

## SECTION 2:

### THE STORY OF A VILLAGE: ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

by Penny Middleton

#### INTRODUCTION

The following section looks at the archaeology and history of Cleadon, exploring how the Magnesian Limestone landscape has influenced the origins and development of the village and surrounding township. It begins with a review of the possible prehistoric origins of settlement in the area and the evidence for later Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupation. It then explores the medieval period and the foundation of the village as we know it today: why was it located where it was? Who were the early residents? How did they live and interact with their environment? And can we still see evidence of the past in the landscape of the village today? These themes are developed through the succeeding periods, looking at changes and adaptation in agriculture; the emergence of large country estates like Cleadon House; the expansion of industry; the impact of war, and the growth of new housing estates.

#### A Note on Sources

Much of our understanding of life during the early periods of our history comes from archaeology - the study of the artefacts and other physical remains left behind by our ancestors. This material is usually buried beneath the soil, often only coming to light as chance finds following ploughing, metal-detecting, during development, or the installation of services. Unfortunately there is only a limited amount of information we can gain from such material because it is found 'out of context'. Context is everything to an archaeologist, and encompasses not only the location where an artefact was found but the surrounding soil deposit, any related material and the sequence of deposition. This type of detailed information can only come from careful excavation, which is relatively rare and usually only undertaken in advance of development.

Chance finds can be important when considered over a wide area, and it is partly for this reason that all reported finds are registered on a computerised database known as the Historic Environment Record (HER). Nearly every county in the country has an HER database, primarily intended to advise local planners on the possible archaeological implications of a development proposal but also an invaluable resource for local historians. It contains not only information on chance archaeological finds but also excavations, built heritage and previous documentary research. We are lucky that the Tyne and Wear HER, which covers the South Tyneside area, is one of the best in the country. It even includes a record of all sites plotted from first and second edition historic Ordnance Survey (OS) maps covering many buildings and sites that have since been demolished, including mines, factories, foundries and quarries. The Tyne and Wear HER is freely available to the public and has a dedicated website (<http://www.twsitelines.info/>) where you can search for sites using several different criteria. Throughout

the next section of the report, HER numbers are shown in brackets, e.g. Cleadon Mill (HER 693). A list of all sites can also be found in Appendix A.

From the medieval period onwards, documentary sources become more readily available, providing greater insight into the lives of our ancestors, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. Whereas archaeology is largely bound to physical remains, documentary evidence provides a more comprehensive picture of the events and circumstances that have shaped the past, as well as providing a glimpse of what people felt and thought about themselves and their environment. This allows us to flesh out something about Cleadon's former residents: their hopes, beliefs, concerns and aspirations.



*Plate 65: A group of local Cleadon volunteers being shown around the storage vaults at Durham County Record Office.*

Documentary material is usually divided into two types: primary and secondary. Primary evidence is 'first hand' material, produced within a particular historic period, and includes maps, plans, diaries, invoices, valuations, trade directories, newspaper reports, letters and parish records. Secondary sources are accounts written by others using the original sources, basically history books and articles. Documents in the past, like those written today, were produced for a particular reason and as historians we are often attempting to read 'between the lines' and extract information that might not be directly intended. This can be relatively simple in the case of using a plan to determine the layout of an 18th-century farm, but it becomes more difficult when individual bias comes into play. A newspaper article for instance would almost certainly reflect a particular political stance, but sometimes things are more subtle, as perhaps an object left out of a valuation because the author wanted to keep it 'hidden' from

the taxman. This type of bias becomes even more blatant in the case of secondary sources where various historians are reflecting their own opinions on the past. It is for this reason that primary sources are generally preferred for research because the material has not been 'filtered' through someone else's interpretation. However, this is not to dismiss the great antiquarian histories we have available for the area by Hutchinson (1787), Surtees (1816), Mackenzie and Ross (1834), Fordyce (1855) and Whellan (1894) that provide an excellent starting point for any local history research, but they should be used with a degree of caution. Copies of these can be found in any local studies centre or are now available, in full, online at Google books ( <http://books.google.com/> ).

A wide range of primary sources are held in the local archives. In the case of Cleadon, this material is distributed across three different archives. Until the late 19th Century much of the township was owned by the Bishop of Durham and as a result any records related to land tenancy, administration and legal issues are to be found in the Durham University Special Collections (DUSC) at Palace Green. Similarly, because until 1974 Cleadon was part of County Durham, some records are also lodged at the Durham County Record Office (DRO). After the formation of Tyne and Wear, records appertaining to Cleadon should have been moved to the Tyne and Wear archives at the Discovery Museum, however a number of key document were overlooked and it is generally best to check both offices when undertaking any research in the South Tyneside area. In preparation of this section of the report, workshops were held with Cleadon volunteers at all three archives. However, unfortunately parts of DUSC were closed during the research phase of the project so it was not possible to see some of the older plans and rentals.

The Local Studies Centres at Sunderland Library and at South Shields Library were also visited. These hold some very useful information, particularly trade directories, maps, census data and newspaper articles. Beamish is also an often overlooked, but invaluable, resource that holds an excellent collection of material focused on agriculture and industry but also covering a number of other aspects. All the archives mentioned above are open to the public but you may need to check their websites for opening times.

### **Field Work**

The Atlas project included a range of field surveys and workshops that were organised with the aim of passing on recording skills to people in the village so that further work could be undertaken in the future. As such, all appropriate professional guidelines were followed (EH 2006 & 2006, IfA 2013) to ensure that 'best practice' was followed. The two main surveys informing the following section were the landscape survey, undertaken on the 17th -18th of June 2013, and the building survey completed on the 21st-22nd June 2013. Both surveys were conducted with a group of local volunteers led by NAA's building and landscape archaeologist, Penny Middleton. Sites recorded during the surveys were photographed, GPS coordinates taken, and written records made. The results of the landscape survey are recorded in a site inventory at the end of this report (Appendix A) and are referred to in the text in brackets with the prefix CS for Cleadon survey (eg CS 100 ridge and furrow). Existing sites on the HER

are referred to using their HER number. Any new sites have been appropriately reported to the Tyne and Wear County Archaeological Officer for inclusion in the HER.

There were three other pieces of core fieldwork. In August 2013 a two-day excavation was undertaken at Cleadon Mill Farm. This is detailed in a separate excavation report (NAA 2015a). Prior to the excavation there was also a day of earthwork survey, undertaken with the help of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland (AASDN), recording the boundaries and banks around the mill. The results of this are included in the excavation report. The final piece of fieldwork was a detailed building survey of Cleadon Tower, produced together with the North East Vernacular Architecture Group (NEVAG) in September 2013, and reported in *Cleadon Village Atlas: Cleadon Tower Building Report* (NAA 2015b).



**Plate 66:** Undertaking earthwork survey at Cleadon Mill, with Belinda Burke from AASDN.

## A Final Word

Finally, perhaps one of the most valuable sources of information on Cleadon's past is local knowledge. The village is lucky enough to have an excellent local history society, and numerous people from the society have provided research notes, photos, personal accounts and articles; all of which have been used to compile this Atlas. One of the most enjoyable of the workshops was an oral history training session given by Sharon Currie, previously responsible for the Durham Coal Mining Oral History Project, given in January 2014. Following on from this, a small group of volunteers are preparing a series of histories that will be issued alongside the Atlas report.



Passing on our history from generation to generation is one of the oldest traditions we have as a society. It is entrenched in early literature and in numerous songs, local myths and stories. However, today, our communities are much more fluid, with families moving around from place to place. In addition, the internet provides previously unimagined access to information from across the globe and we are in danger of losing the oral tradition amongst a sea of digital data. Hopefully, the lasting legacy of the Atlas project will be to inspire more people to step forward and explore Cleadon's history and, in turn, pass on that knowledge to future generations of villagers.

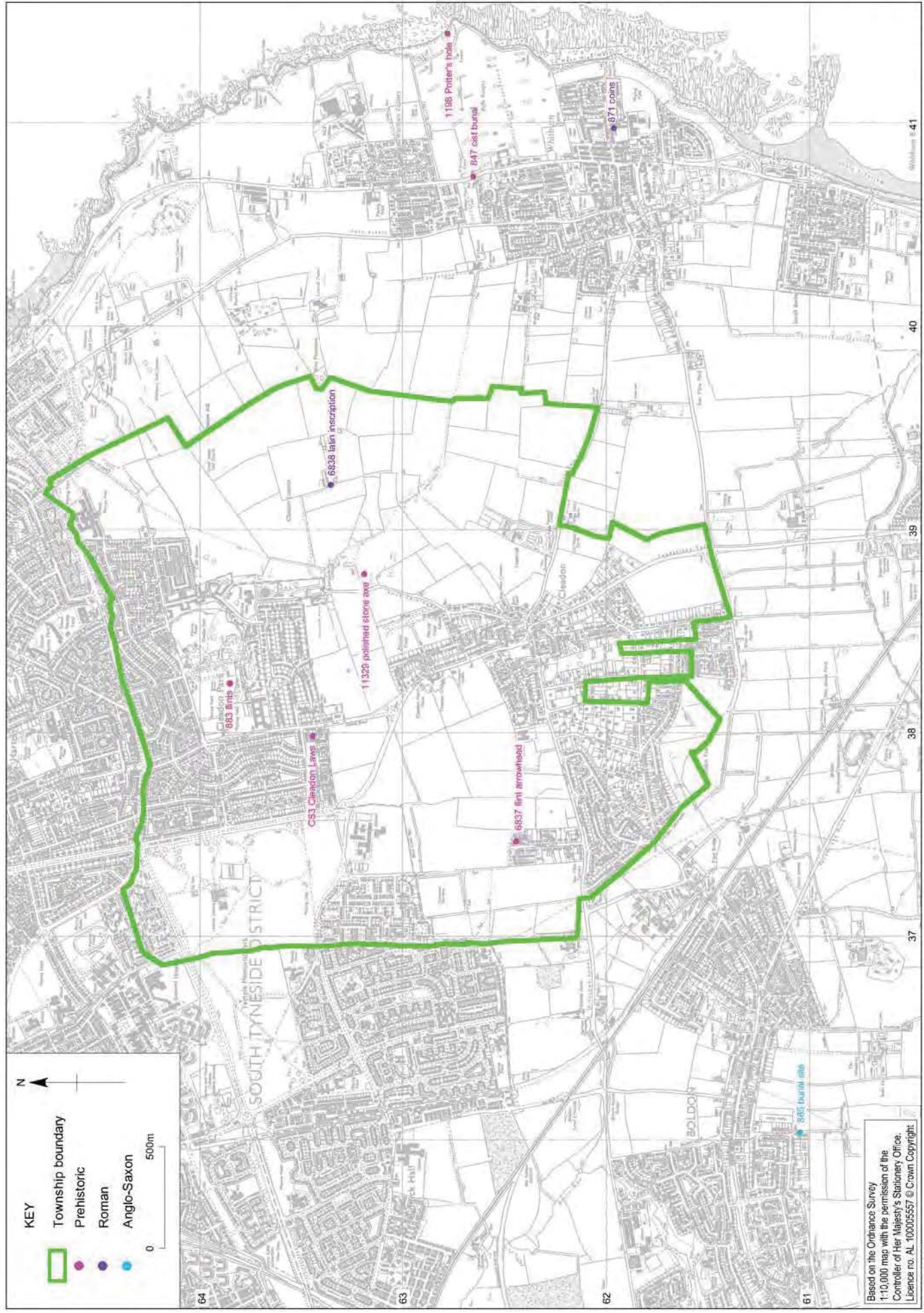
## PREHISTORIC CLEADON

### Mesolithic Hunters

The earliest evidence of human occupation in the Cleadon and Whitburn area dates to the Mesolithic, or Middle Stone Age period (8,000 – 4,500BC). At this time, the South Tyneside landscape would have looked very different from what we know today. Much of the region was covered with dense birch, hazel and pine woodland, with elm and oak gradually becoming more prevalent towards the end of the period as the climate grew warmer. Herds of red deer, wild cattle (aurochs), reindeer and elk would have roamed across the uplands, moving down to the coastal plain to graze in the harsher months of winter, providing a valuable food source for small groups of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers who populated the area.

Mesolithic flint scatters have been found at several nearby sites including St Peter's church, Monkwearmouth (HER 49), Grindon (HER 232), Warden Law (HER 249), Blackhall Colliery (Durham HER 8276), Crimdon Dene (Durham HER 116) and Ryhope Dene (HER 227). The majority of these finds are small flint blades, known as microliths. These tiny shards of flint were set into hafts of wood and used in hunting, felling trees or working wood, bone, leather and other raw material.

The majority of finds from this period are isolated, chance finds without associated deposits or features. They could be evidence of temporary occupation, perhaps a kill or butchery site associated with a prehistoric hunting party, or an afternoon spent flint knapping around the camp fire. Elsewhere in the region there is evidence of more permanent settlement during the Mesolithic, particularly along the coastal plain. At nearby Whitburn (Fig. 12), lumps of burnt daub, believed to be from a timber structure, have been identified at Potter's Hole (HER 1998), and further up the coast at Howick, in Northumberland, archaeologists have excavated the remains of a Mesolithic hut (Waddington 2003) that appears to have been completely rebuilt at least twice. Radiocarbon dates from Howick suggest a sequence of occupation covering a century of use, though it is unclear whether this was on a permanent or seasonal basis.



Cleadon Village Atlas: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo Saxon sites in and around Cleadon





*Plate 67: A collection of Mesolithic flints from Cayton Bay in Yorkshire. Flints like these would have been used by Cleadon's earliest residents. The blades at the front are microliths, small slivers of flint that were fixed into wooden hafts to create a sort of universal tool, used for most things from hunting to food preparation.*

Evidence from the coastal plain is beginning to paint a picture of Cleadon's Mesolithic ancestors as a semi-nomadic people, living in small groups, and similar in many ways to the former indigenous peoples of North America. The mobility of these groups was largely dependent on the availability of raw resources, and was strongly influenced by environmental conditions and seasonal shifts. During the winter months, when plant foods were scarce, meat from the herds over-wintering in the lowlands would have made up a large proportion of their diet, supplemented by fish, shellfish and even sea birds. In the summer months the whole group, or possibly just smaller hunting parties, would have moved inland, following the migrating herds, collecting the ample supply of fruits, seeds and tubers on the way. Inland Mesolithic sites have been identified along the course of the Wear at sites such as Finchale Nab (Durham HER 97) and Binchester (Durham HER D893) where the path of the river would have provided a navigable route through the forest. Sites have also been found on the uplands of Weardale including Bollilhope Common (Durham HER 148) (Young 1987) and Cowshill Quarry (Durham HER 127/136),



**Figure 13:** The extent of Doggerland, which once covered a large part of what is now the North Sea.

While there is currently no direct evidence of Mesolithic peoples from Cleadon itself there was almost certainly some activity in the area during this period. Hunting parties from the settlement at Whitburn may have crossed the Cleadon Hills, stalking deer or wild cattle over-wintering on the woodland pasture, or perhaps collecting berries and fruit. At this time Cleadon and Whitburn would have been much further inland than they are now. Until around 3000BC there was a land mass, referred to by archaeologists as 'Doggerbank', which covered a large part of what is now the North Sea. Extensive evidence of occupation during the Mesolithic period has been found across this submerged landscape that can still be glimpsed at

several places along the north east coast at low tide. At Druridge Bay, peat can clearly be seen eroding out of the dunes; the remnants of a submerged woodland. Closer to home at Whitburn, archaeological deposits approaching 2m thick have been identified containing charcoal, birch bark, deer antlers and a cluster of hazelnuts (HER 12498).

### Neolithic Farmers

The Neolithic, or New Stone Age, period (4,500 – 2,400BC) is marked by the gradual transition from the semi-nomadic existence of the Mesolithic hunter-gatherer to the more settled way of life as animal and crop domestication became more widespread. Evidence of farming appears in Britain around 3500BC but the reason why change occurred remains a topic of much debate. Some prehistorians have argued that it arrived in Britain as part of mass movement of peoples from the continent bringing new ideas and technologies, while others advocate a gradual process of adaptation amongst the indigenous population. In reality it is perhaps most likely to be a combination of both. This transition was very slow and varied from region to region, but is manifest in the archaeological record by the appearance of new settlement and ritual site-types, together with new artefact technologies, including pottery. There was also the move away from the ubiquitous multi-purpose 'microlith' tools and the development of various lithic forms, each designed to fulfil a specific task - stone axes for forest clearance, adze for ploughing, and sickles and querns for processing cereal crops.





**Plates 68 and 69:** A beautiful mid-Neolithic bi-facial knife from Whitehills near Holderness, and a polished stone axe, similar to that found at Cleadon, found near Catterick Garrison. Flint finds like these are known from the Sunderland and South Tyneside area and illustrate the greater complexity and range of flint tools developed in the Neolithic period.

During this period Cleadon's landscape would have changed quite dramatically. Pollen analysis from the Tyne-Tees region indicates extensive forest and woodland clearance during this period, as land was enclosed and wheat and barley planted (Fenton-Thomas 1992). Deforestation also encouraged herds of wild cattle, sheep and boar to remain in the lowlands throughout the year, beginning the process of animal domestication. Without the need to up-root each year to follow the migrating herds, there was a growth of more sedentary agricultural communities. This is visible in the archaeological record by the appearance of *in-situ* settlement evidence comprising huts and walled enclosures, as well as communal ritual and funerary monuments like burial cists, cairns, standing stones, avenues and henges. Land enclosure, in the form of banks and ditches also begins to appear in the historic landscape, clearly demarcating 'ownership' and was perhaps the first appearance of distinct territorial boundaries (Hewitt *et al*, 2011).

There has been a considerable increase in recent years in the number of known Neolithic settlement sites across the country. This has been largely due to changes in the planning system that has seen an overall increase in archaeological excavation through developer-funded projects. Nevertheless, evidence of permanent occupation is still extremely rare. There is no definitive evidence of Neolithic settlement in County Durham, although one potential site has recently been identified in Tyne and Wear at Mountjoy, in Sunderland (AE 2010a, 40) and there are a handful of known sites in Northumberland, at Bolam Lake, Millfield Village and Holy Island (Petts *et al*, 2006, 24). In contrast, the region has a rich and varied range of ritual and funerary monuments, suggesting Neolithic communities were living close by. At Hasting Hill, just 8km south west of Cleadon, a Neolithic 'causeway camp' (HER 109) and cursus (a ceremonial roadway) has been identified from aerial photographs. The function of such sites remain unknown although it is thought they may have served as tribal meeting places.

Other Neolithic sites in the area include Warden Law (HER 442), 9km south of Cleadon, and Copt Hill, 12km to the south west near Houghton-le-Spring. The latter is a Neolithic round barrow (HER 100) known as the 'Seven Sisters', first excavated by Cannon Greenwell in 1877 and later by Durham University in 2003. The barrow sits on top of the limestone escarpment with commanding views out across to the landscape, perhaps a visual reminder of the dead to those living in settlements below. Such a prominent position in the landscape is typical of prehistoric funerary monuments and is one of the reasons why so many of them survive in the archaeological record in contrast to the small number of known settlement sites. Although there is currently no direct archaeological evidence to suggest prehistoric ritual activity on the Cleadon Hills, it would seem an ideal location for a barrow. The hills are a prominent feature of the local skyline, commanding splendid views west towards the uplands and east over the coastal plain.

There is a slither of evidence to support this theory. In 1994, a polished greenstone axe (HER 11329) was found on the Cleadon Hills. Although the exact location of the artefact was not recorded, it reputedly came from the area of Cleadon Mill; the most prominent point on the upland. The axe measured approximately 8.2cm in length and width tapering from 4.7cm at its widest part at the blade, to 2.2cm at the haft. Such axes are not native to the region but would have been imported over some distance, probably from the Langdale quarries of Cumbria. Langdale axes have been found at archaeological sites across Britain and Ireland and are interpreted as evidence of prehistoric trade routes operating across the country. The Cleadon axe had a few slight chips on the blade that could be associated with wear, but it has been suggested that these beautiful and highly polished objects, which were transported some considerable distance, were never intended for practical use but were instead much prized high-status objects (Bradley & Edmonds 2005). It is possible, therefore, that such a valuable item was buried with its owner or ritually deposited in some fashion, rather than simply having been lost or discarded. Any barrow site on the hill may have been ploughed out once cultivation intensified; a great many barrow sites across the country having suffered a similar fate over time.

On the west side of the township, the name Cleadon Laws (CS3) might also indicate the location of a disappeared barrow site. The name 'law' is Anglo-Saxon in origin and means rounded hill. The word 'don' means the same and appears in the name 'Cleadon' and 'Boldon', suggesting that the word 'laws' was chosen for a specific reason, often found to be applied to a hill with an ancient barrow or tumulus on its summit, as at Warden Law (HER 422) and Batter Law at Seaham (Durham HER D2). However, there is no physical or documentary evidence of a barrow site at Cleadon Laws.

Other, less prestigious, flint finds have been recorded from the Cleadon area. At No.14 Burdon Crescent, a rose-coloured leaf-shaped flint arrowhead was recently found in garden soil (HER 6837), and in the late 19th Century a number of flints were recorded at 'Cleadon Sand Pits', found in association with a 'raised beach' (HER 883) (Fig. 12). This was probably to the south of Quarry Lane, although the exact location is unclear. A number of Neolithic and Bronze Age flints have also been found at Whitburn (HER

841-846 and 857). All this suggests that Neolithic farmers were active in the Cleadon area, though the exact location of any settlement remains unknown.

### **Bronze Age and Iron Age Activity**

Across the region as a whole there is more extensive evidence of prehistoric activity from the Bronze Age (2400 - 700BC) during which there was a further increase in woodland clearance and the spread of pasture and cereal cultivation, as agricultural settlement continued to expand (Petts *et al*, 24; Young 2004). The adoption of a more sedentary way of life, with a relatively dependable food source, enabled population sizes and densities to increase, and this is reflected in more widespread settlement evidence. The climate was also enviably much warmer than it is today, allowing people to grow crops at much higher altitudes. We can see this in the evidence of Bronze Age field systems still visible today in the upland landscapes of the Pennines and the Cheviots (Hewitt *et al* 2011).

In Tyne and Wear and Durham, settlement evidence remains sparse and is largely restricted to chance metalwork finds or flint scatters, but sites have been excavated further north in Northumberland at Houseledge, Linhope Burn and Standrop Rigg (Petts *et al*, 24). Again, the majority of archaeological evidence from this period is funerary and there is a marked continuity of use with sites established during the Neolithic period. However, there was also a notable move away from the larger, more 'communal' monuments like henges and avenues towards smaller, more 'individual' or family barrow burials. Numerous sites have been identified across the Magnesian Limestone Plateau including East Murton (Durham HER 541 & 551), Batter Law (Durham HER 2), Hasting Hill (HER 113), Tunstall Hills (HER 240), Copt Hill (HER 249) and Warden Law (HER 254-5, 447), although many other sites may have been lost to the plough over the centuries or been robbed by eager treasure hunters and later antiquarians (AE 2010a).

There are no Bronze Age sites known from Cleadon but nearby at Wheatal Farm, Whitburn a 'cist' burial was uncovered in 1929 (HER 847) (Fig. 12). A cist is a crouched burial of an individual in a stone lined pit that may, or may not, have been covered by a small cairn. The Whitburn example comprised two side stones and two end stones and included an individual who was about 35 years of age at death, buried with a barbed and tanged arrowhead and five other worked flints described as 'knives and flakes', and limpets. The burial has since been reconstructed and is displayed at South Shields Museum.

Towards the end of the Bronze Age, and into the Iron Age, there is a general decline in the evidence for ritual activity and a marked increase in the number of recorded settlement sites. There was a gradual move away from the small, scattered groups of roundhouses we see in the Neolithic and Bronze Age, to enclosed settlements comprising one or two roundhouses set within rectilinear or sub-rectangular ditched enclosures. There is also the appearance of large 'communal' sites like hillforts, of which there are over 50 recorded further north in the Northumberland National Park. In contrast, south of the Tyne

the only sites currently acknowledged are Maiden Castle (Durham HER 1181), located on the south east side of the city, and Shackleton Beacon (Durham HER 6819) near Heighington, but there is now also increasing evidence to support the theory that Penshaw Hill is also an Iron Age hillfort (AE 2010b). This lies 8km south west of Cleadon and is clearly visible from the Cleadon Hills.



*Plate 70: A group of Cleadon villagers looking out towards the potential hillfort at Penshaw monument - just perceptible as the rise in the distance to the right of the picture. Did our ancestors during the Iron Age do much the same thing?*

During this period Northumberland, parts of Yorkshire, Cumbria, Lancashire, Tyne and Wear and County Durham formed the territory of the Brigantes, one of the most powerful tribes in the country. The Brigantian Confederacy, as the name suggests, were not a uniform tribe but a federation of family clans and groups that included the *Setanti*, *Gabrantovices* and *Textoverdi*. The name ‘Brigantia’ was the term used by the Romans and derives from the Latin, literally translating as ‘upland peoples’. This vast province was divided into a number of smaller client territories and probably relied upon natural features – rivers, watercourse, hill ranges and valleys - to form clan boundaries. Hillforts like Maiden Castle, and possibly Penshaw, might have been gathering points for the dispersed clan groups to meet, much as Hasting Hill had perhaps been in the Neolithic period. This could have been in times of threat or else at significant times of the year – harvest, the winter and summer solstice, etc. – or a mixture of both.

Away from the larger communal sites, people were living in farmsteads enclosed by banks and ditches, evidence of which have been found at South Shields. During excavations at Arbeia Roman Fort by Tyne and Wear Museums in 1992-4 and again in 1999, a multi-period prehistoric settlement site was found



preserved beneath the Roman remains (HER 5127). This included an Iron Age roundhouse (HER 4357), alongside which was found an adze head (used for ploughing) and the remains of a spelt wheat crop, carbonised by the fire that ultimately destroyed the site.

Evidence of Iron Age settlement has also been identified at Burradon, North Tyneside (HER 305, 308), Great Usworth in Sunderland (HER 328) and West Monkseaton (HER 5102). The rise of 'enclosed' settlements and hillforts has been seen by some as an indication that life in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age was much more turbulent than in the earlier periods. However, these elements could also be attributed to the development of a more structured society, with a growing focus on land ownership. In reality the two often go hand in hand.

## THE COMING OF THE ROMANS

*Timeline: AD 43 Romans land in Kent, the Brigantes under queen Cartimandua form an alliance with Rome > AD 51 civil war amongst Brigantes > AD 56 escalation of unrest amongst the Brigantes threatens Roman expansion in the North AD 61 Queen Boudicea attacks London > AD 71 Petillius Cerialis launches Northern campaign AD 78 Agricola becomes governor of Britain > AD 80 The northern roads are built > AD 126 Hadrian's Wall completed > AD 142 Antonine Wall built > AD 212 Britons become Roman citizens > AD 287 Germanic raids become an issue throughout Britain > AD 399 Rome starts to evacuate troops > AD 410 Rome abandons Britain to its own defences.*

The Roman period in Britain (AD 43 – 410BC) is cited in the history books as beginning with the Claudian landing at Richborough in AD 43, but the 'Romanisation' of Britain was a complex and prolonged process of conquest, occupation and cultural assimilation that varied in speed and extent across the country. Some native tribes immediately fell under the spell of Rome and immediately allied themselves, recognising the political and economical potential of a union with such a powerful nation state. Others resisted integration, and to all intents and purposes retained a pre-conquest Iron Age culture throughout the entire period, adopting only a veneer of being Roman. It is for this reason that the period is often referred to by archaeologists as the Romano-British period.

At the time of the Claudian landings the Brigantes were led by Queen Cartimandua, who rapidly formed an alliance with Rome, becoming a client kingdom and a buffer state between the largely romanised south and the still hostile territories to the north. However, unrest erupted in AD 51 when the queen divorced her husband, Venutius, to marry her new lover Vellocatus, who had been his armour bearer. In response, her spurned husband attempted to seize power and civil war ensued. Venutius initially gained considerable support, especially after Cartimandua betrayed the popular British rebel leader Caractacus to the Romans. In AD 56, with the war threatening Rome's expansion into the northern territories, a legion was sent that successfully quashed the uprising. The queen was restored to power but a few years later, in AD 69, Venutius finally succeeded in driving her out and assuming power over the Brigantes. In retaliation the Roman governor, Petillius Cerialis, launched a campaign against the rebellious Brigantes

and bring them under the Roman heel once and for all. In AD 71 the IX legion advanced to York, establishing the new fortress of Eboracum. Meanwhile the II legion moved west from their headquarters in Lincoln to construct a fortress at Chester (Deva), trapping the Brigantian force in a pincer movement, successfully quashing the uprising and extending the Roman frontier all the way to the Tyne/Solway line.

In AD 78, the new governor, Agricola, began a campaign to extend and consolidate his control of the northern territories. An account is detailed in *Agricola*, written by the governor's son-in-law, the historian, Tacitus. By AD 79 Agricola's army had reached the Tyne and were looking to push north into Scotland, the land of the Votadini tribe that extended all the way to Edinburgh. In order to supply his campaign, consolidate his tenuous control of Brigantia and defy any threat of a rear-guard attack, Agricola set about constructing a series of garrisoned posts including forts at Piercebridge (Durham HER 1536), Binchester (Durham HER 1420) and Ebchester (Durham HER 1911). These were connected together by Dere Street, the main north to south arterial road on the east side of the country. Agricola pressed far into Scotland but by the beginning of the 2nd Century AD the Roman Army had retreated back to the Tyne/Solway line. Resigned to the impossibility of controlling the wild lands to the north, the army fell back and began the construction of Hadrian's Wall, started in AD 122 during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-38).

In order to supply the wall a fort was built at South Shields, just 5km north of Cleadon in around AD 128. The fort, Arbeia (HER 914), has since been extensively excavated by archaeologists. It appears to have been remodelled on at least two occasions, first around AD 208 when 23 granaries were added, and again in the late 3rd or early 4th Century when the original structure was destroyed by fire (Dore & Gilliam 1979, Hogdson 2001). The site remained occupied till the 5th Century.

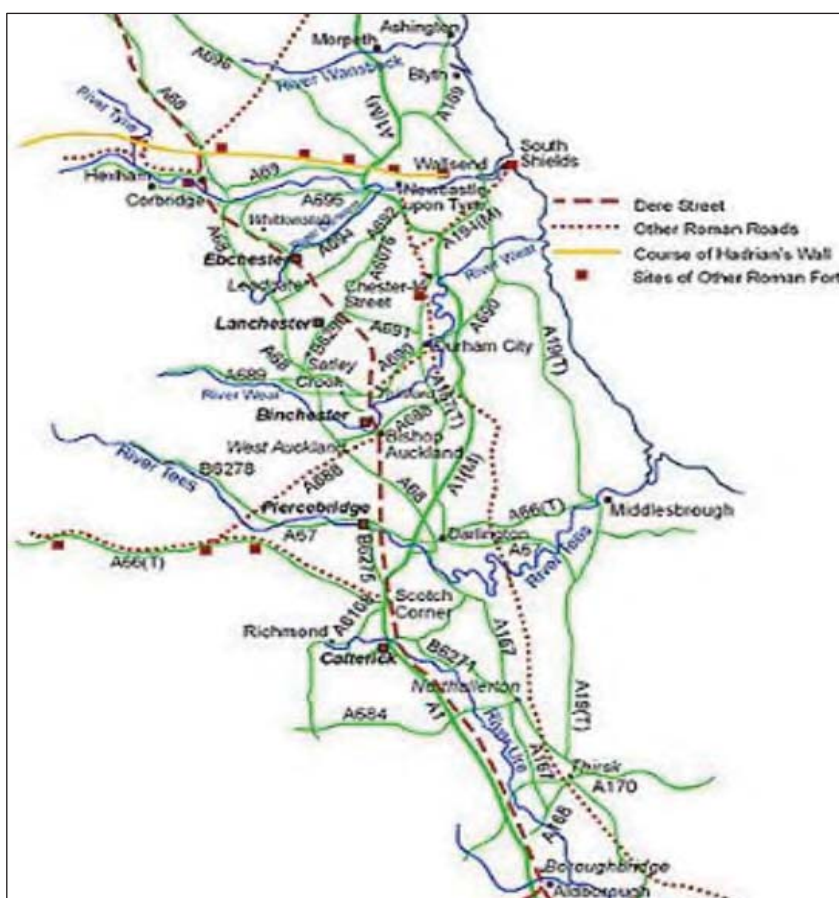
Access to the fort was via the Wrekendyke, a spur off Cade's Road, named after the 18th-century antiquarian who first proposed its existence. Cade's Road reputedly began at Brough-on-Humber and crossed the Tees at Middleton St George before passing east of Durham towards the Roman fort of Congangium at Chester-le-Street (Durham HER 2153). It then ran north, crossing of the Tyne at Newcastle. The Wrekendyke was a separate road branching off at Wrekenton and running north east to Arbeia. There is also conjecture of a second road serving the fort, first proposed by John Robinson in the early 19th Century when a section of 'old roadway' was found at Low Row in Sunderland (Dodds 2011, 9). This alternative road would have run along the coastal ridge from Hartlepool (HER 15218), passing close to Cleadon, perhaps following the line of the later Shields Road.

The main obstacle to be crossed on this route would have been the River Wear. In 1713 there were complaints at South Hylton about *'ye stones of the old bridge being a nuisance to the river'* (HER 44), and later in 1881 a report in the Sunderland Echo complained of damage made to a dredger when it struck a stone block *'about five feet square'* that Whellan later describes as *'immense blocks of stone, carefully wrought and squared, clamped together with iron clamps, run in with lead, and laid upon a*

*framework of oak timber'* (Whellan, 1894). Unfortunately the stones were removed from the Wear in the mid 19th Century by the River Wear Commission.

The existence of second road, therefore, remains purely speculative. Indeed, given the main investment in Dere Street and the Wrekendyke it would seem unnecessary and rather superfluous to have a coastal route, particularly considering that there was a port at Arbeia. It would have been much easier to transport goods along the coast by sea rather than road.

Whether there was a Roman Road running through Cleadon or not, there would almost certainly have been some degree of interaction between the local population and the fort. Given the logistic problems inherent in transporting food over any distance, cereals grown locally probably helped fill the Arbeia granaries. Similarly fresh meat and dairy produce is likely to have been sourced from the immediate area. In addition, soldiers stationed at the fort would have been keen to spend their pay by supplementing their rations with local fresh food and



**Figure 14:** Map illustrating known Roman roads c. AD 150 (artist unknown).

delicacies, as well as purchasing local crafts, much as army personnel on foreign service does today. It is tempting to speculate that the promise of additional warm clothing to fight off the bitter northern winters would have been top of any legionnaire's 'things to buy' list.

However, there is little direct archaeological evidence of Roman activity within the township. Several coins have been found at nearby Whitburn, dating to the Constantinian, Trajanic, and Hadrianic periods (HER 871), as well as a possible horse harness (HER 6801) and at Fulwell a further two Roman coins, dating to the 3rd century, were recording in 1891 (HER 22). A stone bearing the Latin inscription '*PETRA MARC – FLA*' has been found close to Cleadon Hills Farm but this is thought to be a 19th-century hoax (HER 6838) (Fig. 12). This lack of finds is not unusual as in general there is remarkably little

archaeological evidence dating to this period in the area despite the proximity of the fort, and none of the usual signs of assimilation found elsewhere in the country. There are no known villa sites in Tyne and Wear for example and very few signs of interaction like pottery imports, amphorae, metalwork and querns away from the main forts. This seems to suggest that the local population of South Tyneside went about their daily lives very much as they had in the centuries before the Claudian landings. Those who did benefited from an increase in wealth through trade with the fort may have simply chosen other ways of using or displaying that prosperity rather than through the acquisition of 'foreign' material goods (Hewitt *et al* 2011, 67).

In AD 410, following the sacking of Rome, the Emperor Honorius withdrew all Roman officials and military personnel from Britain, leaving the native government to fend for themselves. Very little is known of the period that followed, which has traditionally led many historians to paint a rather bleak picture of life in the two centuries following the collapse of Roman governance. However, archaeological evidence, in particular aerial landscape surveys and palaeo-environmental sampling, is beginning to cast a new light on the so called 'Dark Ages'. It seems that, far from being a time of anarchy and barbarism, daily life may have changed very little following the military retreat. Pollen samples and radio-carbon dating over the past 20 years has shown that there was not a sudden episode of woodland regeneration after the Roman withdrawal. Instead, land-use appears to have remained relatively stable, although there may have been a small impact on a local level because of the loss of trade with Arbia that was abandoned in the 5th Century following the Roman withdrawal. Nevertheless, evidence of a 7th-century settlement has been found nearby.

## THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS

*Timeline: AD 450* Angles from southern Denmark and Saxons from North Germany start to settle in the region > *AD 550* King Ida becomes Overking of the North > *AD 563* first Christian monastery founded on Iona > *AD 604* King Aethelfrith becomes lord of all the land north of the Humber: 'Northumbria' > *AD 635* Aidan converts the Northumbrians to Christianity and makes Lindisfarne the 'Holy Island' > *AD 640* Monastery established at Hartlepool > *AD 672* Northumbrian expansion continues > *AD 674* Monastery built at Wearmouth > *AD 685* Cuthbert becomes Bishop of Lindisfarne > *AD 685* Monastery established at Jarrow > *AD 686* Cuthbert dies > *AD 721* Lindisfarne Gospels completed > *AD 731* Bede writes his history of the English Church and People at Jarrow > *AD 793* Viking raids begin > *AD 875* monks abandon Lindisfarne carrying Cuthbert's coffin after Viking raid > *AD 887* King Alfred defeats the Danes and grants them a kingdom in North > *AD 883* the Danish King Guthred grants the land between the Tyne and the Tees to the monks of St Cuthbert, this later becomes County Durham > *AD 995* Durham Minster started > *Easter AD 1066* King Harold becomes King > *October 14 1066* Battle of Hastings

By the mid 5th Century the territory north of the river Wear is thought to have formed part of the ancient British kingdom of Brynaich, which fell under Anglian control around AD 547. The Angles hailed from





In AD 593, the warrior king Aethelfrith succeeded to the Bernician throne and set about annexing the

powerful neighbouring territory of Deira to the south (Fig. 15). The combined territories were to become the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, one of the most powerful and influential of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. This was to become a cradle of a cultural renaissance, producing such wonderful works as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the country's first history book: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples*. At its height Northumbria stretched from Lincolnshire to Midlothian and held control over much of the British Isles, including parts of Ireland.

The Northumbrian kings spoke English – or Old English as we might know it today – which was adopted as the primary language across the North by the end of the 6th Century. It replaced the earlier Celtic language - known as Brittonic - that is the origin of modern Welsh. Some Celtic names survive, but these tend to be associated with natural features like hills, for example, '*Pen*', from which we get Penshaw and the Pennines, or rivers - the Tyne, Tees and Wear are all British place names. This could be because such natural features were used to mark tribal boundaries and remained embodied in the landscape. However, most place names between the Tyne and Tees are Old English in origin, possibly indicating that the majority of settlements in the area were not founded until after the 6th Century, although place name evidence can be notoriously unreliable and open to interpretation. The term '*leah*' for instance, which by the medieval period meant 'woodland clearing', has been associated by many with the practice of 'assarting', the clearance of forest for cultivation. It is often used as evidence of settlement foundation in the Anglo-Saxon period but the term simply meant 'woodland' in Old English, it was a word that gradually changed its meaning over hundreds of years (Mills 2003, 26).

Cleadon itself is an Old English name, first written as *Clyuedon* in 1183 (Baldon Book), meaning, literally, hill – *dun* - of the cliffs or steep slopes - *clif*, which clearly refers to the topography of the area, neatly encapsulating a description of the surrounding landscape. Was this a foundation name? It is interesting that the settlement today is set off from the hill, on the flatter land adjacent to the Shields Road. The reference to the cliff is also slightly puzzling. Is it the limestone outcropping visible on the Cleadon Hills, or a reference to the steep cliffs along the coast? Has the location of the village moved over time? An alternative interpretation might be that rather than '*clif*' the name could derive from '*clife*', which is Old English for Burdock, so the 'hill of Burdock', which might make more sense. Unfortunately, it is impossible at the moment to answer these questions without further archaeological evidence, but it does again raise the spectre of an earlier settlement up on Cleadon Hills, possibly shifting to the lower land when the road is established. This is most likely to have been in the 7th Century when the famous Anglo-Saxon monastery at Monkwearmouth was founded, although there remains the conjecture of the Roman origin of the route. While it is unwise to place too much emphasis on a place name, there is the suggestion that Cleadon was already established as a settlement by the 5th or 6th Century, although perhaps not in the location we know today.

Within the wider area around Cleadon there are a large number of Old English place names, indicating something of the density of settlement during this period. To the east is Whitburn, which means simply

white barn (*hwit+bere-aern*); north of Whitburn is wellings (*wielling*), the place of the spring; Fulwell (ful + wella), the dirty well, lies to the south east; Harton (*Heortr+dun*) the beautifully named hill of the deer is to the north, and of course Boldon (*Bol+dun*), the rounded hill or smelting place (from '*bole*'), lies to the east (Mills 2003). To the north east is also the oddly named *Lizards* that, unlike the Cornish *Lizard Point* has a Celtic derivation, in this context means meadow pastures from the Old English '*leasowe*', although the first documentary reference to the area is the Norman French '*Le Lezure*' in 1649.

The village lies equidistant between the Anglo-Saxon monasteries of St Peter's at Monkwearmouth and St Paul's at Jarrow (HER 994). Monkwearmouth was one of the first religious institutions to be founded in the country, and with its sister house of St Paul's formed the great monastery of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, a centre for learning renowned throughout early Christendom. During the 8th Century it lay at the heart of the Northumbrian 'Golden Age', a period when the art, writing and sculpture of the North East was amongst the finest in Europe. This included the work of the Venerable Bede, a local monk who lived at Jarrow. Bede was a writer, historian and scientist, who was famous even in his own lifetime and is often referred to as the Father of English History.

Monkwearmouth was founded in 674 by a local nobleman, Benedict Biscop, on land granted by King Ecgfrith. Later Biscop built the sister house at Jarrow, completed in 685. This was the same year that Cuthbert became bishop of Lindisfarne. The creation of the new bishopric was a major move forwards in terms of establishing the Church in the North East, and was the precursor of the foundation of the diocese of Durham. In celebration of the event the king made a gift of all the royal estates lying to the east of Dere Street and to the north of the river Wear to the Church; this included both Whitburn and Cleadon. Although neither township is referred to specifically their inclusion in the land grant can be inferred from the wording and organisation of the later Boldon Book entry (Roberts 2008, 306).

Cuthbert (635-687) was bishop of Lindisfarne until his death in 687. An inspired preacher, he had considerable influence amongst the Northumbrian nobility and is generally considered responsible for the spread of Christianity throughout the North of England, although it was Paulinus in 627 who first brought the faith to the heathen earls. Following his death, Cuthbert was buried on Lindisfarne but after the island was attacked by the Vikings his coffin was disinterred in 875 and carried by a faithful group of monks, known as the 'Community of St Cuthbert' across the Northern territories, settling temporarily at Chester-le-Street.

In 878, after King Alfred defeated the Danish army at the Battle of Edington, the ensuing peace treaty granted the Danes a huge territory comprising much of what is today Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. King Guthred, King of York, ruled over much of this land but also laid claim to Northumbria, a claim supported by the Community of St Cuthbert. In return for their support Guthred granted the Community all the land between the Tyne and the Tees. This became known as the *Haliwerfolc* meaning the land of '*the people of the saint*'. In AD 995 when the poor monks were forced



to again flee, this time to escape the threat of Scottish raids, they eventually settled in Durham, a much more fortifiable site. Work began on a new minster soon after and further land grants were made to the Community, which were eventually to form the 'liberty of Durham', a huge estate controlled by the bishop of Durham, which was later still to form the core of the medieval Palatinate, what we know today as County Durham (Roberts 2008, Simpson 2000, Liddy 2008).

Unfortunately, although the historical evidence would suggest that there was considerable activity around the Cleadon area during this period there is, at present, no direct archaeological evidence of occupation. However across the country evidence of settlement from this period is quite sparse, particularly in the century or so immediately following the withdrawal of the Roman army. There are a number of theories as to why the archaeological evidence is so poor, not least of which is that many of our later village may simply be built directly on top of an early Anglo-Saxon predecessor.



**Figure 16:** The 'Blessed are the Meek' painting from Wallington Hall, showing Cuthbert's refusal of the bishopric of Lindisfarne. The painting is by the artist William Bell Scott and features one of Cleadon's most famous residents, Rev. Abbs as the figure of St Cuthbert.

Evidence of occupation has been found in the wider area, most notably of course associated with the

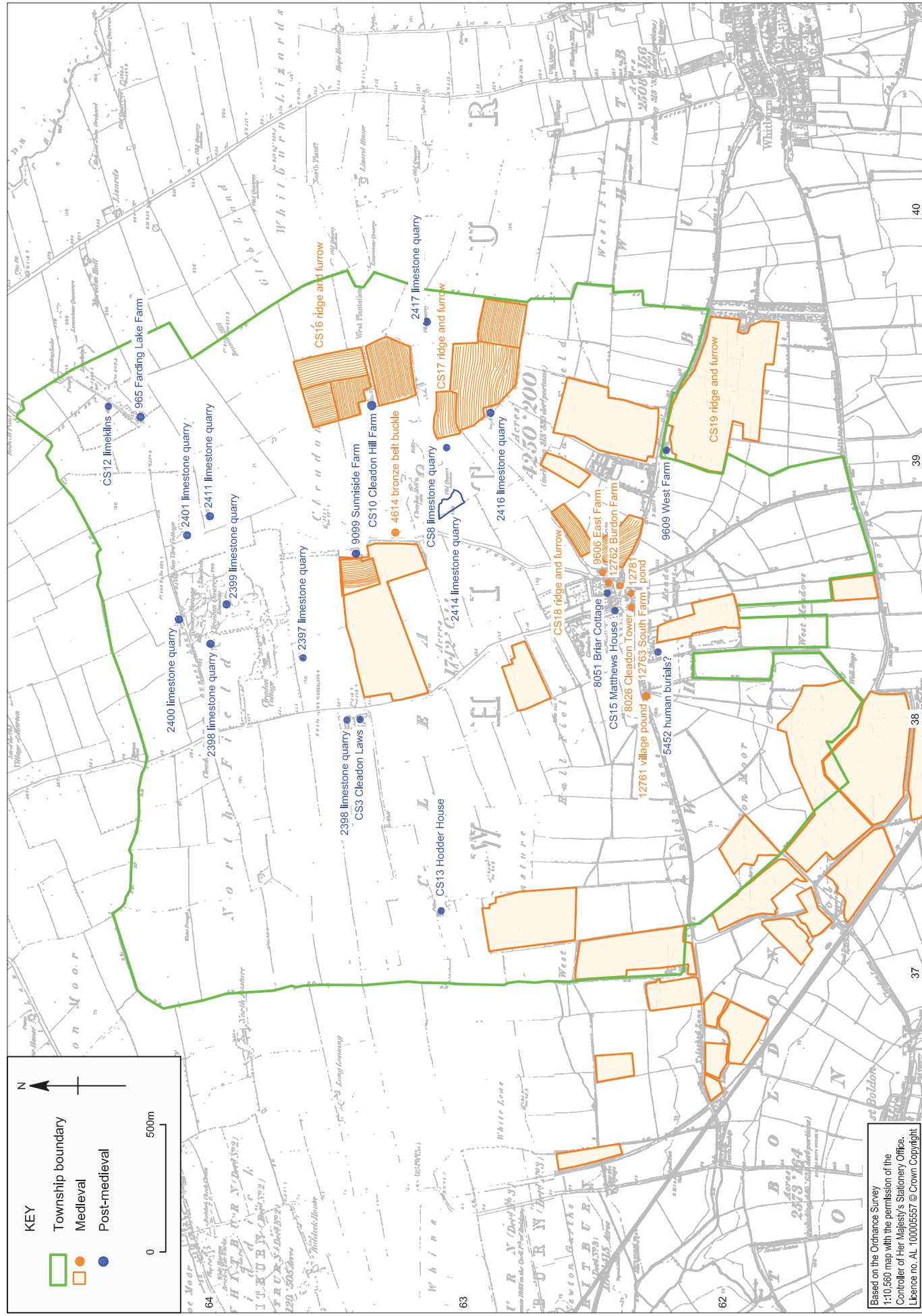


monastic settlements at Monkwearmouth (HER 87) Jarrow (HER 994) and St Hilda's at South Shields (HER 274). A sizeable cemetery of uncertain date is also known at Grindon, 8km south-west of Cleadon (HER 158). Closer to home at East Boldon, an Anglo-Saxon burial was reputedly found in 1822 'associated with a burial in a rock tomb' (Fig. 12). Unfortunately the exact location of this burial is unknown but an Anglo-Saxon buckle, decorated with garnets held in gold cups, was donated to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle by Rev. Abbs in 1853 (HER 885). At Whitburn, fragments of an Anglo-Saxon cross slab incorporated into the later church tower might suggest an earlier settlement in the area of some form (HER 12215).

## 1066 AND ALL THAT – THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

**Timeline:** *1068 The North rebels against William > – the 'Harrying of the North' > AD 1074 Monkwearmouth-Jarrow refounded > 1080 the Norman bishop of Durham, Walcher, is murdered at Gateshead and Newcastle first founded > 1091 William St Carileph becomes the first Prince Bishop > 1093 the new Norman cathedral at Durham is started > 1135-57 war of succession between Stephen and Matilda > 1154 Bishop Pudsey consecrated > 1183 Boldon Book compiled > 1215 John is King – the Magna Carter signed > 1272-1371 Scottish raid led by William Wallace and Robert the Bruce > 1309 The Percys purchase Alnwick > 1314 the Battle of Bannockburn, English are defeated > 1346 Battle of Nevilles Cross, Scots defeated > 1377 Percy becomes first Earl of Northumberland > 1397 Neville become Earl of Westmorland > 1431 Henry V crowned > 1455-1508 War of the Roses > 1485 Battle of Bosworth, Henry VII becomes King > 1509 Henry VIII crowned > 1538-1540 Dissolution of the monasteries*

As we are all taught in school, in 1066 England fell to the Normans following the defeat of the King Harold at the Battle of Hastings. Unfortunately for him, Harold had actually fought successful battle just days before at Stamford Bridge near York, against his own brother, the ousted Northumbrian overlord, Tostig Godwinson. Tostig had joined forces with Harold Hardrada of Norway in an ill-fated attempt to seize control of the country; both were killed in the battle. Soon after the victory, King Harold was forced to march his army 230 miles south to engage William's invasion force on the Sussex Coast; a long and exhausting trip that almost certainly contributed to the English defeat. The episode serves to illustrate the enormous power and independence held by the northern earls in the 11th Century, as well as the logistical problems faced by any king attempting to control the region from the south. Both were lessons that William the Conqueror seems to have taken to heart. In 1069, following the murder in Durham of William's newly appointed Earl of Northumbria, Robert de Comines, the King launched a swift and brutal campaign to subjugate once and for all the power of the northern Anglo-Saxon earls and curb the influence of the renegade bishop. This was the so called 'Harrying of the North', a scorched earth campaign that swept across Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Lancashire and the southern parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, during which crops and livestock were decimated and settlements razed to the ground. Writing half a century later, the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis wrote:



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*The King stopped at nothing to hunt his enemies. He cut down many people and destroyed homes and land. Nowhere else had he shown such cruelty. This made a real change.*

*To his shame, William made no effort to control his fury, punishing the innocent with the guilty. He ordered that crops and herds, tools and food be burned to ashes. More than 100,000 people perished of starvation.*

The extent to which the campaign penetrated into the heartland of the Community of St Cuthbert remains an issue of some debate (Pallister 1993, Roberts 2008), however, in addition the region was also under threat of attack from the north. In 1070, King Malcolm of Scotland led his troops south into Cumbria and Northumbria, pushing through to victory at Hunderthwaite in Teesdale before plundering all along the North East coast including ransacking the monasteries at Hartlepool and Monkwearmouth. Caught between the Normans advancing from the south, and the Scots from the north, there can be little doubt that this would have been a very turbulent period for the residents of Cleadon.

In 1080 William appointed the first Norman bishop, Bishop Walcher, who was murdered in Gateshead soon after his investiture by an incensed rabble. In response, the King created the first of the Prince Bishops of Durham, William de St Carileph. The bishop had extended military and legislative powers beyond that of any other member of the clergy and equal almost to that of the King. The bishop held his own parliament; could raise his own army; administer his own laws; appoint court officials including sheriffs, bailiffs and Justices; levy taxes and customs duties; create fairs and markets; issue charters; salvage shipwrecks; collect revenue from mines; administer the forests, and mint his own coins (Simpson, accessed Aug 2014). To all intents and purposes, the bishop was the King in the North curbing the powers of the earls and bringing the turbulent region to heel.

It is probably for this reason that Durham and Northumberland were not included in the famous Domesday Book of AD 1086 (Lapsley 1900, 22–25). The bishop's land was immune from the taxes and dues rendered to the Crown so there was no advantage in William having a detailed survey of this land from which he gained no benefits. This means, unfortunately, we do not have the same kind of detailed picture of village life and resources available elsewhere in the country. It is not until the collation of the Boldon Book nearly a hundred years later that we finally have a glimpse of the nature of settlement in County Durham.

### **The Boldon Book (1183)**

The Boldon Book is frequently referred to as the Domesday of the North and served a very similar purpose. It was basically a list of the bishops' holdings in Durham and Northumberland produced for the purpose of taxation. It records over 130 settlements including Cleadon and Whitburn - '*Clyuedon et Whiteberne*'. The Church estates at this time were divided into two. There was land held by the bishop in his own right, but also land held by the Prior of Durham Cathedral. Whitburn and nearby Boldon

formed part of the bishop's estates, but much of the surrounding land was part of the monastic landholdings of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and fell under the ownership of the Prior of Durham Cathedral. The exception was Hylton, which was granted to the Hilton family (Turner, Semple & Turner 2013, 62).

It is worth quoting the full entry in the Boldon Book for Cleadon:

*In Cleadon and Whitburn there are 28 villeins and each holds, pays rent and works in the same manner as those of Boldon. Ketell holds 2 bovates of 34 acres and returns 16d and goes on missions for the Bishop. John of Whitburn holds 40 acres and 1 toft and returns 8s and goes on missions for the Bishop. Roger holds 40 acres and 1 toft and pays 8s. Osbert sone of Bosing 80 acres and pays 1 mark. Twelve cottagers hold and work and pay rent in the same manner as those of Boldon. The pinder holds and pays rent in the same manner as the one of Boldon.*

*The two townships yield 30s for cornage and two cows for metreth. The lordship farm is leased out with stock of 5½ ploughs and 5 ½ harrows, and yields for 2 ½ plough 2 chalders of wheat and 20 of oats and 10 of barley, and other three ploughs 15 marks. The sheep with pasture of Esscur and of Cleadon are in the hands of the Lord Bishop.*

Initially much of this text might seem impenetrable, but it does tell us a great deal about the nature of life in medieval Cleadon. The first thing to notice is that it is a very detailed entry and refers to specific land plots, 'ownership', dues and services. This would all suggest that a system of quite complex administration was already in place before the compilation of the survey and had been so for a number of years. There is further evidence of this in the use of the term '*cornage*'. This is a very old form of taxation thought to pre-date the Anglo-Saxon period (Roberts 2008). It actually has nothing to do with corn, but is rather a tax on cattle and does not appear in relation to all settlements in the survey - only to a key few. It has been suggested that these settlements, which include Cleadon and Whitburn, are the oldest in the area, probably pre-dating the Norman Conquest (*ibid*).

It is also possible to infer something of the size and nature of the two settlements from the Boldon Book entry, although impossible to calculate the size of Cleadon on its own. There are 28 *villeins* listed as living in the two townships, these are 'bonded' tenants bound to the bishop by feudal ties that were difficult to break. The bonded tenant farmed a fixed portion of land and as well performed certain services of labour on the bishop's farms in addition to other dues. These men did not 'own' any land themselves, but they were not slaves – or serfs – although neither were they freemen. The exact nature of the services required and the details of the conditions of tenure varied considerably across the country. Villeins, from which we later get the term 'villagers', would have made up the majority of residents in the area during the medieval period and were ordinary everyday farmers. The term farmer actually derives from the term '*firmars*', a slightly later form of tenancy agreement where labour services were considerably reduced and replaced by fixed rents (Roberts 2008).



The Boldon Book entry states that the 28 villeins of Cleadon and Whitburn each held land in the same manner as those of Boldon, which was '*2 bovates of 30 acres*' or 60 acres. However, the Durham Acre was rather larger than the Royal Acre and equated to approximately 1.6 acres. The average land plot held by a Cleadon villager was, therefore, about 97 modern acres (Roberts 1977, 7). This makes the total area of both townships around 2716 acres. Added to this are the lands held by named individuals, free men or '*dreng*', who render to the bishop specific services. Two such officials are mentioned directly - *Ketell* who held 68 acres (109 modern acres) and *John of Whitburn* who held 40 acres (64 modern acres) – both of whom went on '*missions for the bishop*'. Osbert, son of Bosing is also mentioned, although no details of service are given for him. He holds 80 acres (128 modern acres). Finally there are 12 '*cottagers*', listed, these were the lowest of the peasant classes, although still not serfs. Each held a small dwelling or 'cottage' and a plot of land large enough to feed a family. The Cleadon cottagers held 12 acres each (19 modern acres), a total of 228 acres. Added together the total area of land covered by the two townships of Cleadon and Whitburn in 1183 was approximately 3309 acres that, when compared with the 3938 acres recorded by Whellan in 1893 (Whellan 1894, 1171) shows the extent of settlement had remained relatively static and that the area we know as Cleadon today was already largely established by the 11th Century.

If we assume that an average household of the time was two adults and at least two children we can also estimate a population size of around 172 people in 1183, although there would obviously been considerable variation in household sizes. This compares to 675 in 1801. Something of the lives of villagers can also be gleaned by looking at the entry for Boldon that deals with the services and dues payable to the Bishop by all his tenants. Each tenant has to pay '*2s 6d*' in tax, together with a weight of oats, and 16d towards carriage service as well as a waggonload of wood, two hens and ten eggs. Service was also required on the bishop's demense farms. These were similar to the later home farms of the grand estates and would have provided food for the bishop's household. Each man had to work on the bishop's farm for three days a week except for Easter and Whitsun and 13 days at Christmas. Additional services were required during harvesting when each man must '*harrow when needed and carry loads*'. The cottagers only worked two days a week on the bishop's land and were not taxed so heavily, instead, they were expected to provide 12 hens each year and 60 eggs. The whole community were charged 30s for the keeping of cattle (cornage) and expected to supply two dairy cattle to the bishop. There are also references to the production of wheat, oats and barley on the demesne farm and sheep grazing at Cleadon and *Esscurr*, the location of which is unknown but might be 'East Carr' and area of rough grassland and possibly a reference to the Lizards.

### **What Makes a Medieval Village?**

In fact, the Cleadon and Whitburn entry neatly illustrates all of the key elements essential to existence in medieval England: cereal crops, wood, cattle, sheep and labour. A medieval township was basically a territorial unit large enough to contain these mixed resources necessary to support a village, this included pasture land for grazing, arable for raising crops (barley, oats and wheat), woodland for timber,

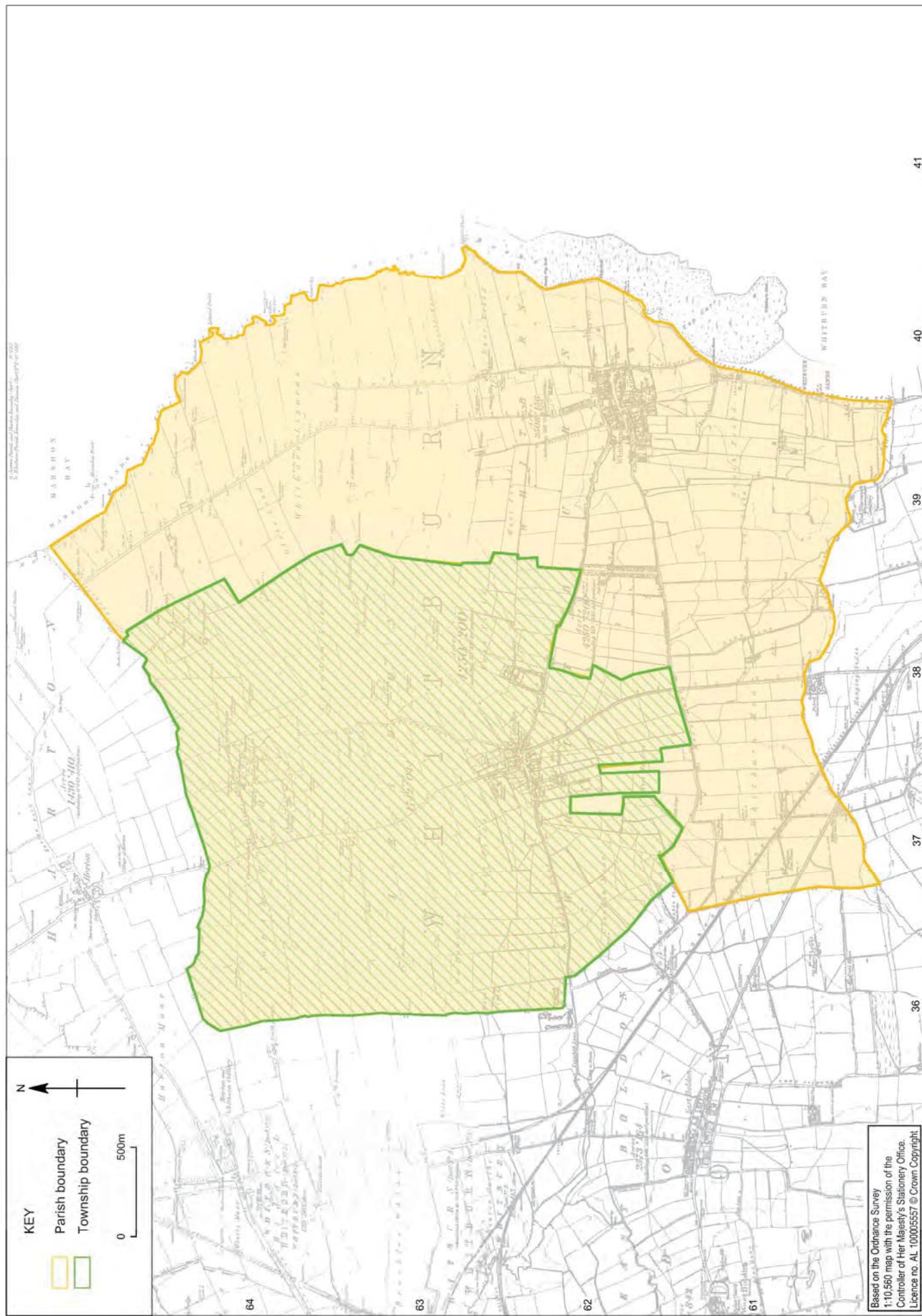
underbrush for fuel, and a stream or spring for water. The term 'township' derives from the Old English word 'tun' meaning a village and has nothing to do with our modern 'town'. Cleadon and Whitburn were both townships within the parish of Whitburn (Fig. 18). A parish is an ecclesiastical unit comprising enough land to support a church and the poor, in the south this often equates to a village but in the north where there are large areas of marginal moorland, parishes like Lanchester could be huge. In contrast, Whitburn is actually quite a small parish, probably reflecting the high productivity of the area.

The Cleadon township has remained an important administrative boundary right the way through history, becoming the basis of the Civil Parish in 1911. It was not until the recent local government re-organization of 1974 that the definition of the area changed and even now perceptions of the village as the wider township unit still remain. In the 11th Century, Cleadon and Whitburn would have been average-sized villages for the time. There were larger settlements like Darlington, Bishop Auckland, Sedgfield and Easington, all of which later became towns, but also smaller hamlets like Thickley and Coundon (Roberts 1977, 8).

Many of the more prosperous of the bishop estates were located on the dry, loamy soils of the Magnesian Limestone Plateau that, as discussed above, may have been in cultivation since the Iron Age. This landscape offered a good mix of upland for grazing together with flatter, well drained lowland for arable farming and settlement. Generally, the more productive the land, the smaller the township required to sustain the population. Many of the townships across the plateau are similar in size to Cleadon.

A medieval village contained a combination of both private and public space (Roberts 1977). The private space was at the centre of the community and comprised a dwelling, known as a '*croft*' associated with a small plot of land referred to as a '*toft*', this was a small yard for growing herbs and vegetables and perhaps a paddock for chickens, goats and a pig. Each toft – sometimes called a garth in the North East – was divided from its neighbour by a fence, hedge or stone wall. The crofts and tofts were arranged on each side of a road or village green, the crofts generally located along the street frontage with the long linear toft stretching out to the rear. Beyond the core of the village were the shared resources of the 'public' space. These comprised arable fields, grazing land, woodland, footpaths and drove ways and, where present, the village green.

Unlike many of the surrounding townships that became industrialised in the 19th Century, Cleadon remained primarily an agricultural settlement until the end of the Second World War. There was a small increase in local industry with the expansion of the quarries and gravel pits, together with the founding of a number of tile and brickworks, but nothing on a level with the growth in population and related infrastructure seen at many of the nearby colliery villages or the riverside settlements of South Shields, Sunderland and Newcastle. As a result, many of the resource divisions established in the medieval



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Cleaton Village Atlas: parish and township boundaries overlain on first edition OS map (1862)

Figure 18

period persisted through until the late 19th Century, and can be traced on the six-inch first edition Ordnance Survey (OS) map of the area, published in 1855 (Fig. 21).

The line of the township boundary can be clearly traced on this map and even today is visible in the landscape in the form of old hedges, tracks, footpaths and roads. There has possibly been a slight reduction in the overall size of the settlement over the centuries. In particular, Moor Lane and Flatts Lane probably once marked the southern extent of the township, and to the south-east, the boundary may have formerly extended to West House, marking the western boundary of Whitburn, but apart from these minor changes the township appears to have remained relatively complete.

Marked on the first edition map are the names '*North Field*', '*East Field*' and '*West Field*', which are the remnants of the old medieval common field system. These were huge open fields that were cultivated communally, usually operating on a two- or three-year crop rotation system. This meant that an arable crop of wheat, barley or oats would be sown and grown for two seasons and then the ground left fallow for a year to allow the nutrients in the soil to recover. Each household in the village would have been assigned a division of land sufficient for their needs. In terms of the bishop's estates this was judged to be '*2 bovates of 34 acres*' for each villein, as noted in the Boldon Book. The land allocated to each of the Cleadon villagers was not a contiguous block, but dispersed throughout the township as a series of strips spread out across each of three huge common fields. This ensured that each family got a share of good and poor land and their allotment included grazing land, arable and hay meadow. Following harvest, livestock was allowed on to the arable and meadow lands to graze on the stubble, their dung helping to fertilise the soil for the next season's crop.

The arable 'strips' were a product of the physical process of ploughing but were also a division of land tenure, although ultimately all land remained the property of the bishop. Evidence of these 'strips' can still be found in the landscape all around Cleadon today; in some areas the pattern is preserved in the layout of the later field walls, while in a few places the actual ridge and furrow cultivation can still clearly be seen. A very good example of this survives close to the centre of the village, on the north side of Cleadon Lane, to the south-east of East Farm (CS18). Other examples can be seen to the north of Cleadon Hills Farm (CS16) and indeed echoes of ridge and furrow can still be seen in many of the fields surrounding the village when the light is right, especially on a frosty winter's morning when the sun is low and casts strong shadows. But sadly an alarming amount of ridge and furrow has been lost over the past sixty years following the widespread introduction of tractor ploughing and the resulting amalgamation of fields. The ridge and furrow shown on Plate 72 (CS17) was traced from of post-war aerial photographs taken by the RAF in the late 1940s and 50s. Much of this has now disappeared, including all of that to the south of Cleadon Hills Farm.

### ***Ridge and Furrow***

In its most basic form, ridge and furrow cultivation comprises broad platforms of earth – the ridges –



used to grow crops, divided by a series of deep ruts – the furrows - that provided drainage. The characteristic ‘rippled’ form of this type of cultivation is the result of ploughing with a fixed mouldboard plough that was introduced in the immediate post-roman period, remaining in use in some areas into the early 18th Century. The fixed nature of the plough meant it could not be reversed to follow back along the same furrow but had to be removed from the ground and then sent back along the strip that over time formed a distinctive ridge.



*Plate 71: A good example of ‘Broad Rigg’ ridge and furrow cultivation in the field to the north of Cleadon Lane, the church and East Farm can be seen in the distance (CS18).*

The strips, known as ‘*lands*’, were cultivated together in blocks known as a ‘*furlong*’, or more commonly ‘*flats*’ in the North East. These were not fields in the modern sense of the word as they were not fenced or held under a single ownership. The patchwork of medieval flats did, however, form the basis of the later post-enclosure field system and can be still seen across the landscape today. Around Cleadon there is an excellent and well-preserved series of furlong plots at Cleadon Hill Farm. Furlongs are often given as fixed measurements, but in reality the size of each unit varied considerable between and across regions and lordships.

There are numerous variations in the form of ridge and furrow depending on a number of factors including the nature of the soil, cultivation method, crop grown, length of time used, and the type of plough. Although often interpreted as medieval, ridge and furrow remained an important form of cultivation right up until improvement in field drainage in the early 19th Century; it even made a short resurgence during the First and Second World Wars. Indeed, based on the data from the field survey and transcriptions from the post-war aerial photographs, it would seem that there were few areas around Cleadon that were not turned over for arable farming at some time or other, providing a picture of the changing phases of cultivation in the area spanning hundreds of years.

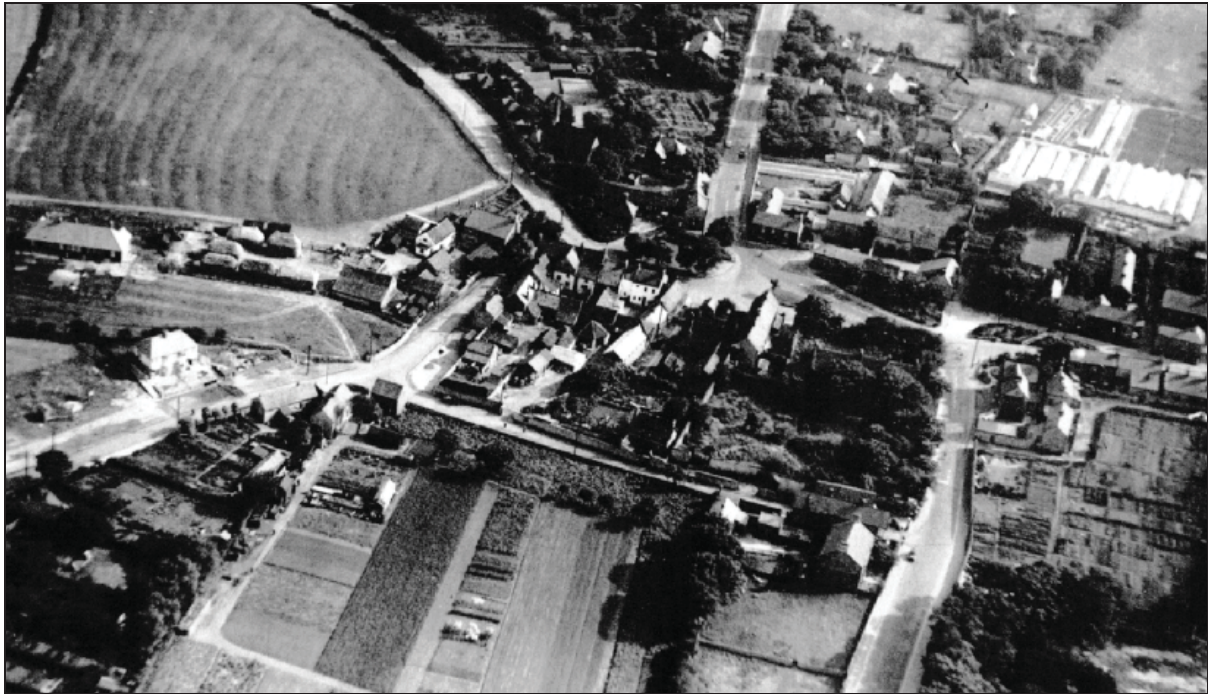


**Plate 72:** Ridge and furrow (CS17) clearly visible on an extract from a post-war aerial photograph (Aerial CPE-UK-2175.TIF). This complex of what appears to be 'broad rigg' has since been ploughed out © English Heritage.

It is widely accepted that the earliest form of ridge and furrow cultivation is what is known as 'broad rigg', which, as the name suggests, comprises wide ridges, sometimes measuring up to 8m, that follow a distinctive path, known as a 'reverse-S'. This unique shape derives from the movement of the plough team as it turns into the plough. The cluster of fields shown at the top of plate 72 (CS17) are a good example of this type of ploughing and the 'S' shape curve can be clearly seen, especially in the top field. Although the ridge and furrow no longer survives in these fields, the horse-turn can still be traced in the distinctive shape of the field boundaries in this area. An even better example has recently come to light on an aerial photograph probably dating to the late 1930s (Plate 73) that shows pronounced reverse-S broad rigg extending right across the field on the north side of Cleadon Lane. A fragment of this still survives today to the east of East Farm (CS18). Broad rigg generally pre-dates the 14th Century, making it a good indicator of medieval cultivation and settlement. The preservation of broad rigg at East Farm (CS18), on the Cleadon Hills (CS17) and at West Farm (CS19) would indicate that in these areas arable production was turned over to pasture early in the settlement's history, preserving the deep furrows of broad rigg that have elsewhere been destroyed by later ploughing.

Elsewhere in the parish, the rigg is narrower and straighter; a characteristic of later phases of ploughing. This is usually referred to as 'narrow rigg'. Examples of this, together with earlier broad rigg, can still be seen to the north of Cleadon Hills Farm (CS16). Narrow rigg generally post-dates the 14th Century but given the extent of variation seen at both local and regional levels, this type of cultivation cannot be dated on form alone, except to say that very narrow rig often dates to the 18th and early 19th centuries.





*Plate 73: Aerial photograph dating to the late 1930s showing broad rigg extending to the north of Cleadon Lane. Cleadon Nursery is on the right side of the picture. Photograph courtesy of Maurice Chadwick.*



*Plate 74: Example of narrow rig' at Cleadon Hills Farm (CS16). The ridges here are much narrower than those found elsewhere indicating that this ploughing is later in date. Often this can overlie earlier broad rigg.*

### **Woodland**

In addition to the arable fields, the medieval community of Cleadon would have been reliant on common land for grazing and on woodland, not only for firewood but for a whole host of products ranging from animal fodder to wooden clogs. Timber would have been essential for building, even in an area where stone was the predominant building material. It was used for roof trusses, joist and structural

elements. Other products were species dependant: Lime is durable and easy to turn so was used for utensils like ladles, cups and bowls; beech responds well to steam bending, used to make furniture as well as for charcoal burning; hazel was used for stakes, hurdles and thatch spars; ash is a general all-round versatile wood, strong and flexible, making it perfect for shields and arrows, and the yew was used for longbows. In fact yew was such an important wood in the eyes of the medieval kings that Richard III decreed that landowners had to plant a number of trees per year for military purposes (Milner 1992). As such, the woodland would have been a valuable and carefully managed resource to the people of Cleadon.



*Plate 75: Post-enclosure hedgerows provided a valuable source of much needed wood.*

Tracing medieval woodland from later historic maps is very difficult and there are precious few clues in the surviving field name evidence. There may have been pockets of managed woodland on the Cleadon Hills and to the east around Cleadon Laws, as well as to the south of the village on the edges of Cleadon Moor. However, even as early as the 12th Century, the demand for arable had seen a dramatic reduction of available woodland and it is possible that Cleadon was largely reliant on imported timber for building projects and on turf cut from Cleadon moor for fuel. During the later medieval period, as the common fields were enclosed, this situation was slightly alleviated by the introduction of hedgerow trees that provided a valuable source of additional timber and underwood (Plate 75).

### ***Moorland***

Cleadon Moor was a roughly triangular, 86 hectare, area of land to the south-west of the village, bounded by Flatts Lane to the south and extending north to Boldon Lane. The moor lay very close to the centre of the village and provided common land for the grazing of sheep and cattle. The extent of the moor in the early 19th Century is still shown on the first edition OS map (1855); although by this stage it



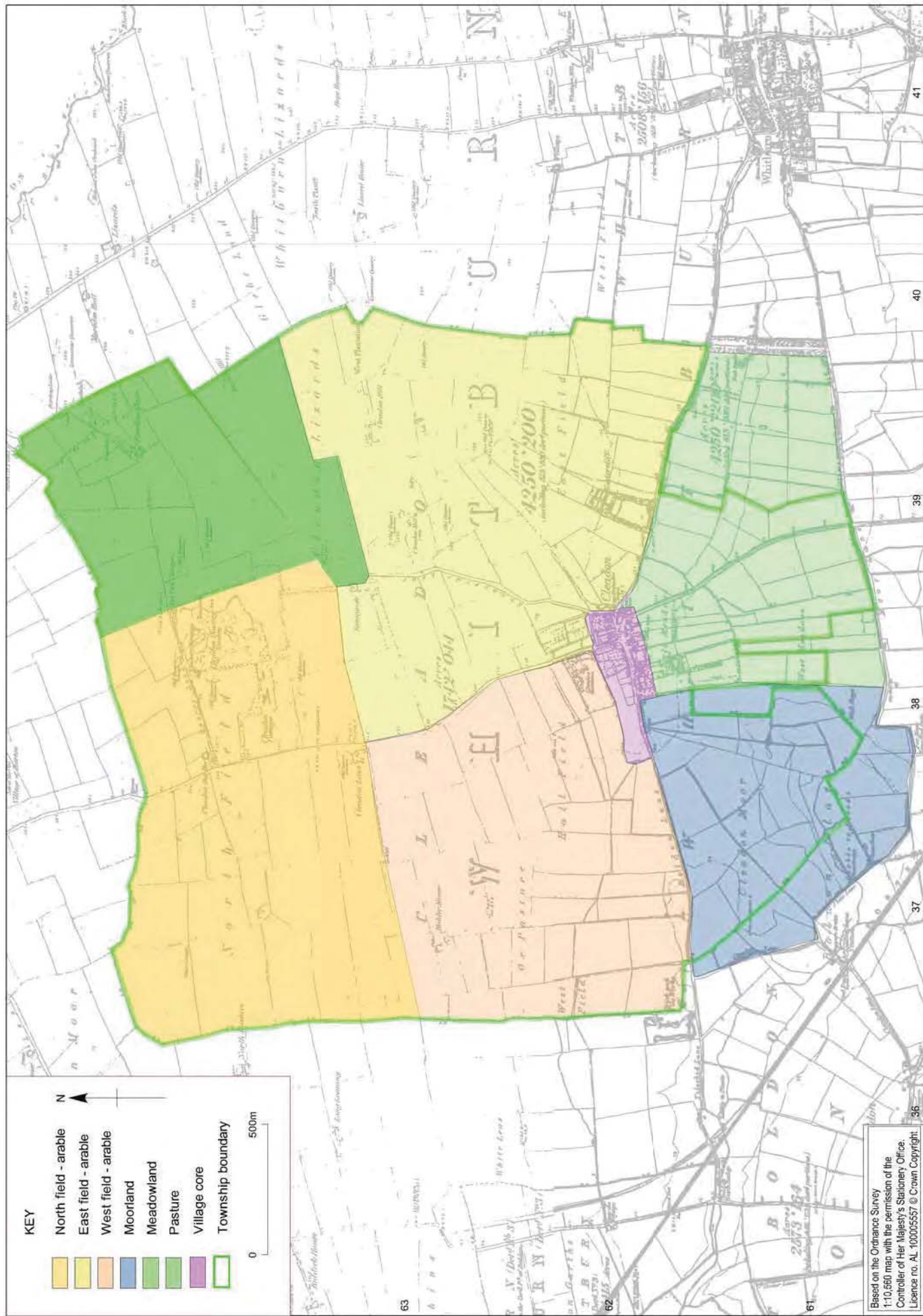
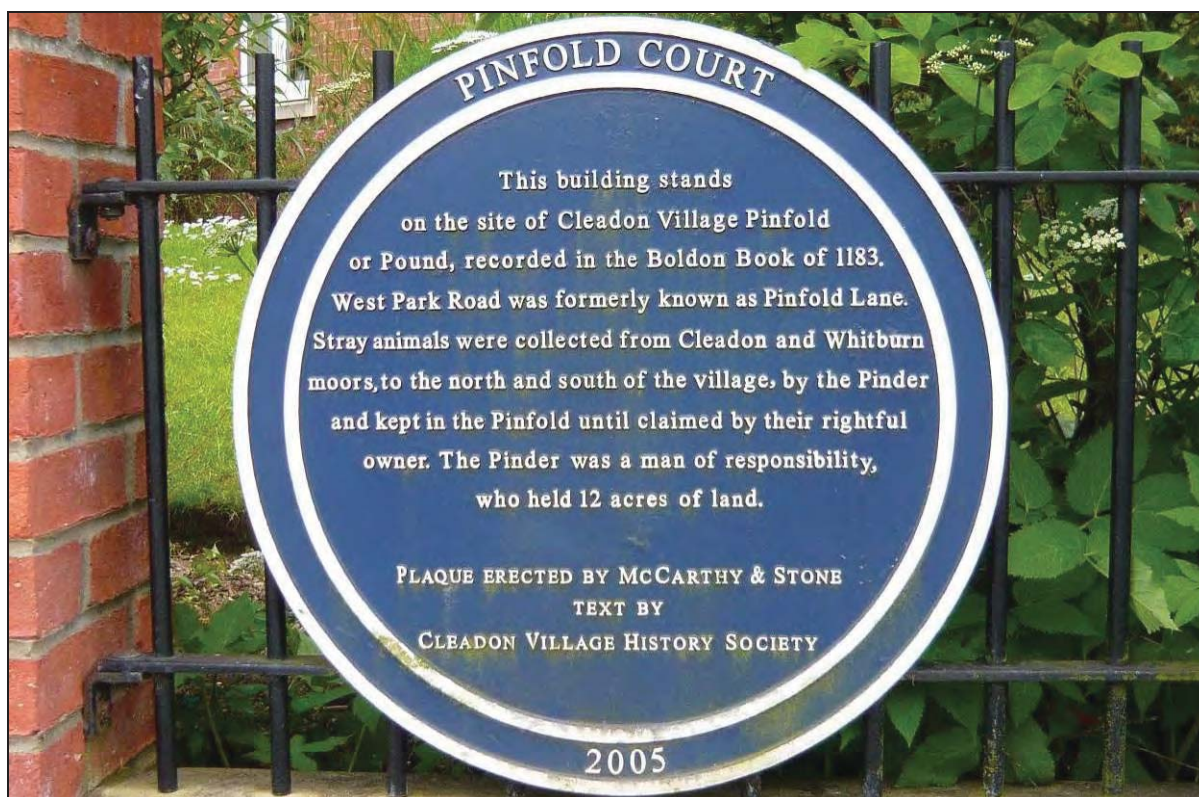


Figure 19

Cleadon Village Atlas: speculative division of medieval resources based on first edition OS map (1862)

had been enclosed for nearly 200 years. The map further shows the location of the village pinfold, or 'pinder' (HER 12761) on the corner of what is now West Park Road, originally known as Pinder Lane (Wawn, ud). This was a communal enclosure used for keeping stray animals until retrieved by their owner. It would make sense to locate the pinfold close to the village grazing lands, corralling stray beasts who may have wandered into the village. Therefore it is highly probable that this was the location of the original medieval pinder mentioned in the Boldon Book in 1183. The pinfold stood until the early 20th Century when it was replaced with a post and rail fence (*ibid*). It no longer survives but the location is marked by a blue plaque erected by the village society (Plate 76).



**Plate 76:** Possible location of the former medieval pinder, at the top of West Park Road.

The eastern boundary of the moor is less easy to define. It may have previously extended out towards the boundary of the township, merging with Whitburn Moor to the south of Moor Lane. However, it would appear that this was cultivated as meadow and grassland from a relatively early date, the line of the strip fields, running north to south, are clearly visible on the first edition OS map.

### ***Meadowland and Pasture***

Hay would have been grown on the meadowland, harvested to provide over-wintering fodder for animals and distributed equally amongst the villagers, with each being allocated a strip of meadow land in the same way as arable land. Areas beside water courses were highly desirable as water-meadow. In these areas a system of irrigation was implemented to keep the field damp but not flooded. Managing the meadow in this fashion ensured an early supply of spring grass for the animals. The area to the south of the village, bordering Boldon Flatts, where a small stream formerly ran, may have been ideal for this.



There is no surviving evidence of such water management, but the area is now extensively farmed.

Unlike arable crops, hay was not grown in ridge and furrow. The extensive evidence of arable cultivation across the meadow and moorland to the south of the village, which appeared on the post-war aerial photographs (see Fig. 17 – archaeological sites), was therefore most probably post-medieval in date.

Interestingly, the meadows to the south of the village are known as ‘West Meadows’, and on the east side of the Sunderland Road is ‘West Farm’, ‘West House’ and their associated farmlands. These lands were originally not part of Cleadon but belonged instead to Whitburn, lying to the west of that township. Over time, the boundary between the two villages has blurred as landowners obtained and amalgamated property in both townships. Similarly, to the south of Cleadon Moor, Boldon Flatts formed part of the ploughlands belonging to East Boldon.

Another important area for grazing was the Cleadon Lizards in the north-eastern corner of the township. Access to the Lizards from the village was via Sunnyside Lane, a drover’s road leading up to the higher pasture. Sheep were very important to the medieval and the post-medieval economy. Wool had always been a prized product, English cloth being renowned as an export commodity as far back as the Roman period. In fact, so significant were the sheep of Cleadon to the bishop’s coffers in the 12th Century that their ownership merits a specific reference in the Boldon Book entry: *‘The sheep with pasture of Esscur and of Cleadon are in the hands of the Lord Bishop*. Nevertheless, evidence of ridge and furrow, including broad rigg, surrounding Cleadon Hills Farm would indicate that a substantial area of the Lizards was under cultivation in the 13th and 14th centuries. This was probably returned to pasture in the 15th or 16th centuries when there was a countrywide boom in wool production and cloth manufacture.

Any discussion on Cleadon’s medieval landscape must remain largely conjectural, but there does appear to be a degree of forward planning and design in the layout of the medieval settlement. Arguably this is evident not only in the use of the surrounding landscape but also in the layout of the village itself. Cleadon has often been described as an ‘agglomerated’ village, a term used to describe a settlement that has grown up organically from an earlier farmstead or hamlet. The extent of the original medieval village is thought to have been a cluster of farms around the village pond, and indeed the oldest buildings in Cleadon are to be found in this area. However, the straightening of the Sunderland Road in the 1960s has to a degree skewed our perception of settlement layout. A look at the 1842 tithe map, the earliest detailed map surviving of the settlement, suggests a slightly different picture. It indicates a more linear layout, with plots arranged along a broad central street, marked at the eastern end by the pond and at the western by the pinder (Fig. 20). This seems to suggest there may have been a degree of rationale behind the layout and design of the settlement. If this is the case, then rather than developing in piecemeal fashion, Cleadon may be one of the so called planned ‘Green Villages’ of County Durham





**Figure 20:** Extract from the Whitburn tithe map (1842) showing Cleadon Village DUSC DDR/EA/TTH/1/252.

### Is Cleadon a Durham Green Village?

The Durham green villages are believed to have been laid out before 1183, probably begun by Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) in the early 12th Century. At the centre of each settlement, as the name suggests, was a village green. These varied in nature from a broad green like those found at Gainford and Staindrop to a street green like that at Whitburn. If Cleadon is a green village then it falls into this latter category (Roberts 1977 & 2008).

The reason for this distinctive settlement plan was undoubtedly multi-faceted. It was in part defensive, the green serving as a stockade for the village animals during periods of invasion and civil unrest. This would have been a very real threat in the 12th Century, a time of war with the ever-present spectre of a Scottish invasion. Greens also served as important meeting places and area for trade, although there is no documentary evidence of a formal market at Cleadon. It was also the focus of communal resources like the blacksmith's and ale house, traditionally the only buildings allowed to encroach upon a village green. The Cleadon Green featured the village pond (HER 12781), originally much larger than today, referred to as the Cleadon Lake. This was of considerable importance on the Magnesian Limestone Plateau, where fresh water for the watering of stock was at a premium. The pond would have also served travellers passing through the village and may at least partially account for the stagger in the course of



**Figure 21:** Extracts from the first edition 6-inch OS map (1855) with the village greens of Whitburn and Cleadon shaded in green.

Viewed side-by-side from the first edition OS map (1855), the similarities between the layout of Cleadon and Whitburn are striking (Fig 21). Whitburn has always been classed as a green village but not Cleadon. What we may have at Cleadon is a failed green village where the western end of the settlement was either never completed or fell out of use relatively quickly. The western extent of the settlement can still be inferred from the arrangement of the fields shown on the 1862 map (Fig. 19) but, unlike Whitburn, no individual property divisions are shown to survive. One reason for the failure of the western half of the settlement might be its underlying geology. The north side of Front Street and Boldon Lane is situated on a band of sand and gravels (Fig. 8), later exploited for extraction. This may have proved adequate to bear the weight of simple timber dwellings but perhaps proved poor foundations for heavier stone structures. Equally, the population of the village may have simply contracted in size as a result of the sequence of plagues and famines that hit the North East during the 14th and 15th centuries.

If Cleadon was planned and laid out by the Bishop Flambard soon after the *Harrying of the North*, it once more raises the issue of the location of the original settlement. Was pre-Conquest Cleadon located on the higher ground of Cleadon Hills and relocated to the lower ground in the 12th Century when the planned settlement was laid out? Perhaps this may have also corresponded with the foundation, or formalisation, of the Shields Road from the important settlements of Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth to the south. Situating a village on this route would have made sound commercial sense, with grain and wool bales being transported inland to Durham or exported, via the growing port at Wearmouth, to the continent, allowing the bishop to maximise revenue from his land.

In the early 14th Century, during the incumbency of Bishop de Bury (1333 – 1345), Cleadon once more appears in the documentary record. At this time, Matilda de Stafford and John Correy are recorded as both holding land direct from the bishop, as are the Kirby family, said to have held land in Cleadon for several generations (Hutchinson 1783, 628). John Correy's tenancy later passed to his daughter, Sigreda, on his death. Sigreda is an Anglo-Scandinavian name and may be a legacy of the earlier Danish migration into the area, illustrating something of the varied ethnic mix of peoples in the region even after 300 years of Norman rule.

The palatinate records also reference a freehold manor of Cleadon held as part of the Hilton estate. This was conveyed by the mid 15th Century to Roger Thornton, a wealthy Newcastle merchant connected through marriage to the Lumley estates (ibid)<sup>1</sup>. These references are interesting, but it is not until Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Full reference in Hutchinson: *'Co'pt est p' inq. &c. q'd p'fat. Rog' ten. in d'nioo suo ut de feod. 81.: com, feofl'at. cu. p'fate T. de Pytyngton tria mess. in Clevedon, quor. q'd'lt val. p' ultra repr. 8d. quator bovat t' re cum p't ib. quar. quelt. bov. t're eo'tinet xxiiij acras quar. quelt. val. p' an. nlt. repr. vd- ex dono & feofl'e W\_ 'i do Hilton chr. p' nomen W' i d'ni de Hilton mil. Pct. p'fato Rog'o p' nomen R. 'i de Thomwn 5, Joh' i de Newton cl. defu'cto ac p'fato T. de Pytyngton cap- adhuc sup'stit. bed. 8; assign suis imp'p'm p' nomen M'ij sui de Clevedon alias voc. Clesedon in epatu. Dun. una cum o'ibus tr. ten, red. rev'si0nib's 8; serviciis, &c- ten. de d'co d'no E. in Ca. red. si. sn- inde ad t'us 15s. 1ld.—Jug. p. m. R. Thornton.*

Whitburn parish : Book of 1<sup>l</sup>. 5l. 155. 6d.—Val. of Lands 7351. - Grey': MSS.



Hatfield's survey in the second half of the 14th Century that we get a more comprehensive picture of medieval Cleadon.

### **The Hatfield Survey**

Compiled some 200 years after the Boldon Book, the Hatfield survey was commissioned by Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham from 1345 to 1381. It was much more comprehensive than the earlier Boldon Book, listing all tenants, together with the quantity of land they held and services due of each manor. The townships of Cleadon and Whitburn are again grouped together under the single parish, making it difficult to distinguish between the tenants and resources in each, although there are some specific references. The survey includes the first reference to the windmill at Whitburn, although the exact location of this is unclear.

In the intervening period between the two surveys there had been considerable change. The region had been ravaged by plague, which first broke out in the 1230s and then continued to resurface at intervals over the coming century, culminating in the Black Death of 1348, devastating the country. The ongoing Wars of Independence with Scotland also made the threat of invasion very real, with Robert the Bruce leading raiding parties south, taking Hartlepool in 1312. In addition, a drastic change in the climate in the early 14th Century resulted in a cycle of bitterly cold winters followed by wet summers, which decimated the harvest, resulting in widespread famine. Known as the 'Little Ice Age' this lasted right the way through to the 17th Century. Altogether, these elements claimed the lives of between a third and half the English population. Numbers were not to grow again until the 1500s.

These events would have undoubtedly had an impact on medieval Cleadon and the surrounding landscape. Over time, the strips of land held by each villager would have gradually been amalgamated or 'enclosed' to produce continuous blocks, either as the result of agreement or opportunism. The more pragmatic of Cleadon's villagers may have sought to increase the productivity of their land, and the labour necessary to work it, by exchanging plots with their neighbours; this was enclosure by agreement. The less reputable alternative was the 'annexing' a neighbour's land. In a time of plague and famine blocks of land would frequently fall vacant. Similarly, tenants were also required to respond to the 'muster', joining the bishop's ranks against the Scots, with many never to return from battle. Over time these blocks of 'abandoned' land would have been subsumed by Cleadons' more opportunistic residents.

In cases of both agreement and land pilfering, boundary fences and hedgerows were erected by the new owners as a means of asserting ownership. Many of which still followed the pattern of the old strip fields. In the 17th Century the process was formalised in a series of enclosure agreements, but the carving up the common fields had begun long before this.

These changes in the land ownership are reflected in the Hatfield survey in the introduction of a new

tenancy arrangement - copyhold tenure. Under copyhold a tenant had to pay an annual ground rent, plus a fee (often termed a 'fine') on gaining possession of the land or at their death; in both cases this usually amounted to one year's rent. Provided rents were paid, required services fulfilled, and all other customs observed, a copyhold tenant retained his land for life and could pass it on to his heirs. There are a number of tenants holding land under copyhold referred to in the Cleadon entry of the survey.

Copyholders could sell or mortgage their property, but the transaction had to be registered in the Halmote Court. This was a regular court meeting held in each of the four administrative centres that made up the bishop's estates; these were termed 'wards'. During these sessions fees were paid, any grievance or misdemeanours reviewed, and suitable judgements made. On the death of a copyholder his heirs made an appeal at the Court session to claim the land. If they failed to do this the property would be forfeit and granted to another tenant. Each land holding was recorded in the Halmote Court Rolls and a copy given to the tenant, hence the name 'copyhold'. Cleadon formed part of the Chester-le-Street ward, one of the largest and richest of the Palatinate estates. Records of the Halmote Court Rolls are held at Durham University Special Collections<sup>2</sup>.

Copyhold tenancy provided a higher degree of security for tenants, allowing them to pass property to their heirs and even sell land with the appropriate permission. The new arrangement meant that land could be transferred more easily, while ensuring the bishop still retained control, all land ultimately still belonging to him. Hugh de Gilmore, the first of the Cleadon tenants mentioned in the Hatfield survey, held one messuage of land from Richard Hedworth for 'term of his life', which appears to be a sub-let or mortgage. Hugh also held a toft and two acres of lands formerly belonging to John Thorald, and throughout the entry there are frequent references to land that previously belonged to other tenants passing into single ownership. Robert Hedworth for example accrued property from Agnes Southwyk, Geoffry of Refhop, Peter of Clevedon, John Talbone and Robert Mateshey; a clear example of enclosure by agreement in action. Other residents include: Stephen Whitgray and Robert Potter, who both held property through their wives; John de Kyrkeby, who acquired land from John Eyre, Robert the Clerk and John Brereton; William Swalwells, who held land from William Crag; Reginald Wermouth, and 'thirty other tenants' (Surtees 1816, 50-51). A number of the above were required to undertake services for the bishop in a military or ambassadorial capacity equivalent to the knight's service – or fee - operating elsewhere in the country by the end of the 13th Century.

In addition to copyhold tenants there were a number of 'bondsmen' listed in the parish in the Hatfield Survey; these were equivalent to the villeins in the earlier Boldon Book. There were 28 bondsmen recorded in Cleadon and Whitburn, exactly the same number listed in the earlier survey. The services required of a bondsman were slightly reduced from those of a villein, replaced instead by a rent of 40s, a payment of oats, hens and eggs, and the provision of carriage for a ton of wine. One of the rather more

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<sup>2</sup> Durham University Special Collections citing online reference 'Halmote Court Records' > <http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/dhc/dhcsbsd.xml>

odd requirements was the supply of 240 eggs to the bishop at Easter (*ibid*). Cottagers are also listed, their status largely remaining the same as in 1183 (Greenwell 1857).

### **The War of the Roses (1455-1485)**

The 15th Century saw the region divided in a political power struggle between the two most powerful families in the North: the Percys, Earls of Northumberland and the Nevilles, Earls of Westmorland. The Nevilles held land in Durham, Yorkshire and Cumbria. Their powerbase was in County Durham where, next to the bishop, they were the largest landholders in the region. As such, the family had considerable political influence, the 1st Earl's fourth son, Robert Neville, becoming bishop of Durham in 1437. Their rivals, the Percys, held vast estates in Northumberland with castles at Alnwick and Warkworth.

The bloody feud between the two families split the royal court and further fuelled the flames of civil war brewing between the York and Lancastrian factions. The War of the Roses erupted in 1459 with the Neville's supporting the Yorkist cause and the Percys the Lancastrians. The war did not have a direct impact on the Cleadon area, the majority of the fighting taking place further to the north and west around Alnwick and Hexham, and South around Yorkshire and along its border with Durham. The unrest did however interrupt cultivation, placing a drain on resources that contributed to a major economic crisis in the early 15th Century that saw rents and other revenues fall drastically, plunging the region into deep depression (Dodds 2011, 52).

### **The Dissolution of the Monasteries (1538 – 1540)**

The war finally ended with the defeat of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 and the accession of Henry VII to the throne. This brought an end to decades of war and faction fighting and established the new Tudor dynasty. But Henry's son, Henry VIII, was soon to bring about a religious schism that was to have a dramatic impact on the cultural, political and physical landscape of the country for years to come. Henry's split with the Catholic Church saw him strip the wealthy religious houses of the country of their land, goods and other assets. This included the powerful and wealthy Priory of Durham, which owned much of the Durham City, as well as extensive estates across the palatinate including much of Wearside and Tyneside, although Cleadon, Whiburn and Boldon remained the property of the bishop.

The religious community at Durham was re-founded in 1542 under the new English Church and much of the land forfeited to the Crown during the dissolution was returned and placed under the administration of the newly established Dean and Chapter. Throughout this period the bishop of Durham, Bishop Tunstall, remained loyal to the King, but Henry was keen to ensure he limited the power of the bishops in the future and so introduced the Jurisdiction of Liberties Act in 1536 that annexed to the Crown all criminal jurisdictions within County Durham. This effectively ended the 400 year autonomy of the Prince Bishops (Fraser 1970, 213).



## THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES – THE TUDORS AND STUARTS

*Timeline: 1509 Henry VIII crowned > 1538-1540 Dissolution of the monasteries > 1558 Elizabeth is crowned queen > 1569 The Rising of the North > 1579-1597 outbreaks of plague in Newcastle, Hartlepool, Darlington and Chester-le-Street > 1603 King James VI of Scotland ascends to the throne of England – Union of the Crowns and founding of the Stuarts > 1605 Gunpowder plot > 1620 king orders that part of the Sunderland coal shipping revenue must go to Newcastle > 1625 Charles I becomes king > 1640 Scots army under General Leslie invade Newcastle and defeats Charles' army > 1640 Scots seize Newcastle and Durham > 1642 Civil War begins > March 1644 Battle of Boldon Hill > July 1644 Battle of Marston Moor > Oct 1644 Newcastle falls to Parliamentary and Scots forces > 1649 Charles I beheaded > 1649-1660 The interregnum – Britain is a republic > 1660 Charles II restored to the throne > 1685 Succession crisis the Catholic James II becomes king > 1688 the Glorious Revolution – the Dutch William of Orange becomes king*

### The Northern Rebellion

Despite Henry's destruction of the old church, Catholicism remained strong in the north of England leading to rebellion. In 1536 there was the Pilgrimage of Grace and Bigod Rebellion an uprising against the King that resulted in 216 lords and knights being executed including Sir Thomas Percy, Sir William Lumley and Sir Edward Neville. This was followed a few years later in 1569 by the so called Rising of the North, led by the former warring families, Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland and Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland. United in their faith, the two earls led a group of Northern nobles in a plot to overthrow the Protestant queen Elizabeth I and replace her with her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots. The revolt garnered considerable support across the region at all levels including from men from Cleadon, but was ultimately defeated. The following retribution was swift and harsh. Led by Sir Robert Bowes on behalf of Elizabeth, over 800 men were executed from all ranks, including two of the four Cleadon villagers, both hung on Newcastle Town Moor (Fordyce 1855, 733).

Following the rebellion, the previously tolerant Elizabeth enforced a series of repressive anti-Catholic laws banning worship and preventing any Catholic from holding office. Religious dissent was to remain a theme of the next 200 years, erupting in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Civil War of 1642-49 and later the Glorious Revolution of 1688. However for the majority of Elizabeth's subjects this was a period of relative peace and prosperity. There were great advances in science and medicine as well as art, music, poetry and literature, and the period is viewed by many as a Golden Age. One such development was the field of cartography and navigation. As English ships began to explore the world in search of trade there was an increased pressure on producing accurate maps and nautical charts. The need to transport goods on land also saw the emergence of the first national maps. Although these early maps are very small scale they provide us for the first time with a picture of the nature of settlement across Britain.

## The First Map Makers

Perhaps the earliest of the great map makers was Christopher Saxton (c.1540 – c.1610) who produced the first county maps of England and Wales. In 1576 he published the *Dunelmensis Episcopatus*, a collection of maps of the bishopric of Durham. This is the first representation we have of Cleadon. Though of very small scale, the map is beautifully drawn and provides an indication of settlement in the area. Saxton used a standard pictorial key to illustrate something of the nature of each settlement. Cleadon (Cleydon) is shown as a circle with a building, indicating a village or hamlet without church, while the church at Whitburn is shown by the use of the tower symbol. Unfortunately, this map, and the later adaptation by John Speed made in 1611, includes no details as to the layout and plan of the village. Occasionally larger scale plans of towns were produced but none exist for Cleadon.



Figure 22: Extract from Saxton's Map of County Durham (1576), showing Cleadon and surrounding settlements.

## Elizabethan Survey of Lands 1587

A few years after the publication of Saxton's map, in 1587 there was another survey undertaken of lands held in Whitburn and Cleadon (Elizabeth 30 - Summers 1858, 226). This survey, for the first time, draws a distinction between residents of Cleadon and of Whitburn. It records 11 copyhold tenants in *Clevedon*. The largest landholder by a considerable degree at this time was Robert Chambers, who also held substantial property in East Boldon. Stephen Key and John Merryman held slightly less than Chambers, with the rest of the land fairly evenly distributed between Thomas Lighe, Robert Aire and Alice and John Mathewes.

## CLEVEDON.

(COPIEHOLDERS.)

Thomas Lighe .....	0 46 0	Robert Chamber ... ..	4 16 3
Stephen Key .....	3 9 1	John Mathewe .....	0 38 6
John Meryman [an ancestor of the family of Merriman of Boldon, Cleadon, &c.]..	0 23 0	Robert Aire .....	0 19 4
Thomas Lighe more .....	0 38 6	Alice Mathewe .....	0 19 4
The said Thomas Lighe ....	0 13 4	The said Alice Mathewe ....	. . .
		John Meryman .....	. . .

(ibid, 226)

*The Chambers Family*

The Chambers family were the most important and influential of the Cleadon families in the 17th Century and were later to play an important role in the political and religious machinations of the region. The family are believed to have hailed from Alnwick, Robert de la Chambre, being recorded as *Escheator Royal* of Northumberland in the early 14th Century; this was a court official responsible for upholding the feudal rights of the Earl. In 1351 Robert's son, John de Chambers, became High Bailiff of Newcastle and throughout the 14th Century the name occurs frequently in the parish registers of the town and surrounding areas, often associated with the Christian name John or Robert, suggesting familial links (Chambers 1907). The first direct reference to the Chambers of Cleadon dates to 1509 when John Chambers is listed as *Collector for Cleadon* in the Palatinate records (DUSC CCB B/23/5/91). The village collector, as the name might suggest, was responsible for the collection of revenue and rents owed to the bishop and required to present them regularly at the Halmote Court. This was a role of considerable status and responsibility.



*Plate 77: Cleadon Tower, one home of the Chambers family.*



Cleadon Tower (HER 8026), the oldest building in the village, was built by the Chambers family (Fig. 17). This was the subject of a recent building survey carried out by volunteers from Cleadon and the North East Vernacular Architecture Group (NEVAG) as part of the Village Atlas project. The findings of the survey, including the history of the building, are included in 'Cleadon Village Atlas: Cleadon Tower Building Report' (NAA 2015b). The date of construction of the tower remains uncertain. The first reference to the tower in the documentary record is often given as 1587 (Surtees 1816, Warm ud) but this might actually just be the first appearance of the name, in the Elizabethan Survey detailed above. There is no reference to a hall or tower in the will of John Chambers, yeoman dated 1575 (DPRI/1/1575/C1). The physical evidence has also proved inconclusive, except to say that the building was in existence by the early to mid 16th Century.

The rank of collector in 1509 would have certainly afforded John the necessary rank to construct the largest building in the village. It was also a fairly lucrative role with plenty of opportunities to skim off a few shillings here and there, but the construction of a fortified building would have been quite unusual in this period and generally a privilege only granted to a freehold tenant. This again raises the issue of the earlier reference to a freehold manor in Whitburn parish belonging to the Hiltons that is mentioned by Hutchinson (1783, 628). Was the tower originally built for the Hiltons? There is a tradition that there are tunnels leading from Cleadon Tower to Hylton Castle that, given the distance, is highly improbable, but the story could be a manifestation of an old ownership link between the two properties.

Sir John Burke, writing in the mid 19th Century, describes Cleadon Tower as a *'square tower of two stages, leaded, and with a spiral-stone stair-case to the top, It was attached to the East end of the present old mansion, and commanded a very extensive prospect'* (1850, 282). This description was written some time after the tower was demolished c.1795. There is also often a degree of confusion in the records between Cleadon Tower and Cleadon Hall, the eminent historian William Hutchinson even confusing the building with Cleadon House (1783, 629). The Chambers family continued to live in Cleadon Tower until the family line died out in the late 17th Century and the estate was sold to Robert Sutton.

### **The Matthew Family**

The Matthew family (sometimes Mathhews) were another important Cleadon family. John and Alice Matthew appear in the 1587 survey and in the 17th Century Michael Matthew built a substantial property opposite Cleadon Tower, in the area now occupied by the Britannia Inn (CS15) (Fig 17). The current building was constructed in 1894 but incorporates a fine stone fireplace from the old Matthew house that features the initials *MM* for Michael and Isobel Matthew, and the date *1675*. There may be other fragments of the earlier building incorporated into the later structure.

The couple are buried at Whitburn church in a fine recumbent effigy tomb dated to 1689; a testimony to their wealth and importance. Michael is represented on the tomb as an elderly gentleman dressed in full 17th attire including periwig, neckcloth with square ends, coat with large buckramed skirts, wide

sleeves, rolled breeches, and square laced shoes, with huge bows (Mackenzie & Ross 1834). There is a skull nestling between his feet, termed a *momento mori* this was a common mortuary feature of the period and was intended to remind all onlookers that death was ever present and you must take care that your soul is not found wanting. Michael's head rests on a pillow, and in his right hand he holds a book on which is carved '*shall not lye here but rise*' a reference to judgment day and the second coming. On the uprights of the tomb are base-relief carvings, possibly of the Matthew children, as well as texts of scripture. The accompanying wall tablet records Michael and Isobel had three sons and two daughters, only one of which, Hannah, survived them.



**Plates 78 and 79:** Matthew fireplace now located in the side room of the Britannia Arms.



**Plate 80:** Matthew family effigy tomb in Whitburn church (photo kindly provided by John Robinson).

### **The Meryman Family**

The Meryman (Merriman) family are another of the Cleadon families with a long association with the village. John and Alice Merymen are first mentioned in the 1587 survey and there were still a number of Merrimen still living in Cleadon, Whitburn and East Boldon in the mid 19th Century, the family holding the lease of both the Britannia and Ship inns.

### **The Stuarts and the Rise of Industry**

James I was crowned king of England on Elizabeth's death in 1603, heralding the reign of the Stuarts. There had been considerable social change during the Elizabethan period as the old feudal families that had dominated the political landscape since the Norman Conquest were gradually supplanted by wealthy merchants and yeomen like the Matthews and Chambers. This movement continued into the 17th Century with further increases in trade and commerce. Such changes were to have a marked impact on the landscape around Cleadon as new industries flourished and the focus shifted away from agrarian production.

### ***The Salt Industry***

Salt had been one of the earliest of the Tyneside and Wearside industries. Two salt pans are recorded at South Shields in 1489 and at Monkwearmouth the monks were receiving church tithes in salt from the mid 15th Century until the Dissolution (Dodds 2011, 52). In an age well before the freezing and canning of food, salt was often the only means of preservation and was a highly prized commodity. In fact it was so important to the Romans that the army were partially paid in salt rations, giving rise to the term *salary*.

The mineral was distilled by pumping seawater into large metal pans. Coal powered fires burning underneath would then heat the brine, causing the water to evaporate. The crystals of salt would then be raked out and more brine added. The salt was transported on lanes or tracks known as *Salter's roads*, along which travelled convoys of pack horse, each holding up to 130lbs of salt in two panniers.

During the reign of Elizabeth over 1000 salt pans were recorded on the Tyne and Wear employing thousands of men (Surtees 1816, 94). South Shields was the region's most important salt town, where the industry caused terrible pollution. The South Shields pans were leased from the bishop of Durham, the salt being transport south along Turnstall Lane to Silkworth and along Salters Lane that still runs between Warden Law and Haswell. The salt industry remained buoyant into the 18th Century with 200 pans still operating in South Shields in 1747 but by 1800 the industry had all but died out, replaced by rock salt mined on the South West coast (Haswell History Group 2008)<sup>3</sup>.

### ***Quarrying***

Limestone quarrying was another industry operating in the Cleadon area in the 17th Century (Fig. 17). Limestone for walls and building foundations had been quarried in the area probably since the medieval

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<sup>3</sup> Haswell History Group (2008) citing online reference 'Salter's Lane' at <http://www.haswell-history.co.uk/salters.html>



period, although it was not until the 18th Century, with the introduction of lime fertiliser for agricultural purposes, that large scale extraction really began.

Other local industries at this time included glass production, tile and brick manufacture and shipbuilding. All of these industries were to expand on the eve of the Civil War, but it was coal that would really transform the face of the landscape in the next 300 years.

### ***Coal Extraction***

Coal had been mined in Durham since the medieval period with *coal smiths* being recorded at Sedgefield as early as 1180 (Leddra 2008, 2). Early coal production was largely controlled by the church with monks establishing mines at Finchale, Lumley and Rainton in the 13th Century. However, by the 17th Century production had spread across west Durham and into Tyneside and the Washington area of Wearside. In 1608-9, 14,700 tons of coal were shipped out of Wearside, 3,000 tons of which were exported abroad, the rest going to the capital. By 1630 this had risen to 72,000 tons (8,000 for export), the demand for coal increasing as timber stocks were depleted (Dodds 2011, 58). By the end of the 18th Century the figure had further increased with a staggering 763,000 tons of coal being shipped out of Sunderland each year (*ibid*, 95). Associated with the rise in coal export was the expansion of shipbuilding along the Tyne and the Wear with the need to built the large broad hulled colliers to transport the *black diamonds* along the coast, as well as faster ocean going trade ships for other merchandise.

### **George Lilburn and the Chambers Family**

All of this would have had a dramatic impact on the region. Sunderland and Newcastle were rapidly developing in the early years of the 17th Century with many people beginning to migrate away from the agricultural villages towards the new cities; a trend that would increase dramatically over the next two centuries. One man drawn to the area to make his fortune was George Lilburn, a Sunderland coal merchant who was later to become an important local figure in the Civil War. George had moved to Wearside from Thickleigh Punchardon near Bishop Auckland in the early 17th Century and had amassed considerable wealth through the buying, leasing and selling of a series of coal mines (Dodds 2011, 58). In 1620 he married Isabel Chambers of Cleadon at Whitburn church and it is tempting to imagine the wedding party retiring to Cleadon Tower for refreshments following the nuptials.

George was the uncle of the famous radical, *Freeborn John* (1614-50), one of the leading figures in the Leveller movement that advocated that each man held *freeborn rights* not bestowed by any government or human law. He rallied support around a call for a written constitution (something akin to the American Bill of Rights) and a democratically elected legislature. This brought him into direct conflict with the Crown and in 1638 John was whipped through the streets of London and imprisoned for the distribution and publication of Puritan leaflets. He was released three years later and helped by his uncle George to set up a brewing business in Sunderland, where he remained until the outbreak of the Civil

War in 1642.

Although not as radical as his republican nephew, George Lilburn was a Puritan. His marriage into the Chambers family therefore brings their religious allegiance into question and may shed some light on why the family were excommunicated by Bishop Morton following a court hearing on the 30th April 1637. On the surface this was supposedly inflicted as a punishment for the Chambers grinding grain at their own mill as opposed to using the bishop's mill at Whitburn. However such a drastic measure, which at the time implied the eternal damnation of the soul, was a very extreme punishment given the nature of the crime. Instead the dispute may have been a vehicle used by the bishop to curb the power and influence of the Chambers family, who were frequently at odds with the clergy, and through them George Lilburn.

Tradition has it that following the excommunication members of the family were buried in the stack yard to the North West of Cleadon Tower. In 1927 the skeletal remains of five adults were found in the area during excavation of the gravel pits opposite Cleadon House (HER 2582). These were attributed to the Chambers family but in all reality this was probably rather unlikely. There is a strong taboo against burying human remains on or near a settlement dating back at least to the Roman period. Instead the bodies may have been evidence of earlier settlement, perhaps Anglo-Saxon or earlier. Unfortunately we have very few details about the burials, the bodies being re-interred in Whitburn church after consultation with *Miss Pollard* the only surviving descendant of the Chambers family (Wawn ud)

Lilburn and Isabel took up residence in a large house in Sunderland where George became one of the most important figures in the development of the new town granted borough status in 1634. He became the first mayor in 1637, an office he again held in 1641 when the fear of a civil war was rife. Charles I, indignant at the questioning of his policies by Parliament, suspended it in 1629 and continued to rule without consultation during what is often known as the *Personal Rule* or sometimes the *Eleven Year Tyranny*, although the period was not as draconian as the name suggests. During this period Charles continued to impose unpopular policies, one of which was the payment of *ship money* an annual tax on the refitting of ships. This tax hit at the heart of Sunderland's merchant and shipbuilder community who, led by George Lilburn, refused to pay (Dodds 2011, 60).

There was considerable opposition to Charles religious policy as well as his taxation strategy. As leader of the Church of England he advocated a return to high ritual, a policy viewed by many with suspicion as being distinctly popish. His wife, Henrietta Maria of France, was a Catholic by birth and very open about her belief, which did little to allay the fears of the people, especially the Puritans. George Lilburn was outspoken in his condemnation of right wing Anglicanism and was frequently brought before the bishop and even imprisoned for short periods. In contrast, Thomas Triplet, rector of St Mary's in Whitburn where Isabel and George had been married a few years before, was a vehement supporter of the King and the episcopate. He condemned the rise of the Calvinist protestants, claiming that

developing towns like Sunderland were '*pestilent nests*' where Puritans '*swarm and breed like hornets in a dead horse's head*' (*ibid*, 63).

In 1640 Charles' attempts to control the Calvinist Scots led to war. This proved very unpopular with the people of England, many of whom sympathized with their Scottish brethren. The war also placed considerable strain on an already overstretched exchequer. Things went very badly for the English force. In September 1640 a Scottish troop marched south and took control of Sunderland and the surrounding area. Finally, in 1641, the King was forced to recall Parliament after eleven years of independent rule. He needed their support to raise revenue in order to pay off the Scots, who subsequently returned back across the border. In May the people were asked to sign the *Protestation*, an oath in defence of the Protestant Religion. The act divided families and villages up and down the country, especially in the North where Catholicism still had considerable support. In the following year, on August 22nd, war finally broke out.

### **The Civil War 1642-1649**

It is difficult for us to today to imagine the impact of a Civil War in England, although all around us we see the true horrors of such event in places like Syria and Rwanda. The war tore communities like Cleadon apart, with neighbour mistrusting neighbour, the fighting leaving villages in ruin. Much of the combat was focused in the South and Midlands, but in 1644 Cleadon was in the firing line, caught in the hinterland between the Royalist forces at Newcastle and Parliamentarians at Sunderland, culminating in March of that year in the Battle of Boldon Hill (also known as the Battle of Hilton Castle).

The Royalist cause in the North was led by William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, while the Parliamentary forces gathered at Sunderland under the Mayor, George Lilburn. Early in 1644 a Scottish force of over 21,000 men, led by the Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven, again crossed the border in opposition to the King. They first tried to take Newcastle but the Royalist garrison who held the town proved too strong. Instead, the Scots moved onto Sunderland, arriving in the town on the 4th March. The townspeople declared their support for Parliament and Leven and the Scots busily set about resupplying. However a contemporary account by one of the Scottish soldiers at the time talks of the reluctance of the people in the town to help, many remaining loyal to the King (Dodds 2011).

The Royalists, under William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle gave chase, being joined by twelve troop of horse under the command of Sir Charles Lucas. The weather at the time was horrendous with a heavy snow storm on the 6th March that covered the whole area. Over the next few days there were several skirmishes but the deep snow made fighting and the movement of troops very difficult with many of the Royalist troops freezing to death in the fields. Cavendish's forces laid waste to the surrounding farmland as they moved across the area, butchering any stock so the enemy could not re-provision. By the 12th March supplies in Sunderland had run out and the Scottish army was forced to move in search of supplies, dispatches reporting the force were '*destroyed with great hunger and famine, with soldier*



*dying daily*' (Spalding 1829, 388). A garrison was left in Sunderland to defend the town.

### The Battle of Boldon Hill

Leven decided to head south with the aim of joining the Parliamentary army in Yorkshire. It was imperative to the Royalist cause that this was prevented and on the 23rd March the decision was made to engage the superior Scots force in direct combat. The Royalist troops were marched out of Chester-le-Street to take up a position on the north side of the Wear, somewhere near Hilton. The Scots meanwhile were positioned on the Cleadon Hills. A sea fret the next day prevented fighting until mid-afternoon. A contemporary account of the time by a Scots soldier describes the battle:

*'The enemy sent down from Boldon Hill where they were drawn up, some commanded musquetiers (sic) to line the hedges betwixt them and us, and we did the like, for the armies could not join, the field between us being so full of hedges and ditches upon both sides, our bodies on foot advancing at all quarters to the hedges, the enemies cannon discharging upon them an hour and a half with very small hurt. The service continued very hot, till after twelve of the clock at night. Many officers, who have been old soldiers, did affirm they had never seen so long and hot service in the night time; there were divers killed on both sides, but the number of their slain did very far exceed ours as we understood by the dead bodies we found the next day upon their ground, beside the seven wagons draught of dead and hurt men not able to walk.'*

Account in McRae 2013



**Plate 81:** Briar Cottage, formerly known as the Blacksmith's Cottage may have served as a hospital in the Civil War.

Briar Cottage (HER 8051) (No. 11 Front Street), located on the north side of Cleadon pond (Fig 17) is said to have been used as a hospital during the war (CRA 1984). The cottage was formerly known as the Blacksmith Cottage, the village smithy being located in the yard behind (South Tyneside Library 1994, 10). Blacksmiths were frequently called upon by the poor in the years before the National Health Service to undertake impromptu medical procedures like pulling teeth. As such, there may be a degree of truth behind the Briar Cottage hospital claim, the Cleadon smith possibly being the nearest thing to a camp doctor in the immediate aftermath of the battle, able to cauterise wounds and remove musket shot. The cottage itself includes features that date it stylistically to the 17th Century, although it may possibly date to the post-war period when much of the village would have been re-built.

The Civil War ended in June 1645 with the combined Parliamentary and Scottish force victorious. The king was initially imprisoned but following a Royalist uprising in 1648 was beheaded in January 1649. Charles' execution sent shock waves through the nation and across the Continent, even amongst those who had opposed the king. George Lilburn and his son Thomas supported the execution as the only way of removing the Royalist threat once and for all and establishing England as a true commonwealth.

The Lilburn's prospered after the war. George and his elder brother were part of the County Committee responsible for seizing and reallocating the property of those who had supported the king, imposing fines on anyone believed to have held Royalist sympathies (Dodds 2013, 71). Following the war, one of the first acts undertaken by the new parliament was the abolition of the episcopacy, resulting in the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham. The Bishop's lands were subsequently sold or redistributed. In advance, a survey of church lands was undertaken in May 1649. Whitburn, Cleadon, East and West Boldon were included, the document being witnessed by the jurors of the district: Richard Chambers, Ralph Lumley, George Wake, John Bell, William Atkinson, Charles Trew hitt, Thomas Lettany, John Smailes, William Humble and Tomas and Anthony Wright. This document lists the various landholders in the mid 17th Century, as well as key communal resources including the windmill at Whitburn and the right to quarry the local limestone, which '*we have always held as our own*' (Kirby 1972, 43).

### **The 1649 Survey**

The copyhold tenants of Cleadon and Whitburn are all listed in the 1649 survey, together with details of their land ownership, although unfortunately there is no accompanying map. The primary landowner in the parish at this time was Elizabeth Chambers, the widow of Robert Chambers, who held extensive lands in Cleadon amounting to a copyhold rent of £12 9s 8d. This suggests that the family did indeed share Lilburn's parliamentary loyalties and prospered handsomely as a result in the post-war land division. The document states that on her death Elizabeth's lands would pass to her daughter, Mary Chambers, and the co-heirs of Robert Chambers (Kirby 1972, 50).

Like the Chambers, the Matthew family also retained substantial property in the area. Ellianor (sic) and Anthony Matthew, widow and son of Michael Matthew, held a tenement in Cleadon called *Coateland*,

and John Pattison, an heir of James Matthew, held a cottage, barn and oxhouse near the same. Others with sizeable land holdings were William Chapman, Thomas Wright, Thomas Colson, Cuthbert Bainbrigg and Edward Kitchin. However the majority of villagers mentioned in the survey held more modest parcels of land including Janett Roxby, Elioer Sharpe and Isabell Maxwell, Isabel Taylor, Thomas Chilton, George Waike (Wake?), Isabell Readhead, William Atkinson, John Roxby, Ralphe Lumley, Richard Wright, John Lettany, Thomas Lettany, John Wright, John Bell and Thomas Hutchinson. Similar to the earlier bondsmen and cottagers, each of these generally held a small plot of land, referred to as a *messuage*, constituting a simple cottage together with a share of the parish grazing and arable lands. Perhaps also worthy of note is the large number of women on this list, perhaps a poignant reminder of the legacy of the Civil War, their husbands killed or missing following the conflict.

### The Hearth Tax

Like many of the earlier surveys, the 1649 survey was based on the returns for the parish of Whitburn that contained the two townships. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to tease out the names of those who lived specifically in Cleadon. The hearth tax levy, issued in the 1660s, does however make a clear distinction between the two. The hearth tax was imposed in England and Wales between 1662 and 1689. It was instigated to provide a regular source of income for the newly restored King Charles II who returned from exile in France in 1660. It was essentially a property tax graded on the number of fireplaces within a dwelling. Many tried to evade the tax initially by blocking up fireplaces so to counteract this chimneys stacks were counted instead, this has led to it often being referred to as the chimney tax.

The residents of Cleadon were divided into two groups – solvents and non-solvents. The non-solvents were those considered too poor to pay other communal taxes like the Poor Law or Church tax, or whose property was not worth more than 20 shillings per annum or of an overall value of £10. All other tenants were required to pay two shillings per year for each hearth. This was collected in two equal instalments at Michaelmas (29 September) and Lady Day (25 March). The 1666 Lady Day returns for Cleadon lists 22 households in the village: ten taxable and eleven non-solvent. The non-solvent residents of the village were: Matthew Lettermore, Stephen Hodgson, Thomas Page, Robert Wood, John Chetner, John Richardson, Anthony Younger, Matthew Doctor, Isabell Richardson, Gawen Toppin and Widd Richardson, all with one hearth each. At the other end of the scale there were 28 taxable hearths:

Thomas Gowre (Gower)	9
Thomas Wood	1
Richard White	1
William Coulson	3
Tomas Readhead	1
Jno Wake	3
Michael Matthew	3



Jno Matthew	1
Thomas Pattison	3
James Pattison	3

Many of the names on this list appeared as landowners in the earlier 1649 survey, the only major difference being Thomas Gowre, or Gower. Thomas married Elizabeth, the widow of Robert Chambers whose first wife, Florence Horsley, died some time prior to 1641 (Enclosure Indenture DRO D/No.1; Chambers 1906, 242). The nine hearth property must therefore be Cleadon Tower. This concurs with evidence from the Cleadon Tower buildings survey that suggests the building underwent considerable expansion during mid to late 17th-century.

The 1649 survey, together with the 1666 hearth tax returns, suggests that at the lowest level the basic division of communal resources in the village remained little changed since the 14th Century. At the other end of the social scale, developments in copyhold tenancy and the associated security of *ownership* led to the emergence of a small prominent group of local landholding families in the 16th and 17th. The power of this group was to escalate in the late 17th and early 18th Centuries with the formal enclosure of the village open fields and moorland. This saw much of the old communal ground disappear forever and had a marked impact on the local landscape, shaping much of what we see around us today.

### Enclosure Agreements

By the end of the 17th Century it was no longer viable to feed Durham's growing population using the old forms of arable cultivation. Despite the war and frequent outbreaks of plague and famine, the population of England continued to rise throughout the 17th Century, from 5.3 million in 1650 to 8.7 million by 1751 (Wrigley & Schofield 1981, 208-9). There was considerable growth in the emerging urban centres like Sunderland and Newcastle where the population needed to be fed but had no recourse to the means of production. All of this increased the pressure on farmers to increase crop yields. Enclosure continued, seeing the last vestiges of the old common fields rationalised into larger, more manageable parcels of land. Many areas of moorland and pasture were also brought under the plough. However, in some areas the reverse happened and arable fields were made over to pasture to accommodate an increase in sheep and cattle farming. Where this occurred, the old medieval ridge and furrow cultivation is often very well preserved as at Cleadon Hills Farm (CS16).

The Cleadon enclosure indenture dates to the 21st April 1676 and relates to the *'leazards, the moors and pastures and in 3 field of arable together with fields known as North Close and Little Meadow, all lying within the township, townfields and territories of Cleadon'*. This was a private agreement whereby each copyhold tenant within the township detailed their existing land and arranged to exchange any disparate plots with their neighbours to ensure properties were parcelled together into more manageable and productive fields. Only a copy of the 1676 indenture survives, made in 1772 (DRO D/No1) but this

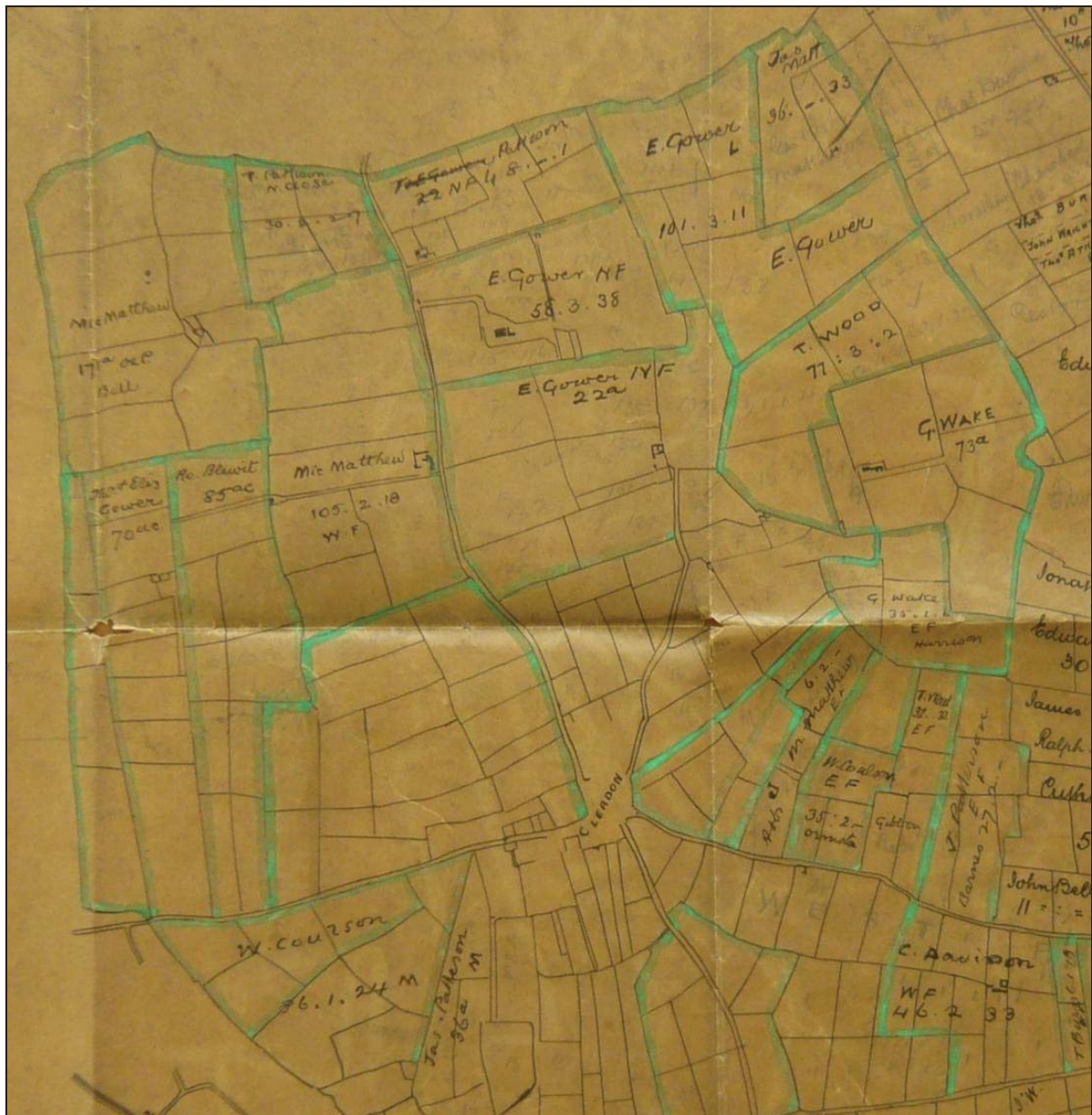
appears to be a faithful transcription of the original. It was copied from a document held by Thomas Fenwick of Earsden, a branch of the more famous Northumberland Fenwicks who in the 17th Century owned Wallington Hall and estate (Mackenzie 1825, 415). The Fenwicks had supported the Parliamentary cause during the Civil War and gained considerable land afterwards including properties in Sunderland and Monkwearmouth (Dodd 2013, 72) but their fortunes declined in the years leading up to the Restoration. Thomas Fenwick married Mary Bowes of Cleadon in 1727 and so came into land in the township, which accounts for his possession of the document.

The nine major claimants referred to in the document are listed below:

Thomas Gower and his wife Elizabeth  
William Coulson  
George Wake and Richard Wake  
Thomas Patterson  
James Patterson  
Thomas Wood and his wife Mary  
Robert Blewitt and Mary Wood  
Michael Matthew  
George Matthew

The Gowers owned 96 acres of land in the North Field, a further 5 acres at Little Meadows, and Elizabeth had inherited 160 acres on Cleadon Lizard from her husband, Robert Chambers. The earlier 1649 survey lists Elizabeth's heirs as including her daughter, Mary Chambers. Mary later married Richard Blewitt who died in 1658. She then married Thomas Wood and as *his* wife appears in the 1676 indenture. Her previous marriage also provided her former husband's land, so she in fact appears twice. Both the Gowers and the Woods were, therefore, connected by marriage to the Chambers family. Interestingly, Thomas Wood's properties included *The Mill Stobb*, the field associated with Cleadon Mill. This would suggest that there was a mill on the site at least by the 17th Century. It was almost certainly the mill referred to in the 1637 case brought by Bishop Morton, and formed part of the Chamber's estate passing to Thomas through his marriage to Mary.

Unfortunately any map that might have accompanied the original indenture has been lost, making it difficult to interpret the various land allotments on the ground. However, some of the tenancies have been plotted onto a map that is held in Durham University Special Collections, (DUSC DHC11/VI/180). The map is undated but appears to be a tracing of the later 1839 tithe map with the information from the 1676 and 1680 indentures overlain (Fig 23). It is not clear if this information was copied from an earlier map now lost, or extrapolated from the surviving written indenture, although probably the latter. This may have been undertaken to resolve a later land tenancy disagreement.



**Figure 23:** Extract from undated map held in DUSC (DHC11/VI/180) showing land ownership referred to in 1676 enclosure indenture, copied onto what appears to be the 1842 tithe or first edition OS (1855).

Although its derivation may be uncertain, the map is nevertheless a good indication of land ownership in Cleadon and Whitburn in the late 17th Century. It also includes pencil annotations detailing subsequent changes to ownership. Unfortunately the core of the village is not included and there are large areas left blank, but the document and the original indentures would make an excellent topic for further research.

The following is a summary of the landholdings shown of the DUSC map (DHC11/VI/180):

Tenants	a r p	Area
William Coulson	86 1 24	Cleadon Moor
James Patterson	36	Cleadon Moor



Thomas and Elizabeth Gower	70	West Field
Robert Blewhitt	85	West Field
Michael Matthew	105	West Field
Michael Matthew	171	Ox Close
Thomas Patterson	30 2 27	North Close
Thomas Patterson	47 0 1	North Field
Elizabeth Gower	58 3 38	North Field
Elizabeth Gower	22	North Field
Elizabeth Gower	101 3 11	Lizards
James Matthew	36 0 33	
Thomas Wood	77 2 2	
George Wake	73	
George Wake (Harrison)	35 1 6	East Field
Thomas Wood	32 0 30	East Field
James Patterson	27 2 0	East Field
William Coulson	25 2 35	East Field
C. Davidson	46 2 33	West Field (Whitburn)

Whitburn township was enclosed slightly later than Cleadon, on the 6th May 1680 (DUSC DHC6/IV/57). Thomas Wood, who held land in Cleadon, also leased land in Whitburn, as well as several members of the Chambers family. Those listed in the indenture were: George Gray, Richard Martyn, Richard Plumpton, Thomas Wood, John Carr, Josyas Dockwray, Margaret Bambrigg, Isabell Bambrigg, Cuthbert Bambrigg, Edward Preston, William Hutchinson, Elianor Johnson, Mary White, Isabell Maxwell, Elianor Maxwell, Edward Maxwell, William Colson, John Bell, Sarah Letteny, John Letteny, George Wright, John Wright, Thomas Wright, John Taylor, Thomas Chambers, Faye Chambers, Jane Chambers, and John Welsh. Several of these family names appear in the churchyard at St. Mary's.

A detailed map of the Whitburn land allotments was made 35 years after the indenture in 1714 (DUSC DHC6/III/21). This includes details of land in Cleadon bordering the eastern township boundary. The map clearly shows the impact of enclosure on the landscape. The long narrow strip fields largely disappear, although some are preserved to the south of the village, and are replaced by a patchwork of geometric fields. These were clustered together around newly founded farmsteads outside the village core. Outlying farmsteads established during this period include Cleadon Law (Michael Matthew) (CS3); Cleadon Park Farm (James Patterson) (CS20); Sunnyside Farm and Cleadon Park (Thomas and Elizabeth Gower) (HER 9099); Cleadon Hills Farm (George Wake) (CS10), and West Hall and West Hall Farm (Charles Davidson) (HER 9609).



**Figure 24:** Extract from 1714 Whitburn enclosure map showing West Field (DUSC DHC6/III/21). Note the pencil annotation, which reads 'Cleadon Charles Davidson' and is relevant in terms of understanding the development of West Hall Farm.

### West Hall Farm: A Post-Enclosure Farmstead

Based on research and report by Maurice Chadwick (Chadwick 1996)

West Hall Farm was actually part of Whitburn, located in what was formerly the *West Field* of the township. Well preserved ridge and furrow to the rear of the property (CS19) is quite broad in character and perhaps associated with the common arable fields. This pre-dates the foundation of the farm, which was probably after enclosure in the late 17th century.

The land is recorded as being the property of Charles Davidson on the land allotment map held at Special Collections (DUSC DHC11/VI/180) but this name does not appear in the 1680 indenture. However it is written in pencil over the top of the 1714 map (DUSC DHC6/III/21) indicating a later amendment. By the mid 18th Century it had passed to Jacob Wilson and in 1796 to his son-in-law Christopher Harrison. In 1784 the estate was divided between John Wardell, Bayles Wardel, Samuel Potter and Charles Simpson, with the latter retaining the farmstead. The copyhold subsequently passed to

Joseph Simpson who retained the property for much of the 19th Century until it was sold in 1871. In 1891 it was under the ownership of Robert Thompson, and remained in the hands of the family until sold to the Harton Coal Company in 1929. It then passed back into the hands of the Church Commissioners in 1956. Throughout this period the property has been occupied by various farmers, but two names in particular have a close association with the farm: the Priors, farmers from 1897 to 1921, and the current tenants, the Nichols, who took over in 1929.



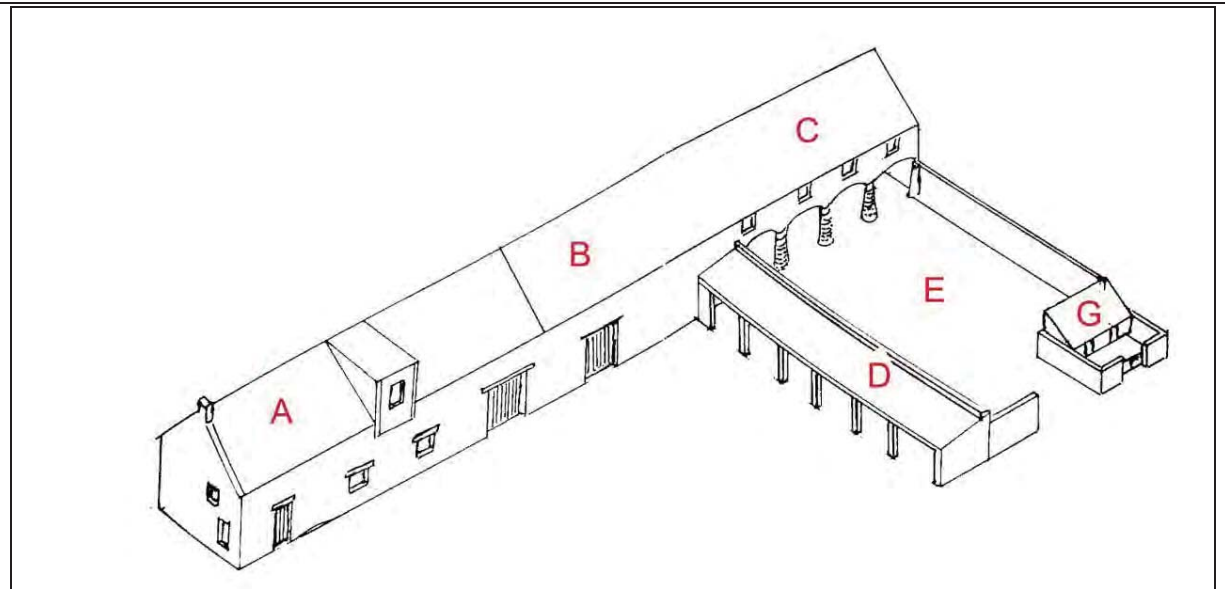
*Figure 25 & Plate 82: Extract from 25-inch OS (1855) showing layout of West Hall Farm and photograph of west end of range today (A).*

West Hall Farm was a mixed arable and pastoral farm comprising a range of agricultural buildings: a farmhouse, barn, stables, cow shed (or byre), a cart shed, shelter shed (or hemmel), fold yard, pigsty, duck pond and midden. The original farm is thought to have been laid out as a complete unit rather than growing piecemeal as with some earlier farms. This kind of formal layout was typical of a post-enclosure farmstead, although the site has been modified considerably since its foundation in line with the changing needs of agricultural production.

The current farmhouse was built at the end of the 19th Century and first shown on the second edition OS map published in 1898. The original two-storey farmhouse (A), formed part of what is now the implement shed that runs east to west, parallel to Cleadon Lane. This building is divided into three roughly equal parts, with a central barn (B) and hemel (or open shelter shed) at the east end (C). This form is typical of a traditional longhouse, a building where animals and humans were housed under the same roof, divided from each other by a cross passage.

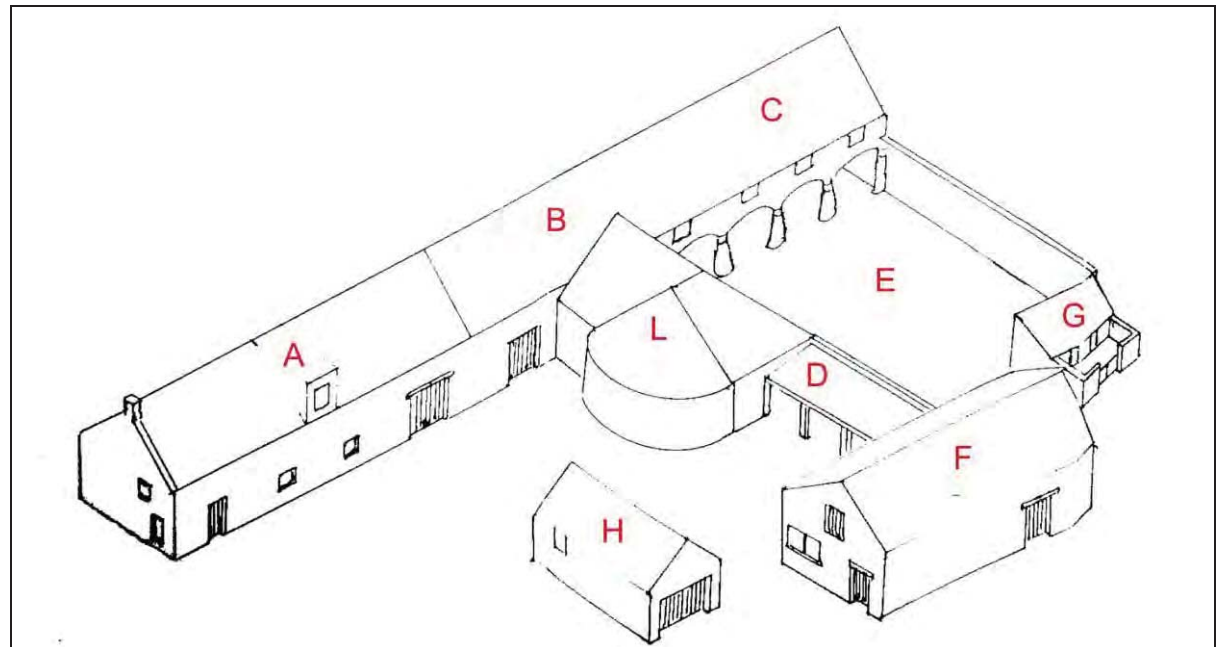
It is rubble built of local magnesian limestone with no quoins and it has a red pantile roof. The western gable faces the village and features windows at both ground and first storey level; these were later blocked. The remains of a hearth are also evident at this end of the building, the chimney extending up to the roof. The upper floor was reached via wooden stair and door in the internal gable. The building was later converted for storage when the new farmhouse was built





**Figure 26:** Based on drawing by Maurice Chadwick showing speculative arrangement of West Hall Farm in the early 19th Century © Chadwick.

The complex is shown on the 1842 tithe map (DUSC DDR/EA/TTH/1/252) as a single linear range, with a byre (or cowshed) extending south from the central barn (D) and a duck pond at the east end. The complex was extensively expanded in the late 19th Century include fold-yard (E) with a small stone built pigsty (G) in the south-east corner, as well as stables (F), a cart shed (H), and a gin-gang (L). This was a horse engine used to drive a range of farm machinery from threshers to turnip cutters. Evidence of this is preserved in the arrangement of beams and joists in the ceiling of the cowshed (D). In the early 20th Century further changes were made, including covering the fold yard and the construction of a large new barn in the 1950s



**Figure 27:** Based on drawing by Maurice Chadwick showing speculative arrangement of West Hall Farm in the late 19th Century after substantial expansion and development © Chadwick.

## THE 18TH CENTURY – THE GEORGIANS, A PERIOD OF CHANGE

*Timeline: 1714 George I ascends the throne > 1715 First Jacobite Rebellion > 1721 Robert Walpole becomes country's first Prime Minister 1727 George II becomes king > 1740 riots in Newcastle over corn prices. 7 killed > 1739 Britain declares war on Spain > 1742 John Wesley visits the North > 1745 Second Jacobite Rebellion to put Bonny Prince Charlie on the throne, ends with defeat at the Battle of Culloden in 1746 > 1760 George III becomes king and Bobby Shafto returned as MP for Durham > 1769 James Cook born near Middlesbrough > 1771 a great flood destroys major bridges on the Wear, Tyne and Tees; Arkwright founds the first spinning mill > 1775-83 American War of Independence > 1789 French Revolution 1790 > first lifeboat invented at South Shields > 1793 Britain at war with France; Board of Agriculture established to help guide new developments > 1795 widespread rural recession > 1796 Napoleon invades Europe.*

### The First Jacobite Rebellion

Charles II, the Merry Monarch, had been a popular king but died in 1685 leaving no legitimate children. He was succeeded by his brother, James II of England and VII of Scotland, a Roman Catholic. Many in Parliament were in opposition to the succession of a Catholic monarch but at first there was considerable support for James amongst the people. However soon after ascending to the throne he began to revoke the restriction on Catholics holding office and repealed the laws punishing Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. Many Catholics were placed in high positions at court and, most alarmingly, given the command of regiments within an enlarged standing army. With the Civil War still keen in people's minds, the latter sent shock waves around the country given that it was not general policy to keep an army in peacetime. In 1688 James' wife, the Catholic Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son and fearing another Catholic dynasty, several influential Protestants entered into negotiations with James' son-in-law the Dutch Protestant William, Prince of Orange. William was invited to seize the English throne in what was largely a bloodless coup known as The Glorious Revolution. James fled to France with his family where he lived under the protection of Louis XIV.

William died in 1714 without heir and the crown passed to the Hanoverian Protestant George I. James II's son, James Francis Edward, known traditionally as *The Old Pretender* took the opportunity of William's death to launch a counter-claim, supported by 15 Scottish nobles known simply as the 'Fifteen'. The uprising gained considerable support in Northumberland, amassing an army of Jacobite troops to march on England with the aim of restoring the Stuart line. Led by the Northumberland rebel, Thomas Forster, the cause gathered pace and pushed south towards Newcastle. The town, however, remained loyal to the new king George and barred the gates, forcing the Jacobite to march south where they were eventually defeated by the English forces at Preston.

Newcastle's allegiance to the Hanoverian George during the rebellion is said by many to lie behind the nickname 'Geordie', although others argue it derives from the use of the George Stephenson's safety lamp by the North East miners. There is a theory that the term *Mackem*, the nickname of people from



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1:10,560 map with the permission of the  
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Sunderland, is similarly derived from the town's support of the Scottish army's 'Blue Mac' during the Civil War, and many trace the sporting rivalry between the two towns to this date (Newcastle Evening Chronicle, 21st October 2013). An alternative theory is that the term developed in the late 19th Century as a term of abuse directed at the Wearside shipbuilders by their Tyneside colleagues, the phrase 'mak'em and tak'em' referring to the ships being built on the Wear before being taken to Tyneside for fitting out. However, according to the Oxford English Dictionary the term is actually a quite recent phenomenon, the first documented use being in 1988, and probably refers to the slight dialect variation in pronunciation of the words 'make' and 'take'.

### **The Changing Face of Cleadon**

In the 18th Century, Cleadon's proximity to both Sunderland and South Shields made it increasingly popular with merchants, shipbuilders and industrialists and over the course of the next 150 years a small number of very fine properties were built for such men, although sadly the majority of these have since been demolished. The village, with its commanding views, clean air and relative peace, would have offered a welcome sanctuary from the bustle, noise and noxious smells of the expanding urban centres with their numerous tanneries, fish quays, industrial quarters and over-crowded streets.

### **Cleadon House and John Dagnia**

One of the 18th Century nouveau riche who made Cleadon their home was the 'ingenious Mr Dagnia' (Hutchinson 1787, 296) who built Cleadon House in 1738 (HER 8072, Fig. 32). John was a third generation Italian émigré whose family had first moved from Venice to Bristol in the mid 17th Century. In 1684 they moved to Newcastle to establish a successful glass manufacturing business. They owned two glasshouses, one at the Close, by the Quayside at Newcastle, and another at West Panns in South Shields, where they also leased a number of salt pans. The company produced glass of all grades for a wide range of purposes, primarily glass for window and bottle production. However, they were principally famed for the introduction of flint glass or lead crystal, the quality and brilliance of which was unparalleled in Britain at the time (Maddison 2013). Tyneside was at the forefront of glass production in the 18th Century. Sand ballast from the boats coming into the port provided the perfect raw material for manufacture, while the finished glassware could be transported by ship across the globe.

John Dagnia and his wife, Mary Quincy, had fourteen children although only six of them survived their father. Mary died in 1734, and two years later John married, Hannah Baxter (*ibid*). In 1738 John purchased a small estate on the south side of the village from Thomas Wood at a cost of £550 (Surtees 1816, 555-56). The historian Robert Surtees states that Thomas Wood was a mariner from Beadnell, but the exact source of this reference is not clear (*ibid*). It would seem more likely that Thomas was related to the Thomas Wood mentioned in the 1676 enclosure agreement. In the agreement Wood is listed as holding land on Cleadon Lizards where he almost certainly established the Cleadon Hills Farm soon after. In the 1666 Cleadon Hearth Tax returns Thomas Wood is recorded as dwelling in a property with

1 hearth. This might be Cleadon Hills Farm or could be a dwelling within the village core, potentially the site of the later Cleadon House, the family building and relocating to the new farm soon after the 1676 indenture.

Cleadon House (HER 8072) is arguably one of the most beautiful and picturesque of Cleadon's buildings. It is a two-storey brick-built house with stone dressing, and includes an inscribed rainwater hopper dated '1738'. The house is what is known as a 'double pile house', still a relatively new building form in the 1730s having first appeared in southern England in the early 17th Century. Houses had previously been single-pile: one room deep, the width of the property being governed by the span of a single pitched roof. This obviously limited the size and numbers of rooms in a dwelling. Double-pile houses were two rooms wide, spanned by a double pitched roof with a central valley between. This arrangement can be seen at Cleadon, although the valley is partially hidden by a brick gable screen.



**Plate 83:** North (front) façade of Cleadon House (HER 8072) built in 1738.

The introduction of the double-pile house revolutionised house design, doubling the number of rooms available on each floor and seeing the appearance of new social spaces like the dining room and drawing room, which were so important to the Georgians. The construction of such a fine double-pile house within the heart of Cleadon was to perhaps set a precedence that over the next 100 years would attract other wealthy merchants and industrialists to settle within the township.

The house is built of red brick produced from the local Pelaw Clays, possibly manufactured at the Brick and Tile Works on Boldon Lane. The original roof would have been clay pantiles, either produced locally or more likely imported via Sunderland or South Shields from Belgium.

The house was set within a 15-acre pleasure gardens that stretched south to the rear of Front Street. This included a large rectangular pond, grotto, and canal, as well as a range of ornamental plants and trees, some imported from the family's Italian homeland. Only a fragment of the pleasure gardens survives today as part of Coulthard Park.

### **Cleadon House Grotto and Landscape Gardens**

by Margaret Maddison (North East Vernacular Architecture Group)

#### ***The Grotto***

Cleadon House (HER 8072) and its immediate garden are on a level terrace, but the land slopes gently away from this to the south, and partly built into the slope is the grotto, which lies directly behind the house. The entrance to the grotto is below the present ground level at this point. In front of the grotto is a grass terrace. At one time there were pools here, fed by a natural spring, and a boggy area is evident today. A plaque records that the grotto was repaired in 1983 by the Borough of South Tyneside as a contribution to the Cleadon 800 Festival in that year.



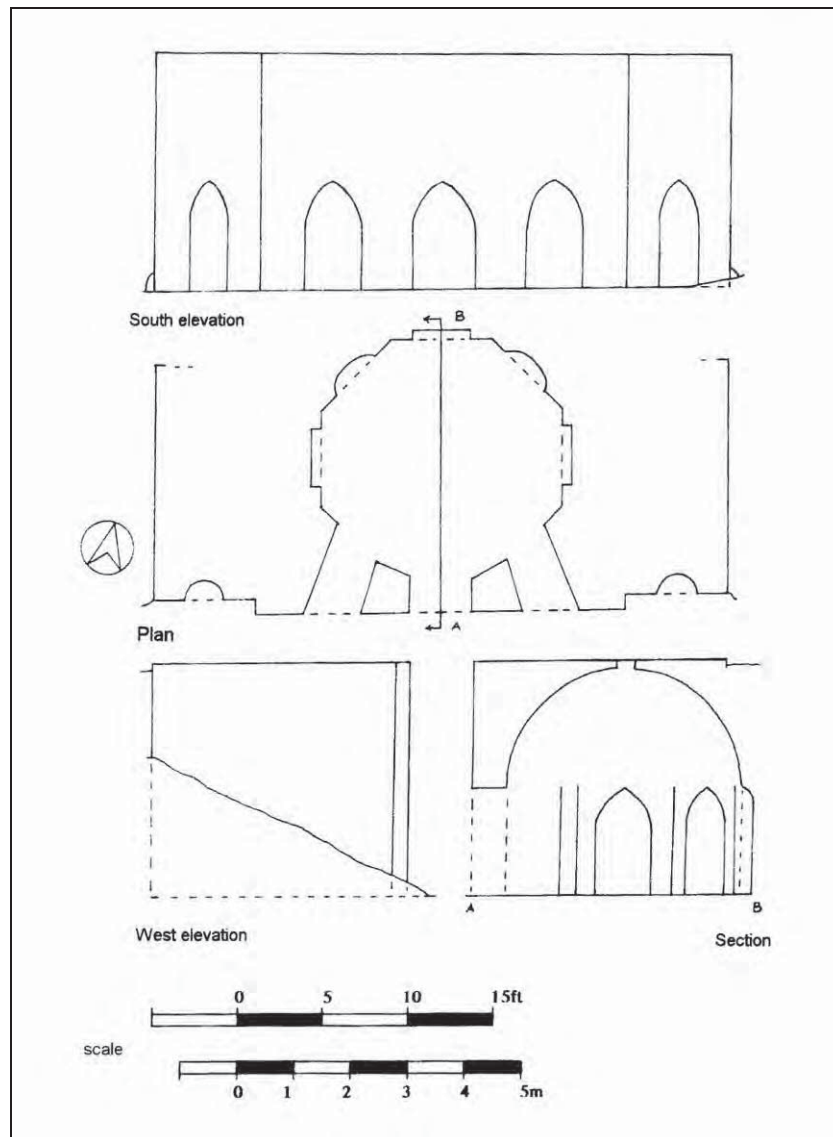
**Plates 84 and 85:** *View towards the grotto looking South, and south elevation (2001) © Maddison.*

The grotto (HER 8159) is built of coursed, roughly-squared magnesian limestone rubble with brick dressings to the openings and, partially, to the corners. The use of limestone with brick is like the boundary walls associated with Cleadon House, and the bricks are of the same size and type. This suggests that the building of the grotto was roughly contemporary with the house and garden walls. A large concrete slab covers an original light opening at the top of the structure and modern railings have been added, to prevent accidents. The domed top of the grotto may have been covered by pantiles as several are visible under the concrete slab. There are suggestions that there had been some kind of superstructure earlier than the current railings, as indicated by a socket in the rear brickwork and the stub of an iron post. A photograph of the grotto when it was still in private ownership appears to show a small structure on top of it, probably a lantern designed to admit light to the grotto but keep out rain. It



seems to have been octagonal, with a pantiled roof. It also shows a sloping retaining wall at the east end of the façade, a stub of which can be seen today, with a similar stub at the west end. The top of the grotto wall, which is now covered by a layer of concrete, may have been reduced as it has an unsatisfactorily unfinished appearance.

Slightly recessed on either side of the three central openings in the façade are wings in each of which is an alcove. The grotto was probably originally covered with lime render or harling to hide the mixture of brick and stone. A little of this appears to survive in the alcove on the east side.



**Figure 28:** *Grotto: surveyed by Margaret Maddison and Basil Butcher © Maddison.*

Inside the grotto is a single room entered through three pointed arches (access is now prevented by iron grilles). The interior ground plan of the grotto is based on an octagon, with a domed ceiling. The internal walls and the dome are constructed of brick, although the lower part is covered with a white surface render. Whether such a render was original is unclear, as is the nature of the floor. Around the walls are

five alcoves, which are all of the same simple pointed arches, the two nearest the front of the grotto and the central one being rectangular in plan, and the other two being rounded. Originally it was presumably lit by the central octagonal opening in the roof now covered by the concrete slab.

Within and without the grotto the alcoves may have been designed to hold statues. We have little information about the precise contents of Cleadon House and its grotto, but that the Dagnias were art collectors is clear. James Dagnia was also said to be a '*celebrated amateur in painting*' and Miss Deer, his niece, owned a bust of him commissioned during his travels to Rome. However, the best information comes from the sale of the Dagnias' furnishings at Cleadon House. On 23 April 1754 John Cookson had put up the building for auction, and on the following day the contents of the house were sold. Anticipating great interest, the auctioneers issued a catalogue of the contents (a very unusual event in the North-East at this date) but no copy seems to have survived. However, we do know that Sir Matthew White Ridley paid Cookson the substantial sum of £126 7s. 0d. for '*goods pictures &c bot. at Mr Dagnias sale*'. These were for his own house at Blagdon, which was being improved at this time; so this suggests that the pictures and so on were of superior quality.

Another small piece of evidence that the original owners, the Dagnia family, may have been particularly interested in horticulture comes from a newspaper report on the Monkwearmouth Florists' carnation show of 1750. The second prize of a gold ring was awarded to Mr Evan Deer of Cleadon for his flower named *Glory of Cleadon*. Evan Deer and his wife Sarah (née Dagnia) were probably living at Cleadon House about this time. Deer was at Cleadon in 1753 when the house was up for sale.



**Plates 86 and 87:** East elevation, and internal alcoves (2007) © Maddison.

### *The Pleasure Gardens*

Since there seems to be no surviving early description of the garden, the first record of the garden is the tithe map of 1842, when it was the property of Bryan Abbs. It is uncertain how much the tithe map reflects the original layout, as it is a century later than the suggested date of the garden. In 1842 the garden was entered by a gate to the west of Cleadon House, with a drive that led to the coach house and beyond this to the garden and the house. A route led east past a fruit wall before turning north again to the main entrance or south towards the grotto. All of these routes and the eastern boundary of the garden

were bordered by trees, shrubs, or flower beds (there is not enough detail to be certain which), while immediately south of the house was an open expanse of ground, probably lawn.

In front of the grotto, was a rectangular pool with two semi-circular bays in the middle of the long sides, and beyond the pool to the south was a further narrow L-shaped pool; beyond this an even smaller rectangular pond faced the centre of the grotto. These pools must have been on a slight terrace and at present there is the appearance of a further terrace to the south of this, but as the ground levels were probably altered when the pools were filled in this is conjectural.

The tithe map shows vegetation surrounding the pools and no paths around them or to the grotto itself. The field immediately to the south (294 on the tithe map) is shown as bordered by trees or other planting, and if this was similar to the original layout it would have offered a framed vista from the grotto sloping gently down towards open fields and then beyond the Dagnias' property. If trees or tall shrubs were used they would have excluded views to and from the village to the east. Within vegetation to the west of this field (296) was a canal-like sheet of water, but no paths seem to have led to it. Possibly it was the result of quarrying for clay for bricks or limestone for the garden walls and grotto, so whether it was ever used as a garden feature is unclear. There is no longer any water visible.



**Figures 29:** Extracts from tithe map (1842) and 25-inch first edition OS (1855) showing Cleadon House and gardens.

The garden was not large and we do not know whether a professional designer was involved at any stage in its history. As it exists today, only a few chestnut trees are of any age, although none were recorded in the 1870s, when a survey of noteworthy trees in the North-East was made. But a venerable



mountain ash was recorded. This stood *'15 yards north of the fish pond in Mr Abbs' grounds, girth at a height of five feet = 5ft 2 ins, spread of branches, inconsiderable, height 35ft, stem 8ft high and then divides into three, decaying fast'*. Most of the trees immediately around the grotto now are young sycamores that have grown up through neglect. In 1865, it was said that five of the original fourteen larch trees imported from Italy by John Dagnia were surviving (although these were not mentioned in the 1870s survey). Larches were fashionable trees in the eighteenth Century but, as local nurserymen seem to have started stocking them only in the 1740s, they might have been supplied from further afield.



**Plate 88:** Cleadon House grotto (HER 8159) as it appears today (2014) overgrown with ivy.

The OS map shows that by 1855 (the date of survey) the pool immediately in front of the grotto had been enlarged southwards. The other L-shaped water still existed, but the smallest pool had been filled in. This remained unchanged until the pool or lake was described in 1969 as having been recently filled in. Also in 1969 the L-shaped pool was described as having been formerly *'a [spring-fed] deep moat about nine feet wide [which] started at the north end of the lake, quite a few feet from the water's edge. Continuing down the west side, it turned towards the east near the end of the coppice. Running the full width of the coppice it emerged just outside the grounds proper into a little pond bounded on two sides by stone walling; the northern end of this being left open for the access of cattle ... the lake itself was contained by stone walling as was also the moat. A strongly constructed wooden bridge complete with safety rails spanned the moat.'* The canal-like water in field 296 on the tithe map was described as the *'New Cut ... a wide ditch fed by a spring in the vicinity'* and was used as a jump, as part of Army training during World War I'. These descriptions were by Alfred Just, who also recalled that his father Charles Just, the gardener at Cleadon House between 1899 and about 1912, maintained hot-houses full of peaches, figs, nectarines, and vines.

Work on tidying up, repairing, and installing metal grilles was done in 1983. The grilles have been

welded so that no access is possible to the interior, which has now become a deposit for rubbish. Ivy has been allowed to grow over the structure and may be causing damage. What should be a central feature of the park is in danger of becoming an eyesore, neglected by the local authority and increasingly abused by the public.

John Dagnia died in 1743 at the age of 63 and was buried at St. Hilda's in South Shields (Maddison 2007, 1). In his will he left Cleadon House, together with a larger estate at Woolsington, to his four surviving sons James, Edward, John, and Onesiphorus, with the proviso that his second wife, Hannah, who he married in 1736, could remain at Cleadon for three years after his death (DUSC DPRI/1/1743/D1/1-6 26 June 1742). In October 1753 James placed the house and its contents up for sale at auction. They were purchased by another glassmaker, John Cookson, for £2,000 (Surtees 1816, 55-56). James died soon after in 1756, his mortgaged share of the glasshouses going to his executor and brother-in-law Evan Deer, who had married Dagnia's youngest daughter, Sarah, in 1748. Cookson & Deer went on to form a partnership with interests across Tyneside, not only in glass and bottle-works but also iron and steel foundries, coal, lead, copper, zinc, antimony and other chemical works (DUSC GB-0033-CKS).

### **The Greys at Cleadon House**

Cookson was not interested in living in Cleadon House and sold its valuable contents in 1754. A year later he also sold the house, purchased on the 1st June 1755 by Dame Hannah Grey, the widow of Sir Henry Grey of Howick for £1,900 (Surtees 1816, 55-56). On her death in 1764 it passed to her fifth son, Ralph Grey. Ralph is referred to as *Ralph Grey of Cleadon* in his will, registered at Durham on the 28th July 1764 (DUSC GRE/X/P46), indicating that he remained in residence at Cleadon for much of his life. The Greys were a very important Northern family. Ralph's father, Sir Henry Grey, had been High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1738 and a staunch supporter of George II during the Second Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. The rebellion had rallied around Bonnie Prince Charlie, the son of *The Old Pretender* and grandson of the deposed James II. Unlike the first revolt, there was little support for the Jacobite cause in the North East and the uprising was swiftly quashed, ending with crushing defeat at the Battle of Culloden on the 6th April 1746.

Sir Henry Grey was created the 1st baronet of Howick for his part in the campaign. His brother, Charles (1729–1807), became the first Earl Grey and was an important military commander in the Seven Years' War, the American War of Independence and the French Revolutionary War. However, it is perhaps Henry's nephew (Charles' son), the second Earl Grey (1764 – 1845), who is the most famous member of the family. Charles was a leading Whig politician and reformer in the early 19th Century, becoming Prime Minister in 1830 and introducing the Great Reform Bill in 1832, which laid the foundations of modern parliamentary democracy. His statue, Grey's Monument, stands in the middle of Newcastle and Earl Grey tea, specially blended for the prime minister by a Chinese Mandarin, can be found in cupboards up and down the country.

Ralph died without heir in 1788, and the Cleadon estate was vested to his sister Elizabeth. Elizabeth had married Sir James Pennyman (1736-1808) the 6th baronet of Ormesby, at Whitburn church on the 9th December 1762. Together the couple had ten children but in 1791 she legally separated from her husband, an act almost unheard of in the 18th Century. Elizabeth would not discuss why she had left her husband except to say that her life with him was filled with misery. He on the other hand merely said that he was '*surprised at her conduct*'. The Cleadon estate was one of those placed in trust for the couple's younger children and was managed by Elizabeth's brother, Sir Charles Grey and his son-in-law Samuel Whitbread (Nelson 1996, 131). On the 27 May 1813 the Cleadon estate was finally sold on behalf of the surviving daughters of Sir James Pennyman. It was purchased by Bryan Abbs, Esq. for £4,350 (Surtees 1816).

### **Cleadon Old Hall and John Burdon**

Another of Cleadon's 18th-century houses was Cleadon Old Hall (HER 12765, Fig. 32), built for John Burdon, who also held estates at Coxhoe and Hardwick Park in Sedgfield (DRO D/Br/D 2640). John was born in South Shields in 1711 into a large and prosperous family. His father, Nicholas Burdon, was a successful merchant and sea captain who was three times Master of Trinity House (Desmond 2010, 69) and had interest in both the salt and shipping industries. John was the youngest of 18 children and probably never anticipated inheriting a great deal. He embarked on a career as a lawyer but through a strange quirk of fate all his brothers died and on his father's death in 1747 he inherited £140,000, a sizeable fortune at the time (*ibid*).



**Plate 89:** *Cleadon Old Hall c.1910 (STL 1994, 26).*

The money was invested in collieries, limeworks and other mineral industries, which continued to amass



further wealth, leaving John to establish himself as part of the rural county elite, purchasing estates at Coxhoe in 1749, where the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning was later born, and at Hardwick, purchased from Lord Lambton in 1748 for £10,800. Cleadon Old Hall was probably built around the same time. It was demolished in the 1960s but based on old photographs it would appear to date stylistically to the early to mid 18th Century. It was a large, double-pile rectilinear building, clearly shown on the 25-inch first edition OS map, orientated east to west with the main entrance on the south side. This was approached via a sweeping drive that adjoined Front Street just north of the pond. To the rear of the property were gardens featuring trees and formal paths, and to the front of the house a rectangular pond with stables and a coach house to the east (Warm ud).

A photograph taken around the turn of the 20th Century (Plate 89) shows a grand Georgian building with rusticated façade, a pedimented door hood supported on two graceful columns, and a balustrade roof parapet set with finials. The building was extensively altered in the late 19th Century when a series of bay windows were added. We have evidence of this from a rather odd source. In 1935, workmen removing a tree in preparation for the South Shields Road widening scheme unearthed a message in a bottle written in 1871 (Sunderland Echo 4th December 1935). The message was by the 13 year old Frances Annie Stuart Wilson, who lived in the house. She refers to building alteration works taking place and mentions '*a quantity of old bills and things in the roof of the house, dated to 1749*', confirming that the Hall was built sometime prior to this date, although unfortunately the documents have been long lost. We will look further at Annie's letter later.

The evidence would suggest that Cleadon Old Hall was probably built around the same time as John Dagnia was constructing Cleadon House. The two men almost certainly knew each other and may have been related through marriage. On the 18 Dec 1712 a John Baxter is recorded as marrying Hannah Burdon at St Hilda's Church in South Shields<sup>4</sup>. John Baxter may be a relative of Dagnia's second wife, Hannah Baxter, and Hannah (nee Burdon), John's sister, although this has not been confirmed. The two men obviously shared a love of gardening. Burdon went on to lay out an extensive pleasure gardens at Hardwick, although his grounds at Cleadon were known to be modest in size, covering about an acre, the chief asset being the fruit trees (Maddison 2013). He may have greatly admired the work of his neighbour at Cleadon House, perhaps discussing planting and designs, conversations that may possibly have influenced Burdon's plans for Hardwick Park.

The Old Hall was put up for sale in 1753, at around the same time as the Dagnias were also in the process of leaving the village, but as late as March 1757 John was still being referred to in legal documents as *John Burdon, Esq. of Cleadon* (DRO D/Br/D 2640). Later that year he finally succeeded in selling the property to John Fenwick of Bywell, who had probably already been leasing the property for a number of years. John Fenwick in turn sold it on a few years later in 1764.

### **Methodism in Cleadon**

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<sup>4</sup> Citing online reference <http://genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/Transcriptions/DUR/SSH1700.html>

Despite the construction of these large and elegant properties, Cleadon remained at its heart an agricultural village, the new elite living cheek by jowl with the local farmers. To the north and south of the village the urban centres of Newcastle, South Shields, North Shields and Sunderland continued to grow, absorbing those who had been disenfranchised from their lands. Many of those who had previously worked small holdings had suffered through enclosure, being unable to substantiate a claim they saw their land subsumed into larger farms. This resulted in a group of landless labourers who, in an age when there was no form of state welfare, were in many cases forced to move away from rural villages and try their luck in the emerging industrial centres. This exodus continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

The towns rapidly became overcrowded, with disease and crippling poverty rife. For many it must have felt that God had abandoned them. The ministrations of the Anglican Church seemed elitist and distant, offering little solace to the common man. It was in this spiritual vacuum that Methodism emerged in the latter half of the 18th Century, founded on the teaching of John Wesley (1703-1791). John, like his father, had been a clergyman in the Church of England but, although he approved of the spiritual message of the Church, felt it had become isolated from the very people most in need of its council and succour. With his brother Charles, he began to travel the country organising meetings in local villages, towns and cities, preaching in the open air and establishing Methodist societies wherever he went. The teaching of the societies was fundamentally Anglican in doctrine. Unlike other non-conformist movements such as the Calvinists, Wesley rejected ideas of pre-determination and embraced free-will, that anyone, no matter what their state, could gain accession to heaven. This held enormous appeal for the thousands of miners, factory workers, labourers and foundry workers across Britain, who found comfort in the idea that the hardship of the corporeal world would be rewarded in the hereafter.

Wesley made many visits to Sunderland and Newcastle, which he considered to be the cornerstone of his northern mission. During these trips he is thought to have visited Cleadon on at least three occasions in 1743, 1746 and 1790 (Taylor, Bage, Nicholls 1994, 2), although he is not recorded as preaching directly in the village. However, on one occasion, on his way to South Shields, Wesley is believed to have stayed overnight at South Farm (also known French's Farm and Cutler Farm), which was located where Foxton Court now stands. In the morning, he is said to have held an impromptu meeting of his followers in the kitchen of the farm (Warm ud), preaching from a high reading desk. The desk was later incorporated into the pulpit of the old Methodist Chapel (HER 8049), and moved to the new chapel when that was built in 1899 (South Shields Gazette 05/05/1899).

The first chapel was established in a small farm cottage on Front Street belonging to Burdon Farm (HER 12762, Fig 32) (CVS 1984, 8). John Burdon moved to Cleadon in 1780 to take up the farm lease. He had first met Wesley in Sunderland and had struck up a friendship with the minister, vowing to establish a chapel at Cleadon as soon as possible. Soon after moving to the village John kept his word and became Cleadon's first Methodist minister, preaching to a small congregation that met in the farm cottage. In

1807 the Bishop of Durham licensed the premises as '*a preaching place for people called Methodists*' and it remained the chapel for over 100 years until the new chapel was built on Sunderland Road in 1899. The foundation stone for the new chapel was laid by Dr John Burdon, grandson of the earlier minister.

It is unclear if they were related to John Burdon of Cleadon Old Hall but it seems unlikely, Burdon being quite a common local name. John Burdon Esq. had left Cleadon by 1764 having originally hailed from South Shields, whereas John Burdon the farmer had moved to the village from Sunderland. The property division between Burdon Farm and Old Hall was also distinctly different at the time, and covered by two separate leases. The Burdons remained an important Cleadon family until the early 20th Century.



**Plates 90 and 91:** *The Old Cottage (No. 7 Front Street) (HER 8049), Cleadon's first Methodist chapel, as it appeared c. 1910 and how it looks today after recent conversion and restoration.*

### **Armstrong's Map 1768**

Towards the end of the 18th Century the first detailed maps of the county begin to appear. Cartographers like Christopher Saxton and John Speed had been producing maps since the 16th Century, but these were very small scale with little detail. Occasionally larger scale plans of towns were produced but none exist for Cleadon. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries further maps of County Durham were drawn, including those by Pieter van den Keere (b.1620), Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), Herman Moll (d. 1732) and Thomans Kitchin (d. 1784) but all of these were basically copies of the earlier maps by Saxton, with only slight changes. It was not until the late 18th Century that the first detailed maps of the area began to appear.

By this period the face of the county was changing rapidly. Several small settlements had developed into bustling urban centres, connected together by a new network of roads; mineral excavation had become an important and lucrative industry with mines, quarries, sand and gravel pits carving away the hill sides; woodland was rapidly disappearing, cut down to fire forges or for use as pit props; brick and tile pits appeared all over the Pelaw clay zones, and industry developed all along both the Tyne and the



Wear. There was also a change in the management of farmland as population increased and the continued exodus to the urban centres placed a greater demand on agricultural production. Maps were an important factor in managing all these various resources and from the 18th Century onwards there developed a range of both large and small scale maps covering a range of themes and requirements. One of the first of these was the *Map of the County Palatine of Durham* published by Andrew Armstrong in 1754. These maps included turnpike roads, coal mines, lead mines and enclosure roads, alongside the more traditional parks, churches and houses.



Figure 30: Extract from Andrew Armstrong's map showing Cleadon and the surrounding area, published in 1768.

### The Road Network

Armstrong's map (Fig. 30) shows the layout of the village in the mid 18th Century, set out on both sides of the Shields Road, although it is not possible to make out any individual properties in the village except perhaps for the Matthew House (CS15), later replaced by the Britannia Inn. The Shields Road (HER 2331) was not turnpiked until 1796 when the Monkwearmouth to South Shields Turnpike Act (36 George III c.136) was passed (Albert 2007, 218). This was relatively late compared with the rest of the country, particularly given the importance of the route, connecting Sunderland to South Shields.

There had been earlier phases of road improvement. In 1649, the enclosure of Bishopwearmouth brought an end to public access across common land. Consequently the primary routes from Sunderland

to Newcastle, Chester-le-Street, Ryhope and Tunstall were all improved, and a standard width of 16 1/2 feet (5m) set. The secondary routes, or waggonways, were formalised at a width of 11ft (3.35m). It was subsequently an offence to block or encroach on any public roads and overseers of the highway were introduced to ensure that all roads were maintained<sup>5</sup>.

Since the medieval period every parish had been responsible by law for the upkeep of main roads but prior to the widespread introduction of the turnpike roads in the 18th Century the majority of routes were still little more than dirt tracks, and were often impassable in the winter. The men of the parish were required to work on the maintenance of roads either for a set number of days, or to upkeep any section that ran across their land. The Halmote Court records are full of references to villagers taken to task for failing to uphold this duty (*ibid*).

By the late 17th Century it became apparent that the expansion of industry and commerce would be dependent on founding a good transportation network, and in 1663 Parliament passed the first Turnpike Act. A few years after this, in 1675, John Ogilby *Cosmographer and Geographic Printer to Queen Elizabeth*, produced the country's first road atlas, *The Britannia Atlas*. This featured the route from Whitby to Tynemouth, which includes Cleadon. The village is shown arranged on each side of a dog-leg turn with 'Enter a Comon [*sic*]' marked to the south and 'Enter Cornefields or open Arable' to the north (Fig. 31).

The first Turnpike Trust appeared in the country in 1706. Trusts took over responsibility for the maintenance and upkeep of major roads and in return charged a fixed fee for anyone wanting to use the road. Toll gates were erected to control access; the nearest to Cleadon was at Harton to the north (HER 2391) and Fulwell to the south (HER 2688). Toll houses were often fitted with spikes - or pikes - to prevent people from jumping over the gates and not paying, hence the term *turnpike*. The money raised by the toll paid for maintenance, but also provided a tidy profit for shareholders in the Company. In many parts of the country the turnpikes were very unpopular and the gates were often damaged or destroyed until



Figure 31: Extract from Ogilby's map showing Cleadon, dated 1675 (DUSC SCM TWCMS: C6510).

<sup>5</sup> Citing online reference 'Roads' in Victoria County History' <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/counties/durham/work-in-progress/roads>

eventually Parliament made these acts punishable by death.

Neither Ogilby's nor Armstrong's map show Boldon Lane but this does not mean that the road did not exist at the time. As discussed earlier, the lane was probably part of the original medieval layout of the village but it is not shown on either of the above maps because it was not a primary, or perhaps even a secondary, route. Evidence that the lane was in existence in the 18th Century can be inferred from the layout of the field boundaries and the pattern of the street frontage properties like Cleadon Tower and Cleadon House, the boundary walls of which clearly respect the course of the road.

In addition to roads, Armstrong's map provides evidence of other sites in the area at the end of the 18th Century. To the north of the village *Sunny Side Farm* (now spelt Sunnyside) and *Marston Hall* (now spelt Marsden) are marked and to the south *Moor House*. However, others like Cleadon Hills Farm are notably missing even though they were almost certainly in existence at this time. This, and the missing road, illustrates one of the inherent dangers in using cartographic sources. Map makers are often selective in what they choose to represent depending on the why and for whom a map is commissioned. To the north of the village, Cleadon Mill is illustrated as a post-mill, a type of early windmill. The current tower mill was rebuilt sometime shortly after 1842 following a storm, but there has been a mill of some form on the site since at least the 17th Century, and probably much earlier. For further information on the history of the mill and associated farm see the separate Cleadon Mill Farm Excavation Report (NAA 2015a).

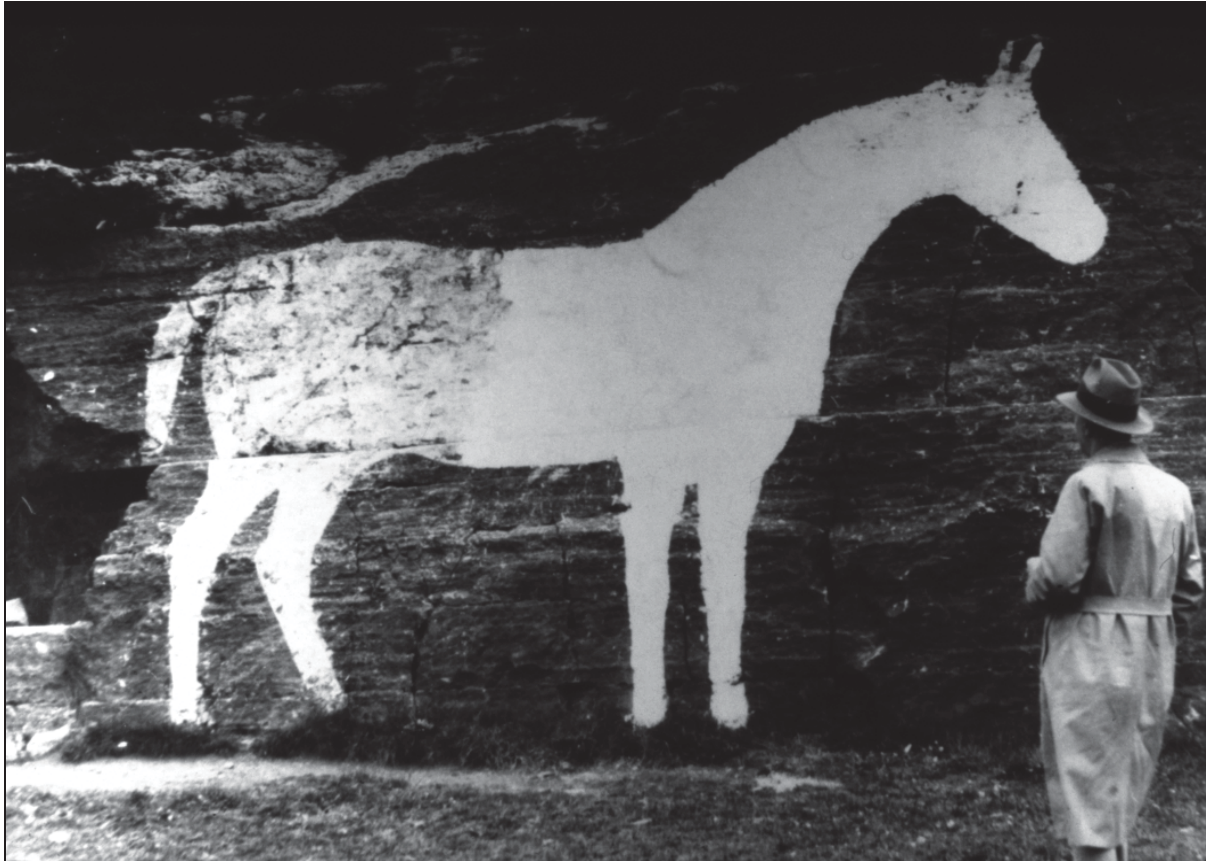
Armstrong's map also features the names of some key landowners in the area in the late 18th Century. The Cleadon extract includes William Harrison Esq of Whitburn, and Sir Hedworth Williamson, 6th Baronet of Whitburn and Monkwearmouth (1751–1810). The Williamsons were a very important family, originally from East Markham in Nottinghamshire. Sir Hedworth was appointed High Sheriff of Durham in 1747 and settled at Whitburn Hall, which became the family seat. The 7th baronet (1797 – 1861), also named Hedworth, is associated with one of Cleadon's most popular folk tales, the story of the Marsden White Horse

### ***The Marston White Horse***

The White Horse is painted on a rock face at Marsden Old Quarry Nature Reserve, which lies just west of Lizard Lane. The exact date of the painting is difficult to determine, although the earliest references to the figure date to the late 1880s (Sunderland Echo, 13th November 1969). There are numerous stories associated with the origin of the beast. The most popular is that Lady Williamson, the wife of Sir Hedworth, would often ride out along the beach at Marsden on her white mare, until one tragic day she set out alone and never returned. Williamson searched for her for two years, but no trace of her or the horse was ever found. In grief, he gave all of his horses away to his stableman, Edwin Wareham, who used them to set up Wareham Cab Company near Westoe. In gratitude to his former employer, and as a



tribute to the memory of Lady Williamson, he etched out the White Horse in tar and lime wash. This is a lovely story, but in 1826 Sir Hedworth married Anne Elizabeth Liddell, daughter of Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle who outlived her husband by a number of years dying in 1878. Their eldest son, Sir Hedworth the 8th baronet, (1827-1900) married Lady Elizabeth Liddell who also died long after her husband, dying in 1920.<sup>6</sup>



*Plates 92: The Marsden Quarry White Horse c. 1950.*

However the tale of Lady Williamson is only one of a number of stories and legends associated with the figure. Here are a few of the others.<sup>7</sup>

1. A hunter became separated from his companions one day and was later found dead at the foot of a cliff, watched over by his white horse. The figure was painted by his friends to commemorate this event, a little like the roadside tributes we see today.

2. An even more fanciful story is that Nestre, the daughter of Thalphere, a Saxon nobleman, fell in love with a Dane called Rolf Hardre. The couple would meet at Marsden beach, Rolf arriving on a splendid white horse. During one such illicit meeting the horse wandered and alerted Nestre's father to the affair. He summoned his retinue and both lovers died in the ensuing skirmish. The white horse was later found

<sup>6</sup> Citing online reference <http://thepeerage.com/p1832.htm#i18318>

<sup>7</sup> Citing online reference <http://www.hows.org.uk/personal/hillfigs/clea/cleadon.htm>

dead at the foot of a cliff. This romantic tale seems very Victorian in origin, reminiscent of the stories of *Ivanhoe*, and may perhaps have developed when the novels of Sir Walter Scott were at the peak of their popularity in the mid to late 19th Century.

3. Perhaps derived from the above it is also said that a landowner by the name of *Ness*, decided to have the horse painted one day on a whim to grace his estate.

4. Then there is the tale of a colonel who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars who retired nearby. He could no longer ride his white war charger but kept the beast in a field within view of his house. One day the animal was stolen and in desperation his groom painted the White Horse on the rock to fool his master into believing it was his beloved mount to the end of his days.

However, perhaps the only credible story is that told by Mr W Gibbon Dowson, whose grandfather, Thomas Gibbon was the farmer at Cleadon Hills Farm in the late 19th Century (*Sunderland Echo* 13th November 1969). Thomas managed the farm with his brother John who was interested in horse stock breeding. John regularly travelled to the New Forest in Dorset to round up the wild ponies and bring them back to the farm with the intention of breaking the animals in and selling them on for domestic use. On one occasion there was a very strong and bad-tempered mare that was proving very difficult to tame. Gibbon had to return to the New Forest to collect more animals but gave strict instructions that the animal was not to be touched. His farmhand, William Johnson, ignored this instruction and, in an attempt to impress his master, endeavoured to break the animal in himself. He mounted the animal but it bolted with William clinging desperately to the animal's mane. The terrified beast made for the East Cliff and jumped the boundary wall leaping to its death. William had thrown himself off beforehand but landed so badly that he was partially crippled for life. Worried that their father would lose his livelihood his children scratched the horse onto the quarry wall with chalk lime. Later the child's scribble was filled in by a more assured hand and has subsequently become larger over the years as the legend grew. It was a soldier stationed at Cleadon during the First World War who established the figure as it is known today.

William apparently kept his job on the farm, Gibbon taking pity on the man who had a large family to feed. John Gibbon died in 1888 and is buried in Whitburn Church. He was 76 when he died, which would mean he was breaking horses around 1840 to 1860, which would be an appropriate date for the gradual foundation of the figure.

The painting is quite small, standing about 2-3m high and is repainted every so often by willing locals. Liberties are sometimes taken with the design and the horse has on more than one occasion become a zebra. It has even been kitted out in the *Sunderland* football strip! Unfortunately the figure is frequently the victim of graffiti (*Shields Gazette* 10/10/2012)

## THE 19TH CENTURY- EXPANSION AND THE COMING OF THE RAILWAYS

**Timeline:** 1811 Haswell pit sunk, the first of the East Durham deep mines > 1813 Puffing Billy and Wylam Dilly, the first locomotives, developed > 1815 miners' safety lamp developed by Davy and Stephenson > 1825 opening of the Stockton to Darlington Railway > 1829 Stephenson's Rocket wins time trials > 1831 cholera outbreak in Sunderland and first coal shipped from Seaham Harbour > 1832 Reform Act is passed and Durham University founded > 1833 construction of Teesside's first chemical works > 1835 Hartlepool starts to ship coal > 1837 Victoria ascends to the throne > 1837-1868 Sunderland harbour built > 1838 Slave Trade abolished throughout the British Empire > 1839 development of Newcastle town centre by Richard Grainger and John Dobson > 1841 Consett Iron Works established > 1848 Public Health of Towns Commission set up > 1862 204 miners killed in Hartley Pit disaster > 1883 Edison-Swan United Electric Light company formed > 1894 parish councils established > 1899 Boer War begins > 1901 Victoria dies

There is a great deal of information available about Cleadon in the 19th Century, more so than for any other period. A series of detailed maps, as well as census data, trade directories, newspaper reports, historic photographs and personal accounts, provide us with a vivid picture of life in Victorian Cleadon. This was a period of expansion and change, seeing the population of the parish increase four-fold from 675 in 1801 to 2738 in 1891 (Whellan 1894). Unlike many of its neighbours, coal mining was never an important part of the local economy, the nearest mines being 2km north-east at Marsden and 3km north-west at Harton. Brick and tile production, however, became increasingly important as did limestone quarrying, both industries expanding considerably in the latter half of the century. Part of the reason for this was the development of the railway network, allowing materials to be transported quickly and relatively cheaply via the ports at Sunderland and South Shields. Agriculture remained important throughout this period but this too changed in nature with the introduction of new crops and machinery and intensive meat production.

The table below indicates the increase in the population of Whitburn Parish throughout the 19th Century, based on census data<sup>8</sup>.

Year	10 Years Before	By Year
1801		675
1811	675	843
1821	843	856
1831	856	1,001
1841	1,001	1,061
1851	1,061	1,203
1881	1,343	2,024

<sup>8</sup> citing online reference 'Britia: A Vision Through Time' [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10169690/cube/TOT\\_POP](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10169690/cube/TOT_POP)



1891	2,001	2,738
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### Greenwood's Map of Cleadon 1820

Cleadon appears on Christopher Greenwood's map *The County Palatine of Durham* published in 1820 (DUSC DCL Maps 1). This is a much more detailed and sophisticated map than that produced by Armstrong 66 years earlier. For the first time the village green is shown as having a shape and width distinct from that of the course of the Shields Road. Boldon Lane is also illustrated, as well as a number of other secondary routes, none of which appear on the earlier maps. North Street (Lizard Lane) is shown, located to the north of Cleadon Old Hall, creating the rectangular road layout that is so familiar today. It is unclear why this was added, but it does seem to be an extension of the Cleadon Lane, passing along the eastern end of the village to join with the Shields Road and circumventing the Green and the Old Hall.

Outside of the main village, Sunnyside Farm (HER 9099, Fig 32) and Cleadon Mill (HER 1587) are both shown, along with Cleadon Park Farm (CS20) that later became Cleadon Park House, and Cleadon Laws (CS3). The features shown north of the mill may possibly be a limestone quarry (HER 2414) or could be Cleadon Mill Farm (CS25). Other elements of interest are Whitburn Mill and Tiles Sheds (HER 1582, Fig. 32), the brickworks to the west of the village.

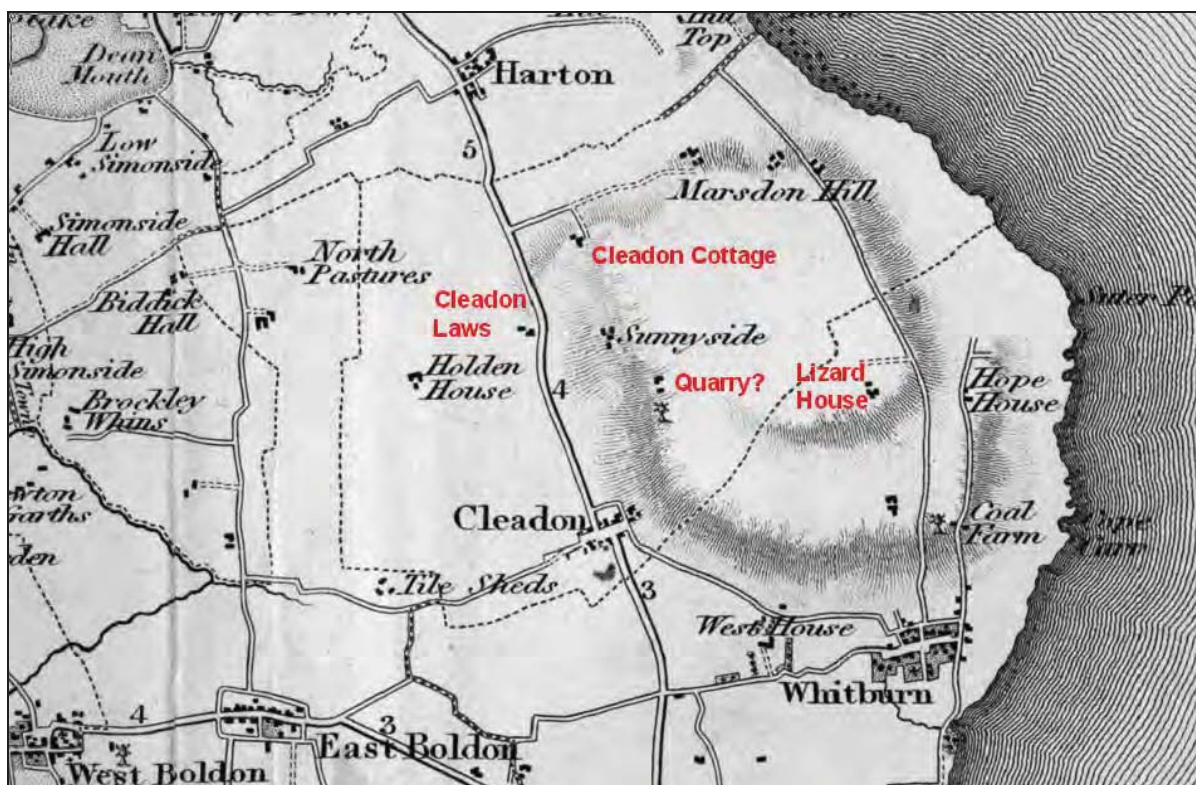


Figure 33: Extract from Christopher Greenwood's map of 1820 showing Cleadon and the surrounding area.

Eight years after the publication of Greenwood's map we have the first published trade directory, William Parson's *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland*:

*And the Towns and Counties of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed* (1828). This gives us a good idea of the size of the population, although it obviously doesn't include associated households, and the other trades in the village (information in brackets has been added by the report author):

Bryan Abbs Esq  
George Aynesley, gardener  
George Bainbridge, farmer (Bainbridge Farm)  
Brian Roberts, farmer, Sunny hill (Sunniside)  
John Burdon, farmer (Burdon Farm)  
Mrs Richard Charlton and David Collie, victuallers (landlords), Ship  
John Gibbon, farmer, Cleadon Out House  
Thomas Gibbon, farmer, Cleadon Hills Farm  
Jane Hall, victualler, Britannia  
William Hall, farmer, West House Farm  
William Holmes, farmer, (South Farm?)  
Thomas Hornsley, shopkeeper  
John Jefferson, farmer Cleadon West Farm (probably Holder's House Farm)  
Robert Jefferson, farmer, Farthing Slate (sic)  
William Merrimen, victualler and Blacksmith, Ship  
Abraham Smith, farmer, Cleadon Laws  
John Thompson, tailor  
Joseph Watson, miller, Cleadon Mill  
Edward Wood, farmer (East Farm) (Parson 1828, 199-200)

### **The Brick and Tile Industry**

The Cleadon Brick and Tile works (HER 1582) was the first of a series of brick works to open in the Cleadon area, capitalising on the laminated clays of the Tyne-Wear Complex found beneath the Pelaw Clay deposits stretching along the western edge of the village. Information on the early brickworks is scarce but the *Tile Sheds* shown on the 1820 map (Fig. 33) were seemingly well established by the late 18th Century and quite probably provided materials for the construction of Cleadon House (HER 8027) and The Old Hall (HER 12765), amongst others. The site already covered an extensive area by the time of the publication of the first edition 25-inch map in 1855, and the fact that the western end of Boldon Lane was by this stage known as *Tiles shed Lane* would also indicate that the industry had been in operation for a number of years. In 1844 the works were run by Robert Anderson (Vint & Carr 1844, 87).

The Romans were the first to introduce brick to Britain but its use really only escalated in the post-medieval period and was initially confined only to the homes of the wealthy; Cardinal Wolsey's palace at Hampton Court perhaps being one of the finest early examples. By the late 18th Century, however, brick was widely in use as a building material and many villages had their own small brickworks that

would operate according to local demand. The distinct brown to purple silty clay with scattered stone inclusions, produced by local pits can be clearly identified in the boundary walls of Cleadon House (HER 8027, Plate 93) and elsewhere in the village. Similarly, terracotta tile, which was the primary form of roofing material in the Cleadon area, would have been produced locally until gradually replaced in the 19th Century by the import of cheaper slate from Wales and the Lake District, brought in by the railways.



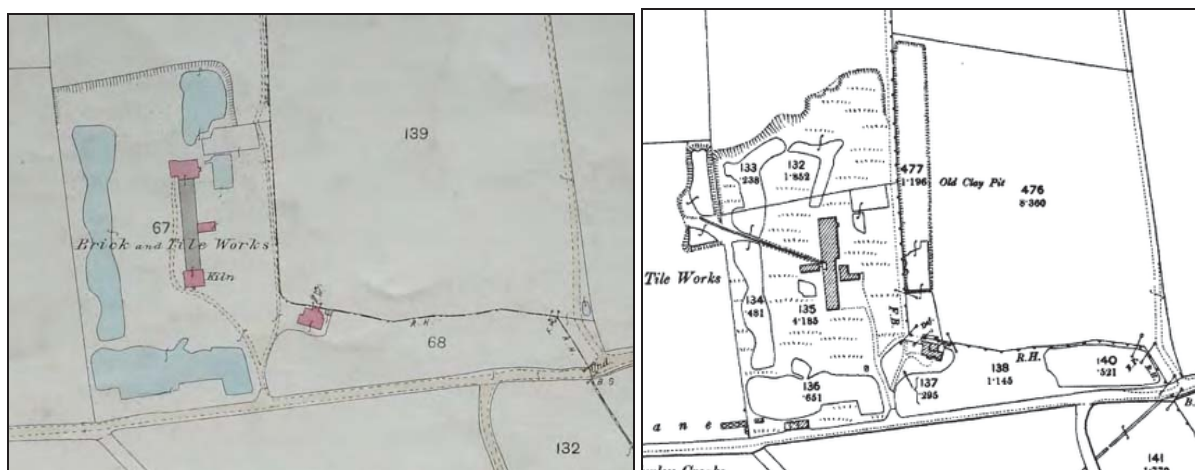
**Plates 93 and 94:** Local Pelaw Clay bricks used in the 18th Century boundary wall of Cleadon House (left), and the 19th Century gable wall of Grove House (HER 12780) (right); note the different colour and matrix of the bricks used for the later infill in the blocked doorway under 'H. Burdon Butcher.'

The Cleadon Brick and Tile Works was the only brickworks in operation in the immediate area in 1855, although the number increased to five by the end of the century. The first edition 25-inch OS map shows a kiln at the southern end of the site, and possibly a pug mill and rectangular lagoon to the north, with a drying area inbetween (Fig. 34). Surrounding the complex were three large, amorphous clay pits. These early brickworks were usually family run operations, often worked on a seasonal basis, with clay cut from the pits in the autumn left to weather till the spring. The seasoned clay was ground in a pug mill before being moulded by hand and left to dry in open-sided drying sheds before finally being sent to the kiln for firing (Palmer *et al*, 117).

It is unclear exactly what type of brick kiln was used at the Cleadon works. The simplest form was a clamp kiln, a stack of unfired bricks that were walled, capped and left to burn. This type of primitive kiln was used well into the 19th Century and may have been the first type of kiln on the site but the kiln shown on the map is obviously a larger and more permanent structure. The most common type of industrial kiln was known as a *Scotch kiln*: a large, open-topped rectangular structure with a series of fireholes down one side. A good example can be seen just outside Durham City at Kepier Hospital. The Cleadon kiln, however, looks too small and seems instead to be a type known as a *Newcastle Kiln*. This

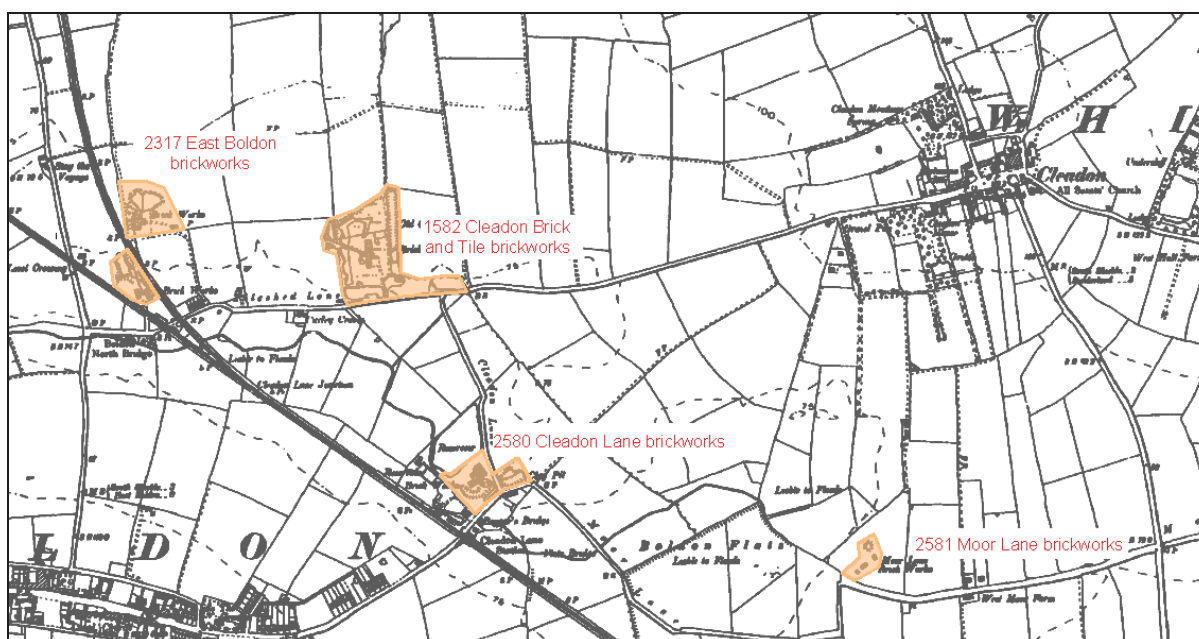


was a rectangular downdraft kiln that featured a vaulted roof, with a firehole at one end and chimney at the other. Two such kilns were recorded at the site in 1994 but have since been demolished (Ayriss & Linsley 1994, 45).



**Figure 34:** Extract from First (1855) (left) and second edition (1895) (right) maps showing development of Cleadon Brick and Tile Works.

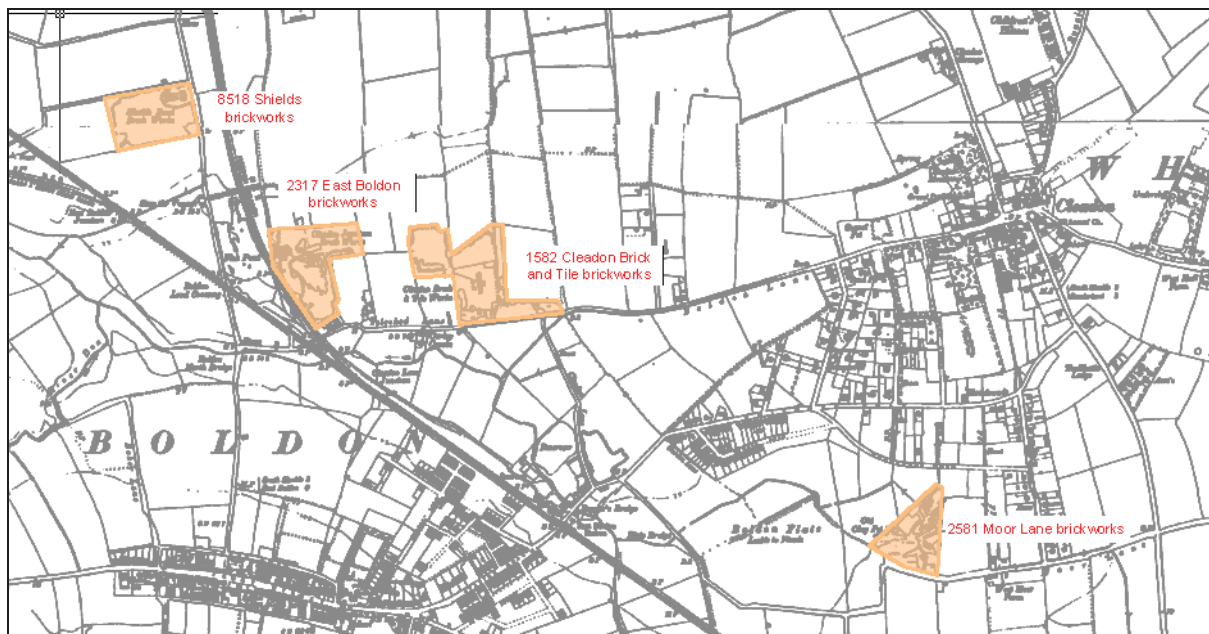
Brick was in considerable demand throughout the 19th Century for the construction of collieries, factories, mills, foundries, hospitals, workhouses, prisons and schools, as well as the numerous mining villages popping up across the Northern landscape. At Cleadon, the opening of the Harton and Whitburn Colliery in the 1840s increased the demand for locally produced brick. The new railway network, installed to serve the mines, also stimulated the expansion of the local brick industry. For the first time tile and brick could be transported easily and relatively cheaply to Sunderland to facilitate the town's numerous building projects or sent by ship elsewhere around the country.



**Figure 35:** Extract from second edition 6-inch OS map (1862) showing brick and tile works around Cleadon

The collieries also provided access to an important type of clay known as fireclay. This pale cream-coloured clay, composed of aluminium-rich minerals, is typically found as the substrate to many of the regions coal seams, is resistant to heat (see Section 1). These fire (or refractory) bricks were in demand for use as furnace linings in iron foundries and forges. It is more unusual to see them used in domestic construction, but the front of Grove House (HER 12780) (Plate 45) is built of firebrick.

By the end of the end of the 19th Century there were four brickworks in the Cleadon area (Fig 35), clustered near the railway line, to the south and west of the village. After the First World War the Cleadon Lane brickworks (CS 24) and Moor Lane brickworks (HER 2581) both closed.



*Figure 36: Extract from the Third Edition 6-inch OS map (1919) showing later development.*



*Plate 95: Today the old clay pits from the Cleadon Brick and Tile Works provide a wetland habitat as part of the*

### *Tilsheds Local Nature Reserve.*

This was probably because the clay sources were exhausted in these areas; the Moor Lane works having doubled in size between 1898 and 1919 (Fig. 36). In contrast, the works to the north-west of the village expanded. The East Boldon brickworks became the larger Cleadon Junction Brick Works (HER 2577), closing the smaller pit on the south-west of the railway and the Cleadon Brick and Tile Works extended further to the north-west. In addition, a new clay pit opened, the Shields Road Brick Works (HER 8518), to the north of the *Stay the Voyage* public house. Brick production at these sites would have been a continual mechanised process by this period with thousands of bricks being turned out each week. The local brick industry did not decline until the latter half of the 20th Century largely as a result of the closure of the coal pits in the 1970s and 80s.

Today the flooded clay pits of the former Cleadon Brick and Tile Works form the Tilsheds Local Nature Reserve. Opened in 1997, this site provides habitat for a wide range of wildfowl species, flora, insects and other wildlife - a much loved spot for visitors and residents alike. To the west, little remains on the surface of the Cleadon Junction brickworks. The railway line is now a footpath and in the fields to the east you can still spot earthworks associated with the former brickworks, although the clay pits have largely been filled in. The more observant may find fragments of brick in the area and kiln wasters, used to separate the brick in the kiln during firing.

### **The Coming of the Railway**

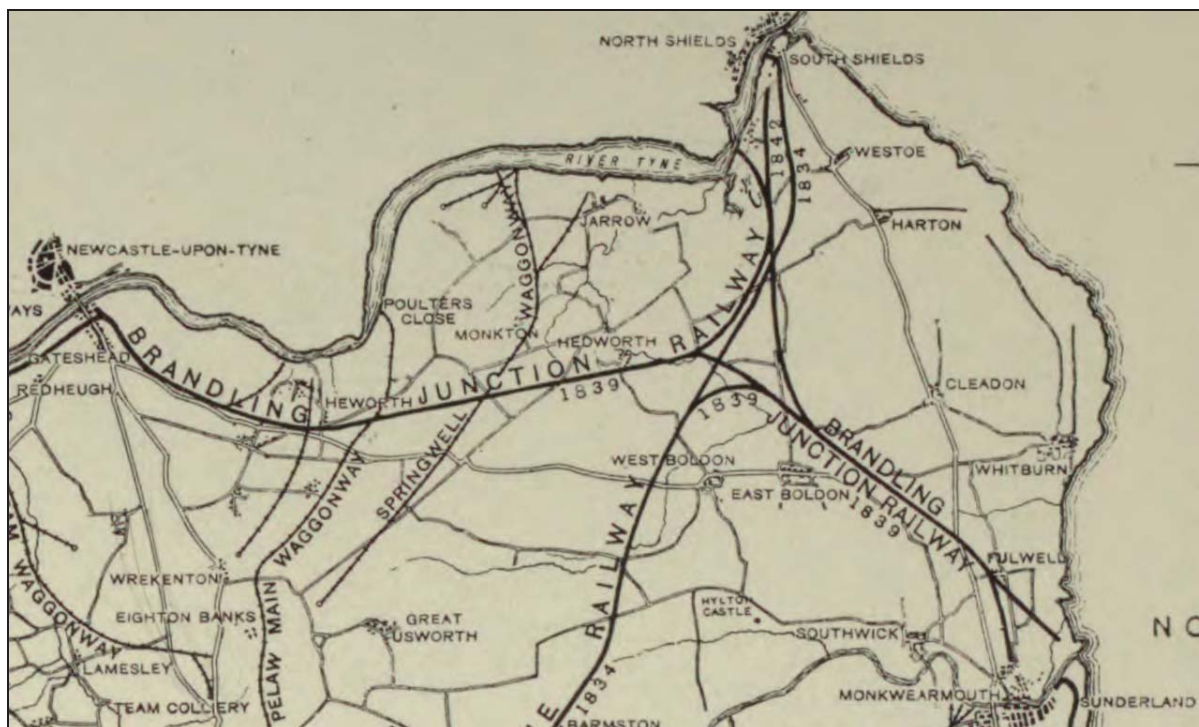
The success of the various brickworks around Cleadon was due in no small part to the opening of the Brandling Junction Railway (HER 2289) in 1839. A decade earlier there had been several schemes put forward to construct a railway extending beyond Durham to link with Newcastle in the north and Sunderland to the east. Two companies emerged with the most viable proposals; *the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway Company*, and the *Brandling Junction Railway Company*.

The Brandling Railway Company was run by two brothers R. W. and J. Brandling. They proposed to build a line from Gateshead to South Shields, as well as install an inclined plane that would join the Newcastle and Carlisle Line from Blaydon at Redheugh, providing access to a coal-staithes at Hillgate (Carlton 1994, 94). On the 7th September 1835 an Act of Parliament was passed and the Brandling Railway Line was begun. A spur of the line ran from Brockley Whins, just east of Hedworth, to Monkwearmouth. This passed to the south of the village on a north-west to south-east alignment, and was arguably one of the most dramatic changes to the landscape in the history of the village, effectively dividing the old medieval settlements of Cleadon and East Boldon.

The Brandling line opened on the 30th August 1839 with sixty-one waggons of coal sent from South Beaumont Colliery to the recently opened Sunderland North Dock at Monkwearmouth. There they were loaded onto the waiting collier the *Jane* of Aberdeen. The ship was apparently '*most fantastically dressed out with flags of various colours and designs, which floated in the breeze, giving an air of much animation and rejoicing to the scene*' (Latimer 1857, 120). The railway line is first shown on the Cleadon



tithe map, drawn up in the same year, 1839. It is listed as plot 667, owned by Thomas Thompson esquire, a *representative of the Brandling Junction Railway Company*.



**Figure 37:** The Brandling Junction Railway around Cleadon and associated branch lines (Tomlinson 1915).



**Plates 96 and 97:** East Boldon Station (Cleadon Lane Station) c.1910 and in the 1970s<sup>9</sup>.

### ***Cleadon Lane Station***

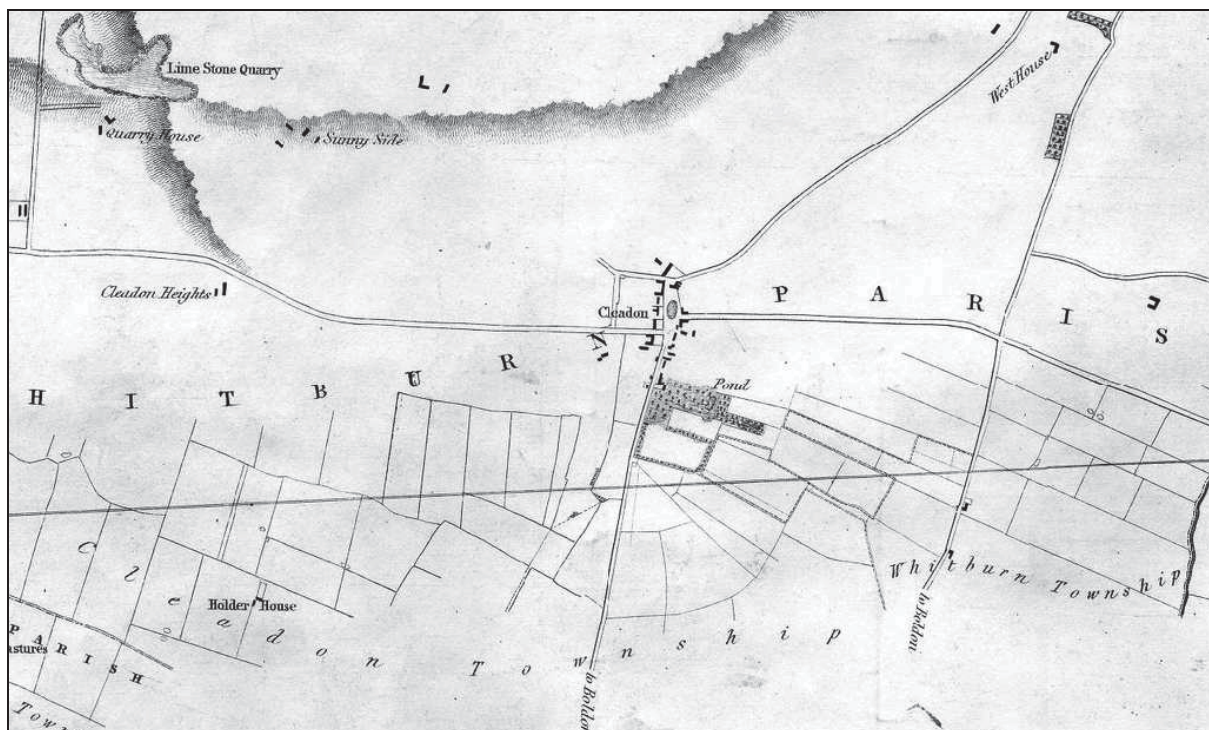
Cleadon Lane Station was located south-west of Cleadon village. It was actually much closer to East Boldon than to Cleadon and in 1898 it was renamed East Boldon Station. The station was initially a coal depot for refuelling the steam locomotives on their way through to the North Dock or back to Gateshead, but it later served the various brickworks in the area. The Brandling Railway Company was sold in 1844 to the Sunderland railway magnate, George Hudson, known as *The Railway King*. It formed part of the larger Newcastle and Darlington Junction Railway (NDJR) Company who took possession of

<sup>9</sup> Citing online reference <http://www.boldonhistory.co.uk/Buildings-ID13/Other-Buildings-IDS65/Railway-IDI126>

the line on the 1st September 1844. In 1854 this became part of the North Eastern Railway (NER) (Tomlinson 1915). Today East Boldon Station is a stop on the Tyne and Wear Metro that opened in 1980. The station has been considerably altered and very few original elements remain.

### *The Blackett Railway Map (1831)*

In preparation of the railway construction, the civil engineer T. G. Blackett drew up a plan and profile of the proposed route in 1831 (Fig. 38) this is the earliest detailed plan of the village we have. It shows Cleadon Pond (or lake) as it was before it was reduced in size when the road was widened in 1936. It dominates the village green, the width of which is far greater than it is today. The individual houses are each plotted, stretching out along both sides of the green. Some of the key properties in the village are easy to pick out like Cleadon Old Hall (HER 12765), East Farm (HER 9606), the Matthew House (CS15) and Cleadon House and grounds (HER 8027), as well as sites further afield like Sunnyside (HER 9099), which is shown as a small hamlet, Cleadon Park House (HER 7792), shown as Quarry House, Cleadon Laws (CS3), shown as Cleadon Heights, and Holder House (CS13).



**Figure 38:** Extract from Blackett's railway map (1831) showing Cleadon (DUSC SCM TWCMS-B9482).

### *The Tiledshed's Signal Box*

Another feature of note associated with the railway was the Tiledsheds Signal Box (CS27) that stood adjacent to the level crossing, close to the old Cleadon Junction Brickworks. The signal box was first opened in 1875 to control the crossover and siding on the *Tyne Dock* branch of the NER, which separated from the Sunderland to Newcastle main line a few metres south at Cleadon Junction. In addition, the signaller monitored the level crossing, opening and closing the wheel-worked gates to let people and carriages along Tiledshed Lane.



When first opened the box was a standard NER design featuring 15-levers and was similar to that found elsewhere in the region; but extensive alterations took place in 1912. The signal box was closed and extended parallel to the road to accommodate a new 55-lever frame. It was again modified in 1922 when the West Boldon signal box was decommissioned and all operations shifted to Tiledsheds. In 1986 the box controlled 2000 yards of track and was manned 24 hours a day by signalmen who worked 8-hour shifts, operating the levers by hand.<sup>10</sup> The signal box was closed in 1988 and later demolished but the accompanying six railway cottages remain, although much altered.<sup>11</sup>



**Plates 98 and 99:** Tiledshed's Signal Box in 1988 © John Hinson.

### The Whitburn Tithe Map (1839)

The first large scale map of the village is the 1839 Whitburn Tithe Map, which shows in detail the layout of each property in the village as well as the surrounding fields and farmsteads. These carefully drawn maps, and the accompanying written record, referred to as the *Apportionment Book*, are an invaluable resource for any local historian. They were compiled between the late 1830s and 1840s when the old church tithes, a fee paid by each tenant in the parish for the upkeep of the church and maintenance of the poor, was commuted to a cash payment.

The tithe had been in operation since the medieval period and was initially paid in corn or other such produce, although by the early 18th Century this payment had predominately been converted to cash. Following the 18th and 19th centuries' Enclosure Acts Parliament decided to formalise the system of tithe payment. A survey was drawn up of all taxable property across the country, rather like a latter day Domesday Book. These records provide an unparalleled snapshot of life in England on the verge of transition, before the widespread industrial changes of the 19th Century. One note of caution when using a tithe map however is that only taxable property was recorded, this means that church land for instance is frequently left out, as were urban centres. Landowners were also required to pay a surveyor

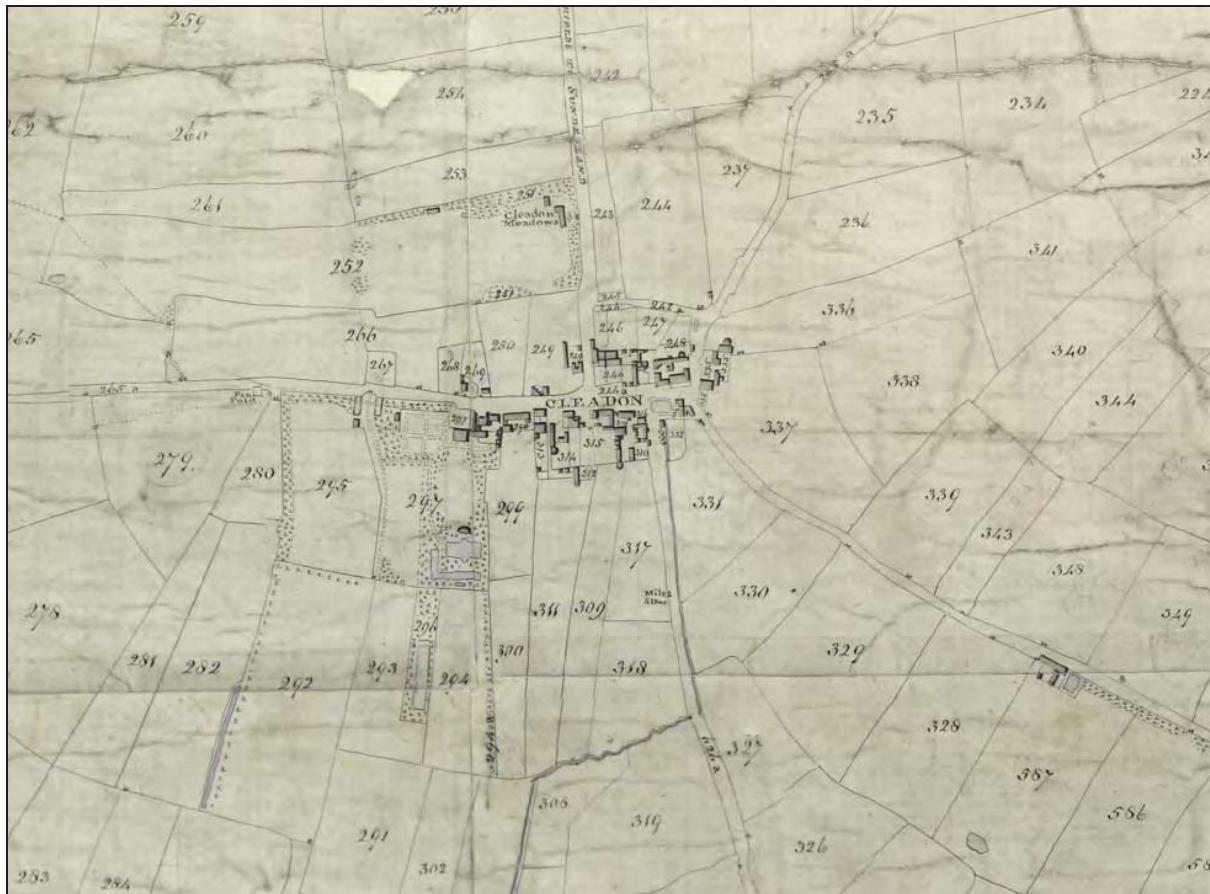
<sup>10</sup> citing online reference <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/domesday/dblock/GB-436000-561000/page/8>

<sup>11</sup> citing online reference 'Tiledshed's signal box' > <http://www.signalbox.org/gallery/ne/tiledshed.php>



to undertake the work, a fact that led some of the more unscrupulous gentry to save money by updating old estate maps. which were often incorrect. Nevertheless the tithe map is a wonderful resource for exploring village history.

Three copies of any tithe map were produced: one for the Parliamentary Tithe Commissioners, one for the diocese (in this case the Bishopric of Durham) and one for the parish. Parish copies are now generally held by the County Record Office, but have frequently been lost or damaged because, as the first detailed maps of an area, they were used for a wide variety of purposes. If you cannot find a map at the record office then the diocese archives may have a copy. Durham University Special Collection holds most of the maps for the Durham Palatinate and these are available digitally for a small fee. Finally, the Commissioner's copy is held at the National Archives in London and can be ordered online, although there is a charge for this service.<sup>12</sup>

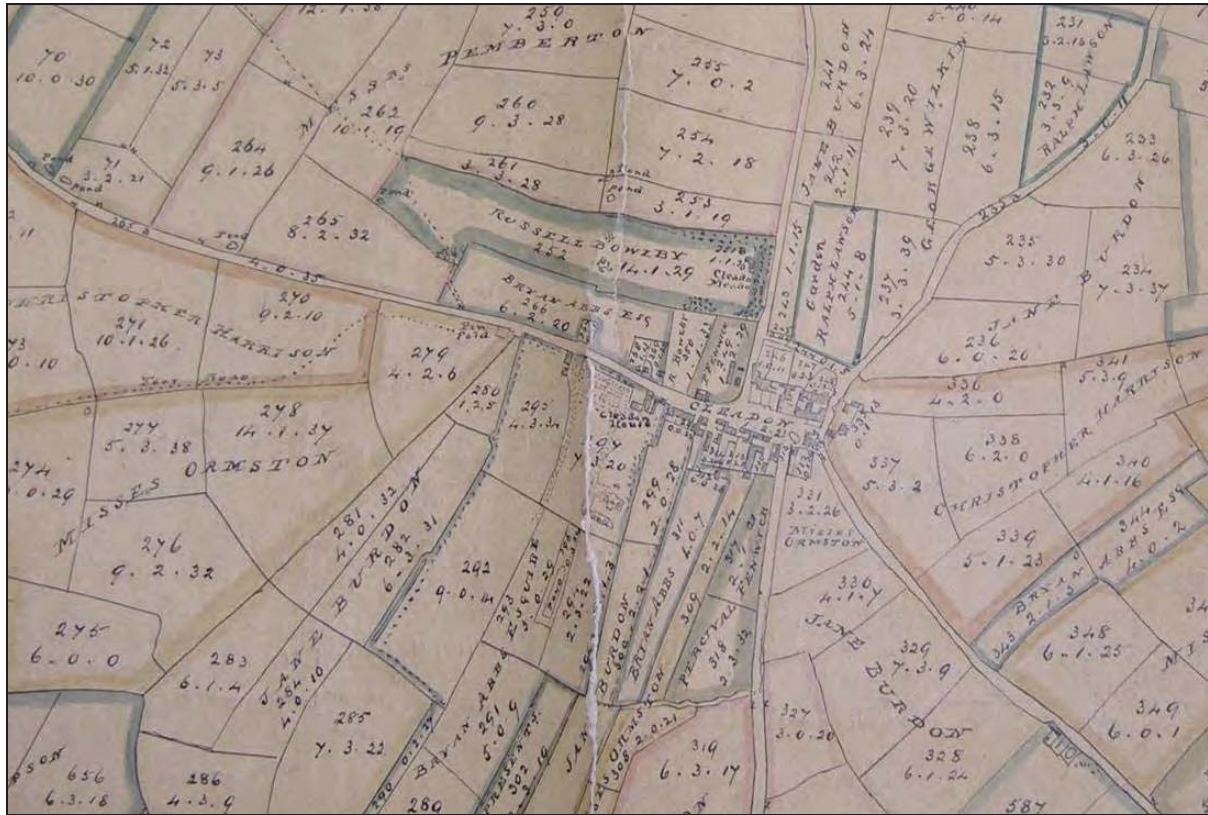


**Figure 39:** Extract from the diocese copy of the Whitburn Tithe Map (DUSC DDR/EA/TTH/1/252).

Luckily there are two copies of the Whitburn Tithe locally available. The diocese's copy is held at Durham University Special Collections (DUSC DDR/EA/TTH/1/252) (Figs. 20 and 39) and the parish copy is held at the Tyne and Wear Archives in Newcastle (TWA DX5/2) (Figs. 40 and 42). The parish copy was produced by Thomas Bell, one of a famous family of Newcastle surveyors who undertook a

<sup>12</sup> For further information on Tithe Maps visit <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/tithe-records.htm>

number of surveys across Durham and Northumberland in the 19th Century. The two tithe maps are distinctly different, although the information is largely the same. Bell's map is coloured and is not as finely drafted as the later bishop's copy. The names of the various landowners are also annotated on the map or written in a key down the side. This would suggest that the Tyne and Wear copy is either a draft survey in preparation of the final survey or a later copy; but there is little on the map itself to indicate which.



**Figure 40:** Extract from Whitburn Tithe Map drawn by Bell (TWA DX5/2).

In 1834, a few years before the production of the tithe, Mckenzie and Ross had written a traveller's guide and directory to Durham (Mackenzie & Ross 1834) in which Cleadon was described as 'a scattered village, about a mile and a half west-north-west of Whitburn. It contains a small Methodist chapel, four farmholds, two public houses, and a ladies' boarding-school'. The Bell Tithe Map features a detailed inset (Fig. 41) that clearly shows the layout of the village core as well as associated landowners.

The four farms referred to in the Mckenzie and Ross entry were Bainbridge Farm (farmer: George Bainbridge, landowner: Richard Pemberton) that stood to the east of Nursery Lane; South Farm (farmer: Ann Holmes, landowner: Barbara Ormston) to the east of Cleadon Tower; Burdon Farm (farmer: John Burdon, landowner: Jane Burdon) on the west side of Sunnyside Lane, and East Farm (farmer: Edward Wood, landowner: Christopher Harrison) on the east side (Fig. 42).

Many of the farms shown on the tithe map feature small circular buildings located at the end of a linear



range, these are gin-gangs, or horse engines (Plate 100). Gin-gangs were used to drive a variety of farm machinery before the widespread introduction of steam engines in the late 19th Century. Each of the Cleadon village farms has a gin-gang attached to a barn where arable crops would have been winnowed, threshed and stored. Evidence of gin-gangs can still be found at both West Farm (see section above) and Cleadon Hills Farm.

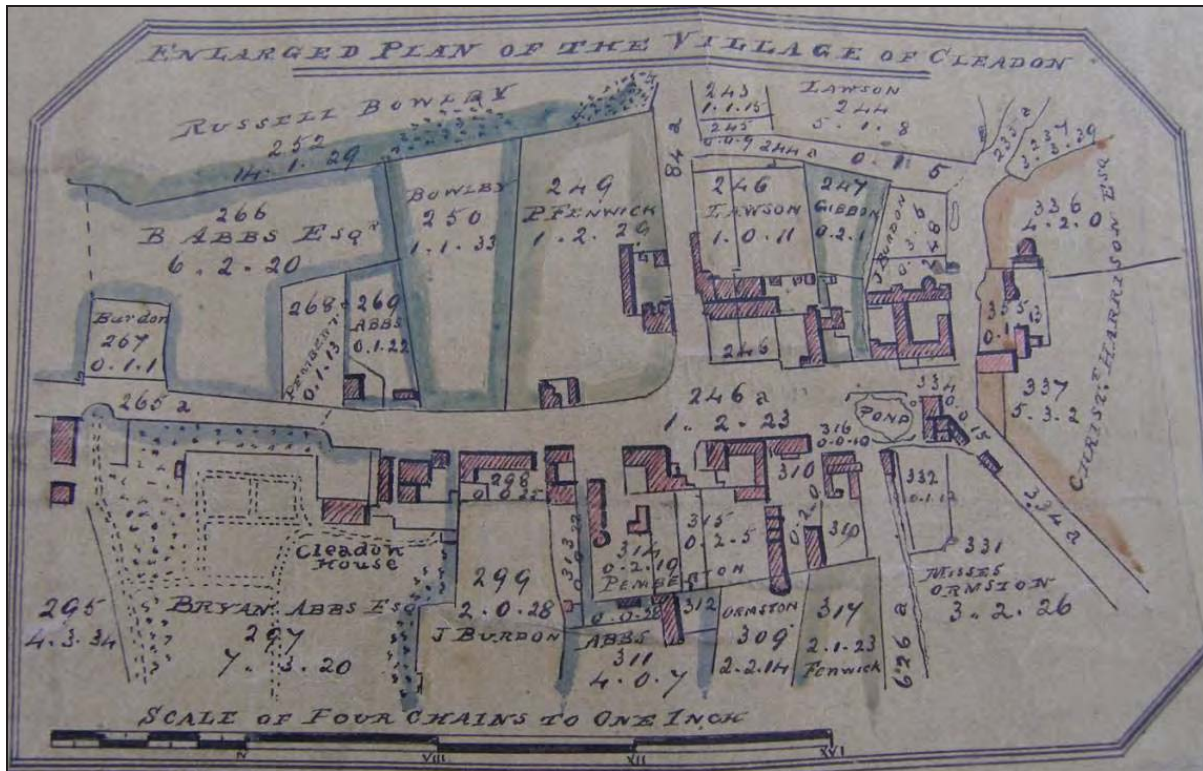


Figure 41: Inset from the Whitburn Tithe Map drawn by Bell showing village core (TWA DX5/2).



Figure 42 and Plate 100: Cleadon village farms overlain on an extract from the parish Tithe Map. Notice the circular gin-gangs at the end of each barn. Plate 100 is a working gin-gang at Beamish Museum.



Outside the village there were eight other farms included in the township (Fig. 32):

	Farmer	Landowner
Farding Slade (HER 965)	Edward Wood	Eleanor Sheville
Sunnyside Farm (HER 9099)	Thomas Wood	George Townshead Fox
Cleadon Laws (CS3)	Jane Smith	Thomas Bell
Holder's House Farm (CS13)	Matthew Maugham	Matthew Maugham
Cleadon Out House (CS21)	Thomas Gibbon	Representatives of Eden
Cleadon Mill Farm (CS25)	Thomas Metcalf	George Townshead Fox
Cleadon Hill Farm (CS10)	Thomas Gibbon	Christopher Harrison

### Farding Lake Farm

Farding Lake Farm (HER 965) (Fig. 32) formerly stood 1.5km north-east of the village. Referred to variously as Farthing Slayde (1647), Farthing Slate (Parsons 1828), Farthing Stake (1839 Tithe), Farding Lake (1898 OS) and Fawdon Lake (Ward 1899-90), the site dates back at least to the 17th Century but could be medieval in origin. Like Cleadon village, Farding Lake probably owed its existence to the location of a small pond, or lake, which lay to the north-east of the site. The settlement may have first developed as a small hamlet, later reducing in size to a single farmstead.

In 1676 the property was held by Elizabeth Gower, widow of Robert Chambers (DRO D/No1), passing to George and John Matthew by 1714 (DUSC DHC6-III-21). At the beginning of the 19th Century it was being farmed by Robert Jefferson (Parsons 1828) but in the 1839 tithe Thomas Wood, whose family also farmed Sunnyside, is listed as the occupier, the landowner being George Townshead Fox. The tithe map shows the farmstead surrounded by limestone quarries and indicates two, possibly three, limekilns (HER 2402) in the immediate vicinity.

By 1851 Farding Lake was the residence of the shipowner, Robert Ness (Whellan 1865). There is a wonderful description of the site under his ownership in Ward's *A Ramble to Marsden Rocks*:

*We cannot do better than give a description of it; and, in so doing we may be permitted to laud the well-directed taste, enterprise, and labour of the proprietor, Mr. Ness, who, from a barren rock, has converted it into a little paradise. Twelve years ago the farm appeared in disorder. He built the house which he now occupies, and let the farm and lands to a tenant. Here you cannot be but delight with the curious manner in which the grounds are laid out and ornamented.*

*The garden in front of the house is tastefully disposed and furnished with floral beauties; a painted marine figure stands sentry at each side of the door; the fence on the road side is constructed of bamboo; on the hill, what seems to have been a lime-kiln is converted into a battery, and bristles with cannon ready to pepper the enemy should he dare to land a hostile force in Marsden Bay; while fantastic figures,*

once the bold headpieces of many noble vessels, resembling stiff old pensioners out on duty, are sentinelled around; and, at the base of the hill, is a small trout pond, graced by an island and bush in the centre and a neat skiff slumbering on its untroubled waters. (Ward 1851, 43)

The rebuilt farmstead appears on the second edition OS map (1898). Also shown on this map is a pumping engine house marked adjacent to Farding Lake itself (CS12). This was possibly associated with the expansion of Marsden Quarry or perhaps provided water to Whitburn colliery and Marsden Village.



**Figure 43:** Extracts from 1839 tithe and 1898 six-inch OS map showing Farding Lake Farm and the Pumping Engine House.

Ness had moved to Cleadon Park by 1893 (Ward 1893-4) and by 1900 'Fawdon Lake' (sic) is listed in Ward's directory as being the home of Peter Thornton, who also ran Sunnside Farm (Ward 1910). The farm was abandoned some time after the First World War, and was already in poor repair when it was proposed as a possible venue for the South Shields Golf Club clubhouse in the 1950s (Byrne 1993). It was demolished in the 1980s, although fragments of wall footings and pieces of worked stone can still be found hidden amongst the undergrowth.



**Plate 101 and 102** Remains of a wall and building rubble associated with Farding Lake Farm. Notice that the rubble has a fragment of curved stone, possibly from a window or door surround.

### Advances in Farming

By the mid 19th Century advances in agricultural production were spreading across County Durham. However, change was slow, largely because the majority of land was still held in tenure from the bishop and saw very little investment. Over the border in Northumberland, the Duke of Northumberland was an early advocate of the agricultural revolution. He saw the considerable advantages to be had from sweeping away the old haphazard farmsteads and building new model farms, carefully designed to maximise production. In County Durham this was not really to happen until the latter half of the century.

Change in agricultural production was in part driven by the formation of the Board of Agriculture in 1793. The Board reported on the state of British agriculture, advocating improvements and the introduction of new technologies. They commissioned a series of countywide surveys looking in detail at arable production, husbandry practices, farm buildings, local industry and transportation. The first report on County Durham, which encompassed the Cleadon area, was written by Joseph Grainger in 1794 (Grainger 1794). A second report was written by John Bailey in 1810. Bailey noted that the average size of a Durham farm at the turn of the 19th Century was around 50-150 acres and most of Cleadon's farms fit into this bracket, Bainbridge Farm for example covering 109 acres, while South Farm covered approximately 90 acres. There were also much larger holdings across both Cleadon and Whitburn, including Burdon Farm, which covered 185 acres.



**Figure 44:** *Etching of the Durham Ox by John Boulton made c.1805.*

A record of the landuse within the parish can be found detailed in the apportionment book that accompanied the Whitburn tithe. The various fields around the village supported a mixed agricultural economy, with approximately 1,830 acres being used for arable production and 845 acres for grazing.



Bailey in his report notes that the crops grown in the region at the time included traditional cereals like wheat, barley and oats, as well as new fodder crops like turnips. The introduction of these feed crops meant that animals no longer had to be slaughtered in the autumn when grazing was scarce, but could be fed throughout the winter months. Therefore the reduction in the acreage of grass does not necessarily imply a reduction in the number of livestock kept. The penchant at the time was for fatty meat so beef cattle were intensively reared, kept inside or in small fields to make sure that they did not expend any valuable energy that might make them leaner. This was the period of the famous Durham Ox (Fig. 44), a bull bred to be so large and gross in size that it could barely stand. In fact the animal eventually had to be shot when its leg broke under its enormous 189 stone (1,200 kg) body weight.

### Fields Names

Such changes in agricultural practice can be partly traced in the names of the fields around Cleadon. Fields are also listed in the tithe apportionment book. By their nature fieldnames tend to remain fairly constant and, as such, can provide an interesting glimpse into changes in land-use over a number of years. However, it should also be remembered they can change from one generation to the next simply on the whim of a farmer, so should be used with caution. Figure 45 illustrates the names of the fields within the township as recorded in the tithe. A large number of these are purely descriptive such as *Twelve Acre*, *Pasture Hill*, *East Middle Field* and *West Middle Field*. In general it was the 17th and 18th centuries' enclosure fields that were given such uninspiring names. Fields that include the word '*close*' also relate to the process of enclosure, including *South Long Close* and *Narrow Close* on the west side of the township, both annexed from the East Boldon common fields.

The location of Cleadon Moor is fossilised in the later fieldnames to the south of Boldon Lane (Fig. 45): *Middle Moor*, *High Moor*, *Low Moor*, etc. There are also hints of changes in landuse possibly predating enclosure including *Hard Corn Moor* and *Grass Moor*. The name *Hay Ring* could be associated with the nearby village pound, or perhaps relate to a stack stand, a small platform off the ground where fodder was stored. The significance of *Wash Wood* is two-fold; first it indicates the location of a pocket of village woodland, evidence of which is sparse, and secondly suggests there was a sheep-wash in this location at some stage in the past. Other names stand as testimony to long forgotten individuals like *Davidson's Close* and *Jock's Close*, the latter perhaps a Scotsman who stayed after the Civil War. Other names are perhaps more whimsical as in the case of *Violet*, *Century* and *Lily*. Some are intriguing and might indicate the location of lost hamlets or dwellings including *Fox Hall* to the north of the village, *Crofts* to the south, and *Dovecot Garth* on the north side of Front Street. The names of the older, more irregular, pre-enclosure field are perhaps the most interesting from a historical perspective. These include the various occurrences of the word '*garth*', a local word usually associated with an annexed piece of land; similar in many ways to the later '*close*'. These could be evidence of earlier medieval or post-medieval enclosure and include *Garth Heads* and *Meadow Heads*. Both these field names also feature the term *heads*, a reference to headlands, a characteristic element of ridge and furrow cultivation.

