. From World War to the General Strike

The outbreak of war in August 1914 saw many men from the villages enlisting for military service, though the miners were classified as 'starred men' and were exempt from such duty. Yet as the slaughter on the fields of Flanders, and elsewhere, reduced Britain's forces, surface workers with their supervisors, miners of military age who had started in the pits after August 1915, and those who had lost two shifts a week over a three month period, became eligible for conscription¹³⁰. Tribunals were set up in urban districts to examine pleas for exemption, and in the Brandon and Byshottles district, councillors including Matt. White and John Henery, sat in judgement. Other lodge officials like Isaac Finley, who became secretary at Ushaw Moor, organised a war relief fund for entertainments for wounded soldiers¹³¹.

In the industry there had been gradual increases in wages. At the end of 1915, advances had raised wages 75% above the 1879 basic¹³², and in the final quarter of 1916 it was 107% above¹³³. The following year the M.F.G.B. sought a wage increase, and as Page Arnot records, the Gov-

ernment offered a shilling a day¹³⁴. Sleetburn lodge called a conference of 44 lodges at Ushaw Moor Working Mens Club, and with valley representatives on the platform, demanded raising the minimum wage, and the basis by 50%¹³⁵. If this was not conceded they threatened to down tools. In the end the miners accepted 1/6d.

The same year, by orders dated 29th November 1916 and 22nd February 1917, the Board of Trade implemented regulation 9G of the Defence of the Realm Act, and took control of all coal mines in the U.K. A Controller was appointed, but the measure did not involve nationalisation, a subject which the miners had taken to their hearts.

At the end of the war, until the summer of 1920, Britain enjoyed a short post-war boom under the coalition government of Lloyd George, during which time the Miners Federation urged nationalisation of the mines and alterations to wages and hours. To stall a threatened strike Lloyd George set up the Sankey Commission in 1919 to look into the state of mining. Joseph Albert Pease (Lord Gainford), as representative of the mine owners association, made his views perfectly clear to the Commission when he said 'I feel it a public duty to do everything I can to oppose nationalisation and prevent the injury to Britain's commercial position that would follow in its train'¹³⁶. The inquiry found, however, that 'the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned', and to Lloyd George's chagrin, favoured nationalisation and reduction of hours from 8 to 7. The latter recommendation was implemented in the 1919 Coal Mines Act (9 & 10 Geo.5, c.48), and if the economic position allowed, it was hoped to reduce the hours still further to 6. The government rejected the idea of nationalisation, but there was no follow-up strike. In a vote on the question of whether political or direct action should be used to achieve nationalisation, the Durham miners had voted 347 for direct action, and 386 for a political

solution¹³⁷. In the Deerness valley the manager said that the Water-houses men were 'not in direct action mood', and that 'relations between the management and workmen at the Deerness valley collieries is exceedingly good'¹³⁸.

The boom which followed the war slowed down by the middle of 1920 as British markets, particularly for established products like coal and textiles, began to recede in the wake of foreign competition. In 1920 the miners were producing about 40 million tons a year less than in 1913, and exporting 20 million tons as against 73 million in 1913. The question of German reparations in coal was also a major influence on world coal prices, causing a slump in 1920-21, and later in 1925. High interest rates also affected investment in industrial operations, jobs became more difficult to find, and unemployment in the country at large, which had fallen during the war to a low point of 90,000 in 1916, had risen to 652,000 by 1920.

In the latter half of 1920 the nationalisation question re-emerged when Robert Smillie, speaking at the Leamington conference, urged the nation in its own interest to take over production of its own coal for the benefit of the community¹³⁹. To many this smacked of Bolshevik influence, and the Peoples League of London sent visiting speakers to the coalfield to warn of the dangers of Bolshevism and nationalisation. F.A. Cazalet, recently returned from Russia, came to Esh Winning to spread the League's message¹⁴⁰. The Government, however, had no intention of nationalising the mines, and was in fact determined to decontrol them. It had also angered the miners and the general public by increasing the selling price of coal, thus massively increasing the Owners' profits, while taking its own cut. The miners replied by demanding that the Government remove the increase, while seeking its own increase in wages to meet the rising cost of living. The Government refused both demands, and the M.F.G.B. voted to strike on the 25th of September

1920. Under the threat of bringing the full muscle of the Triple Alliance (of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers) to bear on the Government, Lloyd George offered arbitration, or a scale of wage increases based on greater productivity - the so-called 'datum lines', but after negotiations the miners rejected the proposals and struck on the 16th of October. In the valley little is recorded of the events, but at Esh Winning the lodge refused to provide safety men, and the manager used the officials to keep the colliery open ¹⁴¹. The threat by the N.U.R. to close down the rail network, forced the Government to concede to miners' wage increases of 2/- for those over 18, 1/- for 16 to 18 year olds, and 9d for those under 16. The miners accepted the offer.

Having been forced to make concession to the miners, and becoming increasingly aware of economic problems, the Government proposed decontrolling the industry at the end of March 1920. The miners were stunned, for it meant the loss of all financial gains achieved under state control, and, from the 1st of April, a return to district bargaining and reduced wages. They, therefore, proposed a national standard wage, but all the owners offered was the old basis plus percentage additions paid out in 1914. The miners refused their offer and they were consequently locked out.

All coals were drawn from the pits and the ponies were brought to bank in the last days of March. On the first of April, as the strike commenced, Tom C. Stobart, the undermanager of Ushaw Moor, wrote in his diary 'Deadlock begins' ¹⁴². Immediately Lloyd George issued an Order in Council declaring a state of emergency under the 1920 Emergency Powers Act, which allowed the Government to take control of mines, docks and railways, to use troops and to permit the police to stop and search without warrant ¹⁴³. The Prime Minister would only allow negotiations to reconvene if the miners accepted that the Government would not subsidise the industry, and that they must allow pumping to take place. As

a result the N.U.R. and the Transport Workers Federation threatened a supportive strike if negotiations did not reopen. Lloyd George called out 70,000 military reserves to aid the civil power ¹⁴⁴, but in the end agreed to all sides meeting. Frank Hodges suggestion that wage proposals might be accepted provided they were not related to a permanent settlement on a district basis, and were temporary, raised hopes ¹⁴⁵, but the M.F.G.B. executive refuted his statement and demanded a national pool. On hearing this, the N.U.R. and Transport workers, who had urged negotiations, called off their support. This was 'Black Friday', but the miners decided to carry on. In Durham there was an overwhelming majority in favour of the strike until the National Wage Board and Pool had been conceded, for if not, hewers' wages would be reduced from £4-2-8d. to £2-19-7d., and putters from £3-12-7d to £2-6-2d ¹⁴⁶. In the valley, John Henery, the deputies' representative and Guardian on the Durham Board, began to receive names of those seeking relief ¹⁴⁷, and the lodges set up canteen committees. In April there had been no plans for a distress fund, but as the strike continued soup kitchens were set up, and by May distress funds had also been started. In the House of Commons Will Thorne proclaimed his disgust at the Owners' treatment of the miners, and read from Pease and Partners annual report for 1920 of their profit of £653,754, and asked if this was one of the companies that would deprive the miner of a living wage ¹⁴⁸.

After long discussion it became clear that the Government was determined to maintain its position regarding control of the industry, though it offered a series of proposals on wages. It would be willing to set up a national, as well as district boards to deal with wages, and these wages should include the basis plus a percentage calculated from quarterly proceeds of the district; with the provision of a subsistence wage for lower paid workers. In addition, a short term block

subsidy of £10m would be paid to aid the wage position. After a vote 832,840 of the country's miners agreed to a return to work, a majority of 727,020. All three valley pits voted to go back.

At Esh Winning there is, again, some evidence that the manager attempted to keep the pit going, and an attempt to relight six beehive ovens failed when the sudden heat fractured the structures ¹⁴⁹. The fact that they were even attempting relighting suggests a source of coal was being worked, possibly by blacklegs, but the scanty documentation does not allow for elaboration. At the return, in July, relations at the pit were strained, and though it is unclear whether the management used pressure, it is interesting that the manager reported to the Peases West office that at the lodge elections the extremists were removed from office and replaced by moderates friendly towards the management ¹⁵⁰.

The strike may have ended but the economic depression continued, as did the distress felt by the families in the valley. The cokeyards were at a standstill or were in their death throes; the Owners temporarily closed Ushaw Moor pit until January 1922; and Waterhouses was down to a 4 or 5 day week. Living conditions had become so hard that the M.F.G.B. was forwarding grocery parcels to the needy in Esh Winning, Hamsteels and Hedley Hill by the end of September 1921 ¹⁵¹, and as winter progressed the Deerness District Choral Society began concerts at Newhouse, Esh Winning, to raise money to provide the children of the area with boots ¹⁵².

The following year was not much better, with wages falling below the 89% above basis. The miners accepted that conditions were serious, but felt that they were being asked to bear the greatest burden, working for 'starvation wages', while Owners like A.F. Pease were seeking longer working hours ¹⁵³. Not surprisingly such conditions drove many miners from the Liberal Party, (which included many Owners as M.P's) to Labour.

Gone were the days of the real paternalism of old Joseph Pease. The firm was now a vast capitalistic industrial empire. Its directors held high political office, sent their children to Eton and Cambridge. How could they appreciate the social conditions in pit villages, the soup kitchens, the overcrowding at Ushaw Moor? When trade was in difficulties they could temporarily shut down a pit or two and throw their men on the dole. A major influence on the miners had also gone. In 1915 John Wilson had died, along with his support for conciliation, peace and moderation, though his disciple Sammy Galbraith had taken Mid-Durham for the Liberals in 1916. In 1918 he had defeated Labour's Joe Batey by a majority of 1,247, but in 1922 when Tom Wing fought to hold the Spenny-moor seat, (which had absorbed Mid-Durham in boundary changes), he was overwhelmingly defeated at the General Election by Batey, and the Liberals were relegated to third place¹⁵⁴. In the country as a whole Labour had now superceded the Liberals, already wrecked by the divisions brought about by Coalition, and they now represented the main opposition party.

In the mining industry W. Lavesey, one time chief clerk of the M.F.G.B., wrote 'for years the trade union movement has become more and more permeated with Socialism, whose adherents have systematically and with no small ability pursued the policy of "boring from within", but in no case has the Socialist domination been so complete as in the case of the Miners federation'¹⁵⁵. H. Stanley Jevons had noted its influence in the pits of South Wales where 'the miners have for generations been devoted to their chapels... On the other hand, the younger generation in the valleys of Glamorgan is breaking loose from the traditional religion; and indeed, to a large extent from any religion except that of the salvation of the workers by the establishment here and now of a just and liberal social order. For this younger element, consisting of earnest

and devoted men, and active though unguided thinkers, Socialism and Syndicalism in their various forms are a real religion, so that there is a continual and tragic clash of thought and sympathies between the younger generation and the older...'¹⁵⁶ . Lodge officials in the Deerness valley who had once been Liberal began to change, men like Sam Dove, the checkweigher at Esh. Bill Jackson, the mechanics lodge secretary, who had been chairman of the Waterhouses Young Liberals in 1911 turned into a staunch Labour supporter. Around 1919 he had been chosen as part-time treasurer of the Durham Colliery Mechanics Association, and he actively supported the canvassing of Labour candidates Joseph Batey, Joshua Ritson and William Whiteley for the Spennymoor, Durham and Blaydon divisions in the 1922 elections ¹⁵⁷. Matt. White had turned by 1921, and was nominated by the lodge as a representative to the Labour Party annual conference of that year, though in the end he was not selected by the county¹⁵⁸. Six years later he was elected a Labour councillor for the west ward of Brandon and Byshottles Urban District¹⁵⁹ .

The Labour Party also had the support of the women, particularly after 1918; women like Jenny Gott, wife of the Waterhouses lodge representative Tom Gott. Around 1912 Connie Lewcock, a school mistress at Esh Winning had been one of the early members of the village I.L.P.¹⁶⁰ . She was an activist, a member of Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst's Womens Social and Political Union. Just before the Great War she had been implicated in an arson attack at Waterhouses passenger station. Other women had also been active in canvassing for support for Labour candidates. Hannah Foster of Station Road in Ushaw Moor, born in Staffordshire in 1848, came to the valley in 1875, and her husband was an active trade unionist who had suffered much from victimisation. She worked for female suffrage, and in 1922, at the age of 74, organised the Labour womens section that brought Joshua Ritson to the Commons as

Labour representative for the Durham division¹⁶¹ .

As part of the radicalisation of the pitmen, Labour M.P's visited the villages in the valley, and at the 1923 Gala Ramsey MacDonald had attended with Hodges of the M.F.G.B. The evidence of trustees' minutes of the Bourne P.M. chapel at Waterhouses shows the number of applications by the Labour group to use the schoolroom for meetings had noticeably increased after 1921¹⁶² .

Industrially, relations were on a downward slope which was to lead to even fiercer conflict. In 1924 the miners saw the raising of the percentage above basis from 89% to 110%, but in 1925, with the effect of the return to the Gold Standard, the Owners sought increases in hours, even back to the 8 hour day, and lower wages, while the miners resolved that there should be no alteration. The unwillingness of the miners to work longer hours had been described by A.F. Pease as being 'the fly in the ointment' that hindered recovery. When the firm put the idea of extension to the Waterhouses men they had refused, and in consequence in June 1925 Pease and Partners shut down the colliery, terminating the employment of 400 men and boys until, after 19 weeks, the men were forced to accept 7 hour shifts¹⁶³. Also in June, the Owners sought to terminate contracts on existing rates, and to force reductions which would have resulted in miners wages being only 8 3/4% above those of 1914. The miners refused and were willing to accept the Owners' notices. In an attempt to save the situation the Government brought in the First Lord of the Admiralty in an attempt to mediate between the two sides, but he failed. When he came to speak to the miners at the Pavilion in Esh Winning about negotiating with the Owners, he was heckled¹⁶⁴ . The threatened clash was, however, averted on 'Red Friday', when the Government stepped in and proposed yet another inquiry into the industry, during which period the Exchequer would provide a subvention in aid to

wages up to the first of May 1926. The Owners described the subvention as 'Danegeld' and warned that come May the crisis would re-appear, stirred on by extremists, whom they believed to be English Soviets.

At the same time A.J. Cook of the M.F.G.B. inflamed the discontent felt in the pit villages of Durham. He saw as the first issue of the workers the need for a living wage, 'we will get it by reason if possible, by force if necessary. Give the miners a living wage and safety and I will give peace'¹⁶⁵. The second question was control of the industry. At Esh Winning he said 'I am convinced that at the end of the nine months the Government will be compelled, in the interests of the nation, to take over the coal mining industry, otherwise there will be a far greater conflict, because the miners will not only fight to retain their present standard, but will attempt to secure an improvement...'¹⁶⁶.

The terms of the new inquiry were announced to the national delegate conference of the federation on the 19th of August, and at the beginning of September Herbert Samuel, former High Commissioner in Palestine, was appointed chairman¹⁶⁷. His report, which appeared on the 10th March 1926 advised a reorganisation of the mining industry, nationalisation of royalties, but also a 13½% cut in wages. The miners, who had never supported the commission, rejected it. Negotiations between Government, T.U.C., Owners and miners, however, continued throughout April, and beyond the 1st of May when the subvention ended and the owners locked the miners out. On Saturday the 1st, unions representing over 3½ million members gave their support to the miners and to a central organising control by the T.U.C., but the Daily Mail incident on the 3rd was used by the Government to call off negotiations and the General Strike began.

H. The General Strike

At the start of the nine day General Strike the villages of the Deerness valley were said to be quiet and orderly¹⁶⁸. Lodges organised sports to relieve the monotony, and quoit games were very popular. On the ninth of May there were plans to bring Will. Lawther and Henry Bolton from 'Little Moscow' (Chopwell) to speak at a strike meeting, but they never made it. Both were arrested while trying to stop a food lorry under police guard at Winlaton Mill¹⁶⁹. Throughout these early days in May there was a unity of purpose in the coalfield, but in the General Council of the T.U.C. there was concern and uncertainty about the use of the General Strike, and its direction, against a determined and fully prepared Government, particularly with the intransigence of the miners, for, as Herbert Smith of the M.F.G.B. had said, 'we've nowt to give'. In this light the Negotiating Committee decided on the 12th that it could not pursue its course, and ignominiously informed Baldwin that the strike in support of the miners would be called off. Ernest Bevin, just after the meeting, said 'Something has happened and the best way to describe today ... is that we have committed suicide'¹⁷⁰. Not only had the capitulation seriously damaged the trade union movement, it had again left the miners to fight on their own.

At Ushaw Moor there is very little evidence of trouble in the village, and the same can be said for Waterhouses, where the leading lodge official was a magistrate. An outbreak of smallpox at the same time also increased the isolation of the latter village¹⁷¹. Esh Winning, however, was to be the scene of major conflict, as with Hedley Hill, further up the valley. For there was conflict within the ranks of both the men and their lodge officials, on whether to treat the strike as an industrial or a political matter; to work or end up being blacklisted; to work and to have some form of wage, or to stay on strike and seek parish relief; to

act with moderation or to take a hard line. The colliery management attempted to use these inner conflicts to cause divisions, in a determined effort to improve the strike-busting efforts that it had tried in 1921. At Esh Winning the start of clashes between men and management began in August when the manager, Percy Widdas, transferred overmen to Roddymoor to draw coal to ensure that the great cokeyard at Bankfoot remained in operation. Tom Clough, lodge secretary, made an unsuccessful attempt to coordinate operations with the Peases West union to stop production at Bankfoot. On this failure Clough refused assistance to the local safety committee when the pit was temporarily in difficulties¹⁷².

On the 20th October Pease and Partners sent out notices offering work at the old basis plus 89%. One hundred and thirty men were said to have signed on at Esh Winning, though few were hewers, and when the actual drawing commenced on the 22nd there were around 37 workers¹⁷³. At Waterhouses and Ushaw Moor the strikers' resolve remained firm. Blacklegging produced the anger that strike-breaking has always produced. On the 23rd the blacklegs were brought out of the pit and escorted to their homes by local police. They marched up Durham Road preceded by a jazz band led by Clough and Sam Garr, past strikers heckling and 'tin-canning'. Amongst the crowd a red flag was waved by Mrs. Clough and an ugly incident almost ensued, when one of the blacklegs seized the flag and tore it to pieces. The crowd surged forward to seize him, but the police rushed in and prevented serious bloodshed by quickly moving the workmen away¹⁷⁴. Once they reached their homes, crowds gathered outside and windows were smashed. The intimidation worked, for many workmen told the management that they would not be at work at the beginning of the next week. Widdas immediately sought aid to prevent further intimidation, and 12 extra police were brought in. They were billeted with workmen and officials, and used the colliery office as their headquarters. One of their first

tasks was the arrest of 23 who had been involved in the jazz band incident. The majority of the strikers were brought up under the Emergency Regulations and were fined, their number including John Chapel, a friend of Clough and Garr, known to his comrades as 'the Bolshevik'¹⁷⁵. The Lanchester magistrates (including a colliery manager) chose to sentence Clough and Garr to a month's imprisonment, and the Home Secretary, Joynson-Hicks was informed¹⁷⁶. The same day as the sentences were passed an informant warned the police that the colliery would be attacked that night. More police were quickly drafted in, and the raid was called off¹⁷⁷.

While A.J. Cook, the 'humble follower of Lenin', urged the Esh Winning men to hold to the strike¹⁷⁸, Vicar Kirk, (a shareholder in Pease and Partners), referred, from the pulpit of Waterhouses church, to 'the scandalous treatment meted out by lawless gangs of youths and women to the handful of men who had the courage to earn their own livelihood...'¹⁷⁹. He asked his congregation to protect the blacklegs. Word of his sermon spread through the villages, and he was not favourably accepted by many pitmen. At an open air meeting outside the Memorial Hall, a speech was made by Jack Lawson M.P. to strikers and lodge officials. Vicar Kirk, while passing, wandered over to listen. The crowd turned on him, Tom Clough called him Judas Iscariot, and he was asked what right he had to be there. He replied that he had every right to be on the King's highway, but the speaker persuaded him to leave as tempers were running high.

The King's highway was not free; police patrolled the streets, the railway line and sidings. Others were stationed at the weighcabin, near Waterhouses, and watched the drifts and trucks in case anyone attempted to take coal. John Attle, a 16 year old from Esh Winning, was arrested because he was standing in the street, and at Hedley Hill a local preacher watched from a distance as strikers threw rubbish at black-

legs, and he was arrested¹⁸⁰. One informant said 'You can't imagine what it was like, this was martial law'.

By the beginning of November the intimidation of blacklegs had declined and men at Esh Winning travelled home unmolested. Waterhouses remained idle, but on the 22nd November the management issued a notice that 'The Owners wish to assure any man who resumes work that his services will be retained after the general resumption of work'¹⁸¹. Within 5 days of the notice 140 men were working two shifts at Esh, and Waterhouses had started up¹⁸².

Those who did return to work formed their own organisation, the Esh Winning Miners Industrial (Non-Political) Society. Its leader was James Allison, a waggonwayman at Esh Winning. He was an Anglican, a member of St. Stephens congregation, and married to the daughter of a colliery official. J. Emmerson, another leading figure of the Society, was later appointed an officer of the Affiliated Board of the Northumberland and Durham Miners Non-Political Industrial Society in 1929¹⁸³. The Society aimed at more harmonious relations between men and management. 'Peace in the coalfield is impossible so long as political extremists are allowed to do practically what they like when subsidised by the mens' money' was their view, and they were determined to 'explore every avenue towards industrial peace, that work may be stabilised for some years to come'¹⁸⁴. Societies were formed at Waterhouses and Hedley Hill, in opposition to the D.M.A., and the manager believed there were about 100 members. Similar unions had developed in other coalfield counties, and were known by derogatory terms such as 'yellow', 'scab', or 'company' unions. Most developed after George Spencer, a Nottinghamshire M.P. on a miners ticket, had arranged the return to work of men at the Digby pit in October. Spencer was expelled from the M.F.G.B. conference because of it, and he developed the Miners Industrial (Non-Political)

Union to draw together the disaffected who considered that the economic reasons for the strike had been forgotten, and that the dispute was being prolonged for political reasons. The heartland of the movement was in Nottinghamshire, but it spread to South Wales, the Midlands and the Great Northern Coalfield ¹⁸⁵. James Allison was never molested by those strikers in Esh Winning, but all the Non-Political Unionists were given the cold shoulder.

Throughout November support for the strike had been crumbling in the districts, men were gradually returning to the pits, and the Government issued proposals to enable an overall return to work. It suggested a minimum percentage above basic, plus additions agreed to by the district board of Owners and miners representatives; a ratio for the division of net proceeds between wages and profits ranging between 87:13 and 85:15; and a subsistence allowance for low paid day-wage earners. It was implied that there would be increases in hours, and no guarantee that all men would be reinstated. After a number of discussions and ballots, the majority view was that, though the terms were the worst possible, in the end they were the best they were going to get, and they were accepted. Garside records that in County Durham the percentage above basic had now fallen back to 89%, the subsistence wage had fallen from 7/6½d to 6/8½d; and the hours of work of hewers was seven and a half plus one winding time ¹⁸⁶. By December most pits were working.

I. The Aftermath of the 1926 Strike

The return to work was a time for retribution. Militants and anyone whom the colliery management objected to, for the slightest reason, were refused work. Tom Clough and Sam Garr were not re-employed at Esh Winning colliery; Clough retained an involvement with the M.P.R.F ¹⁸⁷. but spent most of his time working for the local Labour party and, since his September 1925 election, was an active county councillor ¹⁸⁸.

Sam Garr eventually found work at Cornsay Colliery where he met his death in an explosion. John Chapel, 'The Bolshevik', managed to find employment as a bus driver. Many workers, including good hewers, were turned away at the colliery office. Mr. M....'s father, a deputy at Hedley Hill, did not get his job back, 'it broke my father's heart, he died two years later'. H..... was told by the manager at Waterhouses colliery office that he had spent his time sitting around the Institute doing nothing, during the strike, and was only being given his job back because he was related to a cokeyard official. There are other examples, but several men said they never forgave Pease's management for their actions at this time. Other families were also evicted - the Wilkinsons, Turnbolls, Blands, Halls and Hindmarshes. The Turnbolls were Labour party members. Mrs. Hindmarsh had been particularly active in the Womens Labour Movement, and as a result her husband and two of their three boys did not get work at the pit ¹⁸⁹.

The secretary of the Deerness Valley Labour Party, Jack Towers, also found himself the subject of much dispute in Parliament ¹⁹⁰. Towers was headmaster at Hedley Hill Over The Hill, north-west of Waterhouses, and had been elected assistant secretary of the canteen committee. One of the committee's rules was that men who returned to work had to fill in a form stating the reasons, if their children still needed to attend the soup kitchen. Fourteen or fifteen men had returned to work and filled in forms, but one worker did not, and sent his children for free food. On hearing of this Towers caned the eldest boys for disobeying the rules, and was confronted a short time later by the colliery manager with a constable, and a charge of assault was brought against him. Towers was tried, found guilty of a technical assault, and was fined. Joe Batey M.P. said in the Commons that he had the names of Conservatives who had paid for the trial to be brought. The Conservative M.P. for Hitchin,

Maj. Kindersley, on the 18th of November 1926, asked the President of the Board of Education, Lord Percy, what he was going to do about the case, and Percy chose to remove Towers' certificate so that he could not teach again. Batey said it was the deliberate ruining of a hard-working teacher, simply because he was a Labour man, though the decision was later overturned after a petition of support was raised by the villagers.

Those union men and their leaders who had not been purged by the management returned to their respective pits - Matt. White, Ramsey White, James McKenna to Waterhouses; Sam Dove and Tommy Reddon to Esh Winning; William Hall and Isaac Finley to Ushaw Moor. Sam Dove had avoided trouble during the strike, and at the subsequent lodge election following the return to work, he was re-appointed checkweigher¹⁹¹. Matt. White continued in local politics. The former Liberal was elected in 1928 to Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. as a Labour representative¹⁹². He also retained an involvement with the hospital committee, the aged miners homes, the Welfare, the Coop and the chapel. Ramsey White held the post of financial secretary until his death in 1949¹⁹³. Like Matt. White he remained throughout a chapel man. James McKenna and William Hall retained their seats on the Durham Board of Guardians.

At Ushaw Moor a new figure was rising through the ranks of the lodge. Jack Joyce (plate 29b) was only 13 when he started at the colliery in 1905, but gradually he became an active trade unionist¹⁹⁴. In 1924 he was elected as lodge delegate to the D.M.A., though he was later to hold office as checkweigher and compensation secretary. Ultimately he rose to be General Treasurer of the D.M.A.¹⁹⁵. In local politics he sat on Durham R.D.C. Like Hall he was on the Board of Guardians, and in 1936 was appointed a J.P.¹⁹⁶.

J. Hard Times

The depression continued to affect the mining industry throughout

the 1920's and '30's. By 1928 nearly 300,000 miners were unemployed in Britain¹⁹⁷. In County Durham their numbers had fallen from 176,400 in 1924 to 126,500 in 1928¹⁹⁸. Wages too had fallen. In 1914 a hewer received 7/11½d a shift, while under the 1928 Plender award, Durham hewers' wages were reduced by about 1/2d a shift, from 10/- to 8/10d¹⁹⁹. The hewer was, therefore 10½d better off than he was 14 years before. Yet his hours of labour had been increased from 7 to almost 8 hours, and his average weekly output had been increased from 3.20 tons in 1921 to 5.40 tons in 1927²⁰⁰. Pits too were closing due to the state of trade. Because of the low selling price of coal on the open market, and Water-houses' slow recovery after the 1926 strike, Pease and Partners issued notices to the miners there on the 17th of October 1927 to terminate their employment on the 31st. The men were willing to work, but the Owners were not prepared to restart the pit, though work was found for some of them laying the cricket pitch as part of the village Welfare scheme²⁰¹. The colliery remained closed until the 8th of February 1929²⁰².

Ushaw Moor colliery was also closed in 1927 and many miners left the valley, heading particularly for Yorkshire²⁰³. Those who remained were left with the dole and no prospect of work; and to make things a little worse, the branch office of the Employment Exchange in the Welfare Hall was closed, leaving the unemployed to walk to Langley Moor. 1,200 men in Ushaw Moor, Bearpark and Sleetburn (New Brancepeth) were unemployed by the beginning of 1928²⁰⁴, and gradually distress had worsened to acute poverty.

A number of schemes were undertaken to provide assistance to unemployed miners families throughout the distressed areas of Britain, most noticeably by the Lord Mayors of London, Newcastle and Cardiff, and by the M.F.G.B. Boots, clothes and blankets were collected and distributed to the needy; and during the winter of 1928, Deptford, in the east end of London, chose to select a village which they could personally assist.

After examining candidates in the Welsh coalfield, the Mayor of Deptford, Councillor F. Ross, decided to adopt Ushaw Moor, where 600 families were considered to be in need²⁰⁵. A fund was established, and Isaac Finley and Jack Joyce played a leading role in administering it until the return to work in 1929.

Ushaw Moor was, of course, not the only village in the area suffering from the depression. At Hedley Hill, a writer to the *Durham Chronicle* said that 'The children are a pitiful sight, half naked and less than half fed'²⁰⁶. Another wrote that at Hamsteels 'the plight of the people there is tragical'²⁰⁷, and the village of Steep in Hampshire, hearing of distress in Broompark, decided to adopt the village²⁰⁸. Yet all Sir Richard Pease could say was that Durham was rapidly becoming a pauper factory. Peter Lee picked up his words and said that 'one of the principal ways of making a pauper factory is for rich people, when trade is good, to bring large numbers of people together in employment, and then, when trade falls, to close down their works or mines, without any regard as to how the people shall live or where they shall go'²⁰⁹. But the same policy was, however, followed, and Esh Winning was the next to suffer.

At the pit the daily output of coal had been around 750 to 800 tons, but on the 12th of July 1930 the firm decided to dispense with 597 men and boys. Output was maintained at 200 tons a day for a few months but in November the remaining 246 workers were dispensed with. Ninety-five had been absorbed in other pits, mainly at Waterhouses and Ushaw Moor to provide a nucleus once trade improved and the colliery restarted, but many miners gave up and left the valley. Though the precise figure is not known, many Esh Winning miners went to the South Yorkshire coalfield, like the Ushaw Moor men a few years earlier. Names of newly urbanised settlements like Askern and Rossington, near Peases Thorne colliery, are recalled, where the Hard Steam Coal of the Barnsley Bed was worked. Yet

even here the Medical Officer of Health for Doncaster R.D.C. noted that 'work has been irregular, nor has the prosperity which was such a marked feature of the district up to 1926 returned'²¹⁰. Esh Winning pit remained closed, with a skeleton maintenance staff, for 12 years until April 1942, when the requirements of war made it viable to the Peases.

K. From World War to Vesting Day

Hitler's blitzkrieg had led to the conquest of most of Europe, the forced expulsion of the B.E.F. from Dunkirk, and 'Operation Sealion' had threatened an invasion of the British Isles. In Parliament Chamberlain was ousted, and a coalition led by Churchill, with Clement Attlee, the Labour Leader, had taken control, to wage total war against Nazism. Though coal was essential to the war effort there was no direct government control of the mines until 1942 when the Ministry of Fuel and Power was created. The Coal Act of 1938 (1 & 2 Geo.6, c.52) had vested all coal seams of the country in the Coal Commission from the first of July 1942, and the creation of the new Ministry gave government the directional control of the industry, but the government did not take financial control. Yet at a time of national emergency output of coal was on the decline. In County Durham the output per manshift had fallen from 22.82 cwt. in 1938 to 19.93 cwt. in 1942, and 18.71 cwt. by August 1943²¹¹. This was largely due to a decline in the mining labour force - a result of economic depression and migration in the '20's and '30's; and an increasing unwillingness of boys to go down the pits. In addition, the manager at Esh Winning noted in 1940 'labour is very scarce in this district as miners are going to munition factories in this and other areas'²¹². Although the number of surface workers in the county had remained stable, between 1938 and 1942 the number of underground workers had fallen by about one-fifth. By 1943 Durham was looking for 5,000 workers to meet its manpower requirements.

Voluntary schemes had attempted to recruit young men to the mines, but these had largely been unsuccessful, and on the 12th October 1943 the Minister of Fuel and Power, Major Lloyd George, announced to the Commons that it would be necessary to call up men for the mines as well as the armed forces. The task of recruiting extra labour was the responsibility of Ernest Bevin, who had been appointed by Churchill as Minister of Labour and National Service in September 1940. The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act of 1940, particularly regulation 58A, gave Bevin extensive powers on compulsory conscription of individuals for essential work. Young men between the ages of 18 and 25 who had been called up could choose between military service and mining, but Bevin introduced a cavilling system to select which of the recruits should go to the pits or the services. This involved picking out a series of numbers, and those recruits whose National Service Registration Certificate number ended in that number would be sent to a colliery, as scheduled in the Essential Work (Coalmining Industry) Order, 1943. The chosen pit workers became known as the 'Bevin Boys', and were sent for an initial 4 weeks training before regular work commenced²¹³. A small number worked in the valley pits; one conscript is known to have come from London, some were Durham office workers, while others were young colliery clerks sent underground.

A number of schemes were also instigated to increase output. In 1943 Thomas Hornsby, Regional Controller for the Ministry of Fuel and Power suggested a special week of extra effort should be made by different northern collieries in support of the Durham Light Infantry in its fight against Rommel in North Africa. At Waterhouses the miners chose the 8th to 13th of February to be the week in which they hoped to increase output 12.20% above target. At the end of the week the Union Jack flew from the pithead to mark their success²¹⁴. Yet in Durham

as a whole the county failed in every week of 1943 to achieve its output target of just over half a million tons²¹⁵. This was largely due to the manpower problem, the falloff in numbers due to death, injury or disease, but there was a certain amount of absenteeism. In Durham the rate of avoidable absenteeism was the lowest in the country, below 2.5%, with a high involuntary rate of around 7%. In the valley pits there is evidence of voluntary absenteeism, though during the special period of effort the absenteeism had fallen. More importantly the creation of the Pit Production Committees of colliery workers representatives and management working together to solve disputes and to increase output, improved efficiency. Miners lodge officials, mechanics and deputies were all represented, many of them established lodge officials, men like Isaac Finley and Jack Joyce.

The Committees agreed to act as assessors and to operate a scheme whereby a worker who persistently absented himself was fined £1. The individual could earn remission if he worked six weeks without losing a shift. At Waterhouses the manager wrote that 'Absentee offenders are being rounded up' and in November 1943 a hewer and 3 putters were brought before the assessors and instantly fined £1 each²¹⁶. Figure 16 shows the rate of absenteeism, both voluntary and involuntary, at the three collieries. 10% was taken as a normal, and the number of peaks above that can be seen. At Waterhouses in January 1945 it reached 22.12%, 'an extent hitherto unknown'. The manager blamed the increased Minimum Wage introduced in the Porter award as being one of the main reasons for reduced effort.

The passing years and ballots had seen younger members of the union taking over the important positions in the lodges. Sam Dove, the Esh Winning checkweighman died in 1955 at the age of 85²¹⁷, and Tommy Reddon resigned in 1943 as treasurer after 22 years, and was succeeded by Fred

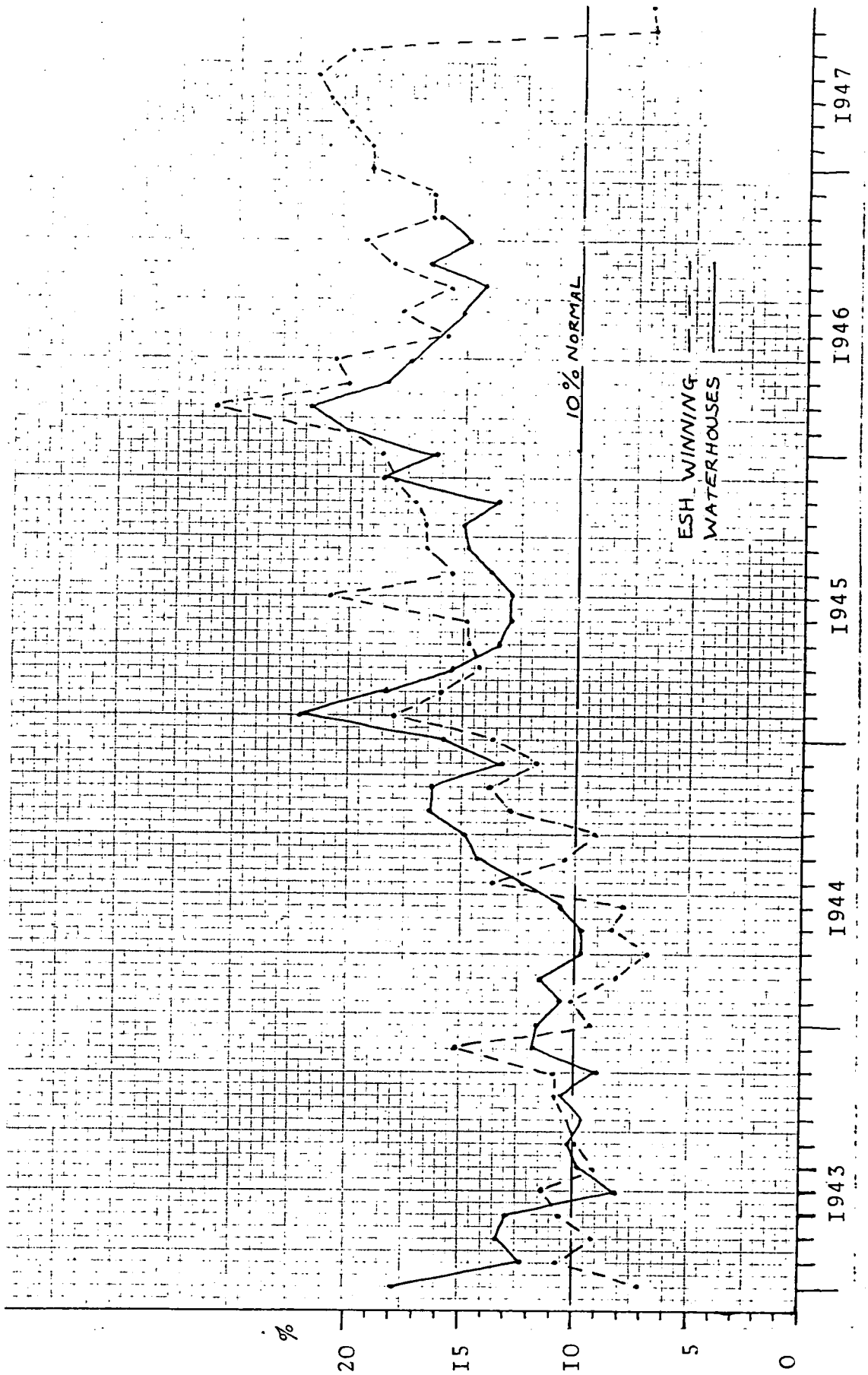


FIG. 16
 MONTHLY ABSENTEE RATES OF HEWERS AND FILLERS AT
 ESH WINNING AND WATERHOUSES.

Gibbon²¹⁸. Robert Pinkney became president, and Pat Mullen, the checkweighman. At Waterhouses Matt. White, the lodge president, died in 1932 and was succeeded by Harry Splevins, and James McKenna, the checkweighman, was followed by Clifford Ellison. John Ramsey White remained financial secretary until 1949, when Robert Bone took his place (plate 30b). Robert Bone and Clifford Ellison were involved in local politics; both were Labour members and had been elected to Brandon Urban District Council, Bone in 1932, and Ellison in 1946²¹⁹. Like many earlier members of the Waterhouses lodge, Robert Bone was a Primitive Methodist and retained an interest in the Cooperative Movement. At Ushaw Moor Finley, Joyce and James Clark remained as lodge officials, while George W. Clark, a rolleywayman, rose to be compensation secretary²²⁰ and A. Cutmore, a hewer, became lodge secretary²²¹. All were members of a lodge which had seen many changes, from the independent county status of the D.M.A., through its links with the M.F.G.B., and in 1942 they became part of a national body, the newly formed National Union of Mineworkers.

The efforts made in the mines and factories fuelled the war effort. The battles of North Africa were followed by the invasion of Italy, the mass bombing raids on Germany, the landings in Normandy, and the unrelenting march of the Russians on Berlin. The capitulation of Germany brought Victory in Europe, and the atomic explosions in Japan saw the final close of hostilities in a world weary of war and in ruins. In Britain in 1945 a general election held in July indicated this weariness when Churchill, the war leader, was overwhelmingly defeated, and Labour took office under Clement Attlee, with the aim of creating a peaceful, caring society. Amongst its plans was its old aim of nationalisation of the mines, and Emmanuel Shinwell, M.P. for Seaham, was given the post of Minister of Fuel and Power to carry out that aim, and to ensure that

more and more much needed coal was produced to rebuild the nation.

After the King's speech opening the new Parliament, Ernest Bevin looked to the miners, 'I ask them therefore to help us, not for profit, not for the capitalists, but in the task of building peace, and bringing succour, help and warmth to millions of their fellow workers at home and abroad'²²². Shinwell asked Durham to increase its output, and set targets at each pit. Yet absenteeism remained a major problem throughout the county and at the three Pease pits. Some said that because of austerity and the lack of consumer goods in the shops there was no incentive to work, particularly with a guaranteed minimum wage, and the removal of punitive measures against absenteeism, though there were no doubt other reasons. At Ushaw Moor absenteeism was worst over the weekend. On Saturdays it was around 45 to 50%, and the following Monday it could be 25%. Consequently output fell, and from December 1945 until July 1946 the pit failed to produce its Shinwell target of 1,400 tons per week. The Ministry of Fuel and Power threatened to close the colliery, but after a deputation led by Sam Watson of the D.M.A. and Jack Joyce had promised that all efforts would be made to achieve the required output figures, the Ministry agreed to give them a 'probationary' month to prove it²²³. At the end of the first week the target was exceeded by 7 tons, at the end of the second week 9 cwt., at the third 2 tons, and at the end of the final week it scraped through with an excess of 7 cwt.²²⁴. The Union Jack flew from the pithead to prove they could achieve their target, and as the weeks passed output was exceeding the target by over 100 tons. The targets set for the other pits was 1,520 tons at Esh Winning, and 2,630 tons at Waterhouses, (reduced to 2,250 in October 1945), and their actual output was sometimes up to 200 tons above target²²⁵. Meetings of the Pit Production Committees continued to be held on increasing output, including the use of machinery, but low seams and the problems of

water caused frequent breakdowns.

On the 12th of July 1946 the Coal Industry Nationalisation Act received the royal assent, a victory for the miners after years of struggle, and the end of the Pease control of the valley pits. The official handing over of the industry took place on 'Vesting Day', Wednesday the 1st of January, 1947, though a number of ceremonies took place on the fifth. In the pit yards of the valley, management and union representatives talked of working together to make nationalisation a success. At Esh Winning the colliery manager, A.K. Dawson, raised the blue flag of the N.C.B. on the pithead, while Pat. Mullen, the checkweigher, attached a noticeboard to the colliery office which read 'This colliery is now owned and managed by the National Coal Board on behalf of the people' ²²⁶ The feelings of many at that time was expressed in the words of Alf Cheek, a lodge official at nearby Hamsteels, 'Well, they're ours now hinny'.

After nationalisation industrial disputes were minimal, and the stages of rundown of the pits, and the transfer of men to other collieries, was a peaceful process. By the 1960's the men realised that the valley pits were dying and they accepted closure as inevitable.

CONCLUSIONS

Three comparatively small pit villages in a Durham valley have been described. All were ultimately controlled by a single capitalistic firm, but a firm distinctive in being Quaker. How different then was life in the villages under such a firm, and what effect did time and change have on relations between villagers and coal owners?

Throughout the latter half of the 19th c. Pease and Partners developed a highly integrated economic operation. Their blast furnaces at Skinningrove, Normanby, Teesbridge and Tees Iron works were supplied with ore and lime from their own mines and quarries. Coal came from their pits at Bowden Close, Wooley, Waterhouses, Esh Winning, Ushaw Moor, Marshall Green, and later Thorne. In most cases it was converted into metalurgical coke in their own ovens, while valuable by-products were extracted in the coal-coke conversion process. A far cry from the days of the early Pease woollen mill in Darlington. Yet this enterprise was created by men who were prepared to take risks and to sink capital into projects which could either fail and produce a resounding loss, or make a profit. In the Deerness valley they had taken a calculated risk. From the evidence of test drill samples and their own geological knowledge they predicted useable resources, sank pits, and stuck with the work until problems of water had been overcome. Then they expanded their workforce to win the coal.

Having examined the population of Waterhouses, Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor from 1861-1881 in some detail it is clear that there are many similarities with other developing mining villages in Durham around that time. Its youthfulness, the predominance of males, the high proportion of males in their 20's and 30's needed for pitwork, the frequency of older men marrying younger women, and their migratory tendencies are all highlighted. In all three decades Durham supplied the great bulk of the migrants who went to live in the three villages, as was the case at other villages in

the county, while Durham's neighbours provided the second highest percentage of their total population. Similar features have been found elsewhere. Griffin noted it in Leicestershire where the mines were worked primarily by men of that county¹; and in Glamorgan in the latter half of the 19th c. native born, and people from neighbouring Welsh counties, formed the greatest mass of the population that worked such coal centres as the Rhondda². Although Irish were being employed at the pits and cokeyards, and the title 'Little Ireland' was used for areas of housing where there was a greater concentration of their number, the evidence for the influx of Irish people to the new villages shows that they were small in number. Between 1861 and 1881 the maximum was 16.8%, in one village, normally it was under 8%, and in Glamorgan between 1871 and 1891 they formed about 2%. Welbourne's description of Ushaw Moor in the early 1880's as 'a colliery with an unusually high proportion of Irish Catholic pitmen' is less than accurate³. The prospect of comparatively high wages in coal mining was probably the main incentive for movement, and in the northern coalfield there was the added attraction of supplied housing.

Lady Bell, in her study of Middlesborough, said of the requirements of new industrial settlements that 'They must...have houses built as quickly as possible, the houses must be cheap, and must be as big as the workman wants, and no bigger; and as they are built, there arise, hastily erected, instantly occupied, the rows and rows of little brown streets... A town arising in this way cannot wait to consider anything else than time and space: and none of either must be wasted on what is merely agreeable to the eye, or even on what is merely sanitary. There can be no question under these conditions of building model cottages, or of laying out a district into ideal settlements... It is, unhappily, for the most part a side issue for the workman whether he and his family are going to live under healthy conditions. The main object of his life is

to be at work: that is the one absolute necessity'⁴. This description could well apply to Chaytor's housing at Ushaw colliery, and examples of squalid settlements with appalling sanitation, and no social amenities apart from the pub were to be found scattered throughout many areas, including County Durham, as industry and mining operations increased with the Industrial Revolution.

A number of employers were, however, willing to expend some of their capital on improved conditions of life for their workers, and to look on them with paternalistic care, though in some cases it may have been, as Engels thought, simply a means to achieve a placid, subordinate workforce. In County Durham the firm of Straker and Love, for instance, built schools at Oakenshaw and Brandon; a reading room at Willington; a literary institute with 2,000 books at Brandon; and a Y.M.C.A. with lecture hall, and bible and science classes at Oakenshaw. As a New Connexion Methodist Love contributed primarily to chapels of his own sect, either financially or by providing land, but the firm did assist others. A second mining firm, Bell Brothers Ltd., who worked pits at Pagebank, Browney and Tursdale, built British schools at their villages, while their libraries and reading rooms were very well stocked. At Pagebank they built a chapel for the Primitive Methodists. In south Yorkshire the Denaby Colliery Company built the miners' houses, the school, parish church, Coop and hotel⁵. The Fletchers and Burrows, who ran the Atherton Colliery Company in Lancashire, provided and maintained good houses, and assisted sports, recreational and welfare schemes; the owners of the Ince Moss collieries near Wigan contributed £10,000 to a colliery church, while the London Lead Company, working in the Pennines, had, through the early and mid 19th c., also provided schools, libraries, doctors, good housing, sanitation and support for recreational pursuits⁶. This firm, like Pease and Partners, was a Quaker concern. The image of the light of God within the individual lay behind the Quaker belief in doing works of a high moral

order, and they, like the other employers just mentioned, attempted to improve and uplift the workers, and their environment. The Peases were paternalistic, but in being so they were not unique at that time, even in County Durham.

The construction of houses to accommodate workers at the new valley collieries was an essential, considering the scale of existing housing in the area, and unlike the South Wales coalfield, was provided by the coal owners. To their credit the housing provided by the Peases was of good quality, and for many workers it was free, though the free-house system had become an accepted feature of many northern mining settlements. The collieries' own teams maintained this sizeable capital investment; the early workers' contracts included clauses on care of the house, and the threat of eviction could be used if an occupant failed to maintain the garden. But although the villages of Waterhouses and Esh Winning were described as 'model villages', the Peases were not the only coal-owners who provided decent housing. Model communities were created at Llwynypia in the Rhondda; at Creswell in Derbyshire, by the Bolsover Company; Denaby, also in Yorkshire, by the Denaby Colliery Company, to name just a few⁷. A writer in 1892 said of the Marquis of Londonderry's colliery at New Silksworth that 'the houses seem somewhat superior to the older colliery villages'⁸, and at other pits in Durham improvements in housing were being made in the latter half of the 19th c. The 1875 Public Health Act, and the creation of Sanitary Districts and bye-laws (including those of Brandon and Byshottles in 1880) tightened up on house building and sanitation. There is no escaping the fact, however, that the villages of the valley were purely functional units. All the rows were laid out close to the pit, whether in the parallel rows created by Chaytor, or three or four sides around the pit, as provided by the Peases. The place of work was virtually on the doorstep. So then, essentially the Peases were providing the basics - a place to work, and a house and fuel for

certain grades of worker.

Other essentials which were provided by the Peases were colliery doctors and a nursing service. The increasing size of the population, the early outbreaks of disease caused by defective sanitation, and the injuries etc., caused at work, made them a must. Similar services did exist elsewhere in the county (Dawdon, West Cornforth etc.) and in other mining districts like South Wales. But these services were not, in fact, free to the users. The workmen contributed to them out of their own wages, as they did to the County Hospital. The doctors were paid 6d a head, and considerable discontent arose amongst the D.M.A. lodges when the contribution was raised to 9d. at the same time as Lloyd George's new Insurance Act provided for the insurance company paying the doctor for attending the patient. 'The grasping greed of the medical profession (the Colliery Doctors Medical Association of Durham and Northumberland) makes it absolutely essential that as an organised body of workers we should definitely protect our members by taking effective steps to combat the tyranny of the Medical Association'⁹. In the valley the lodges went so far as to bring in their own doctors¹⁰.

In terms of buildings and facilities for the villagers' general use, provided in toto by the Peases, the number is extremely small, namely the schools and institutes. The running of the schools was aided by Parliamentary grant, and the education that was provided was not free, children had to pay the 'school pence', though the provision of a board of managers and a school inspector did ensure the quality of the teaching. Education had long been a Quaker concern, and in the Pease family bequests to the educational facilities had been made since the time of Edward Pease (1767-1858). Yet they also accepted the custom of the time and employed children of 11 and 12 years of age in their mines. The institutes, with their associated reading rooms and art and science classes, were added only gradually, after 11 years at Esh Winning, and 25 years at

Waterhouses. Similar classes were started by Straker and Love, and others were set up at Clay Cross, Chesterfield and Stavely in 1869 by Derbyshire coal owners¹¹. It was believed that the miners' institutes were 'an excellent means of counteracting the evil influence and abuse of the public house, and of exercising personal influence upon those who frequented them'¹². Although the valley institutes were managed by a committee of men and management, until 1907 they were not democratically controlled, but were biased in favour of the management.

The bulk of the Pease contribution to the wider life of the villages was financial and supportive, and aimed almost exclusively at their social and moral improvement - major infusions of cash for the construction of aged miners homes and memorial halls; financial aid in building the churches and chapels; sponsorship of the nursing association, the child welfare centre; the village welfare scheme; prizes for the art and science classes; support for the temperance movement etc. Their presence and influence in the villages was always there. It was a mixture of looking after their workers, and attempting to ensure a peaceful, healthy, hard-working, sober workforce.

But what should be remembered in all this is that the villagers often instigated these improvement projects (e.g. the aged miners homes and the memorial halls), contributed to them out of their wages, and worked on the management committees (e.g. the nursing association, the hospital committee, the institutes). As we have seen, when something was needed in the villages it was not instantly provided by an employer, and when it was it was not always free. There was, therefore, a considerable amount of self-help. While many of the 'frontier' mining settlements were notorious for drunkenness, gambling and prostitution, Fordyce and others had noted changes in Durham colliery village society by the mid 19th c., as an increasing number of miners rejected the Bob Crankey image discussed

by Robert Colls in *The Colliers Rant* and sought to improve their lot.

Through their own efforts villagers raised money, acquired leases and built their own chapels and churches, often raising the structures with their own hands. None were built by the firm. Anglicans, Catholics, Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist, and Baptist all built their own meeting places, and it is interesting that there was no Friends meeting house in any of the villages.

In addition to worship the chapels and churches provided the potential for moral and social improvement and for recreation. The religious groups provided Sunday schools, and formed, for instance, the backbone of the temperance movement in the valley, supported by the Peases and their missionaries. Sidney Webb described, in particular, the Methodists of the Durham pit villages as men of 'earnestness, sobriety, industry and regularity of conduct'¹³ - and this made them most useful workers for any employer. There was no 'Saint Monday' for these men, but honest, hard work. Yet the Methodist sect, with its structure of local preachers, class leaders and small responsible committees, produced a surprising number of men who involved themselves in local politics (favouring the Liberal Party), the cooperative movement, and trade unionism, especially in the 19th c. In the early decades of the 20th c. many official posts in the lodges were still held by Methodists, but a number of Catholics rose to positions of importance - James McKenna at Waterhouses, Billy and Pat Mullen and Peter Shaw at Esh Winning. Dr. Towers had perhaps spurred the Catholics on when, at St. Joseph's church at Ushaw Moor in 1929 he said that 'not only was it their duty to play their part in their trade union, but it was also their duty to participate in municipal affairs'¹⁴.

Another example of self help was the cooperative movement. The failure of the Peases to provide shops resulted in necessary goods and

services having to be supplied by small scale local enterprise or established centres at some distance. Consequently the villagers turned first to the Crook Coop, and then established their own branches in the villages. The basic groundwork was done by villagers, and it was they who worked on the Coop committees. This Friendly Society was the great sustainer of the miners, supplying cheaper food and goods, though of high quality, and the important 'dividend'.

Despite the facilities and aid provided by the Peases, and the improvements made by local people, the villages were kept under strict control by early managers like J.G. Crofton. He acted like a squire, and was prepared to use a firm hand. Not only did he oversee the villages and the company-supplied facilities, but he controlled the working operations of three collieries with the same firmness.

The system of work at these pits allowed individuals to improve their status. There was an established progression from the trapper who entered the pit when he was 12, to the hewer who, through age and acquired experience, had come to work at the face. Beyond this it was possible to become an official, as an overman or a deputy, with the responsibilities that those jobs entailed. In some cases such positions were given to favourites, but this was not always the case. One deputy, a member of the Waterhouses miners lodge, and the brother of the undermanager, almost got himself sacked for arguing over a worker's case. For the majority of men, however, their lives comprised many years of hard work underground, and in old age they often worked at bank, at the screens, and even greasing tubs.

Apart from the events at Chaytor's pit in 1881-3 industrial relations were fairly peaceful, with manager and lodge officials generally respecting each other, though concessions always had to be fought for. Reduction of output and refusing to draw cavils were the main methods of attempt-

ing to alter wages and conditions. The lodges joined in the county strikes of 1879 and 1892, and what violence there was, was directed at those who broke the strike. The Peases were quite willing to use blacklegs to maintain some output, just as Chaytor and many other owners were prepared to do. Yet because of the comparative peace and order within their villages, and presumably because of concern for their workers, they allowed the men to take coal from the heaps in 1892, and more importantly it appears they allowed them to remain in their houses. Other owners were not so generous. Straker and Love evicted their workers at Brancepeth, Sunnybrow and Oakenshaw in 1863¹⁵, Chaytor did the same at Ushaw Moor in 1881-3, as did the Marquis of Londonderry at New Silksworth in 1891. Yet the fact that the Pease manager could threaten eviction even if the miner did not maintain his garden, makes one wonder if such things did occur in the villages. By 1926 the firm had no qualms about eviction. Militants who disturbed the peace and work routine had to be removed, even if this meant arrest, expulsion from home and work, and blacklisting. In 1853 the Peases had 13 ring-leaders arrested during a strike at Crook. What was important to the Peases was that their operations were productive and economically viable and this could only be achieved with a peaceful, contented workforce. If the company prospered so too would the worker.

The first world war and the depression which followed it affected Britain's heavy industries and saw the contraction of world markets for her coal. It was a time of economic, political and social change, and had a major impact on the valley miners and the Pease's enterprise.

By 1921 the production of coke at the valley yards had either ceased or was in its death throes. This was largely due to the failure to update and improve their valley operation, particularly for the recovery of bye-products. Apart from a limited number of Bauer ovens at

Ushaw Moor, the beehives formed the greatest proportion of the plant. The decline in the quality of the coal, as seams were gradually worked out, also affected their final product. As a result the Peases concentrated their coke production and bye-product recovery at Bankfoot, and left the valley pits to produce just the coal.

On the production side the Peases were very slow or unwilling to expend capital on introducing machinery into the valley, as a means to achieve increased output and higher productivity. From the available records it is clear that cutters had been introduced at Waterhouses in the 1930's. But even in 1937 of the 127,735 tons of coal raised, 93.59% was got by hand, and only 6.41% by machine¹⁶. Seven years later 107,812 tons had been won, 46.97% by machine, 32.28% by pneumatic picks, and 20.75% by hand. At Esh Winning pneumatic picks were introduced in 1945, and were responsible for 17.78% of the year's output. No cutters were in use at that time. Two years later the mines were a nationalised industry, and out of the hands of the Peases.

The Royal Commission of 1925 had recommended that 'The amalgamation of many of the present small units of production is both desirable and practicable¹⁷, and the Peases were clearly aware of the need to do this in order to streamline and increase efficiency. The technical problems however, made it extremely difficult to unite the three pits with a single drawing site. As a result their Deerness valley operations remained separate units, only a mile or so apart, virtually connected underground, and yet drawing and processing in three places, with all the equipment and manpower that that involved.

With the best seams being worked out, the Peases were also looking more and more at new coalfields, and to pits like Thorne. Equally by this stage in the firm's history, if the output of a pit failed to meet requirements it would be closed down and kept in mothballs until it could

be used, no matter what the effect on the community which relied on the pit for employment. E.B. Emmott said of Quaker beliefs that the 'main object in business is not to gain profit for themselves, but to render service to others'¹⁸. Yet the Peases continued to make substantial profits while paying their men 'starvation wages', and demanding greater effort. The belief that if the company prospered so too would the worker didn't have the ring of truth about it any more.

As a result political allegiances changed. Many turned to the Labour party, including men who had formerly been staunch Liberals. It was a move towards socialist policies (including mines nationalisation), rather than support for a Liberal party which included amongst its number leading capitalists, like the Peases. Consequently there was strain between the Peases and workers who were members of the Labour party. In 1923, after pumping £3,000 into a memorial hall at Esh Winning, almost a third of the total cost, the Pease family were invited to its opening. Also invited were Labour's Joe Batey and Peter Lee¹⁹. As a result none of the Owners attended, nor did any of the Pease management. The trouble in 1926 and the temporary closures still further increased the strain.

Political change was linked to social change, of which an important aspect was secularism. Although the church and chapel still played an important part in many villagers' lives, economic problems and changing attitudes saw the closure of meeting places, and a gradual decline in attendance at services and Sunday schools. After 1924 no temperance missionaries lived and worked in the villages. The movement had had some success in converting drinkers, but as the example of Ushaw Moor shows, in 1908, with two temperance lodges in the village, it could still be described as 'one of the worst in the county for intemperance'²⁰. Ultimately the movement failed; the village pubs remained in business, and the working mens clubs took to selling drink. The welfare scheme provided increased facilities for recreation, while the working mens

clubs became the new social meeting places. Consequently the role of the churches and chapels gradually declined as social centres. The fact that union officials in the 19th c. and early decades of the 20th c. had been prominent figures in the chapels, was changing by the '20's and '30's as more became members of the workmens clubs.

There were also changing attitudes in work. The Methodist work ethic was still there, but there was also an increase in the rates of absenteeism amongst the workforce at all three pits in the 1940's. This was linked to a more secure wage position, and the numbers only fell dramatically after nationalisation, with the five day week.

What had not changed throughout the time period of this study was the involvement in the wider life of the community of many lodge officials. Not only did they improve their own situation, but they also worked for better conditions for their fellow villagers as members of the local councils. An instance of their work as councillors can be seen after the First World War with the provision of good quality Council housing. This reduced the prominent role of the coal owners as the suppliers and owners of houses, and the consequent lessening of their hold on their workers. After the 1926 strike the families evicted by the Peases were rehoused in Council accommodation at Esh Winning. The existing colliery housing was maintained, but by 1947 some of the houses the Peases had taken over from Chaytor were literally falling down. George Clark, the lodge compensation secretary, who lived in Albert Street, said that 'four of us have been sleeping in the one bedroom, and people are living in similar conditions to this day. The walls of the houses are decaying with damp, and the dwellings, if you can call them such, are not fit for pigs to live in'²¹. His two roomed house actually collapsed.

In the end the firm of Pease and Partners became so vast, the interests of the partners so diversified, and their way of life so far removed from their workers, that the true understanding and care for them, which

old Joseph Pease seems to have felt, had disappeared. By the later years it is difficult to know whether the aid which was given to the villages was given out of genuine concern, or whether it was simply payment from a standing order. Presumably they had realised some-time before 1947 that the life expectancy of the pits was declining and were prepared for a gradual rundown. They were correct. After nationalisation the valley pits had a maximum of 20 years to live.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHIES OF PROMINENT FIGURES

(Where the date of birth and death is not known, a date range when the person is known to have been alive has been used, preceded by fl. - flourished)

A. LEADING MEMBERS OF THE PEASE FAMILY

ALFRED EDWARD. 1857-1939

Eldest son of Joseph Whitwell. Educated at the Quaker Grove House school in Tottenham, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. M.P. for York from 1885-1892 and for the Cleveland Division from 1897-1902. During the period 1903-1905 he was resident magistrate in the Transvaal. Big game hunter.

ARTHUR. 1837-1898

Fourth son of Joseph. Born in Darlington, and educated at Grove House and Trinity College, Cambridge. Mayor of Darlington in 1873. M.P. for Whitby from 1880-1885. In 1895 he took Darlington. The same year he was appointed to the Opium Commission, and spent several years in India. He was also president of the North of England Temperance League, and the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Arthur was a director of Pease and Partners, the Middlesborough Owners Estate, Henry Pease & Co. (woollen mills) and the Stockton and Darlington Railway. He also owned Normanby Ironworks. In later years he suffered from heart and kidney complaints and spent much time abroad. He returned to Cornwall to assist at a bye-election, but collapsed and died at a meeting in August 1898.

ARTHUR FRANCIS. 1866-1927

Eldest son of Arthur. Educated at Cambridge, after which he trained at the firms office in Darlington. In 1906 he became chairman of Pease and Partners, and a director of the N.E.R.Co. He was a member

of the Durham Coal Trade Association, and a director of the Horden Collieries Ltd., the National Benzole Co., and the Forth Bridge Railway Co. Politically he was a Liberal Unionist. In 1918-19 he held the post of Second Civil Lord of the Admiralty. The following year he was created a baronet. Gave up the chairmanship of Pease and Partners to Joseph Albert due to ill health. In November 1927 he became ill while attending a meeting in Darlington, and died on the 23rd of that month.

EDWARD. 1767-1858

Edward Pease was educated at a boarding school before entering the families' woollen business. In 1810 he favoured the building of a railway to transport West Durham coal to the Tees, and appointed George Stephenson, an enginewright at Killingworth colliery, to carry through the project. The Stockton and Darlington railway was opened 27.9.1825. Edward was a devout Quaker and was interested in social questions, particularly the slave trade. After attending a meeting at Ayton Agricultural school he became ill and died in late July 1858.

HENRY. 1807-1879

Youngest son of Edward. Educated at a Quaker school in Darlington before training in a tanning yard. Throughout the 1820's-1840's he actively supported Joseph in the expansion of the railway network. In 1851 he travelled on an unsuccessful peace mission to Tsar Nicholas I, with J. Sturge and R. Charlton, just before the Crimean war. In 1872 he became president of the Peace Society. In politics Henry took the seat of South Durham, as a Liberal, in 1857, relinquishing it in 1865. He had always been fairly weak, and in later years bronchitis affected his heart, and he died on the 30th May 1879.

JOSEPH. 1799-1872

Second son of Edward. Involved in banking from c.1820, and was the sole partner until 1870 when his son, Joseph Whitwell, joined him. In 1832 he became the first Quaker to enter Parliament. In 1829 he became an owner of the Middlesborough estate. Later he acquired coal mines near Bishop Auckland, Shildon and Crook, and at Waterhouses and Esh Winning. He was also involved in the Bold Venture, Cod Hill, Upleathan, Skinningrove, Cragg Hill and Tockett Mines (not all of which were successful). Joseph was also a leading shareholder in the Darlington Gas and Water Company. On the 26th of January 1855 he wrote in his diary 'A poor, poor night, such pains in my head and over my eyes'. Four years later it is clear he was suffering from glaucoma, and an operation resulted in total blindness. In 1860 he retired from business.

JOSEPH ALBERT. 1860-1943

Second son of Joseph Whitwell. Educated at Cambridge. In 1892 he took the Tyneside Division for the Liberals. Five years later he was junior party whip. He lost his seat in 1900 but soon afterwards took Saffron Walden. Later he was appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury, and Chief Whip. In 1910 he lost the Saffron Walden seat in a sensational defeat, but later took Rotherham. Joseph Albert held a position on the Board of Education, and became Postmaster General, a post he held until the end of 1916. The following year he was created Lord Gainford. From 1927-8 he was President of the Federation of British Industries, and from 1922-1926 was chairman of the B.B.C.

JOSEPH WHITWELL. 1828-1903

Eldest son of Joseph. Trained at Darlington, and active in the expanding rail network programme. He was also involved in coal and

ironstone mines, ironworks, engineering, worsted spinning and banking. Joseph Whitwell was M.P. for South Durham, and proposed the abolition of capital punishment, attacked the opium trade, and supported Home Rule. In 1882 he was created a baronet. He became involved in the case of Portsmouth v. Pease and Partners, which resulted in financial difficulties for the Pease bank, including a debt of £230,000 to the N.E.R. Co. On the 26th of September 1902 he resigned his chairmanship of N.E.R. His assets at the time were the Hutton estate in Cleveland, shares in Wilson, Pease and Co., and deferred shares in Pease and Partners, each of which was estimated at over £100,000. He sold his 2,700 acre Hutton estate in late 1902, while Barclays took over the bank. He died of heart failure on the 23rd of June 1903.

B. PEASE AND PARTNERS MANAGEMENT AND AGENTS
(Excluding colliery managers in the Deerness Valley)

DALE, DAVID. 1829-1906

Born at Moorsedabad in Bengal. Moved to Darlington when he was one year old. After leaving school he entered the offices of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company. Became managing director of the Darlington section of the N.E.R. He resigned the position in 1872 to become manager of Pease's collieries and ironstone mines. Later he was re-elected as a director of the N.E.R. Became chairman of Pease and Partners on the death of J.W. Pease. Dale was also chairman of the Weardale and Consett Water Co., director of the Barrow Hematite Steel Co., and Consett Iron Co., and chairman of the Cleveland Mine-owners Association. He sat on Royal Commissions on the Depression of Trade, Mining Royalties and Labour. Politically he was a Liberal. Died in York in April 1906 of cardiac hypertrophy.

GREENER, HERBERT. fl. 1890-1920

The son of Thomas Young Greener. Herbert became manager of Pease's

Thorne Colliery before his move to Crook to take charge of the Peases West and Deerness Valley collieries, as successor to his father. He later took charge of all Pease collieries.

GREENER, THOMAS YOUNG. b.1855

Born near Wigan the son of a mining engineer, Thomas became Pease's agent at West Lodge, Crook. He was vice-president of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, and was involved in local concerns. For a time he was chairman of Crook Urban District Council and a chairman of the Crook School Board. One of his three sons was Herbert Greener.

TAYLOR, J. FRATER. fl. 1930's and 1940's

Became chairman of Pease and Partners at the beginning of 1933, when the company had made a loss in the previous financial year of £48,216. He was involved in putting the firm on a sounder footing by issuing 1,250,000 5% cumulative preference shares. Gradual improvement, with increased output in coal, coke, ironstone, limestone, pig iron and castings by 1939. In the year ending 31.3.1940 the firm made a profit of £535,712.

C. PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE DEERNESS VALLEY

BARRON, JOHN. 1839-1924

Keeker and leading Wesleyan.

Barron was a member of the Wesleyan denomination from the age of 12, and began preaching when he was 20. He was one of the founders of the Wesleyan society in the Deerness valley, while working as keeker at Hedley Hill Colliery. He was secretary of the Crook Wesleyan circuit temperance society, and founded the Free Church Council in the valley with Allan Browell, undermanager of Cornsay Colliery.

BEECH, Father. fl. 1880-1930

Catholic priest.

Born in Staffordshire and educated at Ushaw College. He served as curate at Silksworth and took charge of Crawcrook parish for 8 years before being appointed priest at Newhouse in 1901. He established a mission at Ushaw Moor. Father Beech was on Lanchester R.D.C., the Board of Guardians, and was president of both Newhouse club and the Deerness Valley Nursing Association.

BINNS, THOMAS. d. 1897

Missionary.

Binns was a pledged abstainer and Son of Temperance. He held various offices in the Waddington subordinate division, and the Bishop Auckland Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance Friendly Society. In late 1870 or the beginning of 1871, he was appointed agent of the Northern Temperance League, and worked in Durham City before moving to Waterhouses, where he became secretary of the temperance society. He was a representative of the District County Liberal Federation, and was a member of the Waterhouses Liberal Association. In 1890 he was nominated to the committee of the Crook and Neighbourhood Coop Soc.Ltd.

BONE, ROBERT. d.1982

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Treasurer of the Waterhouses miners lodge. In local politics he represented the west ward on Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. from 1932, becoming chairman of the U.D.C. in 1937. He was also on the Board of Guardians and was appointed a magistrate. Robert Bone was also closely involved with education, and was a manager of the Durham Johnston school and member of the Durham Educational sub-committee. In Waterhouses he was assistant secretary of the Welfare Association, president of the Crook and Neighbourhood Coop, and was a member of the Bourne Primitive Methodist chapel.

CHAYTOR, HENRY. 1812-c.1894

Coalowner.

In 1851 he re-acquired Witton Castle, and sank a shaft at Ushaw Moor around 1865. Chaytor was not a member of the D.C.O.A., and a bitter strike took place at the pit in 1881-3. In 1893 he sold the pit to the Peases.

CLARK, GEORGE W. fl. 1888-1945

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Born at West Auckland, Co. Durham, he then worked at Ashington colliery before moving to Ushaw Moor at the age of 20. He became president of the lodge in 1908, retiring 37 years later. He was a member of Broom and Esh parish councils; was chairman of Ushaw Moor W.M.C., and was on the committee of New Brancepeth Coop.

CLOUGH, THOMAS. 1885-1970

Miners lodge official and local politician.

In his youth Tom Clough was a Wesleyan local preacher, and he was also a socialist. At Esh Winning colliery he rose to be lodge president. In 1926 he was imprisoned for a month and afterwards blacklisted by the Pease management. He was also removed from the Wesleyan circuit plan. In September 1925, after serving on parish and district councils, he was elected to the County Council, and later became an alderman.

CROFTON, JOHN GEORGE. 1841-1913

Colliery manager.

Born near Durham in 1841. He studied mining under Thomas Douglas at the Peases West office, and spent some time at Castle Eden before moving to Wales. Around 1879 he became manager at Waterhouses and later took control of Esh Winning and Ushaw Moor. In 1891 he was on the

Brandon Local Board. In the valley he was secretary of the Waterhouses and Esh Floral and Horticultural Society, and a member of the local Anglican church. He became ill and went to Harrogate for electrical treatment in 1913, but died of a paralytical seizure in June of that year.

DACK, JAMES ANDREW. 1846-1924

Missionary.

Dack became a Primitive Methodist local preacher in 1866, and served as a temperance missionary at Billy Row, Crook, High Jobs Hill and Skinningrove. He came to the Deerness valley as a missionary in 1897 and held the post until 1901.

DAVISON, GEORGE BENSON. 1848-1908

Masters weighman.

Born at Copt Hill, Co. Durham. He worked at Belmont and Edmondsley collieries before moving to Waterhouses in 1859. Around 1868 he was appointed token man and in 1873 became the first master's weighman at Waterhouses colliery. He was treasurer of the M.P.R.F., and was a Primitive Methodist.

DIXON, JOHN W. d. 1967.

Engineman.

Started work at Waterhouses around 1910, and became an engineman in 1925. He was a member of the Russell Street Wesleyan church for 57 years, during which time he was Society Steward, treasurer of the Sunday School, and joint secretary of the Friends Own.

DOVE, SAMUEL. 1870-1955

Miners lodge official.

Sam Dove was checkweighman at Esh Winning colliery in the 1920's, and

a workman's representative on Durham County Hospital Committee. He was a Primitive Methodist, but was also secretary of the Dreadnought W.M.C.

ELLISON, CLIFFORD. fl.1920 -

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Checkweighman at Waterhouses colliery. He was a member of the Deerness Valley Labour Party and was elected to Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. in 1946, becoming its chairman in 1948.

FINLEY, ISAAC. fl.1900-1930

Miners lodge official.

Financial secretary of Ushaw Moor miners lodge. He sat on the Deptford aid committee in 1928, distributing relief, and was at the ceremony to thank Deptford for its assistance in January 1930.

FORTIN, PHILIP CHARLES. 1846-1901

Catholic priest.

Born in London in 1846. He was priest at Newhouse, near Esh Winning, but was also active at Ushaw Moor, where he supported the miners in their strike of 1881-3. In 1883 he was responsible for the expansion of the church at Newhouse. He was also active in building Catholic schools in the mining villages of the area. Father Fortin also established a club for Catholic workmen near Newhouse church. He was a military priest in South Africa during the Boer War. Father Fortin died on the 25th of April 1901.

FOSTER, ERNEST. b.1848

Cokemens representative.

Born at Worcester in 1848. He spent several years in Staffordshire and Barrow in Furness before migrating to Esh Winning. For a time he worked at Raw's brickflatts and then was employed at Esh Winning as

a coke drawer. He joined Crawford and Patterson in forming the Durham Mining Federation Board, and became secretary of the Durham Cokemens Association. In 1892 he gave evidence on behalf of the Cokemens Association to the Royal Commission on Labour. He later moved to Birmingham as a Liberal election agent, but suffered a breakdown and moved to Ushaw Moor.

FRENCH, JOSEPH JAMES. 1876-1924

Doctor.

French trained at Newcastle School of Medicine, and in 1905 became a member of the B.M.A. His first appointment was at Trimdon, later acquiring a practice at Heaton in 1903, before moving to Esh Winning to take over Dr. Frederick Hare's practice. He was a Conservative and an Anglican.

GARR, SAMUEL. 1877-1943

Miners lodge official.

Compensation secretary at Esh Winning colliery in the 1920's. Like Clough he was a Socialist, and was imprisoned in 1926. He later found work at Cornsay colliery. In 1943, while working with a younger miner in the Ravenbush Drift, shot firing took place. Although they had both taken cover in refuge holes, Garr was hit when over 12 tons of stone and timber blew out. He suffered shock and enormous lacerations to the face, and died shortly afterwards on the 12th of May.

GOTT, THOMAS. fl.1890-1930

Miners lodge official.

Gott was an early member of the Waterhouses Labour movement, and a men's representative.

HALL, WILLIAM. fl. 1890-1930

Checkweighman and local politician.

Hall was checkweighman at Ushaw Moor colliery, and was listed in reports from at least 1905. He was elected to the Minimum Wage Board in 1924, and to the general committee of the Durham and Northumberland M.P.R.F. in 1925. In 1907 he was secretary of the Ushaw Moor branch of the I.L.P., and had been elected to Durham R.D.C. in the same year, becoming chairman in 1922.

JACKSON, WILLIAM. fl. 1880-1930

Mechanics lodge official.

Born at Amble in Northumberland. He worked for a time at Brancepeth C pit, Page Bank and East Hedleyhope colliery before coming to Waterhouses as a farrier. Around 1900 he was chosen as mechanics lodge secretary, and was appointed part time treasurer of the Durham Colliery Mechanics Association; becoming full time agent in 1923. Originally Jackson was associated with the Waterhouses Young Liberals, but later became a staunch Labour supporter. He was a Wesleyan, and was placed on the plan at Willington in 1892. In 1909 he was elected to the management Committee of the Crook and Neighbourhood Coop, and in 1914 became president.

JOHNSON, ISAAC. 1867-1952

Miners lodge official.

Born at Waterhouses in 1867. Johnson worked 51 years at the colliery and then took on the job of curator of the Miners Institute for 7 years until he retired in 1938. He was assistant checkweighman, and treasurer of the lodge for 20 years. As a Primitive Methodist he held the posts of circuit steward, trust secretary and secretary of the Bourne Sunday school.

JOYCE, JACK. fl.1892-1955

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Jack Joyce was secretary of the Ushaw Moor lodge, and was elected to the County Council, and in 1945 became chairman of the County Works Committee. He was chairman of the County Federation of Labour parties, and was also a J.P.

LEE, JOHN. 1851-1906

Miners lodge official.

Born at Kirstol near Glasgow, and started mining at 8. At 15 he moved to Sacriston and three years later transferred to Montagu pit in Northumberland, where he became lodge president. In the late 1870's he was lodge president at Ushaw Moor. Evicted in 1881 and moved to Lumley where he became checkweighman. He was a member of the D.M.A. executive, and was also an Anglican.

McKENNA, JAMES. 1878-1943

Miners lodge official.

McKenna came to Waterhouses in 1899 and rose to become checkweigher in 1917. From 1931-1943 he held the post of lodge president. From 1915 he was secretary of the Deerness Aged Miners Homes Association, and was president of the Waterhouses branch of the M.P.R.F. for 20 years. He was also a member of Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. and the Board of Guardians. Treasurer of Esh and Waterhouses W.M.C. and adherent of Newhouse Catholic church.

MORLEY, HENRY. fl.1880-1930

Undermanager.

In 1880 he started work as a trapper and then as a water-leader. Seven years later he began work at Esh Winning as a putter. In 1894 he became a deputy, and in July 1902 took on the job of master shifter

In July 1906 he was appointed back-overman, but after 3 months he became undermanager of Esh Winning colliery, a post from which he retired in March 1930.

MULLEN, PATRICK ANTHONY. 1898-1976

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Born at Cornsay, Pat. moved to Esh Winning in 1908. He worked at the colliery and held the posts of checkweighman and lodge secretary. From 1945 until his retirement in 1966 he served on Durham County Council as Esh Ward representative. In later years he became an alderman. He also was secretary of the Deerness Aged Miners Homes Association and was on the committee of the Deerness Valley Nursing Association. Pat Mullen was a Catholic, and was secretary of the Newhouse branch of the Catholic Young Mens Society, in addition to being president of Newhouse club.

MULLEN, WILLIAM JOSEPH. 1895-1969

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Born at Cornsay, the elder brother of Patrick. He worked at Hamsteels and East Hedley Hope before coming to Esh Winning in 1908. He became lodge delegate and representative of the west ward on Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C. In 1957 he was chairman of that body. William was a Catholic, and secretary of the Catholic Young Mens Society. He was also president of the Esh and Waterhouses W.M.C., and was on the management committee of Newhouse club.

PALMER, MEYRICK. fl.1875-1934

Colliery manager.

Manager of Bowden Close and Wooley collieries before moving to the Deerness valley collieries in 1914. In 1919 he was appointed agent for Allerton Main collieries.

PEARSON, THOMAS. 1857-1920

Checkweighman and local politician.

Pearson was checkweighman at Waterhouses in 1881. During a long career he was on Brandon and Byshottles U.D.C., held the post of secretary of the Waterhouses Liberal Association and was president of the Crook and Neighbourhood Coop. He was a Primitive Methodist, a superintendant of the Sunday school, and an officer of the Waterhouses, Hamilton and Hedley Hill Temperance Society. Pearson was also a Freemason. In 1910 he was secretary of the Miners Institute, but in 1916 he became ill and retired from his various posts. He died at the age of 63.

POTTS, JOHN. fl.1870-1916

Schoolmaster.

Potts became schoolmaster at Waterhouses British school in September 1882, a position he held until 1899 when he was appointed master of Ushaw Moor school. He was vice president of the Waterhouses Liberal Association in 1890, and was its president by 1893. Potts was an Anglican.

RAPER, ERNEST EDWARD. 1896-1969

Prominent Wesleyan.

Born at Waterhouses, and started work at the pit in 1909. He was a member of the Russell Street Wesleyan church, and an official of the Sunday school for 47 years. He was Society steward, and joint secretary of the Friends Own from its inception in 1951.

RAW, JOHN. 1846-1920

Prominent Baptist.

Born in 1846, the son of a Stanhope labourer. In 1871 he was the

stationmaster at Waterhouses. Raw had been a member of the Rowley Baptist church, and in 1878 gave a house in what is now Esh Winning as a Baptist church. He was a dominant figure of the church and was involved in its elaborate rebuilding in 1901.

REDDEN, THOMAS. b.1889

Miners lodge official.

Redden left his birthplace in America and came first to Spennymoor. In 1891 he was at New Brancepeth but by 1906 he was at Esh Winning. At the colliery he was lodge delegate and auditor before becoming treasurer. Resigned in 1943. Redden was also a member of the Deerness Valley Labour Party.

RHYMER, THOMAS. b.1809

Missionary.

Born at Brompton in Yorkshire in 1809. In 1871 he was Peases missionary at Waterhouses, at which time he was a widower, though by January 1881 much of the work had been taken over by Thomas Binns.

ROBINSON, THOMAS. fl.1840-1882

Colliery manager.

Manager for Henry Chaytor at Ushaw Moor, though prior to this post he had probably been at Sacriston and Wardley. He gave notice to Thomas Westoe and evicted him in December 1881, which resulted in a bitter strike. Robinson took an active part in evicting the strikers and had a long dispute with Father Fortin who supported the strikers. He was replaced in late 1882.

ROBSON, JAMES. 1844-1926

Builder.

Born at Snods Farm in N.W. Durham. Worked as a joiner and millwright at Castleside, and was active in Rookehope as a mill machinery

specialist. In 1875 his brother in law, John Raw, persuaded him to move to the Deerness valley, where he became a builder in Esh Winning. He was one of the founders of the Baptist church in the valley (actually building the church), and before his death at the age of 82 had become an elder.

RYLE, PERCIVAL. fl.1900-1934

Colliery manager.

Born at Crook and trained at Peases West. He was sent to Thorne colliery as a surveyor for 4 years, later becoming manager in 1914. Five years later he took over the Deerness valley collieries. In 1926 he became agent at Peases West.

SHAW, WILLIAM. 1853-1908

Miners lodge official and local politician.

Listed as secretary of the Esh Winning lodge from 1884 until at least 1907. In 1892 he was on the miners relief committee during the County Coal Strike. He also served on Esh Parish Council and became its chairman. Esh Winning banner, draped in black, was carried at his funeral at Newhouse Catholic church.

SMITH, HENRY. b.1849

Miners lodge official.

Secretary of the Ushaw Moor lodge in the 1870's. He was evicted in December 1881 with his wife and 3 children, and remained active throughout the strike until it collapsed.

SPLEVINS, HARRY. 1901-1970

Miners lodge official.

Waterhouses lodge president and representative on the Colliery Consultative Committee. Politically he was delegate to the North-West Durham Divisional Labour Party. He was also a member of the

Deerness Valley Nursing Association, and a trustee of the Welfare Association.

WARD, GEORGE. fl.1890's

Local politician.

President of the Waterhouses Liberal Association in 1891, and a member of the village choral society. Later in 1891 he became engineer at Lord Dudley's collieries.

WHARTON, MOSES. fl.1860-1922

Cokeyard official.

Began work for the Peases around 1860. In 1888 he was appointed manager of Waterhouses and Esh Winning Cokeworks, and subsequently general coke inspector. He retired in 1922.

WESTOE, THOMAS. fl.1870-1883

Miners lodge official.

Westoe was delegate of the Ushaw Moor lodge in the 1870's. He was accused of sending dirty coal to bank, given notice and evicted in December 1881. He remained active during the strike until it collapsed in 1883.

WHITE, MATTHEW. 1862-1932

Miners lodge official.

President of the Waterhouses lodge. Politically he was secretary of the Waterhouses Liberal Association and vice president of the League of Young Liberals, but later became a Labour supporter. In 1931 he was lodge representative on the Welfare committee. White was a Primitive Methodist; sat on the board of Management of the Crook and Neighbourhood Coop, and was on the committee of Durham County Hospital.

WHITE, JOHN RAMSEY. 1873-1949

Miners lodge official.

Began work at Waterhouses colliery in 1887 and became the lodge financial secretary. He was on the committee of the Young Liberals in 1911, and was associated with the Recreation scheme in 1926. White was on the management committee of the Aged Miners Homes Association and Durham County Hospital. He was also involved in the local nursing association. Ramsey White was a Primitive Methodist, and in 1910 was scribe to the local branch of the Rechabites.

GLOSSARY

BAND	A layer of stone or shale occasionally found in seams of coal.
BANK	The surface.
BANKSMAN	A surface worker, usually employed at the heapstead in processing tubs.
BENCH	Raised surface in front of a battery of coke ovens onto which the slaked coke is drawn before filling into trucks.
BORD	Cutting off at right angles from a headway, the work area termed a 'stall'.
BROKEN MINE	Sometimes termed 'the brokens'. An area which has been mined, but where the pillars have been left, and which are to be worked by Jenkins.
BURNER	Sometimes termed 'cinder burner'. A skilled cokeman who supervises the burning of the coal to produce coke.
CAVILLING	To draw lots each quarter for working places in the pit.
CHECKWEIGHMAN	Appointed by the men to check the weights of tubs to ensure against falsification. Usually a lodge official.
CHUM	An empty tub.
DAUBER LAD	A boy whose task is to seal the brick opening of a coke oven prior to burning.
DEPUTY	Underground official, largely responsible for safety in particular areas.
DOG	An L-shaped nail used in attaching tub line to sleepers.
DRAWER	A coke worker who opens the oven after burning, sprays the hot coke and removes (or draws) it out of the oven onto a bench.
FILLER	A coke worker who fills coke into trucks.
FOAL	A putter, younger than a headsman.
HEADSMAN	A putter who needs the assistance of another to push a full tub.
HEADWAY	A main roadway cutting into the coal from which bords are cut at right angles in pillar working.
HELPER-UPPER	Someone, usually a boy, who assists in pushing a tub on a steep gradient.
HEWER	A face worker who digs (or hews) coal and fills it into tubs.

HITCH	A geological ridgeing or dipping of strata. Hitch coal from this area is poor quality.
INBYE	To go into the mine workings, opposite of outbye.
JENKINS	Working a pillar, the direction of cutting being known as either 'fast' or 'loose'.
KEEKER	An official in charge of surface operations. Sometimes a keeker is described as a bank inspector.
KIBBLE	A large bucket used in lowering either men or materials down a shaft. Also used during the sinking process.
KICK-UP	Metal frame used to tip up a tub, spilling the coal onto the screens for grading.
KIRVING	To undercut a seam prior to bringing it down with a shot.
KITTY	Oat straw packet filled with gunpowder fired by greased twine fuse.
LEVELLER	A coke worker who levels the coal in an oven prior to burning.
MARROWS	Two miners who work a stall in the bord and wall system.
MIDGE	A small lamp, sometimes simply holding a candle.
OFFTAKES MAN	A worker who changes the wire rope when moving tubs to the heapstead or to a drift.
OUTBYE	Away from the coal face; to go outward, opposite of inbye.
OVERMAN	Colliery official responsible for overseeing a particular area of the pit.
PUTTER	A haulage worker who supplies empty tubs to the hewer and takes full tubs to a flat or landing.
RAMBLE	A thin layer of shale often found above a coal seam.
RANK	A set starting distance for which an established price is paid to putters moving tubs. Additional money is paid for distances beyond the rank. Sometimes termed a renk.
ROLLEYWAYMAN	A man in charge of the rolleyway or track underground who supervises the smooth running of tubs inbye and outbye.
SCORE	Twenty-five tubs, and the basis of wage payment for hewers.
SCREENER	A boy, older man or disabled worker who sorts stone from coal on a screen or belt.
SET	A number of tubs, usually 4 or 5, coupled together.
SLAKING	Cooling hot coke in the oven with a water spray.

SLIDING SCALE An agreement reached between the D.C.O.A. and the miners, enginemen, mechanics and cokemen, where percentage additions or deductions were made dependent on net selling price.

SMALL RUNNER A coke worker who pushes tubs onto overhead track to fill (or charge) the beehive ovens.

SPRAG A metal or wooden block or wedge used to support a seam that has been kirved, prior to shot firing.

SQUIB see KITTY.

STALL A working area cut at right angles to a headway, in the process of creating pillars. See also BORD.

STYTHER Foul air, often found in old workings.

SYLVESTER A device for hauling out disused pit props.

TRAPPER A small boy who opened or closed a trapdoor, allowing a 'set' to pass by.

VIEWER A colliery manager.

WAILER A boy of 13 or 14 employed in removing stone from coal.

WALL A wall is cut from a stall or bord at right angles to it until it breaks through into a second bord, producing a pillar.

WHIM GIN A winding system used in raising or lowering materials or men between the workings and the surface. Frequently operated by draught horse or even oxen.

WHOLE MINE Working an area by bord and wall, leaving pillars.

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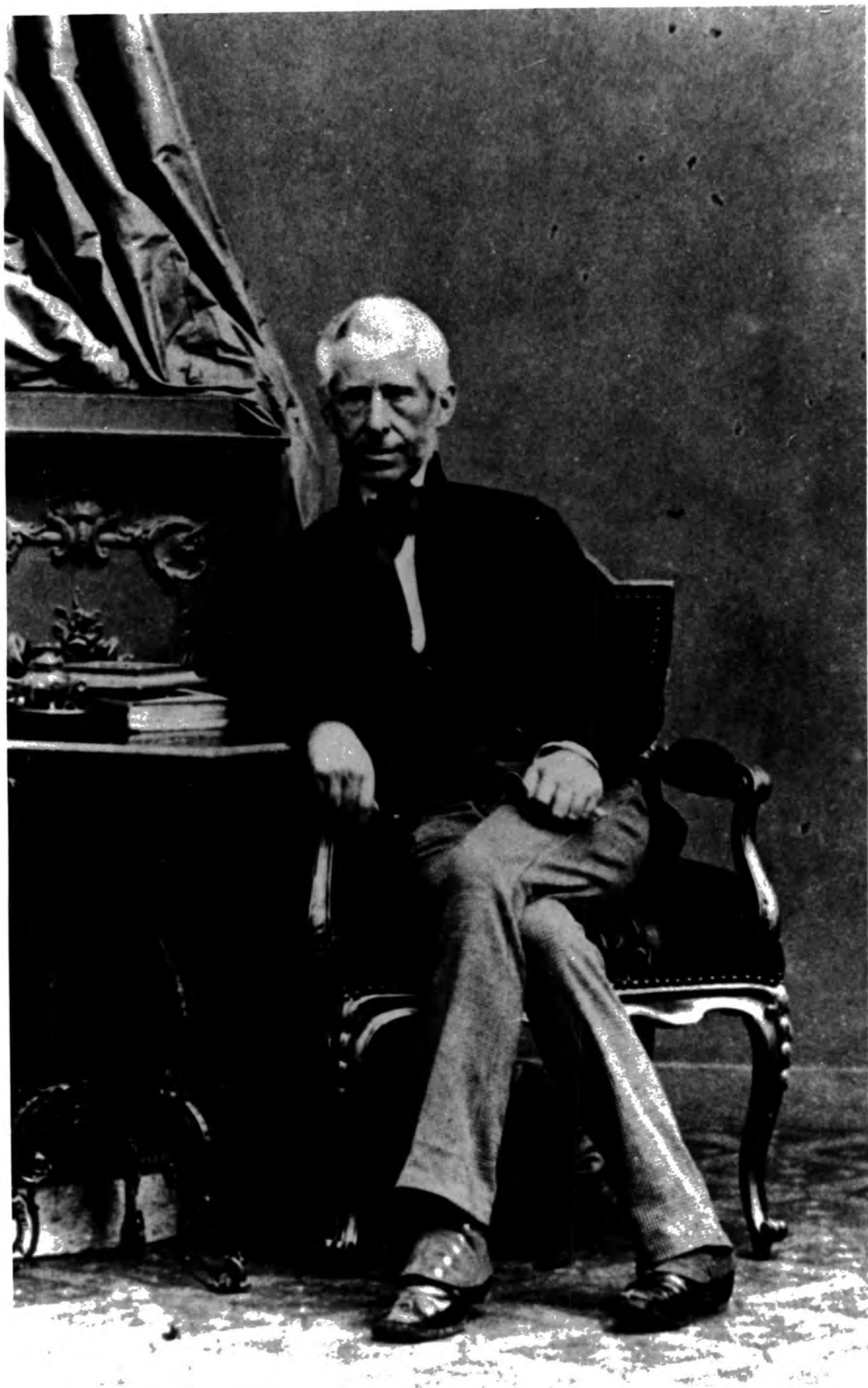


PLATE 1: JOSEPH PEASE



PLATE 2: JOSEPH WHITWELL PEASE



PLATE 3: a. Top left
b. Bottom left
c. Top right
d. Bottom right

ARTHUR PEASE
ARTHUR FRANCIS PEASE
JOSEPH ALBERT PEASE
DAVID DALE



PLATE 4: a. Top

AERIAL VIEW OF THE MODEL VILLAGE
AT ESH WINNING

b. Bottom

BUILDING EARLY HOUSING AT ESH WINNING
(undated)



PLATE 5: COLLIERY HOUSING AT NORTH TERRACE,
ESH WINNING

- a. Top FRONT
b. Bottom REAR



PLATE 6: a. Top PRIVATE HOUSING, STATION ROAD,
USHAW MOOR

b. Bottom AGED MINERS HOMES, ESH WINNING



PLATE 7: PRIVATE HOUSING AT ESH WINNING

- a. Top 'STAGS HEAD' AREA (post 1901)
- b. Bottom DURHAM ROAD (post 1901)



PLATE 8:

WATERHOUSES COOP

- a. Top THE SOUTH FRONTAGE (1983)
b. Bottom COOP STAFF IN 1887



PLATE 9: a. Top ST. PAULS CHURCH, WATERHOUSES (1983)
b. Bottom WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH, WATERHOUSES (1983)



PLATE LO; a. Top

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHAPEL AT WATERHOUSES
(photo pre-1927)

b. Bottom

USHAW MOOR BAPTIST CHURCH (1983)



PLATE 11: a. Top A PRIMITIVE METHODIST PROCESSION
AT ESH WINNING (post 1901)
b. Bottom FATHER BEECH AT NEWHOUSE (undated)

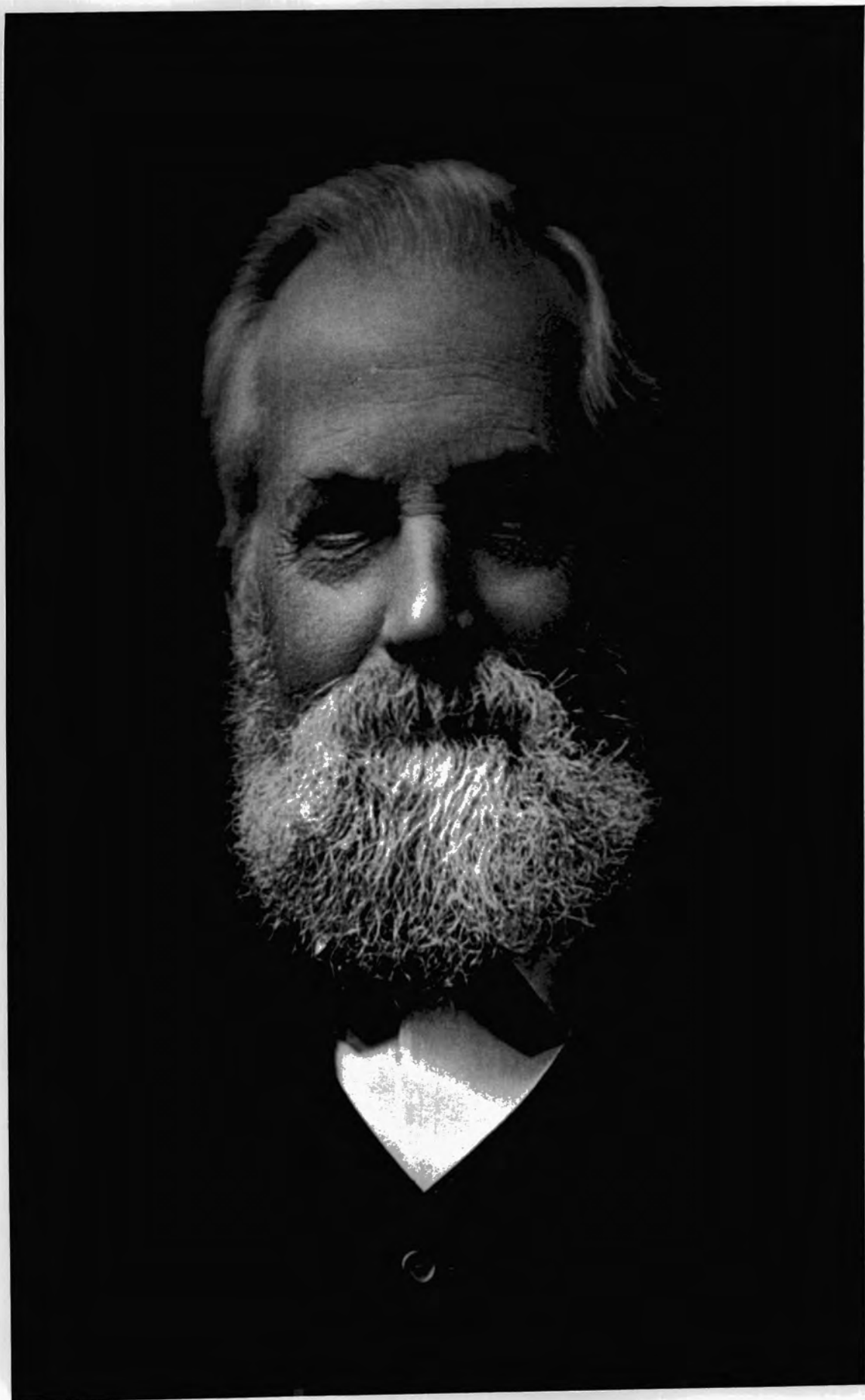


PLATE 12: JAMES DACK, TEMPERANCE MISSIONARY



PLATE 13: a. Top JOHN POTTS, SCHOOLMASTER
AT WATERHOUSES
b. Bottom WATERHOUSES SCHOOLCHILDREN
1899



PLATE 14: a. Top HERBERT GREENER, PEASES WEST AGENT
b. Bottom HENRY BOWES, COKE INSPECTOR

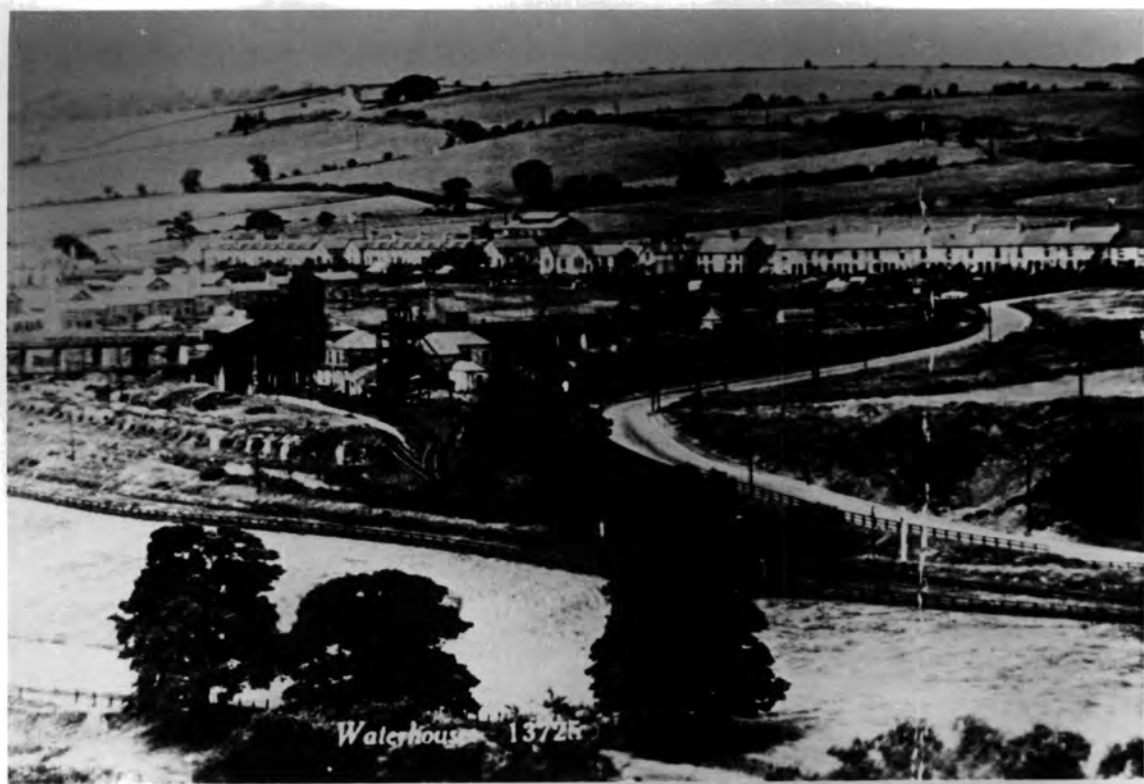


PLATE 15:

WATERHOUSES COLLIERY

- a. Top THE COLLIERY, WITH NORTH TERRACE
IN THE BACKGROUND (c.1921)
- b. Bottom THE COLLIERY AND COKE OVENS (c.1916)



PLATE 16:

ESH WINNING COLLIERY

- a. Top THE COLLIERY LOOKING EAST (undated)
b. Bottom THE COLLIERY AND COKE OVENS (pre 1926)



PLATE 17: a. Top SINKING A SHAFT AT ESH WINNING (undated)
b. Bottom MEN AT THE WATERHOUSES UPCAST SHAFT (undated)



PLATE 18: USHAW MOOR PUMPING SHAFT (1983)



PLATE 20:

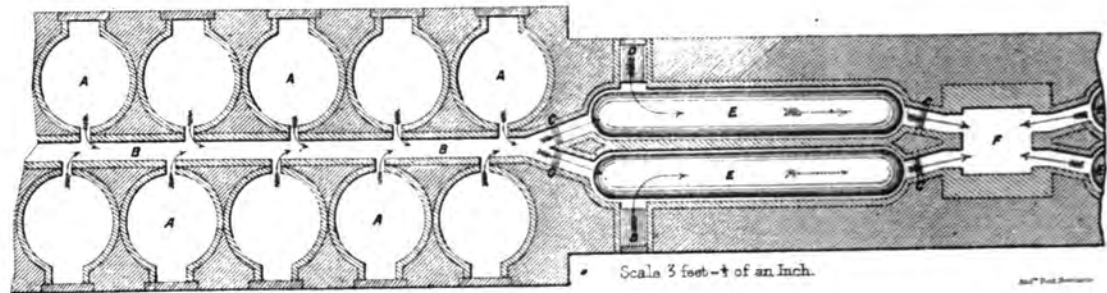
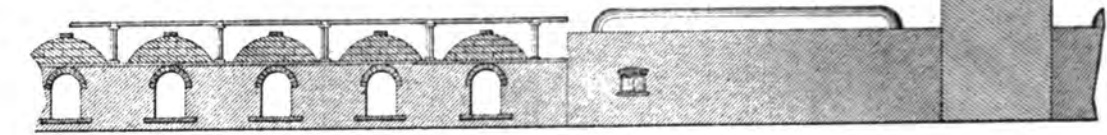
WATERHOUSES MINERS
(top undated, bottom c.1930)



PLATE 21: a. Top ESH WINNING ENGINEHOUSE (1906)
b. Bottom WATERHOUSES WHIM-GIN (c.1964)

ARRANGEMENT OF OVENS AND FLUES FOR APPLYING HEAT TO BOILERS.

With Grates to be used if necessary.



Engineering Notes

Prof. Paul Bennett



PLATE 22: a. Top PLAN AND SECTION OF BEEHIVE OVENS
b. Bottom WORKMEN REPAIRING WATERHOUSES OVENS (c.1912)



PLATE 23:

TOMMY RAMSEY

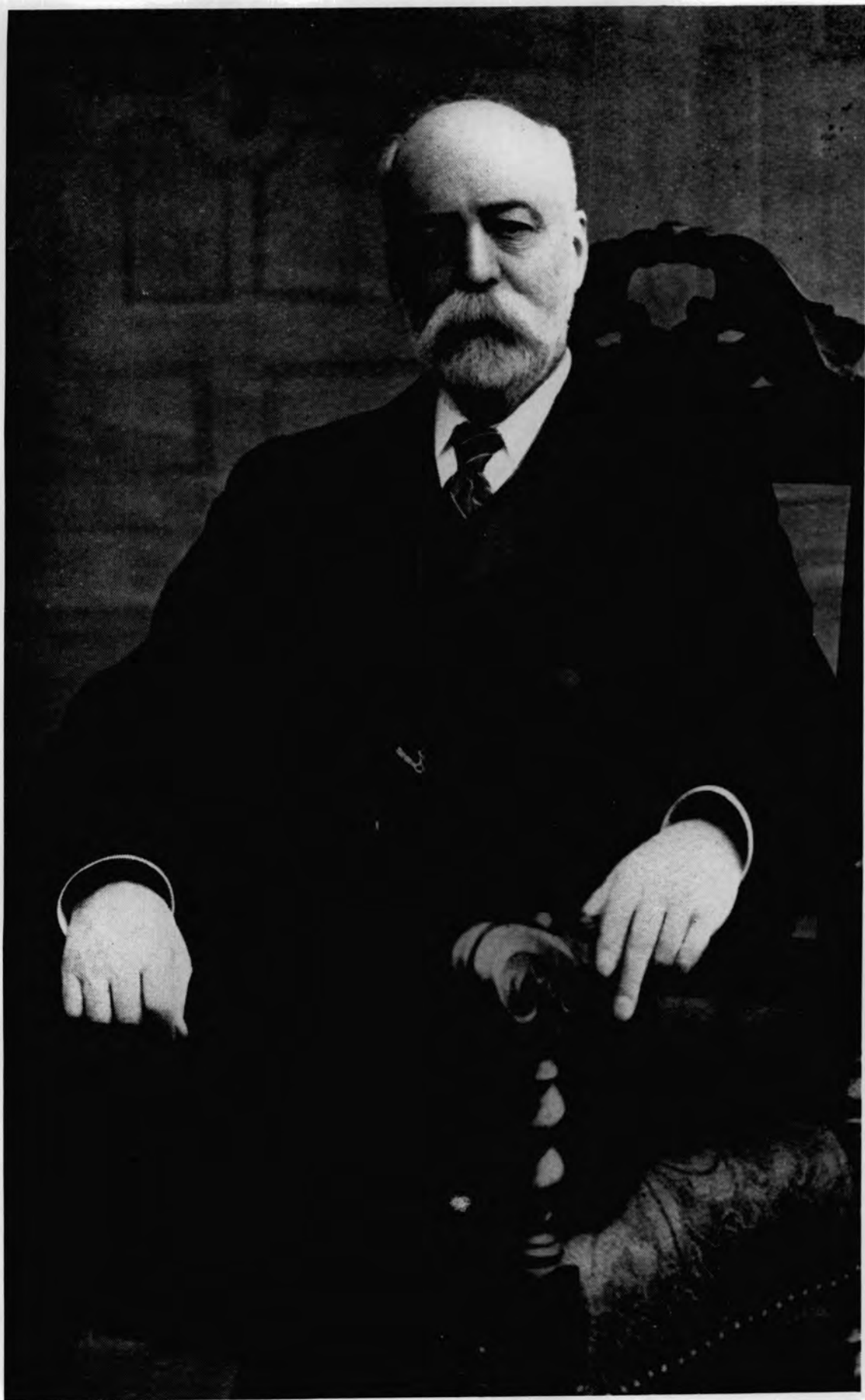


PLATE 24:

JOHN WILSON

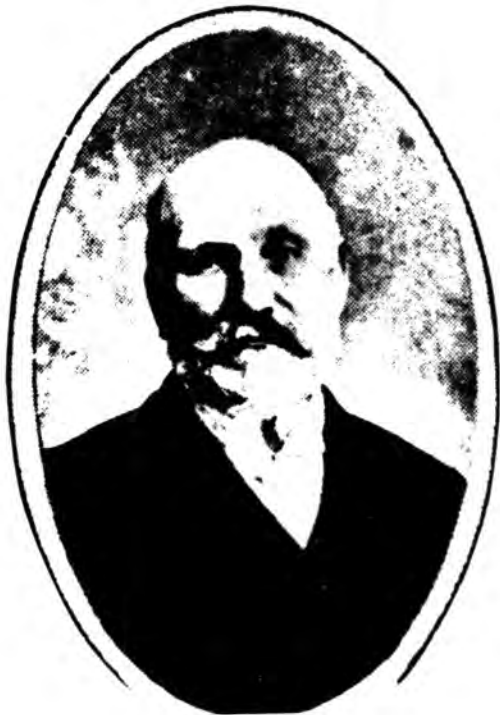
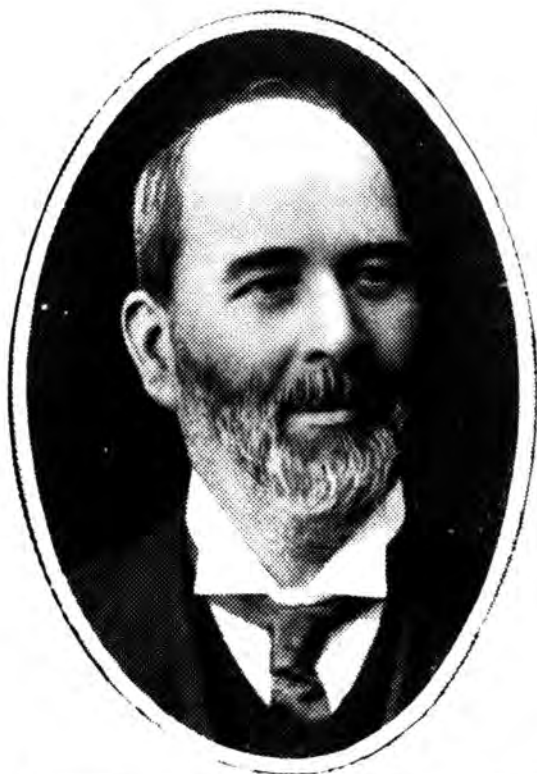
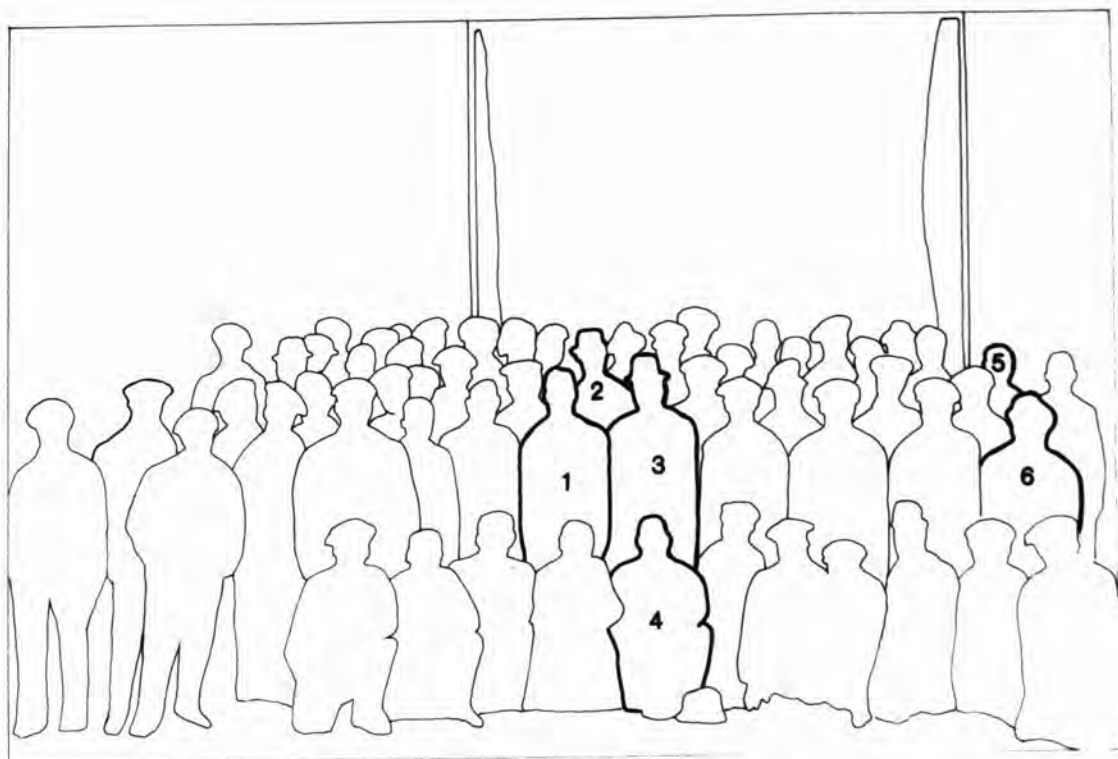


PLATE 25:

UNION MEN

- a. Top left
- b. Bottom left
- c. Top right
- d. Bottom right

TOM PEARSON
MATT. WHITE
WILLIAM JACKSON
ERNEST FOSTER



1. Isaac Johnson, 2. Ramsey White 3. Matt White 4. Joseph Davison

5. Tom Gott 6. Jennie Gott

PLATE 26:

WATERHOUSES LODGE (c. 1920)



PLATE 27: a. Top WATERHOUSES BANNER AT THE 1946 GALA
b. Bottom ESH WINNING LODGE REPRESENTATIVES (c.1912)
from back, left to right: W. FORMAN,
THOMAS REDDEN, J. MANDERS, SAM DOVE,
TOM CLOUGH, SAM GARR, J. BLAND, W. BEATTIE



PLATE 28:

BRINGING OUT THE PIT PONIES AND HORSES
AT WATERHOUSES (prob. 1926)



PLATE 29: a. Top USHAW MOOR BANNER AT THE 1957 GALA
b. Bottom JACK JOYCE



PLATE 30: a. Top, far right. TOM GOTT
b. Bottom ROBERT BONE