ART. XII. – *Archaeological work at Brough under Stainmore II: the medieval and later settlements (fieldwork and excavations)*

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Introduction

THE background to the archaeological work of 1971-2 was described in the introduction to the report on the Roman discoveries in *Transactions* in 1977.[1] The present report (which has been unduly delayed by the late receipt of certain finds reports), deals principally with the excavation of two late medieval and post-medieval properties at the southern end of Church Brough. This is preceded by a discussion of the historical background to the archaeological discoveries, which incorporates the results of research carried out by the writer in connection with the excavations.[2] A further section describes the major discovery revealed by fieldwork carried out in the same programme. Only the principal results of the work are presented here: the full details will be available at local Museums.[3]

The Historical Background

There were two main settlement foci at Brough: Church Brough immediately east of the Castle, and Market Brough on the line of the Stainmore road, *c.* ½ mile NNE of the Castle (Fig. 1). It is accepted that Market Brough was the later foundation, though more successful economically for both historical and geographical reasons. (The parish as a whole also included Hillbeck, Brough Sowerby, and part of Stainmore.)

Church Brough had a chequered history for five hundred years following its establishment, presumably as a deliberately planted village (or town – both terms are used in modern accounts) associated with the Castle founded soon after 1092.[4] The actual date of its origin is uncertain, but the visible plan has strong affinities with other villages created as markets by the lords of the adjacent Castle.[5] In terms of modern analysis, it is a part-regular, two row plan with a small green with ribbon development along the roads leading to both north and south.[6] The location of the church "tucked away" to one side might be taken as an indicator of an earlier, pre-Conquest focus, but the evidence for parish creation and parallels with other similar sites would tend to corroborate a post-Conquest foundation.[7]

The settlement pattern of this area in the centuries leading up to the Norman takeover is little understood. It is clear that there was extensive Scandinavian penetration into the Upper Eden Valley, but the position is complex and Roberts has argued convincingly for a reorganization of settlement in the period 1100-1130.[8]

The settlement's misfortunes, most of which arose from its susceptible position during Border raids and wars with the Scots, have been described by W. Douglas Simpson and others.[9] Great damage was inflicted on several occasions, including in 1174, 1314, and

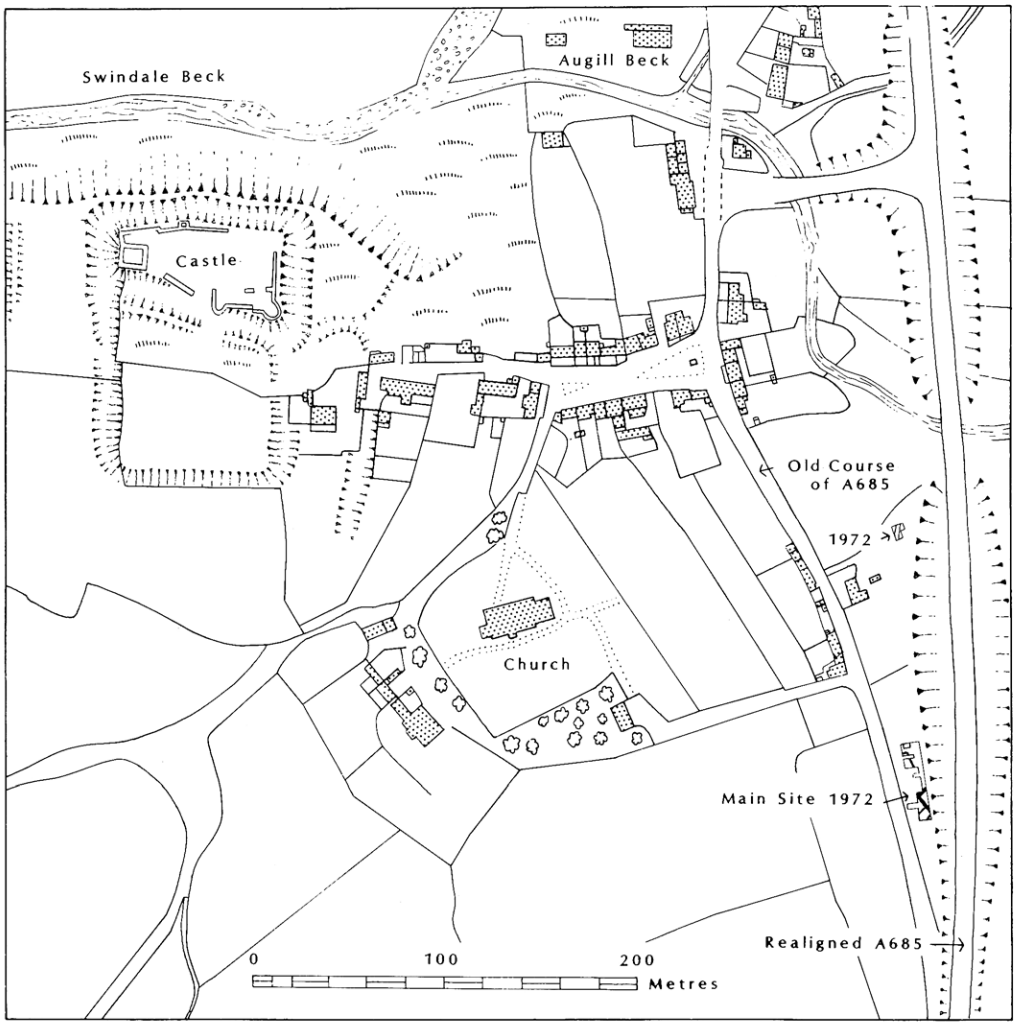

FIG. 1. Church Brough, showing location of excavations 1972 at SE fringes of village.

especially in 1319, and the castle was in ruins after an accidental fire in 1521 until its restoration in the middle of the following century.

A survey of 1314, following the raid, indicates that there were more than 30 houses (many of them burnt) in Church Brough, compared with two dozen cottages in Market Brough. The latter's receipt of a charter in 1330, more than a century after its foundation, has been taken as evidence that it had by then become the dominant market and fair. Certainly the destruction inflicted in 1319 had a serious effect on the area adjacent to the castle. The inability of Church Brough to develop further is ascribed principally to these historical events, and to the harvest failures and livestock plagues of 1315-22 which affected a wide area.[10] Although the economy improved from the late 15th century, it was a further hundred years or so before peaceful conditions prevailed. Steady growth

might therefore be expected from *c.* 1600, interrupted by epidemics or famine in 1587-8, 1597, 1623 and 1661.[11] The earliest surviving houses in Brough date to the latter part of that century, after the castle had again been restored.[12] (Descriptions of Church Brough in editions of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695 and in 1806 [by Bishop Gibson and Richard Gough respectively] refer, perhaps over contemptuously, to a town being reduced to a "little village" and a "mean village".)

The important facts to establish from the point of view of the present report are the date when the village of Church Brough increased in size to include the areas excavated in 1972 (see Fig. 1), the question of continuity of occupation on that site, and the date of and reason for the site's subsequent abandonment. The evidence noted above for the turbulent history of the region until the late 16th century provides a background, but it would be useful to know if the village had indeed grown southwards as far as the site before this period.

This part of Church Brough is referred to as "Townhead" on the 1841 Tithe Award. Any trace of the buildings uncovered in 1972 was lost, and the site is merely referred to as "Garth", both owned and occupied by Leonard Hodgson. The same Leonard Hodgson also owned a house a hundred yards or so to the north and across the street – directly east of the church – but this was occupied by John Armstrong. The domicile of Hodgson apparently within Brough was not recorded on the Award. In the 1833 manorial call book, a Leonard Hodgson is, however, noted as being the tenant of a "messuage and tenement with a cowhouse and garden adjoining the same . . . in Church Brough". Presumably this was the house later occupied by John Armstrong and not an establishment situated on the excavated site. It is difficult to know therefore if the site in question belonged to the Hodgson family at the time when it contained a farm establishment. The 1790 call book records a Thomas Hodgson in possession of more than one house (one with a cowhouse) in Brough, but a direct link with the site cannot be proven.[13]

Sources for absolute population figures for the two settlements are diverse and difficult of interpretation. A number of documentary records for the area's history are of some help, including the Books of Record of Lady Anne Clifford, the great restorer of Brough and nearby castles. This is the source for the 1314 survey, quoted in part above. It suggests a population of up to 200 in Church Brough and slightly less in Market Brough at the time of the damage. By comparison, the Poll Tax of 1379 records 189 taxpayers in the greater parish, so that more than half its population could have lain outside the twin villages.

Other material, including the parish registers, comprises a useful but difficult source from the 17th century, when the occupied houses were certainly occupied. Thanks to much detailed research in recent years into the value of the registers and returns some attempt can be made to compare the data they provide with each other and with the archaeological evidence. Other sources include Hearth Tax returns, land tax assessments, title deeds, and manorial records. For the more recent centuries there is the added benefit of early maps.

The parish registers, providing data on baptism, marriages, and burials, are by far the most abundant. In view of changing mortality rates, economic conditions, and social behaviour, they cannot be employed to provide a simple guide to or exact reliability about the population. Besides, they cover the greater parish, including the outlying

countryside. When set against the other sources, however, an approximate estimate can be made and checked.

On the evidence of the parish registers Brough reflects national demographic trends.[14] There was an increase in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, reaching a plateau of, on average, 40 baptisms per annum until the disruption caused by the Civil War. This plateau was re-established from *c.* 1660 and continued till *c.* 1680, after which some decline and fluctuation occurred until *c.* 1740. For the following next 70 years baptisms stabilized at about 30 per annum. Burials follow a similar pattern except for years of heavy mortality (e.g. famines and epidemics).

It is difficult to produce an accurate estimate for the population of Brough parish based on these figures alone, but a total in the order of 500 at its minimum and 1,000 at its maximum, is a reasonable inference. We are fortunate that, in comparing other sources, some work has already been done. For instance, Appleby quotes a 1563 return suggesting a population of 665, and has calculated an increase of 58% by 1603 on the evidence of the registers.[15] A lower total is suggested by the Protestation Returns of 1641-2, which indicate a total for the parish of *c.* 500, less than half of whom were resident in the two Broughs.[16] Thirty years or so later, however, the Hearth Tax returns and a total of 649 communicants and 18 non-Conformists again provide an estimate of nearer to 1,000.[17] This apparent decline in the early 17th century, whether related to famine or other factors, is not reflected in the parish registers, nor is any indication of real growth in the latter part of the century at a time when much rebuilding was clearly taking place. This period was a prosperous one for dairy farmers, and Appleby calls the fair at Brough "one of the great cattle exchanges of the north".[18]

The economic framework of the early 18th century following the Act of Settlement in 1707 was favourable to expansion, with stable wages, increasing purchasing power, and the economy of the North stimulated by the growing prosperity in the South. The steady growth throughout the century is demonstrated by the evidence of the parish registers, which show an increase of over 50% in the number of baptisms in the period 1750-90 compared with the previous fifty years.[19] Nicolson and Burn (1777) note a total of about 210 families in the whole parish (and may be quoting from the Archdeacon Waugh's account of 1747),[20] compared with 98 "principal inhabitants" in 1781.[21] The 1787 census gives 124 households including 621 inhabitants for Stainmore alone. Land tax assessments between 1742 and 1829 indicate a steadily increasing number of owners and occupiers.[22]

Hard figures are available from the time of the decennial census returns beginning in 1801. They show an increase to 1831, with a population in Brough itself of 966, followed by a fall. This local decline should be seen in the context of a national trend of rural depopulation as workers migrated to towns, mines and ports in search of employment.[23] The high point of the 1830s was probably reflected more in Market Brough than in Church Brough, since a succession of maps from 1770 demonstrates that from that date the buildings at the southern end of Church Brough were gradually disappearing.[24] The most southerly of the buildings excavated in 1972 (Area I) was still standing in 1770 but had gone by 1824. It is difficult to relate these changes directly to an increase in the size of farms, while the known enclosure awards all refer to "intakes" of land on the margins of the parish in mid-century.[25] Although the new turnpike road of the 1740s was a boon to the coach business, local opposition to the Stainmore railway of 1861 and the

consequent adoption of a course through Kirkby Stephen rather than Brough served to keep the settlements limited in size.

The Excavations

Digging took place during April 1972 under the supervision of the writer. The workforce consisted largely of students from the University of Manchester, with a team augmented at times by pupils from Kirkby Stephen Grammar School. Remains of stone foundations had been noted by Mr R. Downing during the creation of the new road cutting in 1971, and in April 1972 a period of two weeks or so was available to follow up his discoveries. Limited funding was obtained from The Department of the Environment's Ancient Monuments Branch. The location of the excavations was determined largely by that of the road cutting (Fig. 1). The initial task was to clear away earth dumped and trodden over the former ground surface by the activities of road machinery in 1971.

The most southerly area (Area I) available for investigation lay immediately west of the remains noted in 1971, and consisted of a raised plot east of the original road line (Figs. 1 and 2). Subsequently this was extended by a narrow section (Ia) towards the associated road and by a small area to the north (Ib). A plot further to the north, separated from I by a hollow, was also investigated in area (Areas II and III). Towards the end of the work the three main trenches were joined by a narrow trench (z) dug mechanically to provide a stratigraphical link. A small box behind existing houses at the southern end of the modern village was also investigated (Area IV). Both in 1971 and after the main excavation had ended in 1972, Mr A. Swailes recovered from the site a number of groups of medieval and post-medieval pottery. These are noted below together with other material from the excavation. It must be said at the outset, however, that most of the small finds were derived from contexts later than the use of the buildings. Some of these will have been associated with the occupation of the structures, but precise dating evidence for the structural periods was scarce.

Area I (Fig. 2)

This was located adjacent to the site where the stone foundations had first been noted. The area opened, 9 m north-south by 7 m east-west, covered most of that available south of the hollow and was bounded to south and east by the boundary fences of the new road (Fig. 2). The initial task consisted of removing the thin layer of topsoil and other recent accumulation which covered an expanse of stones. Later, using an accelerated version of the excavation methods recommended for medieval villages,[26] the team uncovered an extensive area of cobbled yard with the remains of part of a house on stone foundations to its east and south. Area stripping was the only method by which such structural remains could be understood. Extensions to the trench were designed to determine both the extent of the cobbling to the west and the northerly extent of the building.

The cobbled surface (F1), of local boulders, was well constructed, in spite of the slope on which it was set (Plates I and II). It was deeply embedded in a dark brown earth and sealed a layer of sandy orange clay with darker stains (3), which lay immediately

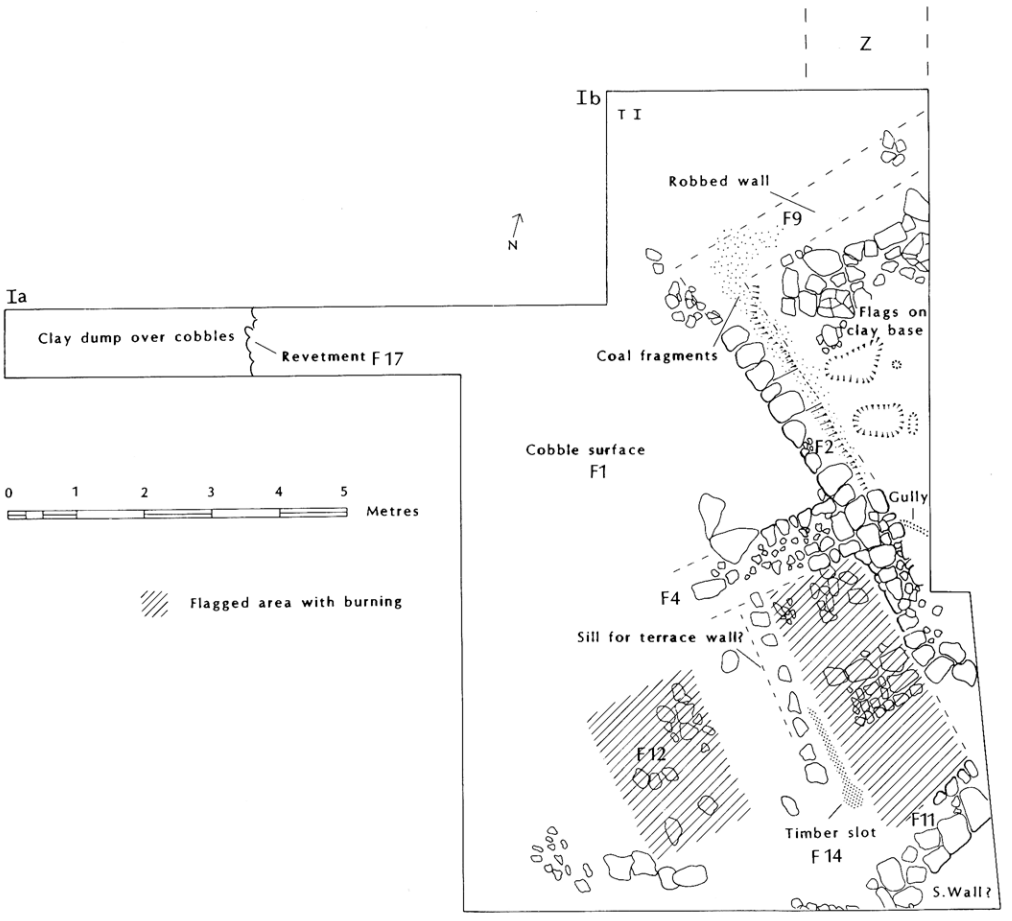

FIG. 2. Plan of Area I: remains of stone building walls, floors and yard.

above a layer of orange clay (13). All other layers in this trench were either later than the occupation of the building or were elements of the building. The only exception to this rule was the south-west quarter, where the cobbles did not occur *in situ*, but where the occupation levels were sealed by a thicker deposit than elsewhere (see below).

To the west the cobbled surface continued down the slope for a distance of over 10 m and was revetted at its steepest point by a terrace wall (F17) of larger cobbles *c.* 600 mm high, beyond which the surface was again found, running towards the existing road (Figs. 2, 3). Pottery of 16th to 17th century date was found in the surface; beneath, some pipe fragments belonging to the late 17th century (nos 4, 6 below, p. 160) provided a more precise indication of its construction date. Preservation at the southern end of the trench was not so good, partly owing to disturbance during 1971, and in Area Ib to the north only slight remains survived. These did, however, furnish clues to the location of the north wall.

The boulders forming the two lowest courses of the surviving wall were clearly more

PLATE I. Area I: building looking SE.

substantial than those of the surfacing (Fig. 2; Plate I). No mortar was apparent, but could have been washed away subsequently. The first definite wall uncovered (F2) ran in a north-west-south-east direction and obviously formed the external west wall (north-western range) of the building. It was itself terraced, the western face being set one course more deeply than the eastern, due to the slope. Along its inside "face" there were numerous fragments of coal, thought at the time of discovery to have been stored there for domestic use. Parallel to and immediately west of the outer face the cobbles were of distinctly smaller size, and a hollow gully suggested an eavesdrip (Plate II). A small gully cut into the floor and running obliquely to the wall at its junction with the east–west wall may also have been a drain.

An area of stones towards the north end of the trench was originally interpreted as the north wall, but that wall was later found a little further north. These stones were probably tumble from the wall, whose position was at first hinted at by the return eastwards of the scatter of coal fragments: it may mark, if not the external wall, at least a partition. Its inner face may have been indicated by a row of six small stones set upright adjacent to the coal scatter. If this was the north wall – and only cobbles were found *in situ* in the machine trench to the north – this main room measured at least 8 m north–south.

Within the room there were only small patches left of the flagged surface which had at one time covered the clay floor base (Plate I). Cut into the clay were several small pits, with slight suggestions of stone packing. No regular pattern was discernible. Although they were later than the clay, the possibility remains that these represented an earlier structure, but they are more likely to have been connected with the construction or the use of the stone building. Similarly, the scatter of coal, which on excavation appeared to lie within the fill of the wall's construction trench, might have resulted from a need for heating during building work or have been cast up from earlier occupation of the site. Another possibility, however, is that, if compacted into the earlier layer from above, it should be associated with the period of the building's occupation. To the west of the main wall an area of larger stones was interpreted as a wall at right angles (F4), and there were other concentrations of stone here whose function, if any, could not be

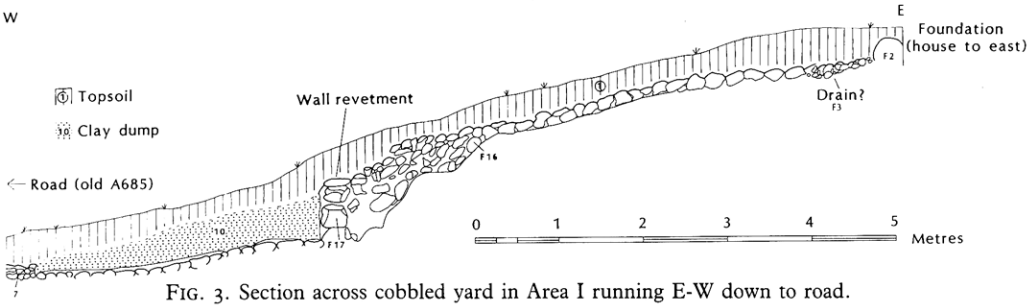

FIG. 3. Section across cobbled yard in Area I running E-W down to road.

determined (Fig. 2; Plate II). Exploration of the southern part of Area I, west of the building, revealed a comparatively complicated set of features. Some broken flags, with evidence of burning near their centre, lay adjacent to the north–south wall. Beyond was a timber slot (F14) running parallel to the wall and presumably indicating a partition; it survived, however, for less than 2 m in length. Next to it a line of flagstone fragments could have served as a sill wall. About 1 m to its west and terraced down into the slope was a larger flagstone surface (F12) *c.* 2·5 m by *c.* 1·5 m, again with burning stains at its centre.

The original interpretation was that this lower surface represented the working part or hearth of an earlier building, which was later demolished with its ground level remains incorporated into an external surface. Subsequent examination of the junction between the main wall and that running westwards from it suggested, however, that the two were contemporary, so that the so called "earlier" structure would have been built at the same time. The burnt flagstones suggest a kitchen. The south wall (F11) was located close to the south-east corner of the trench, giving a measurement of 4·2 m north-south. The west wall was not found: it either lay outside the edge of the trench, *c.* 7 m from the east wall, or had been destroyed without trace. Pottery recovered from below the structural remains here provided a *terminus post quem* for construction of the 15th or 16th century. A few iron nails were found; these might constitute evidence for earlier timber structures on the site, or they may have come from the roof or from wooden fittings of the stone house.

In summary then, Area I produced evidence for the western and northern fringes of a substantial stone building with a flagged floor, a possible kitchen in its west wing, and

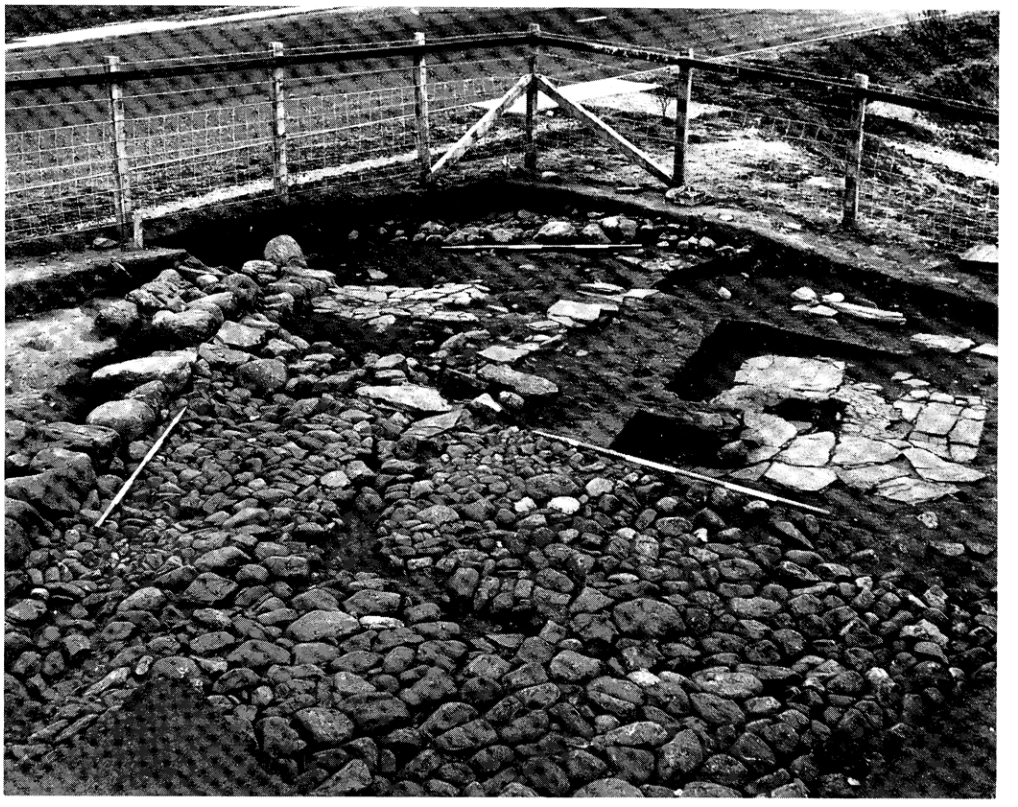

PLATE II. Area I: building including kitchen and yard, looking SE towards re-routed A685.

a cobbled yard leading down to the street. These were probably constructed in the 17th century, and may have replaced earlier structures on the same site. The value of uncovering Area I first was that it was fairly well preserved and provided useful comparative information for the interpretation of the structures found in Areas II and III.

Areas II/III (Fig. 4)

Two adjacent trenches, each measuring 10 m by 6 m and separated by a 1 m baulk, were opened up north of the hollow north of Area I. The more northerly of the two (III) was begun first and carefully excavated and recorded down to the natural clay. Three periods of building were revealed. Work on II was left initially to the infrequent visits of the local volunteers. Towards the end of the campaign, this area was cleaned at the level of the latest surviving structures, which were recorded and related to the contemporary features in III. Following the excavations and in advance of the landscaping work, Mr A. Swailes dug further beneath the cobbled area in II and recovered a selection of pottery (described below, p. 157).

Latest structures

Removal of the topsoil initially revealed an amorphous area of stonework in the north-

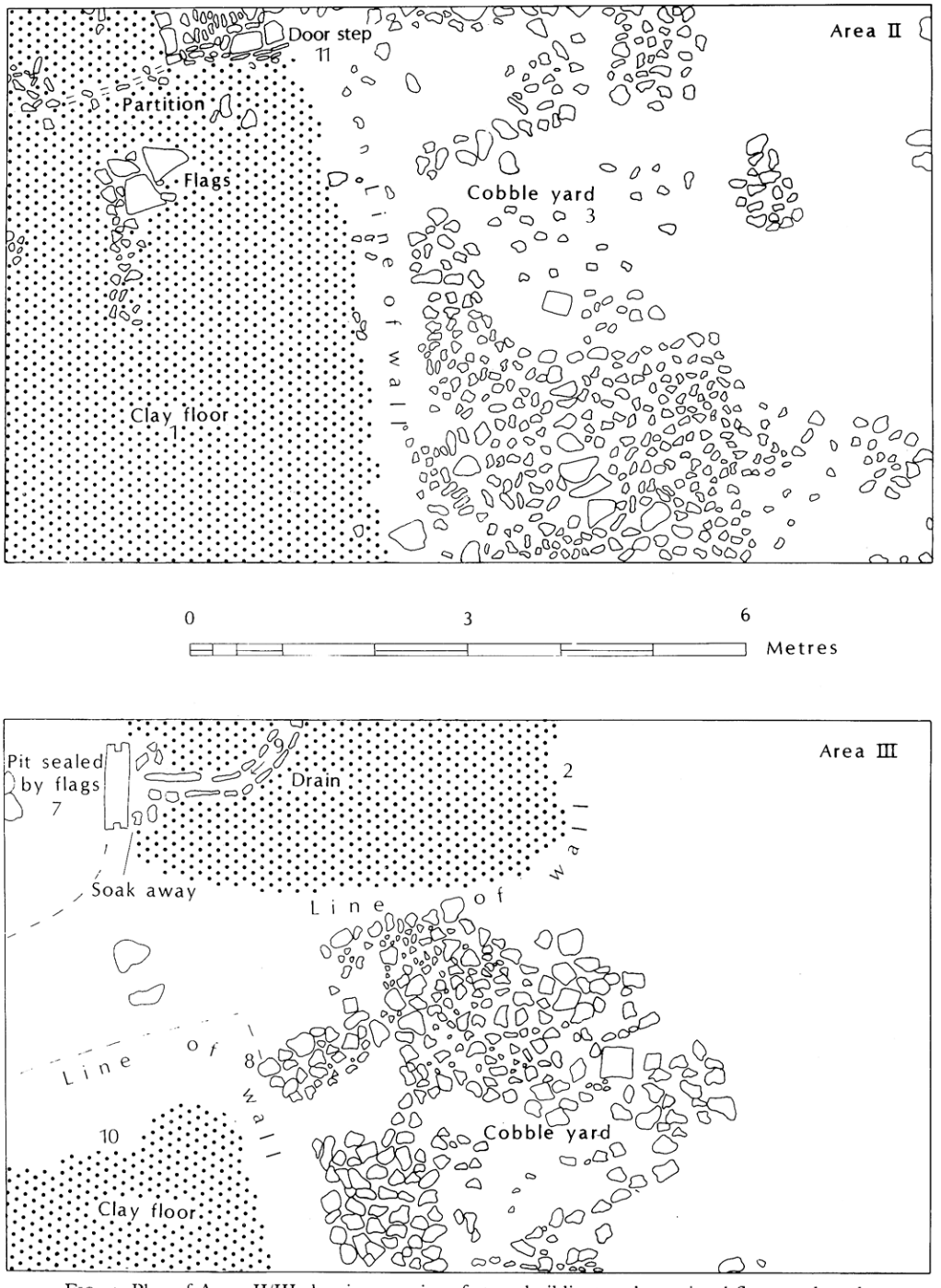

FIG. 4. Plan of Areas II/III showing remains of stone buildings and associated floors and yard.

east part of Trench III. Additional cleaning indicated that this was a poorly surviving (or poorly constructed) cobbled surface: like all features in Areas II/III, survival was worse than in Area I, probably the result of more intensive stone robbing (it lay nearer the village centre). A door hinge (no. 6, pp. 163-4) was found overlying the cobbling – it presumably belonged to the doorway found in the north section of Area II (see below). Several other fittings also turned up (see report on metalwork).

In the western part of the trench, modern accumulation was deeper, showing that the steep slope down to the road lay further east than now. In the north-west corner a doorstep appeared at an early stage in the excavations, and it became clear that it still lay *in situ*. To its east was a rectangular area of clay (2), extending *c.* 5 m to the east but only *c.* 2 m to the south: on analogy with the structures found in Area I, the clay represented an internal floor or floor base. Cut into the clay, and curving round from where it emerged in the north section up to the doorstep, was a drain (9) lined with fragments of slate (Plate III). Immediately east of the step, it had apparently discharged into a soakaway represented by a small pit containing pebbles, and west of the doorway was a larger pit (7). The fill smelled strongly of animal manure (contact with it caused skin irritation to the hands of several excavators). Local farmers confirmed the interpretation of these features as an animal – (?cow) house, provided with a mucking-out drain and associated pit, which during use would have been sealed by removable flagstones.

Only *c.* 2 m south of the south wall of this building was a further structure defined by an area of clay floor base (10) (Fig. 4). This was set obliquely to the alignment of the trench in a north-north-west to south-south-east direction, so that its north-east corner lay within Area III. At the point where it met the west section, its northern extent was only *c.* 1·2 m from the south baulk; at its eastern end, it was *c.* 2 m away. The edges of this clay layer appeared to be marked by a linear gully (8), caused either by the laying of foundations and/or subsequent compaction, or by robbing operations. In any case, it was apparent that the clay layer had been deposited in advance of any wall building.

A southerly continuation of the same building was established in Area II by again defining the boundary between the survival of the clay layer and the cobbling. The building extended to the southern end of Area II for a minimum length of 6 m (i.e. 9 m in all), but at this point there were hints of a return wall. Here it was at least 5 m wide east-west: the gradient makes it unlikely that it was much wider. If the southern wall lay by the southern section, the doorway lying immediately inside the north section of Area II was not central: it was *c.* 3 m from the north wall and *c.* 5 m from the postulated south wall. The doorway was indicated by a rectangular area, 135 mm east-west by at least 62 mm north-south, bounded by vertically set stone fragments surrounding small cobbles (Fig. 4). There was also the hint of a gully and a line of stones running westwards from its southern side: these could indicate a partition wall. Fragments of flagstones were found in position on the clay base to the south of the line of stones.

The cobbled surface (3) covered the eastern part of Trench II and was shown in Trench Z to continue southwards at this end for a further 9 m or so, almost to the hollow north of Area I. Pottery from beneath was of 14th-16th century date, while that found in it extended up to the 17th century (groups C and B pp. 156-7). At the south-east corner of II there were slight indications of the corner of another stone building.

In summary, the latest structures in Areas II and III were of similar date to, or slightly

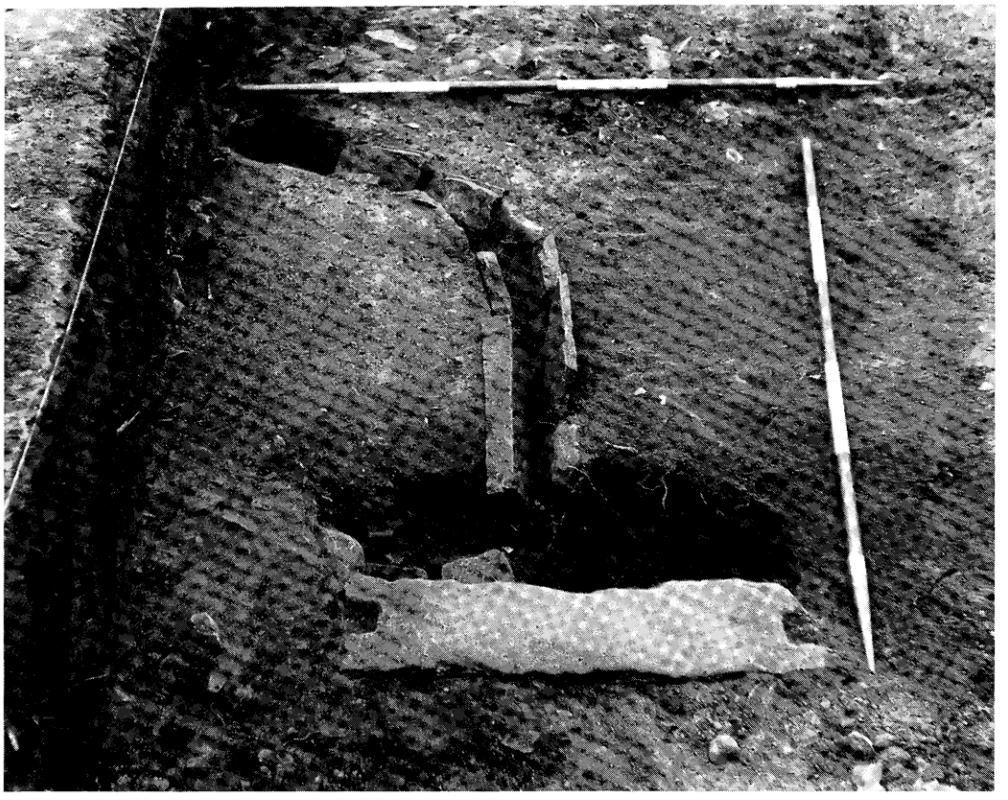

PLATE. III. Detail of Area III: building with drain and threshold (cowhouse?).

earlier than, that in Area I, and consisted of a rectangular building – a barn or farmhouse – and the southern end of an animal house. Both lay on the edge of the slope towards the road, with a courtyard to the east and south, and may have belonged to a larger establishment east of the courtyard.

Area III: earlier structures (Fig. 5)

Only in the most northerly trench was there time and opportunity to examine the levels beneath the stone buildings. In Area II, a posthole or post-pit was overlain by the clay floor base, but it could not be related to any nearby features. Removal of the clay layer and cobbles in Area III however revealed a loam deposit (11)/(14)/(15) containing late medieval and early post-medieval pottery and a window bar of 16th-17th century date (below no. 3, pp. 162-3); this might represent levelling in advance of the construction of the stone buildings.

Traces of earlier features were first noted in the exploratory linking trench Z at the eastern edge of the site. A pit (17) sealed by the loam layer had been cut into the natural clay at the northern end (Fig. 5). Further south were two slight wall trenches: one (20), apparently earlier since it was at a lower level, ran through the exploratory trench in an east-west direction. The eastern butt end of the second (19) ran into the main trench.

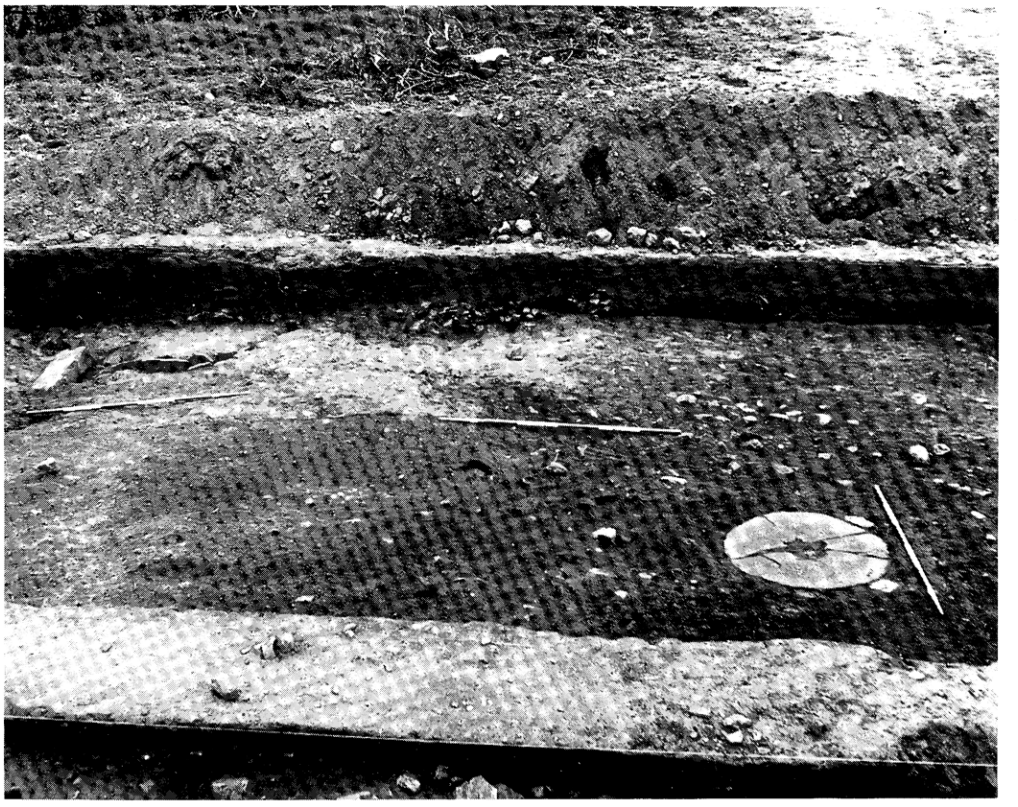

PLATE IV. Area III: millstone structure in relation to later "cowhouse" (cf. Figs. 4, 5).

Further cleaning of the whole area helped to elucidate their context. The second linked up with a rectangular trench (23) *c.* 250 mm wide, surrounding a broken millstone (22) (Plate IV). This was found in large fragments, all with evidence of blackening from burning, and there was an adjacent area of black staining (4) of the ground (perhaps from later activity) to its south-west, containing much coal and charcoal. One of the fragments fitted poorly: it had (inadvertently) been inverted before being placed in its secondary position. No staining was discernible on its other side, confirming that the burning had occurred here. The millstone, then, served as the base for a heating or cooking arrangement within a small building or room measuring at least 3 m north-south by *c.* 2·6 m east-west, which extended into the baulk towards Area II (Fig. 5). A patch of clay was also found, possibly forming part of its floor. This was subsequently phased as Period Ib.

This building had in turn sealed an earlier phase (Period Ia) of timber structures indicated by (20), mentioned above, in the eastern section, and further slight wall trenches (21) near the south-west corner of the trench. Here two parallel slots 150 mm

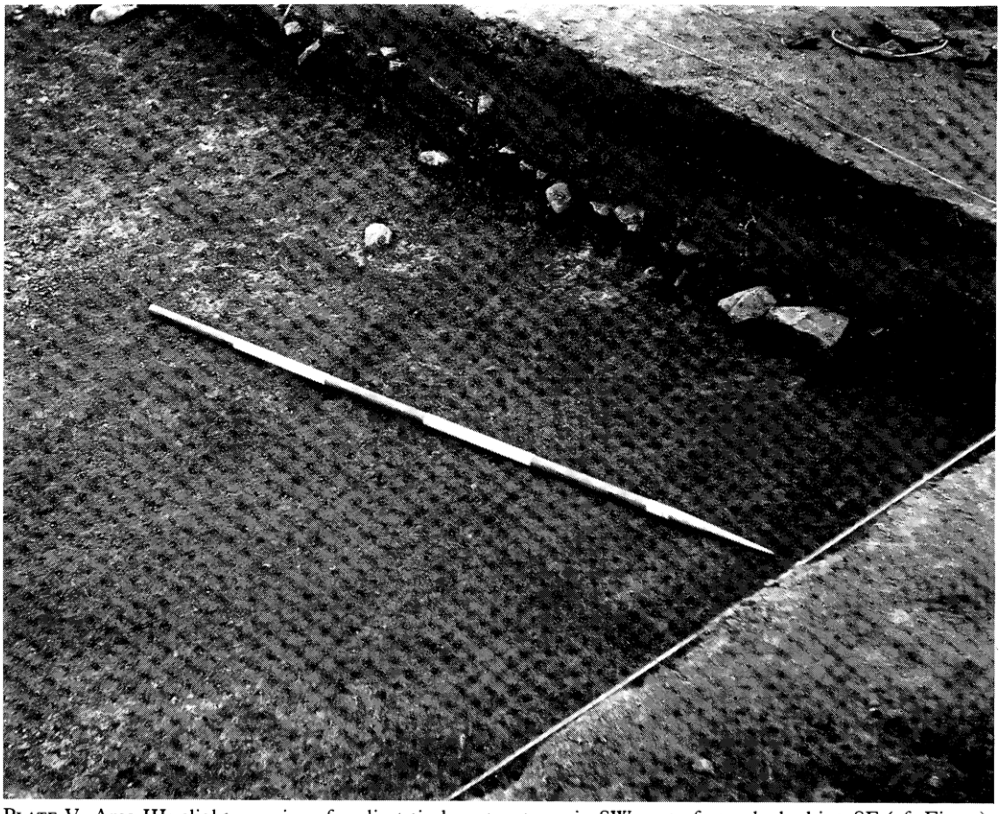

PLATE V. Area III: slight remains of earliest timber structures in SW part of trench, looking SE (cf. Fig. 5).

wide, with a posthole between, ran north-south for a distance of 1·5 m from the south section, and a further slot ran eastwards from the more easterly for a distance of *c.* 500 mm (Plate V). This last could conceivably have linked up with (20), but again the main part of the structure probably lay to the south and east of Area III. Pottery found in the deposits (Group B, p. 156) overlying these structures may suggest occupation at some date between the 14th and 16th centuries, but on analogy with similar buildings elsewhere, an earlier date is possible. This problem is further discussed below (p. 169), together with the structural aspects.

Area IV

In order to test for structures similar to those found in Areas I–III in the area to the north, a gradiometer survey by A. J. Clark and D. Haddon-Reece of the then DoE's Ancient Monuments Laboratory was carried out to the rear of existing houses on the old road south of the bridge over the Augill Beck (see Fig. 1). This showed a number of anomalies, possibly indicating the eastern arc of a postulated linear feature. But the anomalies were weak and may have been caused by modern disturbances. One anomaly was tested by excavation, with the objective of determining the extent of village buildings and plots east of the old road.

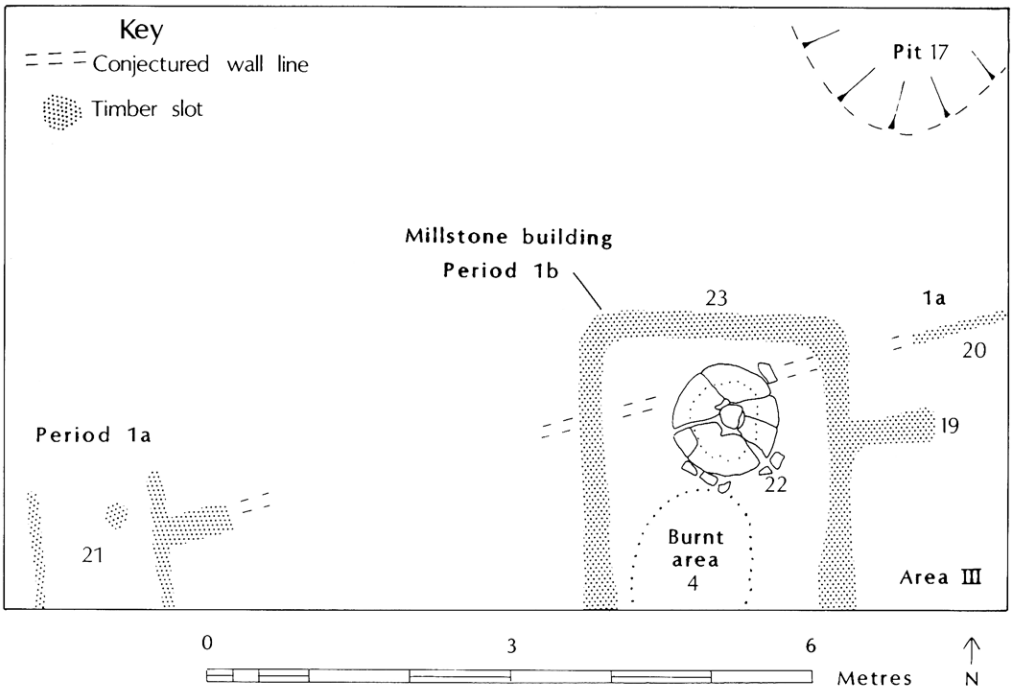

FIG. 5. Area III: plan of remains of timber buildings.

A trench 4 m by 3 m was opened, and a test for "natural" in its north-west corner showed the depth of accumulation predating the 1971 roadworks to be 30 cm. From an early stage in the excavations a ditch (2) running north-north-east to south-south-west across the trench was discernible by its greyish earth fill. This ran counter to the indication given by gradiometer survey! It had been cut into a brownish orange sandy layer containing charcoal flecks (1), was at its greatest 80 cm in width and 17 cm deep, and contained an area of orange silty clay close to the northern end of the trench. The function of the clay feature could not be determined, but it was noticeable that a small gully cut into the ditch did not extend north of it. The course of the ditch was traced further by opening two small extensions to the trench. These confirmed the more or less straight line followed by the feature. The dating material from the fill of the feature and its alignment provide only limited clues to its context, but seem to suggest a drainage or boundary ditch (or both) to the rear of a post-medieval toft. At this point, it lay *c.* 40 m east of the medieval road, the width of the plots in which the buildings revealed in Areas I–III had sat prior to 1971.

The Finds

Pottery By M. R. McCARTHY

The excavations of 1972 yielded well over 1,000 sherds, and a subsequent small investigation of Area II by Mr Alec Swailes resulted in the recovery of over 100 further sherds. Despite the overall quantity of material it is not possible to draw many conclusions

from its study. The date range is very wide, spanning the period between the 13th-14th century and the 20th. The sample for any one period, the disturbed nature of some contexts, together with the small size of the areas excavated, constrains the amount of useful data that can be obtained. This problem is compounded by the limited amount of information currently available about medieval and post-medieval pottery traditions in the north Pennine region. Accordingly, no attempt has been made either to define the fabrics precisely, or to identify them to source.[27] The pottery contexts can be divided into the following major stratigraphic zones:

(A) Overlying the demolished stone buildings (Contexts 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7),
(B) Associated with the occupation of the stone buildings (Context 11),
(C) Underlying the construction levels for the stone buildings and overlying the demolished timber buildings (Contexts 14, 15, 23),
(D) Associated with the occupation of the timber buildings (Context 24).

The dating of the stone building in Area I is similar to those in Areas II–III. Since excavation progressed no further than the occupation levels in Area I, only the pottery from the fuller sequence found in Area III is listed here.
The contents of each layer are listed below:

Context	*No. of sherds*	*Contents*
1 (A) (disturbed)	256	Modern china, Nottingham stonewares, slip-trailed wares, delft wares with floral decoration, blackwares including a cistern, straight-sided tankards. Date range – 17th to 19th or 20th century.
2 (A)	93	Modern china, slip-trailed wares, abraded delft ware, English stoneware, and blackwares. Date range – 17th to 19th or 20th century.
3 (A)	9	Delft ware, salt glazed stoneware and blackware. Date range – 17th to 19th century.
4 (A)	100	Modern china, English stonewares, slip-trailed wares, abraded delft wares. Other very worn coarse wares include a medieval cooking pot and other Roman or medieval sherds.
6 (A)	84	The pottery is mostly of late medieval date, but some disturbance may be indicated by the presence of four small sherds of china. There are also ten sherds of blackware including one possible Cistercian ware vessel. The remaining pottery would not be out of place in a fourteenth to sixteenth century context. It includes a fragment of a jug with a thumbed base, and cooking pots with rims resembling Humber ware forms. The date range is very wide: even allowing for the possibility that the china may be intrusive, the blackwares may be as late as the nineteenth century china and blackware. Date range – 17th to 19th or 20th century.
7 (A)	25	China and blackware. Date range 17th to 19th or 20th century.
11 (B) In and under the cobbled yard.	27	Two sherds of English stoneware, one bearing a crude medallion. Three sherds of blackware. The remaining sherds are medieval in date, including fragments with incised wavy

		lines and a thumbed base, both from jugs.
14 (C) Underlying cobbled yard.	49	Apart from a single sherd of Frechen stoneware, the pottery all has a medieval appearance. It includes jugs represented by a rod handle, strap handle rims and a thumbed base. Other hollow wares may be cooking pots in forms resembling Humber wares. Date range 14th to 16th century.
15 (C) Underlying clay floor.	63	Cooking pot sherds similar to Humber wares, a possible cistern, and jugs decorated with incised wavy lines. Date range 13th or 14th to 16th century.
23 (C) Over demolition of timber building with millstone.	3	Three glazed sherds of uncertain date.
24 (D) Burnt area associated with millstone.	2	One strap handle and one medieval cooking pot rim.

Pottery from Mr Swailes' collection

Over 100 sherds were recovered. They include a small number of highly decorated jugs with bosses, raspberry stamps, stabbing and incised lines. Other jug sherds are represented by bases, some of which are thumbed. Other forms include a possible cistern. Apart from a sherd of Westerwald stoneware and a small number of others which are post-medieval in date, the assemblage is entirely medieval.

Catalogue of illustrated pottery (Fig. 6)

1. Very abraded northern reduced greenware. The corner of a possible handle just survives. The form of this vessel is not fully understood and is not typical of the normal late medieval jug and cistern shapes. There are two impressed circles, below the rim, of uncertain purpose. Single impressed rings have also been noted on a cistern from Brougham castle, Penrith, as well as on a cistern from Carlisle. It may be a jar but there are other possibilities. Date: 14th to 17th century. Unstratified from the subsequent investigation by Mr Swailes.
2. Hard reduced grey sandy ware with oxidized brown external surface partly covered in green glaze. The vessel is a jug with decoration around the top of the rim. Probably 14th/15th century. From demolition deposits overlying Area III stone buildings.
3. Hard oxidized orange brown sandy fabric with sooting on the external rim surface. Cooking pot, probably late medieval. Trench III layer 6.
4. Very abraded northern reduced greenware. Probably a cistern with applied and thumbed strip below the rim. Possibly a product of the kilns at Silverdale, north Lancashire. Date: 14th to 17th century. Trench III layer 6.
5. Hard oxidized brown sandy fabric. Cooking pot. Date: late medieval. Trench III layer 15.

Discussion

The medieval pottery fabrics are all variations on sandy wares. The earliest material is the highly decorated pottery in buff and reddish brown sandy fabrics, which is of 13th

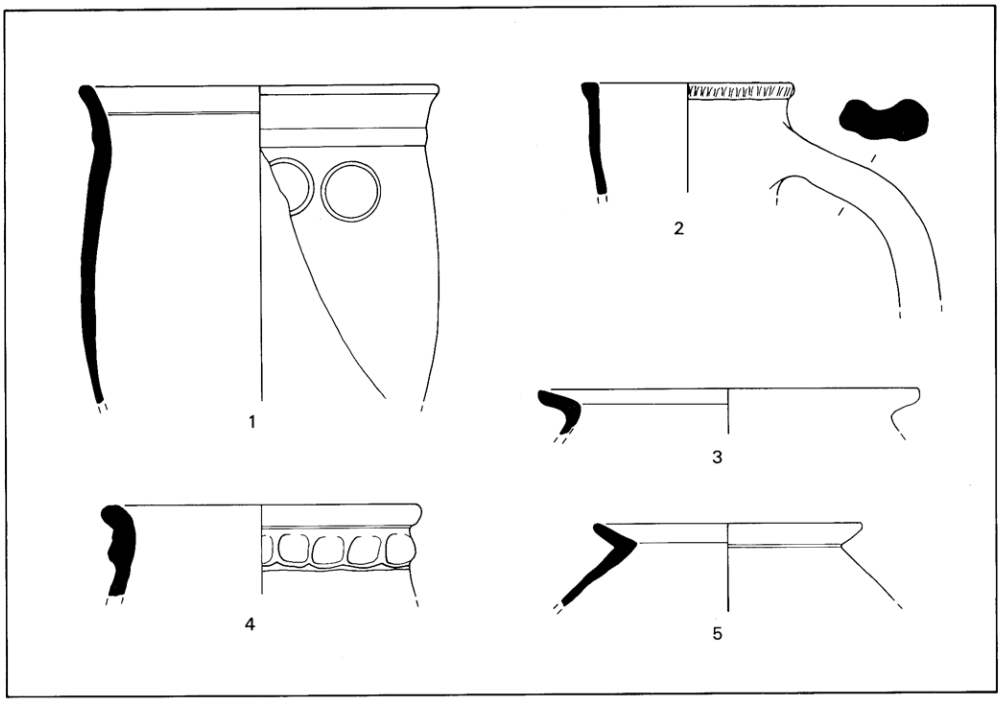

FIG. 6. Medieval and post-medieval pottery.

or 14th century date. Otherwise much of the medieval pottery is typical of the period between the 14th and 16th centuries. It includes sherds from the very widespread and long-lived northern reduced ware tradition, as well as oxidized wares in forms closely resembling the Humber wares of East Yorkshire.

The source of much of the pottery is uncertain. Some of the late types, which are similar in shape to Humber wares, may originate east of the Pennines, whilst some of the reduced wares may be from the Silverdale area of north Lancashire. A location such as Brough on the main trans-Pennine route could easily have received pottery from a very wide area. There were a large number of production centres in north Yorkshire, and these, coupled with the Tees Valley wares identified at such sites as Hartlepool, may be the origin of some of the wares; but there are too few diagnostic traits in the Brough pottery to be certain. West of the Pennines the only certain production centres lay in north Lancashire.[28]

Two jugs from the Swailes excavation are wasters. One thumbed base is distorted and has a run of glaze over the fracture. The other plain jug base also has a glaze run over the fracture. In themselves, however, they do not constitute evidence for pottery manufacture at Brough, and the sherds may have originated as packing material. A waster which can be similarly explained is also known at Dacre, near Penrith.[29]

The post-medieval pottery is generally typical of what might be expected on a site dating from the 17th century. The blackwares are unlikely to be earlier than 1600 but could continue through into the 19th or even 20th century. There are a few scraps of

delft ware, as well as slip trailed wares and stonewares, most of which are probably late 17th and 18th century in date.

Clay Pipes By P. S. MIDDLETON

1. *Bowls* (Figs. 7-8)

Unless stated, these were found in deposits overlying the demolished buildings and yards.

Area I

1. (SF.66) Small bowl with spurred foot and fluted decoration of bowl. *c.* 1800-50.
2. (SF.68) Steeply stepped foot, bowl fragmentary.
3. (SF.69) Broad stepped foot with oak leaf stamp on base. *c.* 1650-1700.
4. (SF.77) In feature beneath cobbling. Broad flat base with slightly bulbous bowl. No clear parallels but cf. Atkinson/Oswald[30] Type 13; *c.* 1660-80.
5. (SF.78) In feature (19), possibly N wall foundation. Squared flat base, small bulbous bowl with rouletted groove below lip. May be compared with Parsons[31] Type 23; *c.* 1640–70. See also Oswald[32] Fig. 5N No. 6, *c.* 1650-70.
6. (SF.79) (Under cobbled revetment wall) Heart-shaped flat base, small bowl with rouletted groove below lip, cf. Atkinson/Oswald Type 5 *c.* 1610-40; also Parsons Type 23 Bristol; *c.* 1640-70. Oswald G5. *c.* 1640-60.

Area III (All from deposits overlying demolition of stone buildings)

7. (SF.59) Stamp RB on side of bowl below lip. Design – lion and pheasant – suggests a likely connection with a public house *c.* 1800-50.
8. (SF.61) Stamp JE on the spur. No clear parallels although the type is well known *c.* 1700-50.
9. (SF.48) Long narrow bowl; broad spur with stamp T (P or R); cf. Atkinson/Oswald Type 25; *c.* 1700-70; Parsons Type 10 *c.* 1710-50; Oswald G12. *c.* 1730-80.
10. (SF.51) Slightly bulbous bowl with rouletted groove below lip. Heart-shaped flat base cf. Atkinson/Oswald London. Type 12, *c.* 1640-70.
11. (SF.53) Slender bowl inclined forwards with spurred foot. There appears to be no close parallel but the type may be compared with Parsons Type 11, *c.* 1700-80.
12. (SF.54) Steeply-stepped foot with circular stamp EB on base. *c.* 1650-1700.
13. (SF.55) Flat foot with circular stamp (?M?) B on base. Heavy bowl, the upper part of which is missing.
14. (SF.56) Slightly bulbous bowl with stepped heel and rouletting below lip. cf. Parsons Type 9, *c.* 1680-1720, Oswald, G. 19 *c.* 1690-1710.

Area IV

15. (SF.62) Ornate stem fragment with stamp GAT . . .
16. (SF.63) Decorated bowl fragment – castle and anchor.

Note: Fragments found in other excavations in 1972 of little significance are not published here, but are included in the quantitative analysis.

2. *Stem Bore Diameters*

The use of changes in stem-bore diameter as an indication of date has been summarized

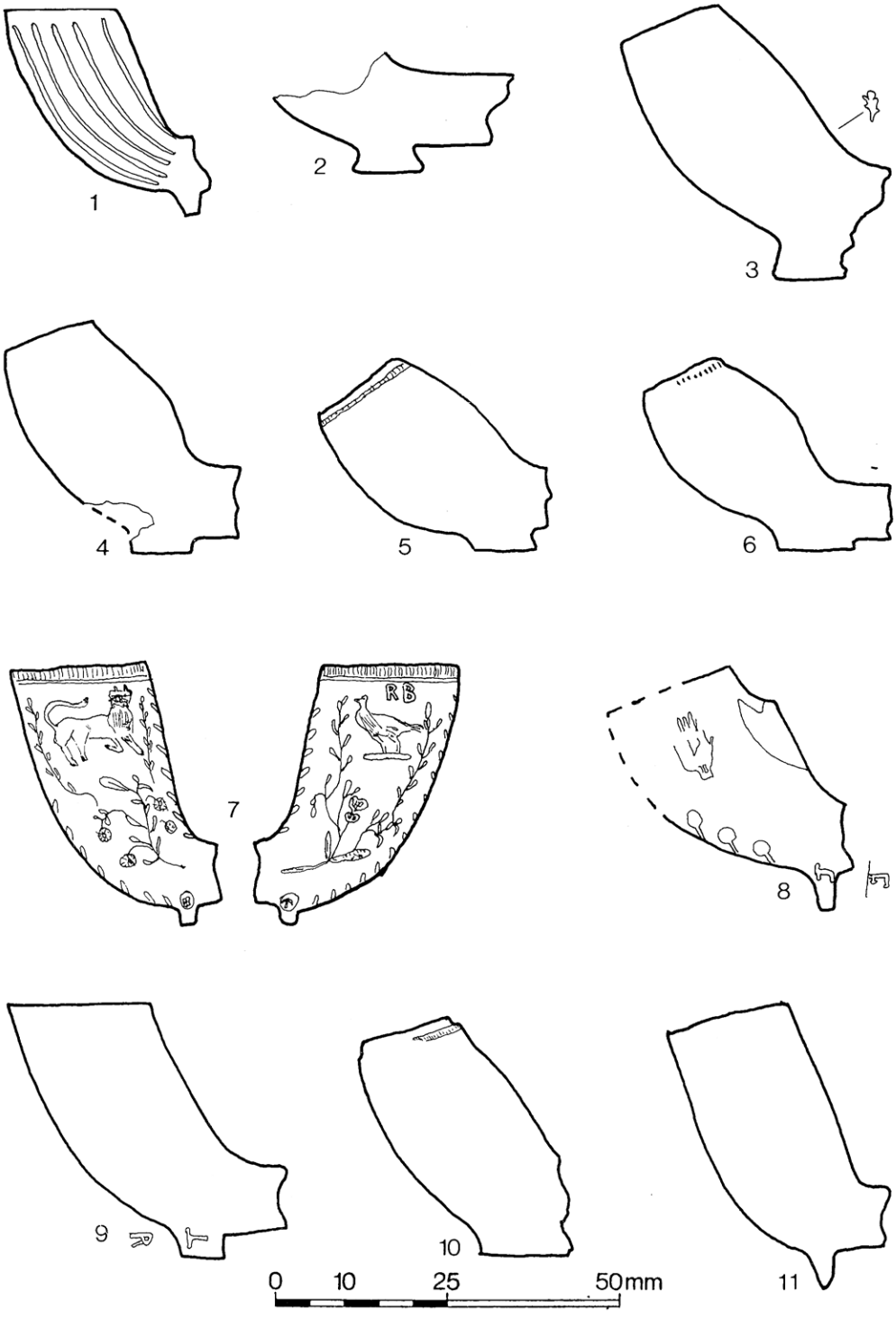

FIG. 7. Clay pipes, nos. 1-11.

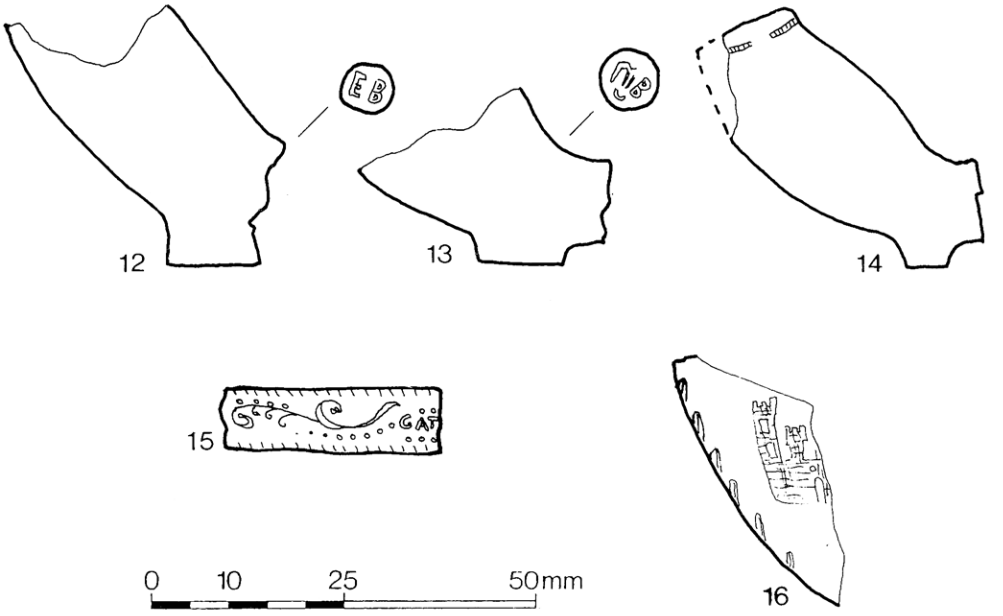

FIG. 8. Clay pipes, nos. 12-16.

by Walker.[33] Applying similar methods to the material from Brough-under-Stainmore adds little to the information gained from the typology of the pipe-bowls. Two groups are given for comparison with the other information and the overall results are given in the table below. It might be suggested from the rarity of stem bores of diameter 8/64 and 9/64 that smoking was unusual before *c.* 1650 at Brough.

Site III

(1)	*64th inch*	*No.*	*Binford formula*	*Typology date*	*Pottery date*
	4	1	1707	No. 9: 1700-70	*c.* 17th-mod.
	5	13			
	6	23			
	7	9			
	8	1			
	Total	47			

(4)	*64th inch*	*No.*	*Binford formula*	*Typology date*	*Pottery date*
	4	3	1695	No. 12: 1650-1700	*c.* 17th-mod.
	5	8			
	6	24			
	7	16			
	8	1			
	9	2			
	Total	54			

TABLE: Analysis of stem bore diameters by context

64th inch	4	5	6	7	8	9
Site/layer						
I(+)	4	16	5	5	2	
Ia(+)				2		
Ia(1)				1		
Ib(2)		1	3			
I(1)			2	2		
I(2)	2	2	2	2	2	
I(5)					1	
I(8)			1	1		
I(11)				1		
I(15)		2				
II(+)	5	9	6	1	1	1
IIa(+)	2	5	1			
II(2)				1		
III(+)	7	25	12	3		
III(1)	1	13	23	9	1	
III(2)	2	2	6	3	1	1
III(3)	2	2	3			
III(4)	3	8	24	16	1	2
III(6)		1		3		
III(7)				5	1	
III(11)		1	4	5	2	
IV(+)	1	3				
IV(2)		2				
V(+)			4	3	2	
VII(1)		3				
IX(+)	4	9	1		1	
IX(1)		4	1	2	1	1
IX(2)				3	1	
X(+)		4	2	6		
X(2)				1		
XI(+)		3	1			1
XII(+)				1		
Z(+)	1	6				

Iron Objects by IAN H. GOODALL[34] (Figs. 9 and 10)

The iron objects, with the exception of a window bar and stud head (3, 4) from late medieval contexts and some objects of 19th and 20th-century date (principally 19-25), could well all have been associated with the 16th-17th-century occupation of the site. Close dating of this material, much of which is of a utilitarian nature, is generally not possible, but most of the items, as well as the buckles, may be compared with the post-medieval assemblages from Basing House, Southampton, Chingley, Bolingbroke Castle, Hull, Sandal Castle and Chelmsford.[35]

1. Eyed spike, used like a staple for securing fittings. SF32 I 2
2. Holdfast with perforated head. SF9 III 2
3. Window bar with off-set terminal which was nailed to the inner edge of the window frame. SF72 III 14
4. Stud with long, flat-topped, rectangular head and broken shank. SF76 III 24

5. Curved rove from clench bolt. SF35 Ib 2
6. Strap hinge with looped eye and shaped terminal. SF20 II 3
7-9. Strap fragments, all broken. 7, SF8 III 1; 8, SF39 IV +; 9, SF38 I +; 9, not illustrated, 102 mm long by 3 mm wide
10. Hinge pivot. SF33 I 2
11. Key with D-shaped bow, the solid stem hollow at its tip. SF11 III 1
12. Rectangular sheet-iron fitting. SF 45. III 1
13. Circular mount with four fixing holes, perhaps a door handle plate. SF44 III +
14. Handle. SF41 IIa +
15. Circular-sectioned rod. SF80 II 9
16. Length of wire. SF7 III 4
17. Horseshoe arm with rectangular nailholes. SF34 I 2
18. Double-looped buckle frame, perhaps from spur, with suggestion of a tin coating. SF24 III 7
19-21. Heel-irons (19-21) and toe-irons (22-5), the most complete illustrated. 23-4 are rectangular in section, the others having a fullered groove. 19: SF12 III 2; 20: SF37 I +; 21: SF36 I +; 22-3: SF40 IV +; 24: SF42 IIa +; 25: SF43 IV 4

Non-Ferrous Metal Objects by ALISON R. GOODALL (Figs. 11 and 12)

Objects of copper alloy

1. Ornamental key-hole escutcheon. Two holes at the lower edge, presumably for attachment, have been broken through. The shaping is similar to that of escutcheons and handle plates found on furniture of the late 17th and 18th centuries. It may also be compared with escutcheons found in contexts of the second half of the 18th century at Colonial Williamsburg[36] SF 13 Ia (6) probably 17th-18th century
2. Fragmentary disc. SF4 I (2) 17th century
3-8. Buttons. No. 3 is made in two parts, both shown by analysis to be of a bronze containing tin and held together by a lead/tin solder. The cap has concentric decoration on it and the back has a pierced loop. Nos. 4-6 are fragments of similar buttons, no. 4 showing a trace of gold in analysis which may be from gilding. No. 8 is a flat-topped button with an inserted loop and no. 7 is similar but with the loop missing. 3, SF6 III (2) 18th-19th century; 4, SF5 III (2) 18th-19th century; 5, SF10 III (1) 18th-19th century; 6, SF26 1 (+) 19th century; 7, SF14 III (1) 18th-19th century; 8, SF28 IV (+) 19th century
9. Curved fragment. SF25 III (4) 19th century

Objects of lead and lead alloy

10. Handle fragment from a spoon or fork of pewter-like metal. The form of handle, known as Fiddle Pattern, became popular in England from the 1780s and was the most common type during the 19th century.[37] SF30 II (+) 19th century
11. Thick lead sheet rolled on to a cylinder, probably a weight. SF23 II (11) ?modern
12-13. Off-cuts of lead. 12, SF2 III (2) 18th-19th century; 13, SF27 III (7) 18th-19th century

Glass by [the late] DOROTHY CHARLESWORTH

Most of the glass fragments were found in the deposits overlying the demolition of

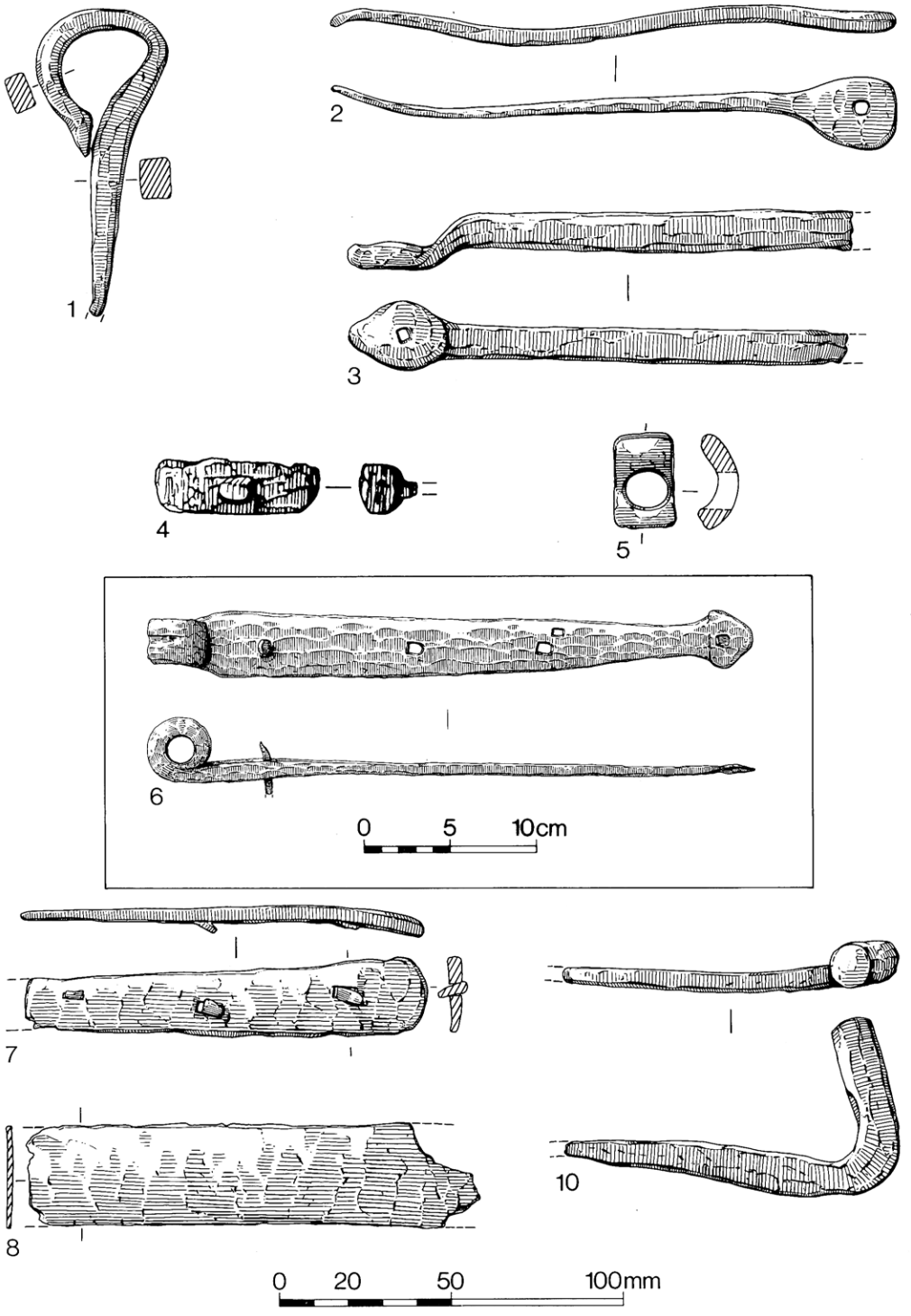

FIG. 9. Iron objects, nos. 1-10.

the stone buildings, and although most were probably associated with their occupation, some might be derived from activity on the site after the buildings had been demolished. Miss Charlesworth provided the following identifications:

Area I

Z +	18/19th century wine bottle glass
Ia +	19/20th century wine bottle glass
I 2	Flat, greenish colourless fragments, window glass 18th/early 19th century
I 8	as I 2; also some modern colourless fragments
I 5	as I 2
I b 1	ditto
I F 15	ditto
I a 1	ditto
I +	ditto also piece of small angular bottle, modern
I 1	ditto also piece 17/18th century wine bottle
I b 2	Miscellaneous; probably 18-20th century

Area II

II +	late 18th or 19th century wine bottle top
II a +	18/19th century wine bottle, one clear piece probably 20th century.

Area III

IIIa +	18th century wine bottle
III 3	ditto
III +	Base of late 18/19th century wine bottle
III 6	19th century wine bottle and window fragment
III 2	ditto
III 1	ditto
III 4	late 18th/19th century wine bottle and window fragments
III 2	ditto, but the flat greenish colourless piece might be Roman
III 7	Probably modern

Area IV

1.	Miscellaneous post-medieval
2.	Window and wine bottle probably 19th century
IV +	18th century wine bottle, pale green probably 20th century
4.	see 1

Flints by CLAIRE FELL

Three flints were found in the deposits in Area III overlying the stone buildings.

1 III 2 15	Trapezoid honey-coloured, translucent flint made for use in a flint-lock type of gun. Shows signs of use.
2 III 1 16	Narrow trimming flake of mottled brown, translucent flint. One side shows primary flake scar and bulb of percussion. No dateable diagnostic features.
3 III 1 17	Trapezoid gun-flint of opaque grey flint (or chert), broken at narrow, thick end, which fitted into the cock of a flint-lock. The opposite wide, thin edge shows signs of use.

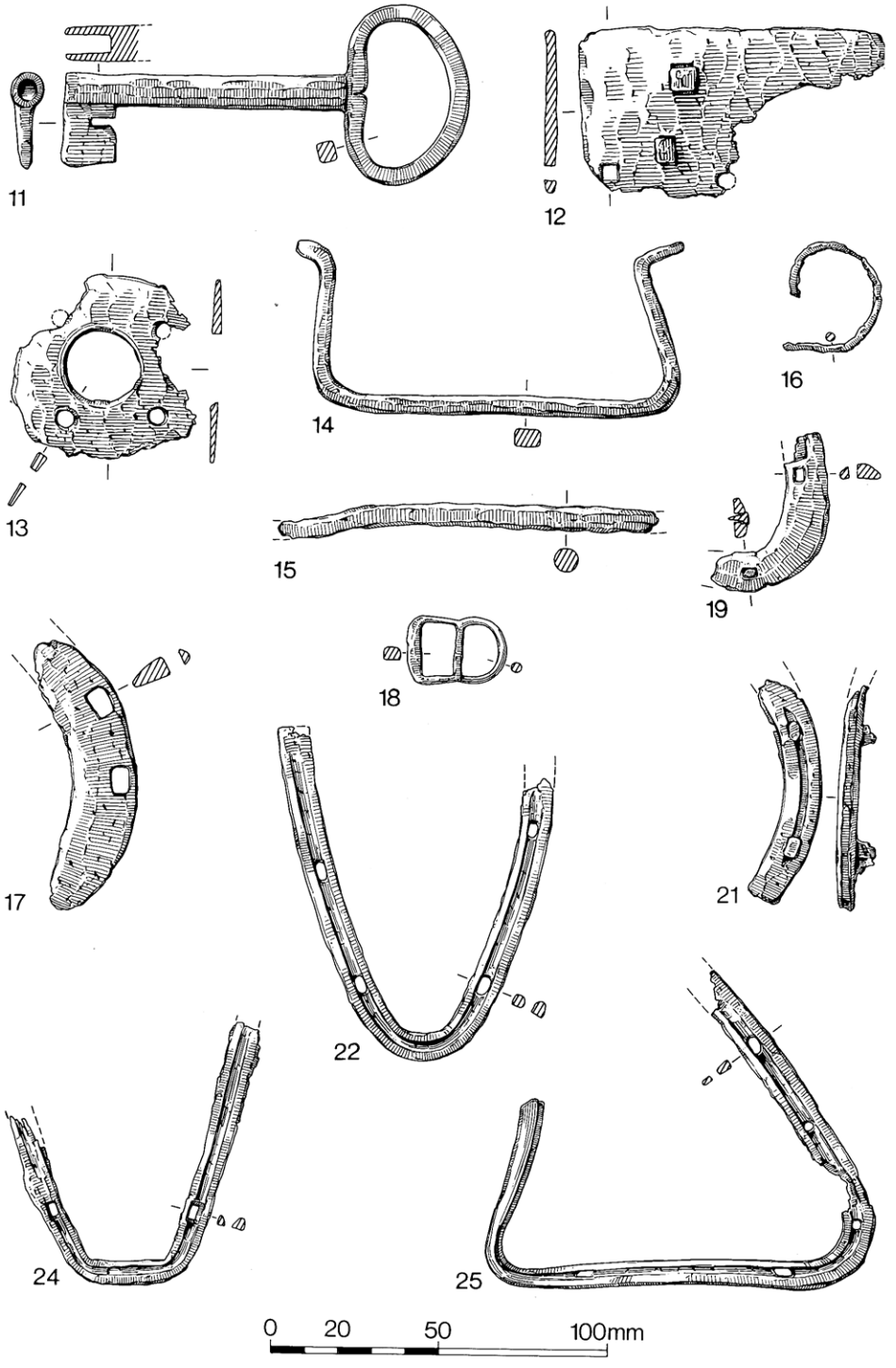

FIG. 10. Iron objects, nos. 11-25.

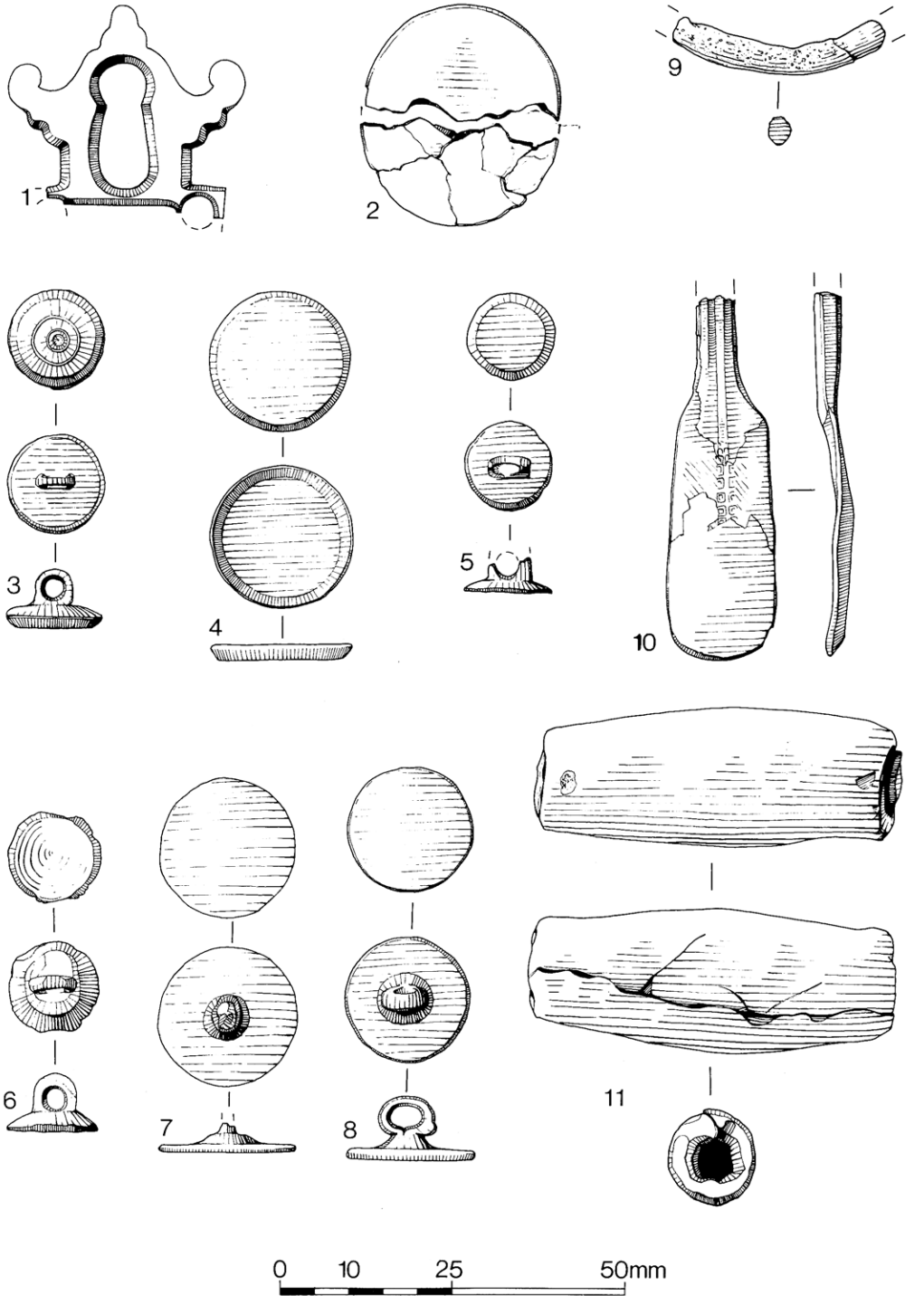

FIG. 11. Non-ferrous metal objects, nos. 1-11.

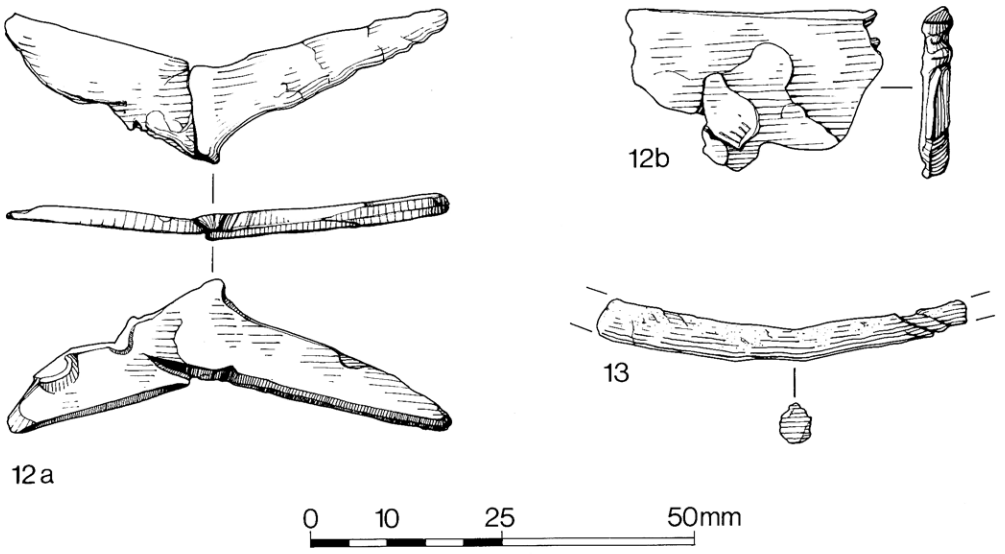

FIG. 12. Non-ferrous metal objects, nos. 12-13.

Quernstone by HUGH CHAPMAN

(III 22 10) Fragment from body of parallel sided millstone, probably upper stone; coarse grit, probably Millstone grit. The grinding surface is dressed with single round punch marks; *c.* 14th -16th century.

Coal Fragment by Dr ROGER NEVES

From the burnt area associated with the millstone in Area III.

Coal Type: Banded vitrain and clarain

Palynological Assemblage: Spores and detrital wood

Spore taxa	Schulzospora rara
	S. occelata
	S. plicata
	Punctatisporites nitidus
	Crassispora kosankei
	Lophotriletes microsactosus
	Lycospora noctuina
	Leiotriletes sp.
	Grandispora cf. spinosa
	Remysporites cf. magnificus
	Calamospora liquida
Age and Source:	The assemblage is distinguished by an abundance of specimens of the genus *Schulzospora* and the presence in association of *Crassispora kosankei*, *Remyporites* cf. *magnificus* and *Grandispora spinosa*. This occurrence is restricted to the lower part of the Namurian ('Millstone Grit') and moreover occurs in the Tan Hill Coal which outcrops to the south-east of Brough.

Discussion

It remains to discuss the significance of the discoveries, in particular the remains of the buildings at the southern end of Church Brough and what they tell us of the village's growth and decline. If the ditch found in Area IV was the boundary of the toft, then these may have extended *c.* 40 m to the east of the road, a shorter length than was normal.[38]

The buildings

It is unfortunate that so little of the early timber structures was uncovered and that the evidence for their dating was so imprecise. There was clearly a build-up of material associated with the construction of the overlying stone buildings in Area II/III, but it is not clear if the stone construction followed immediately on the demolition of the timber. The pottery suggests that, at the earliest, the first timber structure belongs to the 14th century, at the latest to the 16th century. Little in the way of comparable structures has been excavated in the north-west, but what knowledge we do have makes it clear that a 16th century date would not be unusual for such construction. Wall trenches of such slight construction are known from other Pennine clay sites in the late medieval period.[39]

The traces of the earlier timber phase appeared at both east and west ends of Area III and, if linked, could have formed part of a long structure, perhaps a byre-house (or 'latrine house'), but this can only be conjecture. The second building, which reused a broken millstone as the base for a hearth, could be identified as either a kitchen or a small room or shed used for heating or for industrial purposes. No corroborative evidence was found apart from fragments of coal and the burnt traces on the millstone and in the associated floor deposits.

We are on a little firmer ground with the stone phase, but again there are problems of interpretation since only partial plans were recovered. The building in Area I, dating probably to the last quarter of the 17th century, presumably had rubble walls of similar construction to those of the surviving contemporary houses in Brough.[40] This rush of new building in stone took place in improved social and economic conditions, and at a time of increased prosperity, especially for dairy farmers.[41] The sandstone of the flag floor was a commonly used material in this part of the country, and similar flags might have been used on the roof.[42]

The building probably fits into the category known in vernacular architectural terms as a "small house", of which several types are known.[43] The presence of coal and the absence of a major drain indicates a domestic function. Its western wing, presumably a kitchen, appeared to have been built in from the start, although such wings were often an added feature dating to *c.* 1700 or soon after.[44] The status of the occupants was presumably fairly lowly, but high enough to own their own dwellings. The oblique alignment of the house and the scale of its yard are noteworthy, but cannot be satisfactorily explained.

The structures in Area II/III made up part of a farm establishment, and presumably consisted of the farmhouse itself (or conceivably a barn), with a cowhouse or stable to the north.[45] Byres were commonly provided to cope with the winters of northern and western Britain. Other associated structures would be expected, and, in view of constraints in other directions, must have lain to the east, across the cobbled yard. It is just

possible, but perhaps unlikely, that these belonged to the same establishment as the house in Area I.

The position of the door of the postulated farmhouse, only *c.* 2 m from the north wall, might suggest that a bedroom lay to the north of the partition wall (see Fig. 4), leaving the rest of the building for living and cooking functions. Of course, sleeping accommodation could equally well have been provided on a first floor. The excavations produced a number of objects which might well have been derived from the standing building, including a key, and door and window attachments (see report, above, pp. 162-3).

The Village

It is clear from the excavated evidence that the village did not extend as far south as the site before the 14th century, possibly not until the early 17th. Although certainty is impossible, the latter date would fit in better with the general historical framework, with settled conditions prevailing, whereas the 14th century began badly for Church Brough and recovery may not have been possible for some time. We might have expected that no light would be cast on the village's origins or essential plan, for the site investigated lies at the extreme periphery of the village, more than 200 m south of the village cross at the road junction (Fig. 1). Growth in this direction was only likely after the plots facing the green and the road leading to Market Brough had been fully developed. Interestingly, the contour map makes clear the contrast in height between the road and the house sites at this point; this may indicate heavy usage – by through traffic as much as by the villagers and their stock.[46] The discrepancy in height is not so marked to the south of Area I, although 18th century maps do show that buildings existed as far as the junction with the Augill Castle road. It is unfortunate that evidence for the occupation of the householders was scarce, although Areas II/III clearly contained a farm. In view of the date of construction, at a known period of agricultural prosperity, there is no reason why the house in Area I was not of similar function, but there are several other possibilities and no diagnostic finds were made.

These problems illustrate many of the frustrations common to the research questions which arise from programmes of rescue archaeology. Brough deserves more attention, from the geographer, the historian, and the archaeologist, and the report above represents only one further step forward in the elucidation of the settlement's long and complicated history.[47]

An Early Road at Forest Farm and Routes East of Brough

The most significant and substantial feature which fieldwork showed to be affected by the line of the A66 Brough by-pass was a stretch of a former road running east-west either side of Forest Farm (grid ref NY 810147), *c.* 1 mile east of Brough (Fig. 13). Its line was first noted in 1972 by Mr David Ellwood and Professor G. D. B. Jones on their examination of a collection of aerial photographs of the by-pass route in the possession of the then Westmorland County Council (made available through the good offices of the County Surveyor, Mr J. McIntyre). In view of the lack of dating evidence for this feature and of a definite candidate for the Roman road between Stainmore and Brough

fort (discussed below), further investigation was considered necessary in advance of the roadworks.

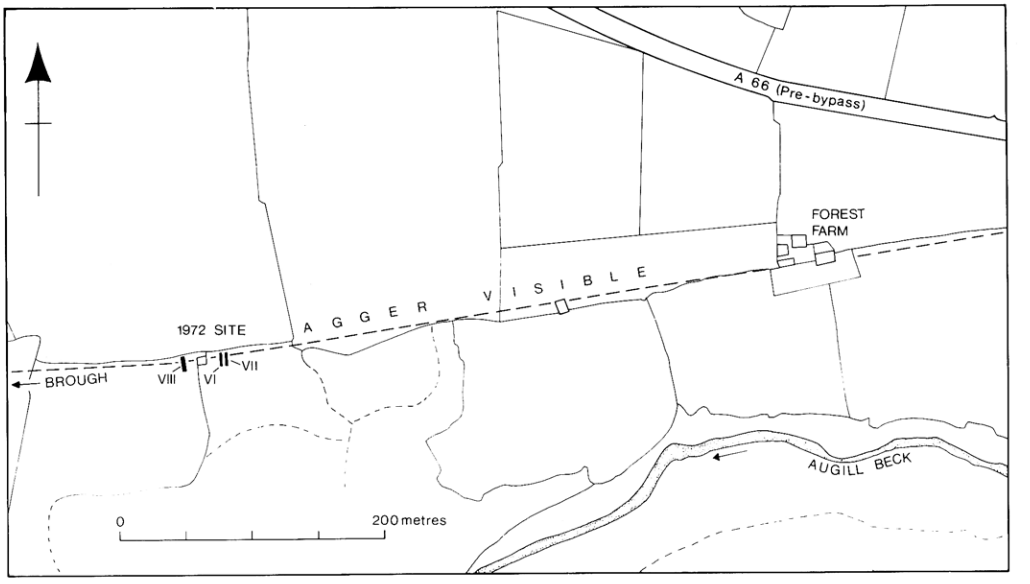

FIG. 13. Map showing location of road excavation close to Forest Farm.

The linear feature was visible as an agger *c.* 10 m wide, and could be traced for a distance of 500 m to the west of the farm, and *c.* 300 m to its east. To determine its nature, a resistivity survey was carried out in April 1972 by Messrs A. J. Clark and D. Haddon-Reece of the then Department of the Environment's Ancient Monuments Laboratory. They reported thus (Fig 14):

Possible early road

This was tested by resistivity (double dipole configuration) in the vicinity of the ruined barn building which stands upon it. Not only is this the part that is going to be destroyed by the new road, but it could also contain the most critical evidence.

Just to the east of the building, the agger is perhaps the better preserved than anywhere else. In our first traverse, taken across it 9.4 m east of the building, it gave a substantial series of high readings in sharp contrast with the low readings of the clay soil to the south. A few readings were taken in the field to the north, to confirm that the high values were an isolated group rather than a geological change.

West of the building, the hedgerow diverges slighty to the north, and it seemed crucial to check whether the probable road ignored this and continued in a straight line. Unfortunately, the remains seem to dwindle away here, and a resistivity traverse, going south from the peg placed near the hedgerow by the archaeologists, confirmed that the substantial high-resistance anomaly had disappeared. However, the two peaks centred on 8 and 20 m may represent the sides of the agger, or material that had slipped in its sides or into side ditches. The very low readings between these peaks look like the robbed-out centre of the road. Auger tests of the two peaks showed that the ground is here composed of sand, which could be the basic material of the agger, although one cannot rule out the possibility that these are natural bands and that all remains of the road have been eradicated, especially as there are other lesser peaks in the traverse.

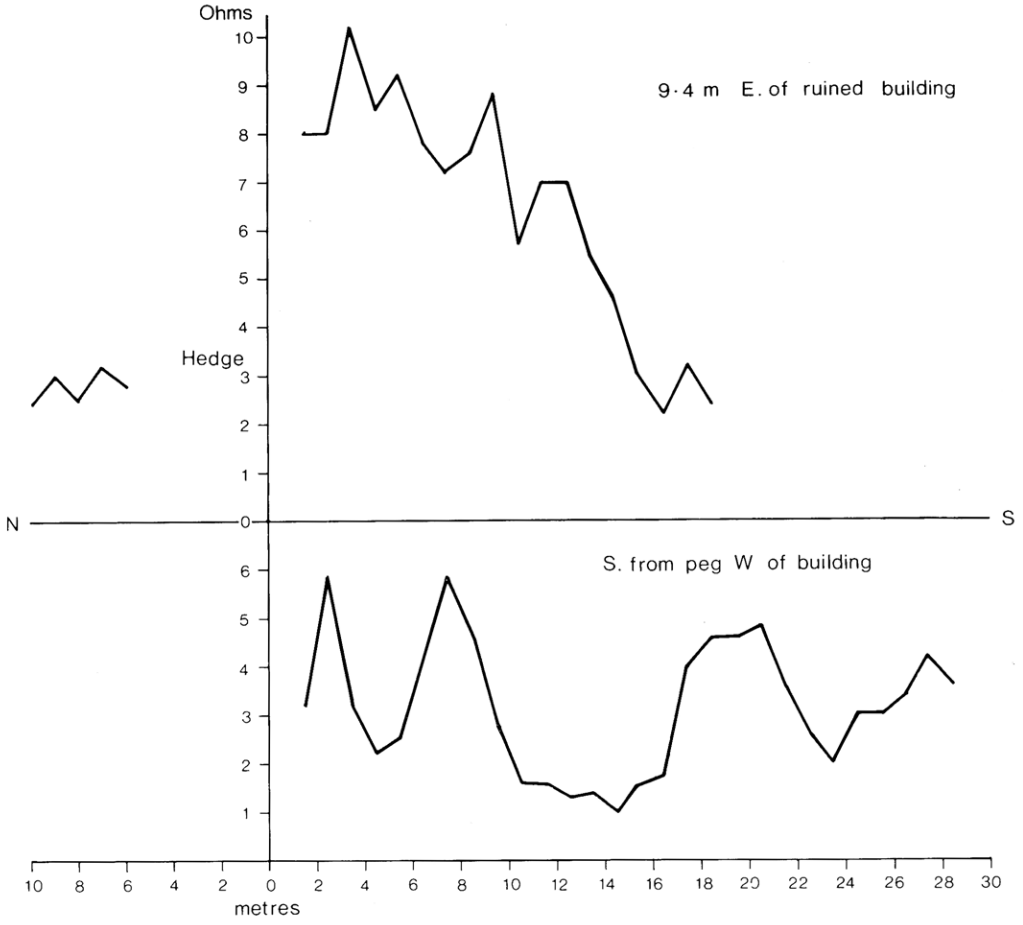

FIG. 14. Diagram of resistivity survey across agger.

Auger borings further west in this field, and in the next field to the west, did not pick up any further convincing sign of road metalling.

In view of the positive results obtained, excavations were mounted in the second campaign in September 1972, with the kind permission of the farmer, Mr A. B. Glover. Initially two trenches (VI and VII), each 10·5 m long and 2 m wide, were opened to the east of the building. Subsequently another trench (VIII), this time 10 m long by 2·5 m wide, was cut to the west of the building (Fig. 13). Each trench revealed more than one period of surface, but these could not all be reconciled across the three areas.

Trench VI (Fig. 15, Plate VI)

After removal of turf and topsoil, the eastern 750 mm of the trench was excavated down to the natural boulder clay and sandy clay which occurred at a depth of *c.* 900 mm beneath the modern surface. The latest road (2), however, appeared immediately beneath

the topsoil. Most of its surface survived poorly, but it was clearly defined by two kerbs *c.* 7 m apart.

Leaving the kerbs intact over half of the width of the trench, the rest of the trench was deepened to reveal another stony layer (5) with clearly defined limits only 2·7 m apart. This may have constituted an earlier surface. It had a pronounced camber, and it consisted of weathered sandstone (although the "weathering" need not have taken place during exposure). Its removal revealed another major stone layer (7), (13), again with kerbs, *c.* 6·3 m apart. A line of larger stones was also apparent in the centre of the "road", but it was impossible to be certain if these were *in situ*. Perhaps they represented the remains of a drain, or the original northern or southern boundary of this road before it was widened.

Since the clay found beneath the lowest layer of cobbling gave the impression of forming a slight agger, *c.* 300 mm of it was excavated, but no sign was visible of artificial dumping.

In summary, Trench VI contained 3 major stone layers, at least two of which (and probably all three) were road surfaces. No dating was found, apart from a fragment of a Roman quernstone beneath the latest surface.

Trench VII (Fig. 15)

A similar sequence was found here, with the kerbs of the latest surface (2) visible immediately beneath the topsoil. Again the eastern part of the trench was first deepened to reveal an area of compacted small cobbles (4) 3·20 m in width, equivalent to the intermediate surface (5) found in VI.

To its south, however, a line of stones (5) occurred, running east-west across the full width of the trench, with a hint of a return northwards in the west section. If so, it would have stood over the stone surface, and this is not likely if the surface was a highway. The structural nature of the layer (5) was corroborated by the existence of a foundation 79 cm wide. The lowest surface (9) recalled that in Trench VI, also with a line of large stones along the centre line. All this may add up to the early "road" behind bounded on its south side at this point by a stone-based wall or building which later tumbled over the road. Black staining found in both trenches could possibly indicate timber walls.

The interpretation of the remains found in these two trenches was complicated by the traces of associated structures, and one hypothesis which has to be considered was that the latest cobbling had been associated with the adjacent derelict building, the earlier with its predecessor. Certainly no artefacts were found to support this idea, but it was felt that excavation to the west of the building was desirable to check that the surfaces did in fact continue.

Trench VIII (Fig. 16 and Plate VII)

This was located at a similar distance west of the outbuilding as Trench VI lay to its east. Its excavation was carried out more hurriedly, but that did not explain the lack of firm evidence for an equivalent surface to the latest found further east. There was, however, an associated ditch to the north. The second road did occur closer to the modern level, so that the absence of any successor cannot necessarily be taken to indicate that the latest road merely served the building, possibly as a yard.

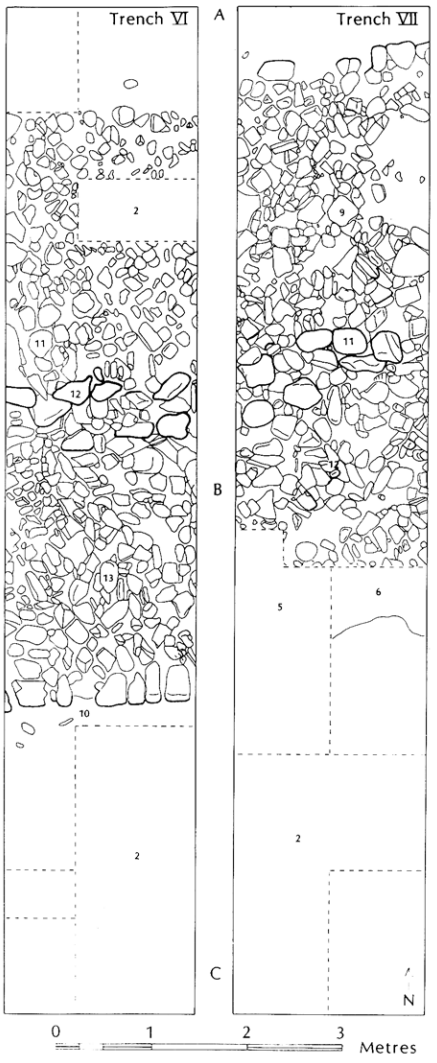

FIG. 15. Plan of Areas VI-VII, showing mainly lower surface (cf. Plate VI).

The second surface (2) itself consisted of a mix of small pebbles, limestone and sandstone fragments with some grit, set in sandy soil. It was founded on a layer of larger stones (3). Here the road was 4·2 m wide (*c.* 2·7 m in Trench VI).

Beneath a levelling layer was a dump of large river cobbles, forming either a foundation, or the earliest road, in all 6·6 m wide. Between the stones was crushed limestone, and in places, some fragments of coal. The ditch to the north may originally have belonged to this period.

Apart from the lack of the latest surface, therefore, the sequence in Trench VIII is comparable to those in VI and VII.

Discussion (Fig. 17)

It remains to consider the date and function of this linear feature. Even reduced to its

PLATE VI. Area VI: road under excavation, looking north (cf. Fig. 15).

minimum, and discounting the latest surface as possibly being related to the farm building, there remains clear evidence for a road running for several hundred metres. To the east, it may have joined the line of the modern road close to its recent diversion to the south of Augill Bridge.

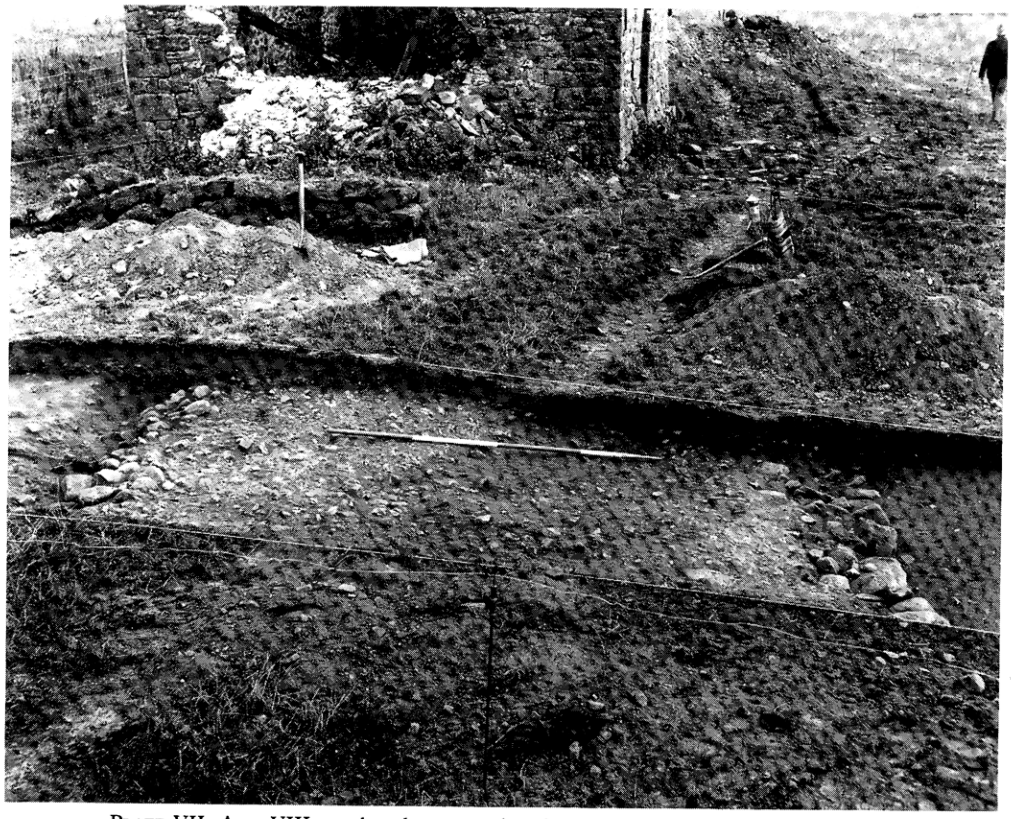

PLATE VII. Area VIII: road under excavation; latest surface exposed, looking ENE.

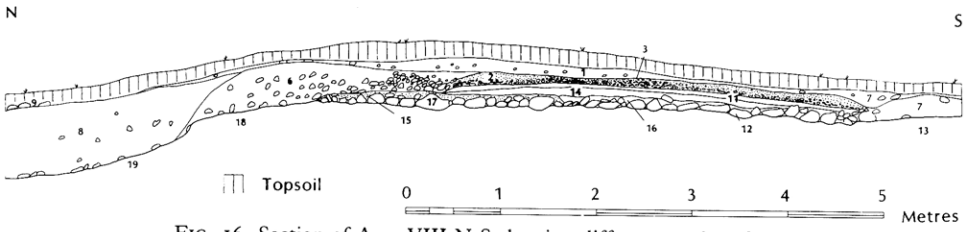

FIG. 16. Section of Area VIII N-S showing different road surfaces.

More important, however, is the need to establish its course towards Brough. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch map of Stainmore (NY 81: 1952 edition) shows it as the line of a footpath running roughly parallel to the course of Augill Beck *c.* 200 m to its south, and heading approximately in the direction of Market Brough (Fig. 17, A). It is worth speculating on the possibility of its continuation as the back lane to the south of the properties in Market Brough: did it therefore exist as an earlier through route?

If it did continue this far, what was its date and function? The only datable find was a Roman quernstone fragment. The course of the Roman road between the fort at Brough

and the fortlet at Maiden Castle on Stainmore has never been definitely settled. Margary tentatively identified the Roman line as diverging from the modern route near Banks Gate, and suggested a route from close to Long Rigg towards Augill Castle, thence the fort (Fig. 17, B).[48] The early 6 inch OS map (1915 edition) notes this line as an agger called "Maiden Way" shortly before it descends steeply to cross Powbrand Sike, *c.* ½ mile east of Augill Castle. At the same time Margary admitted that "much of the route here still needs tracing in detail".

Subsequently, fieldwork by Mr R. A. H. Farrar, formerly of RCHM, encouraged him to discount Margary's suggested line, and to identify the route through Forest Farm as the Roman line. Its construction he considered to be similar to that found in the Roman period, but in the absence of dating evidence he accepts that later contexts are possible.[49]

Other recent work has been carried out by Professor G. D. B. Jones and Dr N. J. Higham of Manchester University. Among earthworks noted to the east of Brough were a number of possible signal stations, elements in the system first elucidated by Sir Ian Richmond.[50] These authors recognize that the intensity of ploughing to the east of Brough has meant that "the course of the Roman road is still a matter for conjecture in

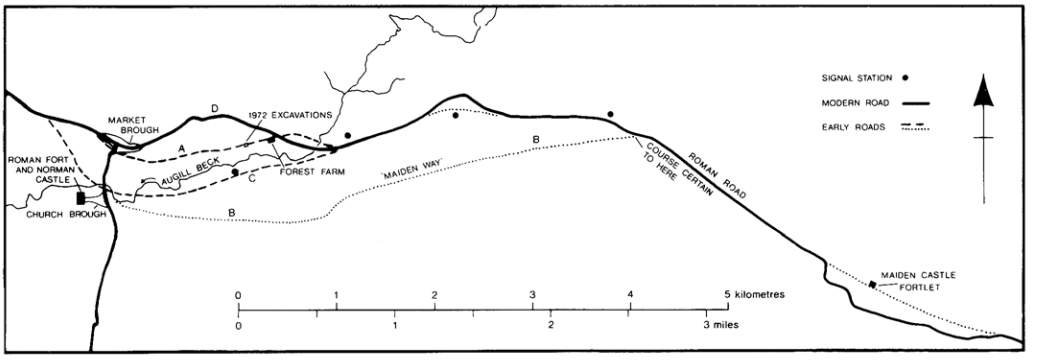

FIG. 17. Plan showing lines of early roads E of Brough.

the vicinity of Brough fort". They do, however, suggest that the "most sensible course" was to the south of Augill Beck, where another footpath is marked on OS maps and where Jones and Higham have identified another possible signal station (Fig. 17, C). At the same time, they concede that the Maiden Way line favoured by Margary is a further candidate.

There are several useful items of documentary and pictorial evidence. The 1841 Tithe map shows the southerly route through Augill Castle (Fig. 17, B) – Margary's favoured line for the Roman road – as the 'coal road'. Coal roads would normally run from the sources of the minerals, and these are on Stainmore itself. The Forest Farm road is possibly to be interpreted in a similar way. The path south of Augill Beck is also shown on the tithe map, as if it were a line still known and/or used, in addition to the present northerly line. This would tend to favour the Augill Beck route as the Roman line.

Nicolson and Burn noted that the Roman causeway had been very conspicuous until the construction of the Turnpike Road earlier that century, which had destroyed it (and presumably therefore followed the same line) over a considerable distance.[51] It ran a straight course "over hills and dales", and was "about 6 yards wide, on level ground

made of three courses of large square stones, the lowest course being the largest, the other two diminishing gradually. It had a total depth of a yard or more". Was their identification correct? There seems a good possibility, for a road of such solid construction seems unlikely before this date. This throws considerable doubt on the identification of the road found at Forest Farm as the Roman route.

Yet a further clue is provided by a description of the route of the Turnpike Road, which is stated by Curwen to have left the Roman route at the Augill Bridge by turning north across the beck.[52] Both this source, and Hodgson's map showing early road lines[53] strongly favour the line discovered by Jones and Higham.

If we accept this line, the Forest Farm route is still unattributed, and the finds of coal and part of a Roman quernstone in its makeup are of little help in dating it. The important point is that it appears to make for Market Brough, and is best seen as an earlier or alternative line to the present route. At the same time, we must remember that Market Brough grew up along a road which was presumably already in existence by *c.* 1150 and in this context it is relevant to remember that the Norman conquerors would have needed good lines of communication. The Forest Farm line might therefore represent either a later Roman or Norman through route, bypassing the diversion to the Roman fort and Norman Castle in Market Brough, or merely a much later road of unknown function. More intensive fieldwork might produce the answer.

Conclusions

The combination of new evidence about the village and the roads allows us to suggest the following outline sequence:

1. There was some pre-Conquest settlement in the area, but little evidence is available as yet;
2. Brough's strategic location at the western end of Stainmore and at the junction with the early road to the Lune Valley made it a natural point for a Castle;
3. The existence of the Roman fort with surviving ditches, if not walls, was an obvious choice for the Castle site. A new road line north of the Roman route may have been created at this time;
4. A market was created adjacent to the Castle in the form of a planned village, occupying the relatively level ground east of the Castle which had also housed the Roman extra-mural settlement;
5. The market was subsequently moved to a location on the (realigned) Stainmore road at its junction with the road to Kirkby Stephen (and the castle);
6. Both villages survived the vicissitudes of the later middle ages and subsequently expanded, with Market Brough becoming the larger;
7. Church Brough was in decline before the end of the 18th century, Market Brough by the mid-19th.

Notes and References

[1] CW2, lxxvii, 17-47.

[2] I must thank Miss Sheila MacPherson, formerly Archivist-in-Charge at the Kendal Record Office, and now Archivist for Cumbria, for considerable help in locating and advising on the documentary material. Dr

J. A. Johnston gave wise advice on the interpretation of the demographic evidence, and Dr B. K. Roberts on the village morphology. Those who helped to organize and carry out the excavations are listed in fn. 1 of the Roman report in CW2 lxxvii. Dr J. H. Williams advised on the presentation of the excavation report, Dr N. J. Higham on the problem of the early road-lines, and Mr J. E. C. Peters on the interpretation of the excavated buildings. I am also grateful to those who provided reports on the finds. Mrs G. Exton and Mrs E. Nurser produced several clean typescripts of various drafts, and Mr B. C. Jones (Honorary Joint Editor) advised on both the historical content and on the report's presentation. Jayne Peacock and David Taylor prepared the site plans for publication, and staff of the Department of the Environment Ancient Monuments drawing office drew the metal objects.

[3] To be deposited at Kendal Museum of Archaeology and Natural History.

[4] W. D. Simpson, CW2, xlvi, 223-83; M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 502-3.

[5] M. W. Beresford and J. K. St. Joseph, *Medieval England: an Aerial Survey* (1979), 144-5.

[6] B. K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village* (1987); C. C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (1983).

[7] A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (1987), 24, 127.

[8] J. R. Baldwin and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (1985), esp. 23, 46, 48; B. K. Roberts, "Later '-by' names in the Eden Valley", *Nomina*, forthcoming; "Nucleation and Dispersion: Distribution Maps as a Research Tool", forthcoming festschrift study; *op. cit.* (n. 6), 176-7; Long Strip Fields in the Eden Valley, *Geog. Annales*, forthcoming. For the pre-Scandinavian period see N. J. Higham, *The Northern Counties to A.D. 1000* (1987), 235-335, and for Roman Brough see note 1.

[9] W. D. Simpson, *op. cit.* and M. W. Beresford, *op. cit.*

[10] Winchester, *op. cit.*, 6.

[11] A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (1978), 95-6, 154.

[12] RCHM *Westmorland* (1936), s.v. "Brough".

[13] Hothfield Manuscripts, consulted in the Kendal Record Office (ref. WD/Hoth).

[14] E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981), *passim*.

[15] Appleby, *op. cit.*, 31 and Appendix; cf. also Fig. 7.

[16] M. A. Faraday, *The Westmorland Protestation Returns 1641-2* (1971); Appleby, *op. cit.*

[17] J. F. Curwen, *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland* (1932), 103-4; CW2, li, 139. Wrigley and Schofield, *op. cit.*, 570.

[18] Appleby, *op. cit.*, 93-4 with n. 58.

[19] CW2, lxxiv, 214-6.

[20] In Carlisle Record Office (ref. D/Mh/1/9).

[21] Nicolson and Burn, I, 465; *Barley's Northern Directory* 1781.

[22] Kendal Record Office.

[23] J. D. Marshall and J. K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid 20th century* (1981), 67-100.

[24] Maps consulted in Kendal Record Office: Jefferys 1770, Greenwood, 1824.

[25] Brough Intake 1836; Church Brough 1854; Lowgill Field 1836/1855.

[26] M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages* (1971), 85-9.

[27] The author would like to thank Ms C. M. Brooks, M. Taylor and P. Cracknell for help with identification of the pottery.

[28] See M. R. McCarthy and C. M. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain 900-1600* (1988).

[29] "The Medieval Pottery", in R. Newman and R. H. Leech, *Excavations at Dacre*, forthcoming.

[30] Atkinson, D. and Oswald, A. "London Clay Tobacco Pipes" repr. from *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 32 (1969).

[31] Parsons, J. E., "The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe in North East England", in *AA4*, Vol. 42, pp. 231-48.

[32] Oswald, A., *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*, British Archaeological Reports, 14 (1975), General Typography, Figs. 3 and 4.

[33] Walker, I. C., "Statistical Methods of Dating Clay Pipe Fragments", in *Post-Medieval Archaeology I* (1968), pp. 90-101.

[34] Paul Wilthew of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage, carried out X-ray fluorescence on the metal objects. The same laboratory conserved the objects.

[35] S. Moorhouse, "Finds from Basing House, Hampshire (*c.* 1540-1645): Part Two", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 5 (1971), 35-76. C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969*.

Volume 2 The Finds (Leicester 1975). D. Crossley, *The Bewl Valley Ironworks, Kent. c.* 1300-1730 (1975). P. Drewett, "The excavation of the Great Hall at Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire, 1973", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1976), 1-33. P. Armstrong, "Hull Old Town Report Series No. 1. Excavations in Sewer Lane, Hull, 1974", *East Riding Archaeologist* 3 (1977), 1-82. P. Mayes and L. A. S. Butler, *Sandal Castle Excavations 1964-1973* (Wakefield, 1983). C. M. Cunningham and P. J. Drury, "Post-medieval sites and their pottery: Moulsham Street, Chelmsford", *CBA Research Report 54* (1985).

[36] I. Noël Hume, *Williamsburg Cabinet Makers: The Archaeological Evidence* (1971), 36-7.

[37] M. Snodin, *English Silver Spoons* (1974), 55.

[38] Roberts, *Making of the English Village*, 56.

[39] e.g. Barton Blount in Derbyshire: G. T. Beresford, *The Medieval Clayland Village, excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount* (Society for Med. Archaeol. Monograph 6, 1975).

[40] RCHM *Westmorland* (1936), 53ff., including dates of 1675, 1676, 1687, 1691, 1699.

[41] See historical section, above. (pp. 141-4)

[42] R. W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (1987); *Vernacular Architecture of the Lake Counties* (1974); "Vernacular building traditions in the Lake District", in J. R. Baldwin and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (1985), 135-59.

[43] R. W. Brunskill, "The small house in the Eden Valley", CW2, liii, 160-89.

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[45] R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Farm Buildings of Britain* (1987); J. E. C. Peters, *Discovering Traditional Farm Buildings* (1981).

[46] I owe this suggestion to Dr B. K. Roberts.

[47] A survey of the "total morphology" is desirable, and the testing of Roberts' hypothesis (see n. 8) by selective excavation.

[48] I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (1967), 434-5.

[49] *Pers. comm.* 16 Nov 1979.

[50] I. A. Richmond, "A Roman arterial signalling system", in W. F. Grimes (ed.), *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond* (1951), 293ff. N. J. Higham and G. D. B. Jones, "Frontier, Forts and Farmers", *Archaeol, J.* 142 (1975), 16-53; *The Carvetii* (1985), 48-9.

[51] Nicolson and Burn, I, 8.

[52] J. F. Curwen, *op. cit.*

[53] Hodgson's map of 1828 (Kendal Record Office).