## BRITISH MINING No. 51

# THE GRINTON MINES <br> <br> (Including Fremington and Ellerton) 

 <br> <br> (Including Fremington and Ellerton)}
by

L.O. Tyson and I.M. Spensley<br>with R.F. White

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## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Barker MSS, Healaugh. Clarkson MSS.
Holliday of Mount St John MSS.
Skelton MSS, Skelton Castle, Cleveland.

## ABBREVIATIONS

DRO D/HH Durham County Records Office. Hanby Holmes Mss. MPPBL NCMRS NMRS NYCRO North Yorkshire County Records Office. NRO Northumberland Record Office.
PRO Public Records Office, Chancery Lane - Crown Estates Papers.
PRO Public Records Office, Kew - Board of Trade Papers.
YML York Minster Library, Hailstone MSS.

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

The first section of this monograph takes us step by step through the history of the Grinton mining field, while the section to page 105 describes the mines themselves and the smelt mills. The third section deals with the consolidation and archaeological work at the How smelt mill carried out by the Yorkshire Dales National Park. Inevitably this approach has led to some repetition, but this has been kept to a minimum.

Please note that many of the sites mentioned in this monograph are on private land and visitors are asked to respect this.

## INTRODUCTION

The Grinton Mines are situated on the south side of the valley of the River Swale in North Yorkshire. The mining field has six distinct sets which come together under the group title of the Grinton Mines. The most easterly set is Cogden/ Grinton Moor, followed in turn westward by Grinton How, Grovebeck, Harkerside, Whitaside and finally Summer Lodge. After 1571 a lease of the Grinton mines also included those in the manor of Fremington on the north side of the dale.

The minerals at Grinton belonged to the Crown, but, owing to an error in 1599, the surface rights were lost, causing problems for lessees. The Crown's possession of the Grinton mines was not a peaceful one and two lengthy disputes were fought in the Court of Chancery to establish the Crown title. The western boundary at Summer Lodge was the subject of disputes lasting well into the late 19th century.

The nature of the mineral deposits at Grinton is entirely different from those of North Swaledale which consist of regular vein deposits. In Grinton the ore was found in flots which were highly remunerative to the first discoverers, but left those who followed chasing a dream of hidden wealth in the many expensive trials which sought to emulate the first finds.

## EARLY HISTORY

As in most of the Yorkshire Dales, the earliest evidence for human activity in the Grinton area are scatters of worked flint tools used by Mesolithic hunters some 10,000 years ago. The oldest monuments so far discovered in the Grinton area are Bronze Age burial mounds. Extensive remains of field systems and settlement platforms point to a sizeable community in late-prehistoric - Romano-British times, while at least one coin hoard, dating from the second century $A D$, has been found in Grinton. No contemporary lead working sites have been identified, but early settlers were probably aware of the mineral resources of the area and exploited them either through shallow surface workings or stream deposits. ${ }^{1}$ The large hillside enclosure known as Maiden Castle may be late-prehistoric in date, but may instead be contemporary with the massive cross-valley dyke system known as the Grinton-Fremington dykes. These are now believed to have been built in the fifth to seventh centuries $A D$ to mark the boundary between British and Anglian peoples. Andrew Fleming has suggested that the economic raison d'etre of the British kingdom, or polity, in Upper Swaledale was the lead industry. ${ }^{2}$

After the Norman Conquest, Swaledale became part of the Honour of Richmond. Early in the 12 th century, it was under the Lordship of Count Stephen of Brittany and upon the marriage of his daughter Maude to Walter de Gant it was given as part of her dowry in return for military service at Richmond Castle. In 1125 Maude gave the Church of St Andrew in Grinton with some land for its upkeep to Bridlington Priory, which her husband had founded in about 1113. Subsequent grants of land by the Gants increased the holdings of the Priory as far west as Haverdale Beck by the beginning of the 14 th century thus establishing a Manor of Grinton in a parochial form. The mineral rights were excepted in the original grant and retained as part of the Honour of Richmond, eventually passing to the Crown. ${ }^{3}$

THE MARRIOTT FAMILY (1660-1736)
After the execution of King Charles in 1649, all Crown property was confiscated by Parliament. A Parliamentary Commission, which sat at Richmond to value Crown lands prior to selling them off, ordered a survey to be made of the Grinton Mines in July 1650. The estimated annual value of the various mines was as follows:- Grinton $£ 6$, Harkerside $£ 20$, Whitaside $£ 22$ and Fremington $£ 12$. The mines remained unsold, however, probably because of uncertainty over the expected life of the Commonwealth. ${ }^{1}$

After the Restoration of Charles II, all the arrears and mesne profits from the mines were granted in 1660 to George Tushingham, who claimed they had been concealed from the Crown. He was a nominee for Reginald Marriott, Auditor of Crown Land Revenues, who was ideally placed to discover a situation such as at Grinton where no lease was granted for the mines after the Restoration, but, because of his position, was unable to apply directly for a lease. ${ }^{2}$

Tushingham does not appear to have asserted any ownership of the mines at Grinton, however, and the field was worked without a lease from the Crown by two local families. The Swales of Swale Hall and South Stainley worked Harkerside and Whitaside, and the Hillarys of Grinton worked on Grinton Moor. ${ }^{3}$

The Swale family had been at Grinton since 1157 when Alured de Swale, Chief Chamberlain to Walter de Gant, built a house on the site of Swale Hall. In 1650 the Hall, although described as nearly derelict, was confiscated by a Parliamentary Commission because the then-owner, Solomon Swale, was unable to pay fines for being a Catholic. Old Solomon, as he was known, had been working the mines at Harkerside apparently undisturbed for quite some time prior to 1649 but, owing to lack of capital, had been unable to work them properly. The Hall was purchased and rebuilt by a relative, another Solomon Swale, who also owned the manor of South Stainley, near Ripon. A barrister of Grays Inn, this Swale also a known Catholic and staunch Royalist. ${ }^{4}$

Despite his religious beliefs and his support for the Stuart cause, Swale survived the Interregnum and, when elected M.P. for Aldburgh in 1660, proposed the Restoration of the Monarchy in the House of Commons. The King rewarded him with a baronetcy and a grant of $£ 2000$ to compensate him for his suffering. He became High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1670. Sir Solomon became a victim of the Titus Oates conspiracy in 1678 when he was expelled from the Commons as a convicted recusant and imprisoned in the King's Bench Prison. Whether he was one of those executed is not known, but he died in the same year. ${ }^{5}$ He was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Swale, and, when he died in 1682 . Swale Hall and the family estates at South Stainley passed to his eldest son, the second Sir Solomon.

In 1692 this Sir Solomon leased the Harkerside mines to Phillip Bickerstaffe of Chirton, Northumberland, and Charles Middleton and Thomas Ellerker of London for a period of 31 years at a duty of $1 / 10$ th. Sir Solomon and these three partners were also to put up $£ 20$ each as capital stock to finance the "Works". The

## GROVEBECK MINE

This mine, at the head of Grovebeck Gill, worked a vein running more or less parallel with How Vein in the direction of Gibbon Hill from a point close to the fence crossing the mine track. The Main Limestone forms an outcrop above the track leading from How Hill Quarry to Grovebeck Level. Several hushes and shafts tried the eastern end of the vein between the level and the fence. The most productive ground, however, was between the gill to the east of the level and the foot of Gibbon Hill.

Dating all the workings is impossible, but in the 1760 s the ground was split into several areas according to the number of meers granted on the range of the vein. The two lower areas proved to be of little or no value in terms of ore production, but are of great significance in the siting of smelting mills. In the latter half of the 18th century some confusion arises as to the exact sites of the mines named eg. High and Low, New and Old Grovebeck. ${ }^{1}$

The earliest surviving lease is dated September 29th 1761 and is to Thomas Dunn \& partners who discovered ore with their first shaft, which was sunk five fathoms directly onto the lode. This would have been a flot in the Red Beds Limestone. In the six years to November 1768, the deposit produced 3556 bings ( 1422.4 tons) of ore. It was still producing about five fodders per week in 1768 with about 100 hands employed above and below ground, though it was considered to be nearly worked out. ${ }^{2}$ James Simpson had a bargain for Lower Grovebeck and in 1763 bargained for Upper Grovebeck next to the Wensleydale boundary. No trial had been made at Upper Grovebeck by 1768 , but Simpson was making a trial for an underset at Lower Grovebeck with 20 hands employed and had produced 19 fodders by 1768 . $^{3}$

Work continued at Grovebeck for the rest of the 18 th century, but on a much reduced scale. In the period 1774 to 1782 , lead returns are given for both the Old \& New partners, so it appears that the mine was split into at least two areas. Fowler Hickes \& Co. leased part of the mine in 1774 , but, after one year's work and $£ 300$ spent in trials, the amount of ore raised was hardly paying expenses. Production figures for 1774 to 1786 for High, Low and New Grovebeck mines show a marked reduction in output, with only New Grovebeck showing any significant returns. ${ }^{4}$

At least two levels were driven in the early 19th century. These were Davis's Level (a hand level) driven at the top of the Main Limestone from a shake hole south towards Smithy Shaft, and Grovebeck Horse Level at the bottom of the Main Lime. Grovebeck Level was driven in the early 19 th century to work the Main Limestone and drain all the shafts from Bowes Shaft westward. However, little ore appears to have been found at this horizon. The Underset Limestone was worked from the level by a number of sumps and would appear to have been productive to some extent. A rise from Grovebeck Level was put up close to the First Whim, enabling the First, Second and High Whims to be drained and ore left by the 18th century miners to be worked. Although a considerable amount of work must have


## THE FREMINGTON LEAD MINES

Documentation of activities at the Fremington mines is so scarce that what small amount has survived is being presented separately.

## BACKGROUND

The manor of Fremington, on the east side of Arkengarthdale, is one of the smallest in the Dales. Its southern boundary is the old Reeth to Richmond road and the eastern boundary is marked by the high moor wall which follows an ancient track known as the Wayne Way. The northern boundary is Slei Gill, with Arkle Beck as the west boundary. The main feature at Fremington is the Edge which must rank as one of the most dramatic landscapes in the Northern Dales area. This clearly shows the full range of the Main, or 12 Fathoms, and Underset Limestones.

The hub of mining activity was the Fell End area, where the Edge slopes down into Slei Gill or Farndale. In this area, early miners formed the spectacular Fell End Hushes. These worked the Wellington, Blucher, Scraes and Scatter Scar Veins, which are in turn a continuation of the North Swaledale mineral belt. Further south along the Edge, the Hyndrake and Jingle Pot Veins had some trials on them, but they both proved richer in the adjoining Marrick Liberty. The most southerly vein is at Copperthwaite, which was initially worked by hushing and later had a level driven on it. The Fremington Edge Chert mines, near Copperthwaite, were worked by the Boulder Flint Company until around 1953.

As with Grinton, the Fremington area was the scene of very early settlement with hut circles on Fremington Haggs and extensive field systems on Copperthwaite Moor dating from the second millennium B.C. ${ }^{1}$ There was a vill here at the time of the Domesday Survey and the area was incorporated into the Honour of Richmond after 1069 and, along with Grinton, was included in the grant of Swaledale to the Gants. It was later granted by Robert de Gant to Hervey or Henry, ancestor of the Fitzhughs of Ravensworth. This grant was confirmed by King John in February $1200 / 1$. The manor was held by the Fitzhugh family till 1512, when the estates were divided and Fremington passed to Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal. It then passed to his son, William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, but was confiscated by the Crown when he was attaindered for supporting Lady Jane Grey in 1553. He was pardoned by Queen Mary the following year and received a regrant of the manor and lead mines of Fremington, paying no rent to the Crown. Upon William Parr's death in 1571, the estates were escheated by the Crown in accordance with the conditions of the regrant. ${ }^{2}$

## THE WHARTONS OF GILLINGWOOD

The first documented reference to mining in Fremington comes in a lease granted to Henry, Lord Scrope, and Arthur Phillips in February 1583 for the Grinton and Fremington mines. ${ }^{3}$ The annual rental was 20 shillings which, as with Grinton, remained unchanged till 1834 when the Crown Commissioners finally accepted that they had no legal claim on the mines.

## THE SMELT MILLS

Owing to the scant documentary references for the smelt mills in Grinton, it has been decided that treating them separately is the most expedient manner in which to develop a likely sequence of events. The Grinton smelt mills were first described by Raistrick in 1975 and later, in 1992, by Gill. ${ }^{1,2}$ During research for this monograph, a little more information has come to light and a reassessment of their work has become necessary.

## HOW OR LOW MILL

SE049964
No actual date is known for the building of this, the first smelt mill at Grinton. When Reginald Marriott purchased the surface rights for the wastes at Grinton from the Hillary family in 1705 and 1710, he also obtained ownership of all quarries and turbary rights and the coal mines in the wastes. ${ }^{3}$ This would surely have prompted him to build the first mill in the Grinton mining field. Prior to this date, documentary evidence shows that he had been using the Duke of Bolton's Mill at Marrick in 1697, the Marrick Cupola in 1704, and possibly also the nearby Ellerton and Bobscar Mills. ${ }^{4}$

Situated on the east side of Cogden Beck, the site for the new mill was eminently suitable because of the regular water supply. It was also well situated for the mines which were being developed by Marriott on Grinton How. Fuel could be provided from the pits on Coal Pit Moor, near the southern boundary, and peat was also in plentiful supply near the pits. Stone could be provided from his quarries, so he had an ideal opportunity to build his own mill and operate it at minimal cost.

A map of the manor made in 1768 shows the mill as a single building with the chimney at the southern end. A separate building alongside would have been the peat store and there were two reservoirs to supply the waterwheel. ${ }^{5}$

The first documented reference to a mill occurs in the mine accounts for $1722 / 3 .{ }^{6}$ The next reference can be found in 1733 when the mill and utensils were included in the proposed sale to the London Lead Company by Hugh Marriott.?

When Hugh Marriott demised the mine lease to Edmund Moore in 1736, the smelt mill was excepted and retained as part of his estate at Grinton until sold by his wife to Caleb Readshaw in May 1756. This sale included "the smelting mill with a little house or chamber and backside thereunto". The mill was included as part of Readshaw's marriage settlement drawn up in the same month. ${ }^{8}$

By this time, the mineral lease had passed to the Moore family from Devon and, in 1759, Mrs Frances Moore became involved in a dispute over smelting her lead at the mill owned by Caleb Readshaw. ${ }^{9}$ This gives some idea of the difficulties experienced by the Crown lessees not owning their own mill, thereby being at the mercy of the owner of the wastes and mill. Leases granted to sub-lessees state that she was bound to find a smelt mill for their ore, otherwise she had to pay three shillings towards smelting costs. ${ }^{10}$ One possible cause of the above dispute could


Plate 6. How smelt mill, looking north-east. (R.F. White, 1995).
be that Readshaw may have built a slag hearth at the mill and this entailed greater costs for smelting than at the regular hearth. This theory can be supported by the fact that the first leases granted in 1758 contained the proviso that Mrs Moore was to have possession of all slag lead left over after smelting at the ore hearth. In 1761 the wording of the leases changed and the Adventurers were to be allowed a share of the slag lead after smelting at the slag hearth. This is the first mention of a slag hearth, which might suggest that Readshaw had built one at the mill between 1758 and 1759. By the terms of the lease "the refuge or waste at the mill to be run at the slag hearth by the said partnership and when done Mrs Moore to have half of the lead so smelted at the slag hearth which is called Pig and Pig', After this date, all leases granted include the pig and pig clause. ${ }^{11}$

In the winding up accounts, prior to the new lease being granted in 1776, the work utensils at the How Mill were valued at $£ 60$ 3s $7 \mathrm{~d} .{ }^{12}$ A survey made by George Jackson prior to the new lease contains a clause which mentions that the Crown lessees have a lease of the mills till May Day 1775. ${ }^{13}$ This suggests that Readshaw, who had recently become a shareholder in the mines, leased out the mill rather than working it himself.

When Caleb Readshaw Morley (grandson of the Caleb who had purchased from Mrs Moore) was declared bankrupt in 1791, the Court of Chancery ordered him to sell off the manor to pay his debts. The highest bidders were James Fenton, of Loversall near Wakefield, and Edward Wilkinson, of Potterton near York, who

