

Introduction

The village of Clifton in Westmorland lies three miles south of Penrith along the medieval road to Kendal. The Hall, the home first of the Engaine and later of the Wybergh family, stands at the north end of the village close to the parish church of St. Cuthbert (FIG. 1). The only part of the Hall surviving is a small tower, added in *c.* 1500 + to a late medieval hall. The remainder of the Hall, including post-medieval extensions, was demolished early in the nineteenth century when the present Hall Farm was built. The tower was used as a farm building until 1973, when it was placed in the guardianship of the Department of the Environment by the present owners, the Lonsdale Estate.

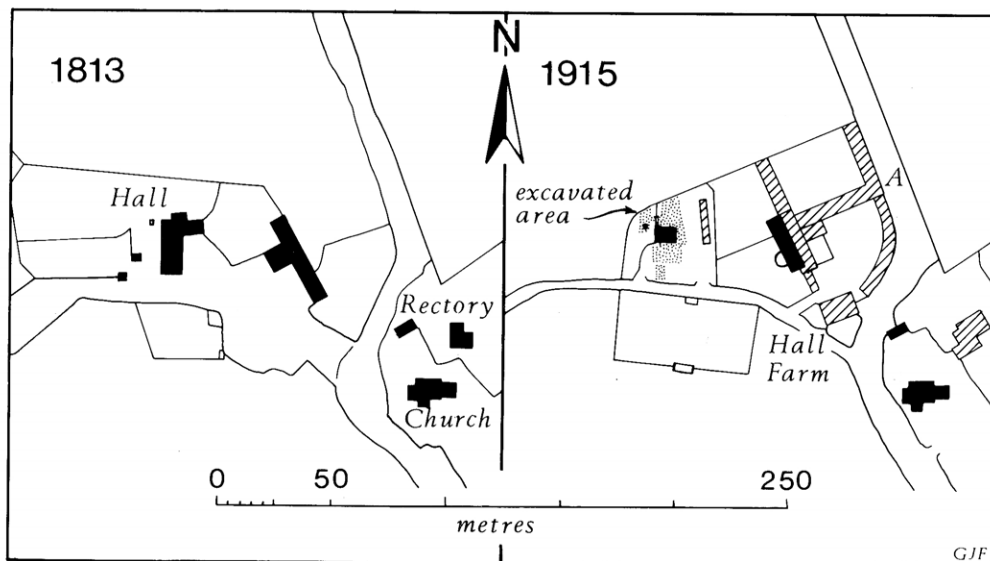


FIG. 1. – Location Maps: Clifton Hall and Church 1813 (from Enclosure Map in K.R.O.) and 1915 (from O.S. 25 ins.)

The work described in this report was carried out by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments of the Department of the Environment as part of the preparation of the tower for public display. The excavation took place in two seasons, in August 1977 and March 1979. This report is in two parts. Part I presents the results of architectural and archaeological research, Part II discusses some aspects of the interpretation of this evidence.¹

Summary of Architectural Development

From the architectural analysis of the tower wing of the Hall and from the excavations around its base a building sequence of seven periods has been defined. This is presented below in summary and discussed in detail in Part II.

Period

- I late medieval hall and cross-wing with at least two structural phases. Late 14th-15th century.
- II tower wing replacing cross wing. Late 15th or early 16th century.
- III first building adjacent to south wall of tower. Early-mid 16th century.
- IV new hall to south of tower, replacing period III building, and consequent modifications to tower. Late 16th or early 17th century.
- V first extension to north of tower. First half of 18th century.
- VI second extension to north of tower. Late 18th century.
- VII demolition of Hall, tower remaining as farm building. Post-1829.

Part I**Documentary Evidence**

The documentary evidence for the history of the Hall, or even of the manor, is not extensive. For the earlier period it is limited almost entirely to the documents recorded by Nicolson and Burn.² The following account is a summary of aspects of the evidence.

The earliest known owner was a Gilbert de Engaine, who held the manor of Sir Hugh de Morville (the son of Ada de Engaine and thus presumably distantly related at least to his tenant³) in the later twelfth century,⁴ certainly by 1173, the year of de Morville's disgrace and loss of lands. Thereafter, the manor was held, by the form of military service known as *drengage*,⁵ of the Cliffords through the line of Robert de Veteripont. The first Gilbert was one of those who, charged with the keeping of Appleby Castle, were fined for surrendering it to the Scots in 1174.⁶ His son Gilbert in 1255 was reported to be eligible by age and wealth for the rank of knight.⁷

The manor passed to Wybergh ownership in the early fifteenth century, with the death, before 1412, of Elianor, the sole issue of the Engaine line, and probably the builder of the manor house of Period I. Twice married and twice widowed, the right of inheritance remained firmly in her hands until at her death it passed to her son by her first marriage (in 1364) to William Wybergh, then of St. Bees.⁸ His heirs held the Hall until late in the nineteenth century, residing there until the early part of that century.⁹ The manor, however, with the exception only of the Hall and its *demesne*, was mortgaged in the middle of the seventeenth century by Thomas Wybergh to Sir John Lowther in exchange for a series of loans of money amounting by 1654 to £846 10s.¹⁰ It is not clear why Wybergh needed to borrow the money,¹¹ but his family were apparently in a difficult financial situation (perhaps worsened by the Civil War, in which Wybergh's Royalist sympathies caused him to be declared, and consequently fined as, a delinquent¹²) for most of the seventeenth century: perhaps until 1706, when an agreement between the grandsons of Sir John Lowther and Thomas Wybergh finally settled the long dispute over ownership of the manor in Lowther's favour, in exchange for a "gift" of £400 to Wybergh.¹³ It is thus probable that most of the building work at the Hall described below was carried out before the Civil War (and perhaps was even the reason for Wybergh's debts) or after the agreement of 1706. The eighteenth century indeed saw several major additions and alterations to the Hall, despite the kidnapping of its owner by the Scots in the '15 and its looting in the '45. It was abandoned, and largely demolished except for the use of the tower as a farm-building, some time after c. 1829.¹⁴ The present farm-house was built probably during the occupation from 1824 of the tenant John Collins.¹⁵

Previous Accounts

The best modern description of the Hall is by M. W. Taylor.¹⁶ Written long after the demolition of most of the Hall, it is mainly valuable for information on internal details of the tower which no longer survive – thus Taylor noted painted wall plaster and a carved wood “spice-cupboard” door. The interpretation of certain features, particularly concerning the evidence for attached buildings contained in the tower’s south elevation, is less useful.

The earliest account, by Thomas Machell, *c.* 1690, is, despite some difficulties of interpretation, more valuable, since Machell saw the hall before the additions of the eighteenth and the demolition of the nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ He describes a building made up of three separate elements: “a tower and two other buildings which front with their gables towards the church” (i.e. to the east). A small sketch of the Hall, among Machell’s papers on Brougham,¹⁸ shows these three elements, the tower on the north side of the building. On none-too-secure evidence (principally the existence in two parts of the building of door-fittings bearing Engaine arms) Machell dated the tower and one other building to the Engaine period, to the early and later fourteenth century respectively, and the third building to the Wybergh occupation of the fifteenth century. Discounting this chronology (see below), this is a useful account. There are inconsistencies however with the evidence from the analysis of the tower’s fabric and from the excavation around the tower: particularly that Machell ignores the earliest (period I) building north of the tower (which must nevertheless have been still extant, probably even in use, in his day), unless his earliest building south of the tower is incorrectly sited on his sketch. The latest building (period IV) excavated south of the tower can however be equated with one or (as the excavated building’s width and internal sub-division might suggest) both of Machell’s later buildings whose gables faced east.

Early graphic evidence other than Machell’s sketch is sparse. The earliest Ordnance Survey plans are later than the Hall’s demolition. There is however a small plan on the 1813 Enclosure Map for the township¹⁹ (FIG. 1). This shows the Hall as an L-shaped building, as revealed by excavation.

The Tower (FIG. 2)

The tower wing of the Hall is the only part of the building still standing.²⁰ It is a small (*c.* 10×7·90 m) rectangular building of three floors. The principal chamber occupied the first floor, with entry originally at this level from the south through a door protected by a draw-bar, and through the earlier (period I) hall at the tower’s north-east angle. A newel stair in the south-west corner gave access to the second floor chamber and through a small turret to the roof. The ground floor room was originally self-contained, the newel then starting only at the first floor. Original ground floor doors survive in the north wall (FIG. 3a) and in the north-east corner opening into the adjacent hall. A third door probably existed in the south wall, where the later door into the newel stair is a re-used original doorway.

The primary fenestration survives in fragmentary form only. All the windows in the east wall are sash windows of the eighteenth century, and there is a seventeenth-century window (of period IV) inserted in the west wall of the ground floor (FIG. 3d). There is no evidence for the original ground floor windows, but the upper floors retain one (FIG. 3c) and two primary windows, all with provision for glazing in addition to shutters. Finally,

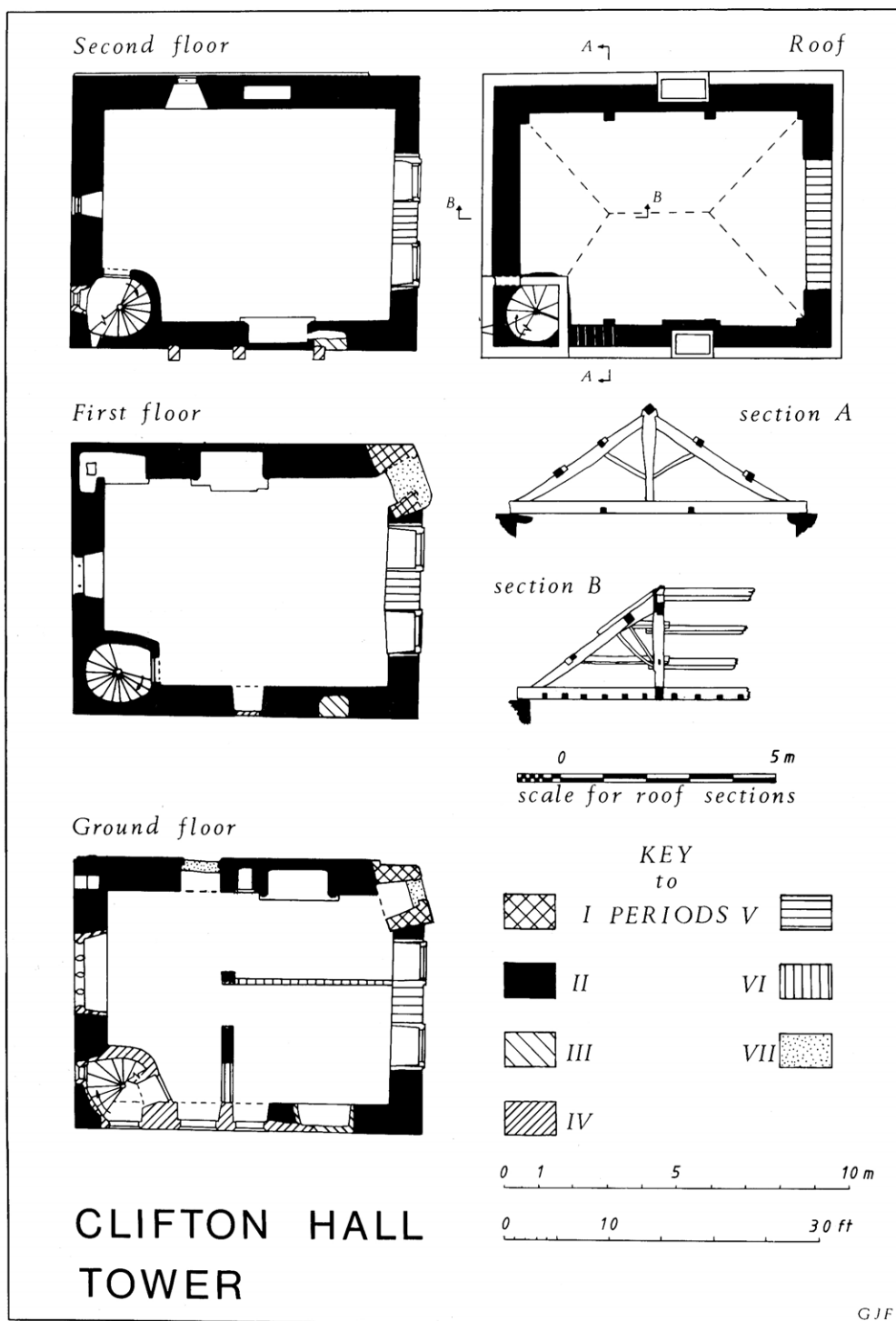


FIG. 2. — After a survey by B. Cox of Ancient Monuments Drawing Office — Survey Section.

the fragments of fifteenth-century windows re-used in the farm buildings (at "A" on FIG. 1) and the window recorded by RCHM (70) in an outbuilding of the Rectory perhaps originated in the tower's east wall or in the adjacent period I hall (FIG. b).

All three floors have substantial fireplaces, though that on the first floor is the largest. This, and the existence on the first floor of a garderobe chamber in the north-west corner and the large west window²¹ support the identification of the room as the main chamber or solar serving the adjacent hall, with a subsidiary chamber above. Both these chambers originally had decorated ceilings and, according to Taylor, wainscoting.²² In a later period they were sub-divided, though there is no evidence for original partitions.²³ The ground floor was also later sub-divided, but here there is some evidence that one partition at least is primary. The fireplace, decorated ceiling, and polychromatic wall painting²⁴ in the larger sub-division suggest that this was a private chamber, perhaps a parlour.

The date of the tower's first construction in the form just described is not firmly fixed but on architectural evidence is usually considered to be early in the sixteenth century.²⁵ With such a date, the form of the several primary doorways in the tower (slightly pointed four-centred arches – FIG. 3a), of the first floor window (FIG. 3c) and of the panelled ceilings (FIG. 3e) would not be inconsistent. A slightly earlier date in the late fifteenth century is equally possible, however.

The many later alterations can be dated mainly by reference to the building sequence (above p. 46) derived from excavation and from analysis of the roof marks on the south wall of the tower. In period III part of the south wall was rebuilt to insert a new ground floor fireplace and its chimney-flue. Much later, in the eighteenth century, most of the east wall was again rebuilt to insert the new windows mentioned above.

The main alterations were associated with the building of the new hall in period IV. Three corbels, still visible high on the south wall of the tower, were inserted to carry the wall-plate of the new building.²⁶ At ground floor level, three adjacent doors were built in the south wall of the tower to give access to the hall. One of these doors opened to the newel stair, which now was extended below first floor level (and built in a different style, hence the cavetto coving, perhaps imitative of wooden stairs²⁷) thus giving direct communication between all floors of the tower. Two new windows were introduced into the west wall to light the newel stair, as the new and higher building now covered the original small light, and the mullioned window in the west wall was inserted.

The other main modifications to the fabric of the tower concerned the roof and parapets. The original roof does not survive. Only the corbels which carried its tie-beams give any indication of its form, which was probably similar to the fine sixteenth-century roof still at Yanwath Hall.²⁸ It was replaced by a hipped roof with king post supporting a ridge (FIG. 2), a type with a good late medieval pedigree²⁹ but which in this context is unlikely to be much earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century. Also secondary in their present form are the crenellated parapet, the chimneys, and the square turret over the newel. This is evident from the more monumental style of their masonry and, more particularly, from the evidence, in at least the case of the stair turret, for the primary arrangements. Originally the stair turret was higher and was entered up a flight of steps from roof level. The steps survive, but now lead to the roof of the turret, the turret door having been moved to its present position. The original arrangement must have been closely similar to that at Yanwath Hall.³⁰ The date of the present structures is uncertain, but the relationship between the roof and the stair turret prove that the present roof cannot have been erected

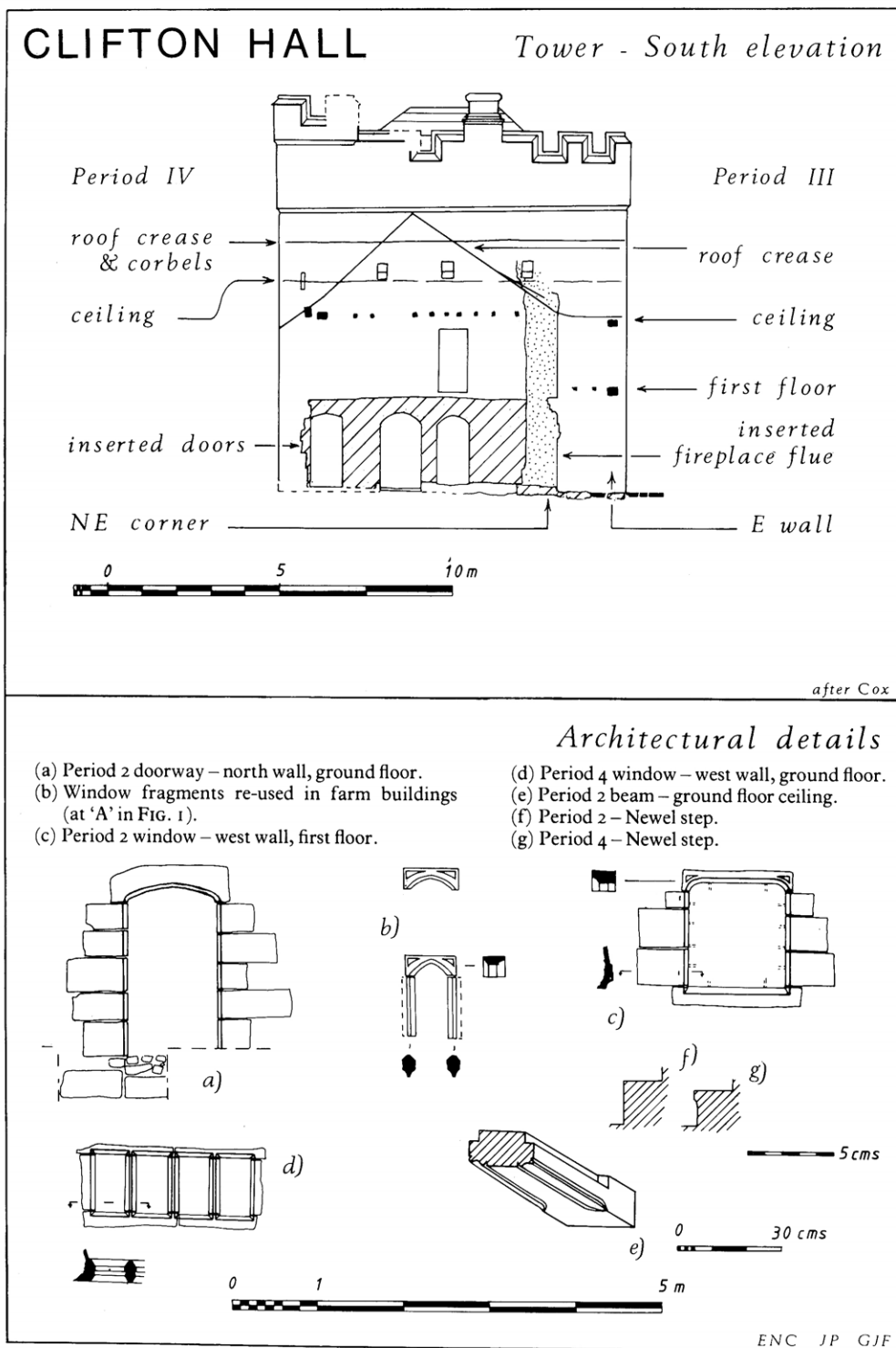


FIG. 3. – After a survey by B. Cox of Ancient Monuments Drawing Office – Survey Section.

before the remodelling of the turret and parapet, and that these are probably contemporary. Machell's sketch seems to show both the present high roof and the chimneys (though apparently not the crenellations), and as the eighteenth-century east windows are later than the parapet, a date during period III or IV is probable.

The Excavation (Figs. 4 and 5)

The areas examined in the two seasons are illustrated on Figs. 1 and 4.³¹ To the south of the tower archaeological deposits were very slight due to continual replacement of buildings and levelling for nineteenth-century farmyard surfaces, so the relationships of features were not always clear. North of the tower the preservation of archaeological remains, except beneath the period VI building, was far more complete, but between these areas no stratigraphic relationship was established, and only the tower provides a common archaeological horizon.³²

Period I

The principal remains of the earliest building on the site consisted of a bipartite structure, interpreted as a hall with a cross-wing to the west. Only a part of the building could be examined, as the bulk of it lies beneath farm buildings to the east. The date of period I is uncertain, as the medieval pottery recovered was insecurely stratified,³³ but parallels for the building plan suggest the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

The hall was the best preserved of the building's two elements. It was a narrow room, only 7 m wide, the length excavated being 5.40 m, perhaps half its full dimension. Its remains (88, 135)* consisted only of a boulder foundation, all else, as so much on the site, having been very thoroughly robbed. Of internal details, only a possible garderobe in the north wall, of which the outlet (105) was excavated, and a fireplace at its west end, one jamb of which is preserved in the north-east corner of the tower (see FIG. 2), are known, although the late medieval windows in the farm buildings (FIG. 3b) were possibly from this building. Its height (5.5 m) can be gauged from the fragment of its west wall preserved in the north-east corner of the tower, and from the string-course on the north wall of the tower, obviously intended to conform to a similar feature at eaves-level on the earlier hall. The first and ground floor entrances to the tower from the hall show that the period I building was of two floors.

Even less is known of the cross-wing at the west end of the hall, as it was almost completely demolished in period II, unlike the hall which survived until period VI. A short length of robber trench (147) beneath a period VI wall is all that survives of its walls. Internally, a large fireplace backing on to the hall fireplace, and an area of paving were excavated. In a second phase, the wing was subdivided (by a partition wall 79/8), and the fireplace apparently enlarged. A second partition (47) may also belong to the second phase.

Period II

The date of the construction of the tower wing has already been discussed (p. 49), and a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century date suggested. Nothing from the excavation contradicts this. Stratigraphically, the tower is the direct successor of the period I cross-

* These and subsequent numbers in this section refer to details shown on FIG. 4.

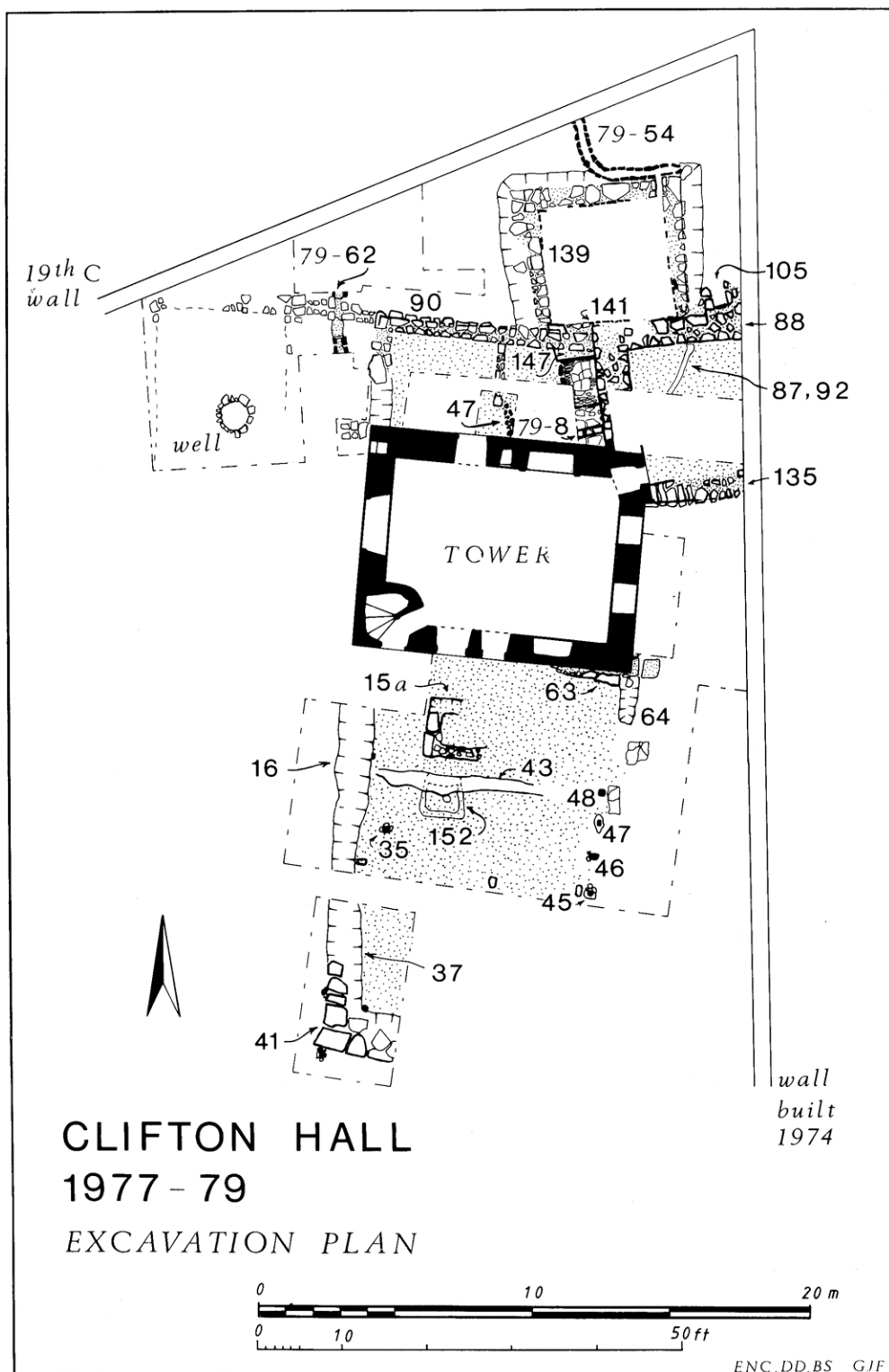


FIG. 4.

wing just described. The tower's north wall lay directly upon the period I internal paving and partition wall, for example, while its north-east angle to the height of the aforementioned string course is in fact part of the west wall of the hall (see FIG. 2). The junction of the two buildings was evidently structurally weak on this account, as demonstrated in this century by a wide fracture at this point of the north wall.

One other feature is ascribed to period II, a rectangular area (1.0 × 1.2 m) defined by a narrow (15 cm) gully (152) and containing a deep (25 cm) post-hole. The function of this feature is unknown – despite its distance from the tower, it may represent the base for a stair giving access to the latter's first floor.

Period III

The principal evidence for the period III building, a timber-framed structure of two floors, is contained in the south elevation of the tower, where it is represented by the marks of its east wall, first floor, and gable (FIG. 3), the earliest of two roofs that have been attached to the tower (see below). The only other evidence of the building to survive the construction of its larger successor in period IV are four post-holes (45 to 48) from its east wall, an internal stone feature (15a), again perhaps a stair-base, possible remains of its south wall (three stone post-bases, one displaced) and a single post-hole (35) of its west wall. It is possible that the period III building was contemporary with, or at least part of the same building programme as the tower, but it can anyway be no later than the middle of the sixteenth century.

Period IV

The period III building was short-lived, as its successor was the building seen and considered old by Machell in c. 1690 and thus no later than the early seventeenth century, and probably earlier. Many of the alterations of this period have already been discussed, as they are visible in the fabric of the tower. Once again, much of its archaeology had been destroyed by nineteenth-century clearance. However, there survived the robber trench (16 and 37) and in one place the foundation (41) of its west wall and south-west angle and a suggestion of its north-east corner (64), as well as the remains of an internal partition (43) apparently of timber on a clay base. Several areas of sandstone paving also survived, beneath which were sealed features of periods II and III. This was thus a substantial building, 15 m N-S and (probably) 10 m E-W. The northern part, the hall, measured 10 m long and 4.40 m wide, smaller than in period I. There is no evidence for an upper floor in the tower's elevation (as there was for the period III building), though a ceiling-crease does exist, so it is probable that the hall at least was of one floor only. Its roof, at least adjacent to the tower, was aligned east-west, the gable, as Machell observed, facing the church. As the building's width would not allow a single-span roof it is possible that this building contained both of the gables recorded by Machell, the internal partition being the support for the valley between the two roofs.

Periods V-VI

These two building periods mark eighteenth-century additions to the post-medieval Hall, the first filling the re-entrant angle between the first hall and the tower, the second extending the building towards the north. A fine cobbled surface around the well probably

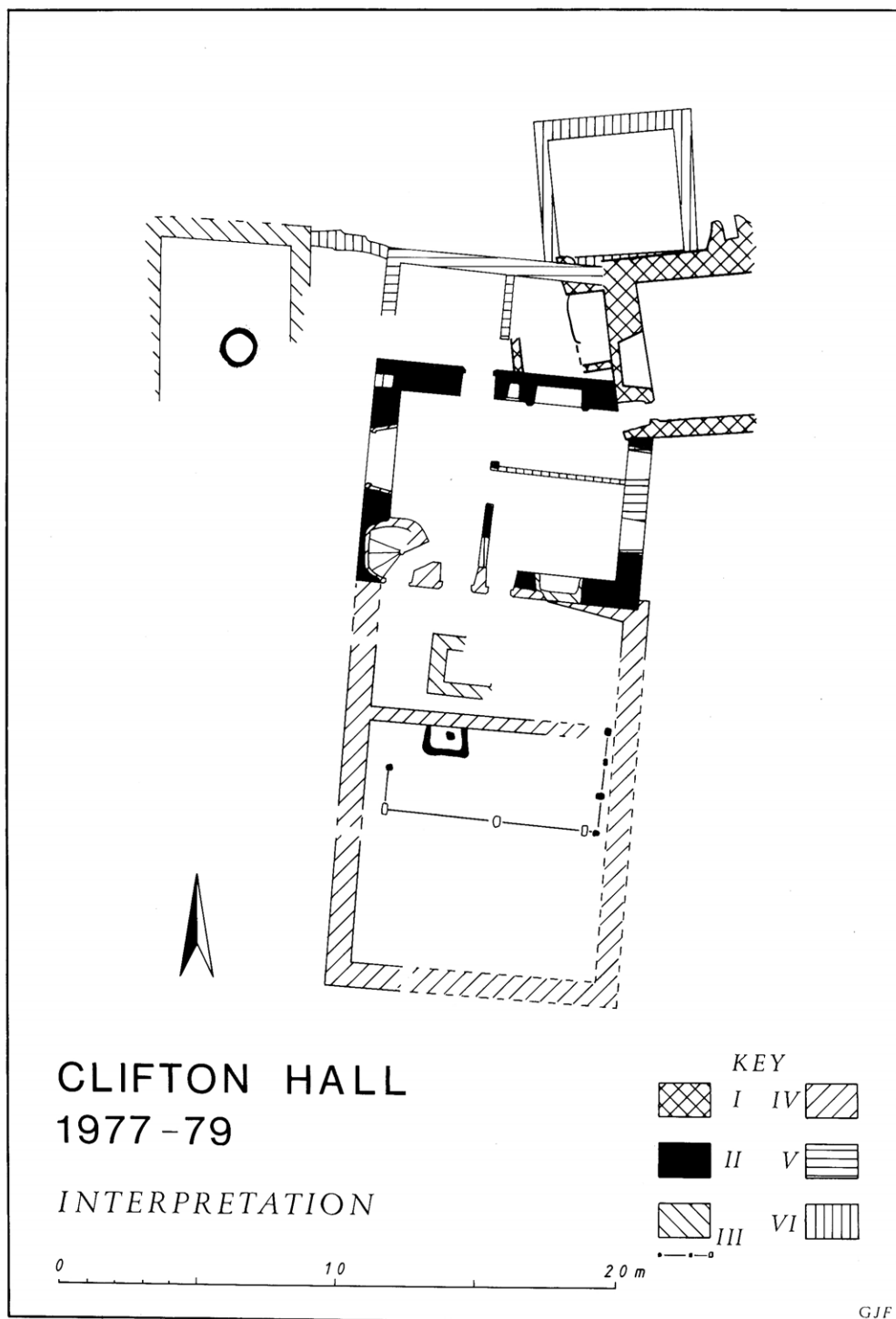


FIG. 5.

also belongs to the late period. The well itself is probably earlier, perhaps of period II as it is apparently respected by the period II drain (79/62) from the garderobe in the tower. Its enclosure wall also belongs to an earlier period, perhaps period IV. Both the eighteenth-century buildings still exhibit the same building technique as the period I and IV halls, having rough boulder foundations (respectively 90, 139). Both their floors, completely robbed, had been bedded on a thick layer of sand. The period VI building was terraced into a natural slope (thus destroying completely the north end of the period I cross-wing). Its builders countered the resultant drainage problems by the construction of a wide, rubble-filled soakway, leading into a drain (79/54) around the extension and fed by a drain cut through the period I hall (87, 92). Internally, the floor was below the level of the period I foundation, so the walls were revetted with a "skirting board" of vertical sandstone slabs (141).

There is evidence that the period V addition of two linked rooms was a single-storey extension. Joist holes for its roof are visible on the tower's elevation, suggesting that the building was merely a pentice. The period VI extension however was more substantial and, in view of the care taken to lower its ground floor, probably of two floors and sharing the roof-line of the period I hall. There was no evidence for the position of internal stairs, however.

Period VI can be dated to the last two decades of the eighteenth century, on the evidence of large quantities of glass and pottery from its construction levels and of two coins of 1775. The earlier building of period V would appear to belong to the first half of the eighteenth century, again on the evidence of the pottery.

The Finds

The Medieval Pottery (FIG. 6)

By J. TAYLOR

The excavations produced 181 sherds (3,141 gms) of medieval pottery, from a minimum of eighteen vessels, none of it usefully stratified. Eight fabrics (A to H), all wheel-thrown, have been identified. For those vessels illustrated see FIG. 6.

Fabric Descriptions

In the following description, the *Carlisle No.* refers to the Medieval Pottery Fabric series being produced by Carlisle Archaeological Unit. Further information on the dating of the fabrics mentioned below will be forthcoming from the study of the large amounts of well stratified medieval pottery from the current excavations in Carlisle.

The conventions used in the report are based upon those of Clive Orton (1977). The fabric conclusions have been identified using a binocular microscope and the "Key to Identification of Common Inclusions in Pottery" in Peacock 1977. The fabric colours are defined by reference to the Munsell Soil Colour Chart (1973).

Fabric A Carlisle No. 1

Sherd count – 92 (50.83% of the assemblage)

Weight 1,300 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 3

Fabric. Hard and smooth with an irregular fracture. The general colour is very dark grey (7.5YR N3/) with light grey to grey (10YR 7/1) internal surfaces. Light grey (10YR 7/1) external margins

are usual. The characteristic inclusions are moderate fine to medium irregular quartz, sparse very fine black iron ore, moderate very fine white mica, and sparse fine irregular dull white grains.

Form and decoration. Of the three vessels identified all are probably jugs. The external glaze ranges in colour from an all-over dull olive (nos. 1, 2 and 3, a base) to a sparse pale brown (no. 4).

Fabric B Carlisle No. 12

Sherd count – 29 (16.02% of the assemblage)

Weight – 660 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 4

Fabric. Hard and smooth with a finely irregular fracture. The general colour is dark grey (7.5YR N4/) with reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) internal margins and surfaces. Light grey to grey (10YR 6/1) external margins are usual. The characteristic inclusions are moderate fine white mica, moderate fine angular quartz, and sparse fine red and black iron ore.

Form and decoration. The four identifiable vessels include a large cooking-pot (no. 5) which has an all-over thick external glaze ranging in colour from olive to yellowish brown and a patchy olive internal glaze. The other vessels are all probably jugs with external glazes ranging in colour from a patchy thin dull brown (nos. 6 and 7), through an all-over dull olive brown (no. 8) to an all-over lustrous dark green (three body sherds).

Fabric C Carlisle No. 14

Sherd count – 33 (18.23% of the assemblage)

Weight – 913 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 4

Fabric. Hard and rough with an irregular fracture. The general colour is light grey to grey (7.5YR N6/) with pinkish grey external surfaces (7.5YR 7/2). The inclusions are moderate medium sub-angular quartz, sparse fine black iron ore, and sparse fine white mica. Many of the quartz have fallen out of the fracture leaving a pitted appearance.

Form and decoration. Of the four vessels identified a double-handled storage jar (no. 9) has an all-over pitted olive-brown external glaze. The other vessels are represented by body sherds with external glazes ranging in colour from a patchy dull brown to thick glossy dark green.

Fabric D Carlisle No. 23

Sherd count – 6 (3.3% of the assemblage)

Weight – 33 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 3

Fabric. Hard and rough with a hackly fracture. The general colour varies from reddish-yellow (5YR 7/8), the internal surfaces and margins being the same, to grey (7.5YR N5/) with reddish-yellow (5YR 7/8) internal surfaces and light grey (10YR 7/1) external margins. The characteristic inclusions are sparse medium sub-angular quartz, sparse irregular medium to coarse red iron ore, and sparse very fine white mica.

Form and decoration. No forms could be distinguished but all the body sherds have external glazes ranging in colour from all over glossy reddish-yellow, through dull olive-brown to a very patchy light brown. The sherd with a yellowish red glaze also has a faint line of simple rouletting.

Fabric E Carlisle No. 15

Sherd count – 11 (6.08% of the assemblage)

Weight – 133 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 1

Fabric. Hard and smooth with an irregular fracture. The general colour is grey (2.5Y N5/). The

characteristic inclusions are moderate fine to medium irregular quartz, moderate fine white mica, and sparse fine black iron ore.

Form and decoration. No form could be distinguished but all the sherds have a thin dull olive-grey external glaze and several are badly blistered suggesting over-reduction during firing.

Fabric F Carlisle No. 16

Sherd count – 6 (3.3% of the assemblage)

Weight – 100 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 1

Fabric. Fairly hard and rough with a hackly fracture. The general colour is reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) with an occasional grey (2.5YR N5/) core. The characteristic inclusions are moderate fine irregular quartz, and moderate fine angular black iron ore.

Form and decoration. No form could definitely be established but it was probably a jug with at least one small strap handle. The sherds have a patchy thick olive internal and external glaze.

Fabric G Carlisle No. 20

Sherd count – 3 (1.68% of the assemblage)

Weight – 95 gms. Minimum number of vessels – 1

Fabric. Hard and rough with an irregular fracture. The general colour is reddish yellow (5YR 7/6). The characteristic inclusions are moderate medium angular quartz, moderate medium to coarse irregular black and red iron ore, and sparse fine white mica.

Form and decoration. The vessel identified is a small globular jug (no. 10) with an all-over olive-yellow external glaze spreading slightly inside the rim.

Fabric H Carlisle No. 27

Sherd count – 1 (0.55% of the assemblage)

Weight – 7 gms. One vessel

Fabric. Hard and rough with a hackly fracture. The general colour is yellowish red (5YR 5/8). The characteristic inclusions are moderate medium irregular quartz, moderate medium irregular red iron ore, and moderate medium to coarse dull white grains.

Form and decoration. The rim sherd (no. 11), probably from a cooking-pot, has no glaze.

Dating

Very little research has been carried out on medieval pottery from the north-west and only two published groups of pottery, both from Carlisle, are relevant to this material from Clifton Hall (Jope and Hodges 1955, layers 3-7a; Jarrett and Edwards 1964, groups I-VII). Most fabric parallels used in this report have been taken from these two groups.

Fabric A. This fabric falls within the long tradition of northern Reduced wares. It has been suggested that this hard smooth micaceous fabric was being used in Carlisle from c. 1250 (Jarrett and Edwards 1964, 43). It continues throughout the fourteenth century and into part of the fifteenth, cf. the grey wares in layers 3 and 3/4 (Jope and Hodges 1955, 99). It is not yet possible to suggest an upper limit for the date of these wares in the north-west.

Fabric B. There are no obvious fabric parallels with the Carlisle pottery.

Fabric C. This fabric compares well with body sherds from layer 3 (Joep and Hodges 1955, 99) dating to the second half of the fourteenth century, and also with a base from layer 4 (Joep and Hodges 1955, 99 not illustrated) dated to the middle of the fourteenth century. The double-handled storage jar (no. 9) is probably a late fourteenth/fifteenth century type (Jarrett and Edwards 1961, No. 49, Le Patourel 1954, 66 FIG. 18:55). It may have had a bung-hole, since most of the lower half of the body is missing.

Fabric D. This fabric occurs as a jug rim in layer 4 (Joep and Hodges 1955, 99. No. 27) dated to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Fabric E. This fabric is represented by two body sherds in group II (Jarrett and Edwards 1964, 45-46) and dated to c. 1250.

Fabric F and G. There are no obvious fabric parallels with the Carlisle pottery.

Fabric H. This fabric is an example of Gritty ware (Holdsworth 1978: 11) which in the Carlisle area appears to span the first half of the thirteenth century. (Jarrett and Edwards 1961, 255).

References

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Catalogue of Illustrated Vessels (FIG. 6)

1. Jug, fabric A. All-over dull olive external glaze. CH77-26.4 sherds.
2. Jug, fabric A. All-over dull olive external glaze. CH77-8.1 sherd; CH77-16.1 sherd.
3. Jug, fabric A. All-over dull olive external glaze. CH77-26.1 sherd.
4. Jug, fabric A. Sparse pale brown external glaze. CH77-26.1 sherd.
5. Cooking pot, fabric B. All-over thick external glaze, olive to yellowish-brown. Patchy olive internal glaze. CH79-49.6 sherds.
6. Jug, fabric B. Patchy dull brown external glaze. CH77-23.1 sherd.
7. Jug, fabric B. Patchy dull brown external glaze. CH79-29.1 sherd.
8. Jug, fabric B. All-over olive-brown external glaze. CH79-58.1 sherd.
9. Double-handled storage jar, fabric C. All-over olive-brown external glaze. CH79-40.4 sherds; CH79-42.9 sherds; CH79-43.1 sherd.
10. Small globular jug, fabric G. All-over dull olive-yellow external glaze. CH79-55.2 sherds.
11. Cooking pot rim, fabric H. Unglazed. CH77-59.1 sherd.

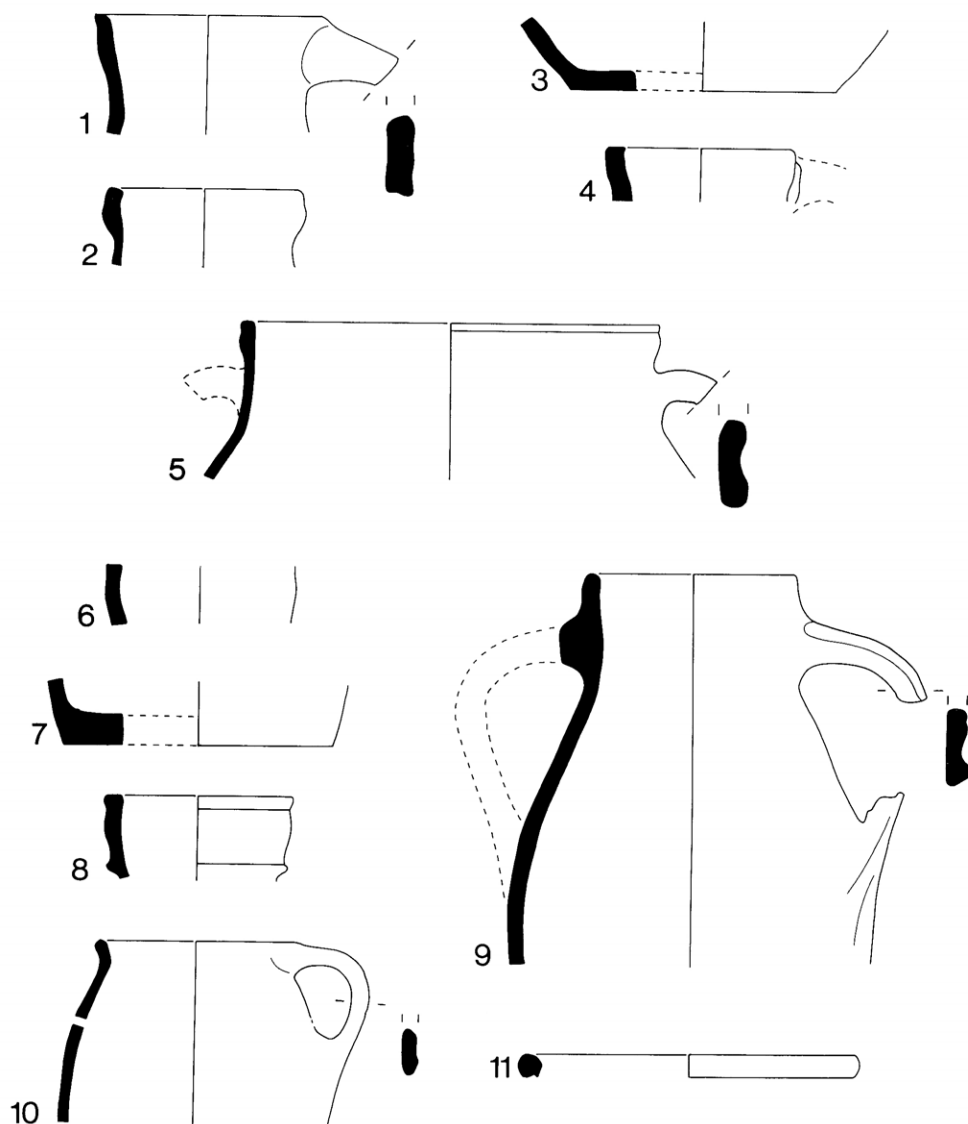


FIG. 6 – The Medieval Pottery (scale $\frac{1}{4}$) by J. Taylor.

The Clay Pipes (FIG. 7)

by R. C. ALVEY.

(Items in brackets are not illustrated)

1. Bowl. Rouletted. Bore 3.3 mm 1620-50.
CH77-27 (period IV).
2. Bowl. Burnished and rouletted. Bore 3.1 mm c. 1620-50.
CH77-27 (period IV).
3. Bowl. Traces of rouletting. Flint and mica inclusions. Wall thickness
4.5 mm Bore 2.2 mm c. 1640-70.
CH77-79 (period VII).

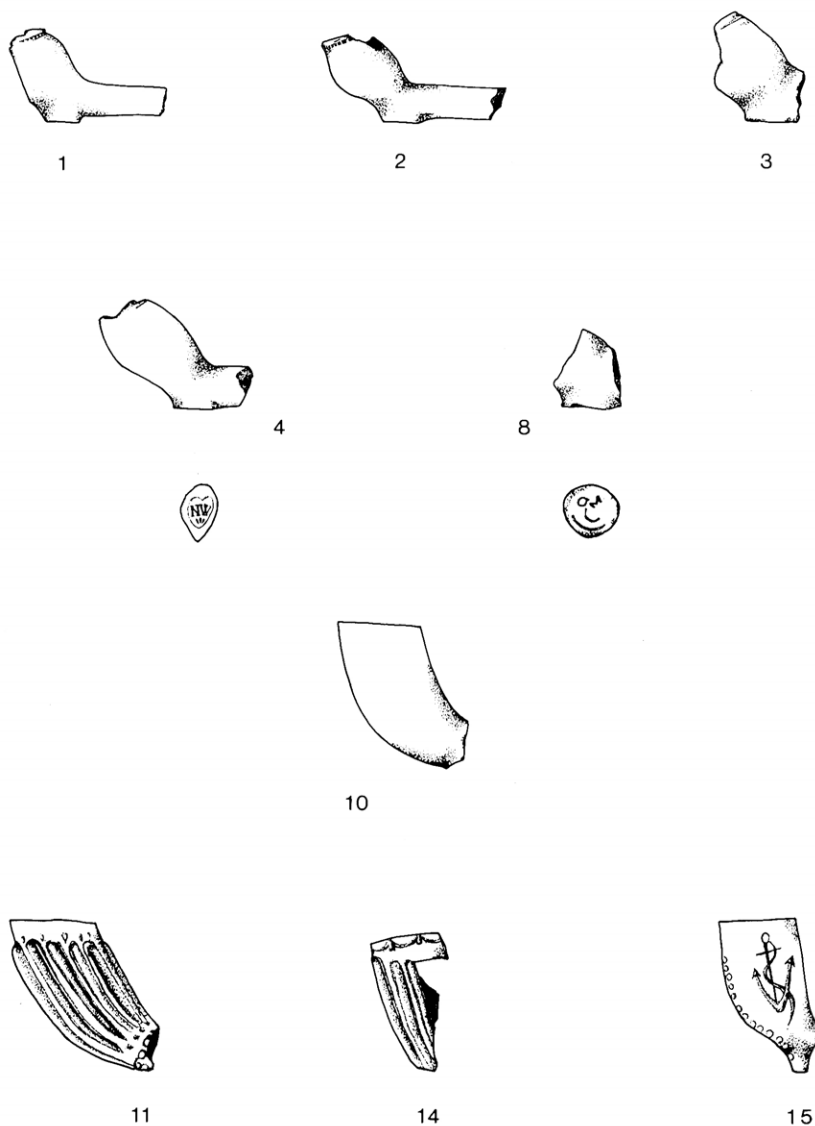


FIG. 7. - The Clay Pipes (scale $\frac{1}{2}$) by R. C. Alvey.

4. Bowl. NW in heart on heel. Bore 3.0 mm c. 1650-70.
(BAR 14 1975 FIG. 5 N7. AA4, XLI, 58).
CH77-136 (period V).
- (5. Bowl fragments. c. 1650-70).
CH77 13F (period IV).
- (6. Two bowls. Northern type, AB mark on heel. Bore 2.8 mm c. 1660-90).
CH79-29 (period VII).
- (7. Two Bowls. Northern type, SB in heart on heel. Burnished. Flint inclusions. Bore 2.55 and 3.00 mm c. 1660-90).
CH79-29 (period VII).

8. Bowl fragment, base moulded. Flint and mica inclusions. Bore 3.00 mm c. 1660-90.
CH77-24 (period VII).
- (9. Bowl fragment. 17th century).
CH77-46 (period III).
10. Bowl, plain. Bore 1.9 mm Late 19th century.
CH77-87 (period VII).
11. Bowl, ribbed, embossed letters TRO. Bore 2.4 mm Mid 19th century.
CH77-94 (period VII).
- (12. Stem. Incuse stamps SHIP[and PIC[. Bore 2.2 × 1.8 mm 19th century).
CH79-43 (period VII).
- (13. Bowl fragment, decorated. 19th century).
CH77-70 (period VII).
14. Bowl fragment, ribbed. 19th-20th century.
CH77-70 (period VII).
15. Bowl. Roped anchor/Prince of Wales feathers above shield. Looped pattern on rim
(16 circles at front, 10 at back). Bore 2.2 mm 19th-20th century.
CH77-76 (period VII).
- (16. Stem. Incuse stamp SUND[ERLAND/BREW]STER – ? Wm. Brewster of Sunderland
1938-53 (BAR 14, 1975, p. 167). Bore 2.5 mm).
CH77-30 (period VII).

The Small Finds (FIG.8)

Copper Alloy

1. Rectangular belt-end, with incised decoration: GR beneath a crown. The rectangular slots indicate secondary use.
CH77 unstratified L. 20 mm W. 14 mm
2. Coin weight.
CH77-77 diam. 26 mm
3. Thimble, crushed. Inscription: THO. ABSENT EVER DE[AR in band above rim, folded rim, otherwise plain. Eighteenth century.
CH79-161 Ht. 26 mm
4. Fragment of plain double-sided buckle.
CH77-49 L. (restored) 60 mm, W. 50 mm
5. Decorated shoe buckle, pin and bar missing. Probably mid – late 18th century.
CH77-19 L. 48 mm, W. 35 mm

Iron

6. Square buckle.
CH79-34 32 mm sq
7. Square buckle, pin missing.
CH77-1 32 mm sq

Glass

8. Fragments of pale blue-green glass vessel with dark blue glass trailed decoration.
CH77-44.
9. Bottle seal, RT over 1790, in relief.
CH77-101 D. 45 mm

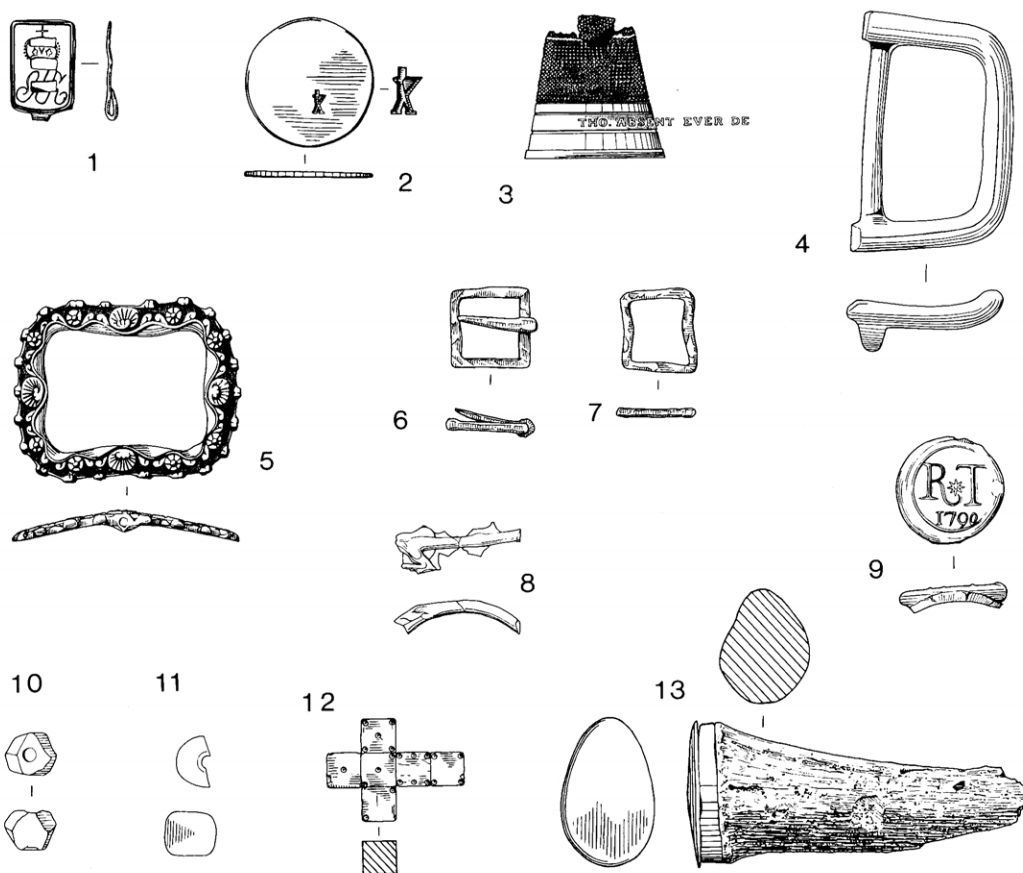


FIG. 8. - The small finds (scale $\frac{2}{3}$ except 6-9 = $\frac{1}{3}$).

10. Bead, irregular polyhedron, pale blue glass.
CH77-108 D. 12 mm

Bone

11. Bead.
CH77-86.
12. Dice.
CH77-47 7 mm sq
13. Knife handle - bone with copper alloy terminal.
CH77-1 L. 70 mm, D. at top 30 mm

Part II - Conclusion and Discussion

Architectural Development - building types and their affinities (Figs. 9 and 10)

The architectural development of Clifton Hall spans nearly four centuries. No structures earlier in date than the late fourteenth century were encountered during the excavation, but a few sherds of pottery considered to be thirteenth-century in date (fabrics E and H, above pp. 56-58) were found, implying the existence nearby, perhaps close to the church, of an earlier Engaine manor house.

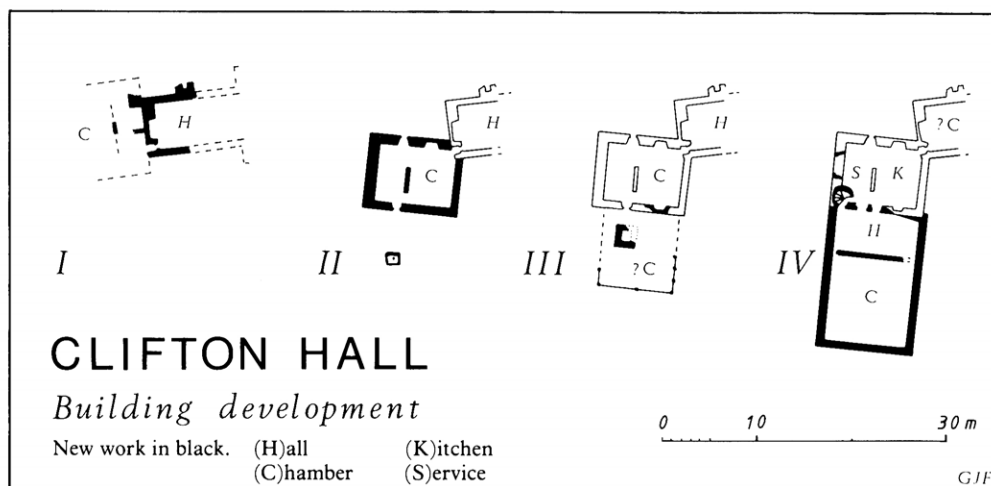


FIG. 9.

The earliest building for which there is architectural evidence is an H-plan manor house consisting of a central hall range contained between two cross-wings. Only one cross-wing is known from excavation. A second to the east can be inferred from comparisons with more complete examples of the type, throughout England³⁴ but particularly in Westmorland.³⁵ Preston Patrick Hall, Beetham Hall, Kentmere Hall, Middleton Hall, and Castle Dairy, Kendal are among the best preserved. Frequently the original H-plan has been enveloped in later building, for example in the great houses of Sizergh and Lowther. A later fourteenth or early fifteenth-century date is generally assigned to these buildings. The period I building at Clifton is probably of that date (see above p. 51), though the type is common throughout the late medieval period. One cross-wing, at Clifton probably the western, contained the chambers or private apartments of the house, the other the service rooms: kitchen, buttery and pantry. In the North, one wing was frequently built as a semi-fortified tower.

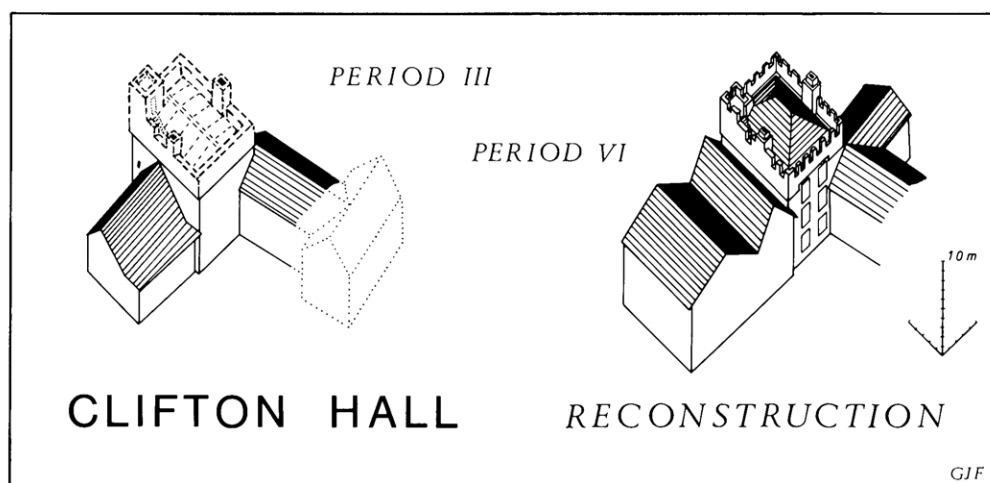


FIG. 10. – Schematic reconstruction from the south-east – axonometric.

At Clifton, this tower was an afterthought, the earliest of two major phases of alterations to the early building, in periods II and III and in period IV. The new tower was a rebuilding, of c. 1500 \pm , of the west cross-wing, attached to the south-west corner of the hall-range. Possibly this siting allowed the original chamber cross-wing to be used while building work on part of the tower was in progress, as, for instance, at Clarke Hall, Yorkshire,³⁶ though such a plan-form is common at an earlier period, and has been explained as a method of reserving wall surfaces for windows.³⁷

The tower at Clifton has frequently been described as a "pele" tower, with the implication that it was originally free-standing with defence a prime consideration of its design. It does in fact belong rather to the class of H-plan house already mentioned, in which one wing is in the form of a tower. Kirby Thore, Kentmere, and Yanwath Halls are all examples of this building type. At Clifton, as elsewhere (for instance, Branthwaite Hall, probably Kentmere and Catterlen Halls, and perhaps most of the so-called pele towers with "later" attached hall ranges), the tower is a secondary feature, rather than being of one build with the hall, as at, for instance, Yanwath. The motive for the provision of these towers, which always, as at Clifton, contain the chamber block,³⁸ is to be looked for in the troubled conditions pertaining in the Border and its neighbouring areas until the Union of the two crowns in 1603. Stokesay Castle in Shropshire³⁹ is a prime example of a similar building type, appearing at an earlier period in similar troubled conditions on the Welsh Border. Clifton tower is unusually late for its type but not unique in its late date. Ormside Hall has a fifteenth-century tower,⁴⁰ Newbiggin Hall an early sixteenth-century tower, while Cowmire Hall also has a sixteenth-century tower (RCHM 183-4, 91).

While defence was obviously a major consideration in the building of these towers, it should not be over-stressed. At Clifton, for example, the tower, as Taylor noted, has few defensive aspects, and is built as a tower largely out of adherence to a strong tradition. While its first floor entrance was protected by a draw-bar, the door's existence is better explained by the needs of domestic planning (a separate solar door) than by any attempt to raise it to a defensive height. The two original ground floor doors were completely unprotected by attached buildings. Also there could be incentives other than security for a Lord to build his private apartments in a tower. Tradition has been mentioned, a desire to demonstrate status and wealth should not be ignored. In a later period the requirements of display were met by, among other things, modern detailing, often added to existing buildings, as at Branthwaite Hall, and indeed, Clifton itself, with its new east windows in the eighteenth century. In the medieval period, a tower often proclaimed its owner's pretensions. Solar towers such as Longthorpe, Peterborough and Radcliffe, Lancashire, despite early dates, and the later towers at Thame Park, Oxon (c., 1530s) and Rymans, Apuldram, Sussex (fifteenth-century) presumably do not owe their form to the needs of defence in a border area, nor was defence uppermost in the minds of the merchants of Kings Lynn when they built their brick towers on the waterfront.⁴¹ Perhaps the grandson of Elianor Engaine felt the need to stress his position in society in stone and mortar.

Shortly after the erection of the tower, or perhaps as part of the same building operation, a timber framed building (period III) was raised against its south wall, to house the stairway to the first floor chamber door, and to provide additional chamber accommodation. It is likely that such timber-built buildings were more common in Westmorland in the medieval period than their survival-rate has hitherto suggested.

The second major phase of alteration to the Hall came in c. 1600 (period IV). It consisted

of the replacement of the timber building by a larger, more substantial structure of stone. Until this date, the period I hall north of the tower had presumably remained in use as a medieval common hall, with the gradual improvement of its chamber facilities in periods II and III. The period IV building however is interpreted as a new hall, relegating the old hall to a chamber or perhaps service function, while the ground floor chamber in the tower became the service end of the new hall. The building was thus turned around on itself.

Several manor houses in Westmorland were given new hall ranges in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the first stages of a more general rebuilding which came to affect lesser buildings as well. At Wharton Hall a new hall range was built c. 1540 (RCHM 240-1). The fourteenth-century hall range at Asby was rebuilt in the seventeenth century (RCHM 15). Often, the old hall was retained but an upper floor inserted – in the early sixteenth century at Selside (RCHM 201), in the seventeenth century at Kirby Thore and Ormside.⁴² Occasionally, new houses were built *de novo*, as at Beetham in 1653 or 1693 (RCHM 40-41) and Rydal in the sixteenth century (RCHM 201). Clifton is most similar to Wharton in that the existing buildings were retained to serve the new Hall. The new hall is unusual, however, in being still of only one floor at such a late date; it follows an earlier tradition of open halls which had died out by the end of the sixteenth century. This, coupled with the atypical siting in the side wall of its three service doors (one of which leads to the newel to the great chamber in the tower) and its small size, suggests that the new hall was already becoming closer to the later concept of the hall as an imposing entrance rather than a communal room⁴³ – at Askham Hall for instance, the unity of the great hall was broken c. 1700 by the insertion of a fine staircase to the upper apartments.

The evolution of the Hall into a modern house continued in the later post-medieval period by the insertion of new windows and internal partitions and by the extensions to the north range of periods V and VI.

Planning

Periods I-III

The central and most important element of the building in its earlier forms was the ground-floor hall of period I. It is probable that the fireplace at its west end and the adjacent door into the west cross-wing, and later the period II tower, indicate that this was the “high” or “dais” end of the hall, with private rooms in the west, and service rooms in the (inferred) east, wings. As at Preston Patrick Hall (RCHM 195-6) there was probably a chamber over the ground-floor services. The hall was apparently not open to the roof, but ceiled, with an upper floor. This is suggested by the existence of the garderobe shaft against the north wall of the hall, as this more probably served a chamber than the hall, and by the first floor access to the west cross-wing and later the tower. It is possible, however, that both these features, and the upper room over the hall, were later insertions, although certainly by period II. Chambers over the hall occur elsewhere from the early fourteenth century,⁴⁴ and though rare do exist in Westmorland – at Burneside Hall (RCHM 223-4), for instance, in the fourteenth century. More often, however, the upper floor is a seventeenth-century insertion (see above).

Nothing is known of communication between ground and first floors. The chambers over the hall and the service were presumably reached by stairs from the hall. There was probably no direct access between floors in the west wing, as such access demonstratively did not exist in the period II tower.

There were in period II, and probably therefore period I, two or three separate suites of private rooms dependant upon the hall, while the addition of period III extended two of them:

(a) the parlour

1. a ground-floor chamber, in period I in the west wing and in period II in the tower, entered directly from the high end of the hall or, in period II at least, through external doors. In both periods I and II the room was partitioned and contained a fireplace in its east sub-division. This room could perhaps be termed the "parlour";
2. in period III, it was augmented by an additional room to the south and a second fireplace was inserted in the tower.

(b) a *suite* of first floor rooms, the principal or great chamber included.

It consisted of:

1. the chamber over the hall, with garderobe, and perhaps a fireplace over the hall fireplace. This was probably the period I great chamber, reached by a stair from the hall;
2. a first floor room in the west cross-wing – an inner chamber, replaced in period II by a new great chamber or solar in the tower. A room with fireplace, decorated ceiling and garderobe chamber. Both these rooms were entered directly from the chamber over the hall, though the period II chamber, as befitted its status, also had separate external access;
3. the second floor room in the tower – the period II inner chamber reached by newel from the great chamber;
4. in period III, again, an extra chamber was provided to the south contiguous with the great chamber in the tower.

(c) the chamber over the service

a single chamber in the inferred east wing, perhaps reserved, for instance, for the use of an elder son. In the absence of evidence, however, this chamber could have been linked with the period I great chamber (b1 above).

Several alternative interpretations are possible from the evidence available however.⁴⁵

Period IV-VI

The modifications of period IV reversed the building. The new hall, to whatever extent it was an entrance hall rather than a "great" hall, lay south of the tower with chambers on both sides, relegating the old hall to (?) chamber use. The ground floor chamber in the tower (a1 above) became a service room, probably including the kitchen. It is possible that the east cross-wing was demolished.

The planning of period IV is however similar to that of the earlier period. There were still two separate suites of apartments, the principal first floor chambers (b above) of period II, and new chambers on two floors to the south of the hall, of which nothing is known however. It is possible that some of these chambers now fulfilled "modern" functions, the great chamber in the tower being possibly a dining room in place of the hall. The old hall, in a peripheral position beyond the kitchen, was perhaps servants' accommodation, though the room above may have remained a bedchamber.

Finally, the two eighteenth-century additions should be considered. The earlier, period V, by its form and its siting should be considered a service room, perhaps a dairy or laundry.⁴⁶ The second extension, period VI, probably contained bedrooms, at least on the upper floor.

The Hall nevertheless remained basically a medieval-type house. That it could not easily be made to accommodate the changed domestic requirements of the early nineteenth century is shown by its replacement by the present farm house, built in a modern idiom.

Notes and References

- ¹ Acknowledgements. I am indebted to several friends for their help during the excavation, principally E. Campbell, who was also responsible for much of the architectural survey, and B. Smith as supervisors and M. Campbell, J. R. Cook, D. Dawson, D. Edwards, S. Jones, J. Page, and A. Teller. In addition, Beverley Smith was also responsible for much of the post-excavation work following the 1977 excavation, and prepared the clay pipe drawings (FIG. 7) for publication. I am particularly grateful to J. Taylor and R. C. Alvey for specialist reports on the medieval pottery and the clay pipes respectively. The medieval pottery illustrations (FIG. 6) were prepared for publication by A. M. Strogon from original drawings by J. Taylor. The drawings of small finds (FIG. 8) were prepared by C. R. Evans of the Ancient Monuments Archaeological Drawing Office.
- ² Nicolson and Burn, *History of the Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, i, 414-20.
- ³ *Ibid.*, i, 226.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 416.
- ⁵ T. H. B. Graham, *Cornage and Drengage*, CW2, xxviii, 78-95. F. W. Ragg, CW2, xxiv, 295-7. By 1385, the requirements of drengage could be satisfied by the grant by Gilbert Engaine to Roger de Clifford of the services of a number of men and their belongings (Nicolson and Burn, i, pp. 214-5).
- ⁶ Pipe Roll 22, Henry II, 114-20. Translation in Nicolson and Burn, i, 29.
- ⁷ F. W. Ragg, "The Feoffees of the Cliffords 1283-1482", CW2, viii, 263.
- ⁸ Nicolson and Burn, i, 417.
- ⁹ The first record of a tenant occupying the Hall is in 1824, a John Collins (*Carlisle Patriot*, 4 September, 1824).
- ¹⁰ For the loans see D/LONS/L 25 Box 1, bundle 1: documents III (1632), VII (1640) and VIII (1654) in C.R.O.
- ¹¹ Debt was a not uncommon situation for Westmorland gentry in the period – cf. C. B. Phillips, *The Gentry in Cumberland and Westmorland 1660-65*, Ph.D., Lancaster University thesis (Unpublished) 1973, particularly 220-5 and J. V. Beckett, *Landownership in Cumbria 1680-1750*, Ph.D., Lancaster University thesis (Unpublished) 1975, 126-9. Money-lending in exchange for mortgages was also a common practice, indeed one of the principal means by which the Lowther estate was built-up in the century – see Phillips, *loc. cit.*, pp. 180-7, 215-6 and Beckett, *loc. cit.*, chapter vi.
- ¹² The effect of the Civil War on the fortunes of delinquents such as Thomas Wybergh may, however, have been exaggerated: see Phillips, *loc. cit.*, 341.
- ¹³ D/LONS/L Clifton, 30/10.
- ¹⁴ The 1829 Directory of Parsons and White describes the farm in terms which unmistakably refer to the medieval building.
- ¹⁵ *Carlisle Patriot*, above. Incorporated within the N wall of the present farm-house are three blank shields above a door-lintel which were formerly in a gable of the Hall (Machell, iii, 133). The Roman inscription RIB 783 has also been moved from its earlier resting place in the Hall.
- ¹⁶ M. W. Taylor, *The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland, 1892*, CW Extra Series, viii, 77-81. *RCHM Westmorland*, 69-70 mainly follows Taylor. Other accounts are E. Jackson, "Clifton Hall and its Owners", in CW2, xii, 135-42, and Whellan 1860, 791, neither adding much to Taylor's description.
- ¹⁷ Machell, iii, 131-3.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 630.
- ¹⁹ In the Kendal Record Office. A similar plan is attached to a map in the C.R.O. – D/LONS/L.
- ²⁰ A description will be found in the DOE guide book (forthcoming).
- ²¹ A similar window perhaps existed in the east wall, if Machell's sketch can be relied upon in such detail.
- ²² Taylor, *loc. cit.*, 81.
- ²³ The late partitions have vanished. The evidence for them is again Taylor, *loc. cit.*, 81. Ground floor partitions survive.
- ²⁴ The ceiling survives. For the wall painting and a decorated spice-cupboard door, now lost, see Taylor, *ibid.*, 80.
- ²⁵ e.g. Taylor, *loc. cit.*, 78, Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* 1967, 260; *RCHM Westmorland*, 70; R. W. Brunskill, CW2, lvii, 77.

- ²⁶ Not, as considered by Taylor, *ibid.*, 80, to carry defensive hoardings.
- ²⁷ I am indebted on this point also noted by Taylor, as on several matters of interpretation concerning the tower, to Mr H. Gordon Slade.
- ²⁸ *RCHM Westmorland*, pl. 160.
- ²⁹ e.g. E. Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses*, 1975, 109-11; J. T. Smith, "Medieval Roofs", *Arch. Journ.*, 1958, 129-32 (Fig. 15). Also Ubarrow Hall (RCHM 158) and Drumburgh Castle (*ex. inf.*, P. W. Dixon), both of the 16th century.
- ³⁰ *RCHM Westmorland*, 250-1.
- ³¹ A small area was examined inside the tower, but produced no archaeological information. The area immediately adjacent to the tower was largely unavailable for excavation.
- ³² The recording system used was a single numerical series for all archaeological or architectural contexts, one series for each season, distinguished below by the prefixes CH77 and CH79. Finds and excavation records are deposited at Kendal Museum.
- ³³ The relevant pottery came mainly from probably contemporary ground surfaces stratigraphically divorced from the period I building and from levels pre-dating period II but later than period I construction.
- ³⁴ M. Wood, 1965: *The English Medieval House*, 71-75.
- ³⁵ *RCHM Westmorland*, *passim*, especially x; Brunskill 1957, "The Development of the Large House in the Eden Valley", CW2, lvii, 79-82.
- ³⁶ P. Brears, 1978, "Clarke Hall, Wakefield", *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*, 12, 92.
- ³⁷ Wood, 1965, *op. cit.*, 76.
- ³⁸ R. W. Brunskill, 1957, *op. cit.*, 81.
- ³⁹ M. Wood, 1950, *Archaeol. Journ.* CV: Supplement, 64-70.
- ⁴⁰ R. W. Brunskill, 1956, "Three medieval manor houses of North Westmorland", CW2, lvi, 79-80.
- ⁴¹ Wood, 1965, *op. cit.*, 78-9 (Thame, Rymans), 166 (Longthorpe); V. Parker, 1971, *The Making of Kings Lynn*, 47.
- ⁴² R. W. Brunskill, 1956, *op. cit.*, 46, 77.
- ⁴³ E. Mercer, 1975, *English Vernacular Houses*, 5-6, 20.
- ⁴⁴ e.g. W. A. Pantin, 1962-3, "Medieval English Town-House plans", *Medieval Archaeol.* vi-vii, 206, and Wood, 1955, *op. cit.*, 61, 196-7.
- ⁴⁵ For instance, if in period I the hall was open to the roof and the upper room an insertion then (a)₁ and (b)₂ must have had direct communication, and (c) was undoubtedly separate. It is even possible, though less likely than the proposed interpretation, that the period I chambers were in the east wing, and only moved to the rooms over a kitchen in the west wing in period II.
- ⁴⁶ e.g. Mercer, 1975, *op. cit.*, 70-1.