VII.—THE DESERTED VILLAGE OF WEST WHELPINGTON, NORTHUMBERLAND: SECOND REPORT

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SUMMARY:—The village was deliberately depopulated *c.* 1720, for reasons which are not clear. Rather more than half the village has now been excavated, and this paper includes a report on all the excavation so far undertaken, as well as on the documentary evidence for West Whelpington as a living village and as an almost empty township. The evidence indicates that the village was certainly flourishing by the 12th century; it may have been settled several centuries earlier. During the period of the Scottish Wars (*c.* 1300-1550) the wealth (and possibly the size) of the village declined. West Whelpington produces particularly useful evidence for peasant life in the 17th century.

The following abbreviations are used:

Colchester: Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., 3rd. ser., 1, 1-11.

First Report: M. G. Jarrett, "The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland", *AA*[4] 40 (1962), 189-225.

Hodgson: J. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland:* references are to vol. II, i, unless otherwise stated.

Hoskins: W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (1957).

Jarrett 1960: AA[4] 38 (1960) 238-239.

Kerridge: E. Kerridge, *Agrarian problems in the sixteenth century and after* (1969).

London: London Museum Medieval Catalogue (1940).

O'Neil: Yorks. Arch. Journ. 40 (1959-62), 378-381.

Oswald 1955a: *Archaeological News Letter* 5 (1955), 187-190.

Oswald 1955b: *Archaeological News Letter* 5 (1955), 243-250.

Oswald 1960: *J.B.A.A.*[3] 23 (1960), 40-102.

Parsons: AA[4] 42 (1964), 231-254.

Pontefract: Proc. Thoresby Soc. 49.10 (1962-4), 106-122.

SAN: AA[4] 41 (1963), 85-106.

Walker: Post-Medieval Archaeology 1 (1967), 90-101.

Winchester I: B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-1960,* I (1964).

1. INTRODUCTION

Excavation at West Whelpington was carried on from 1958-60, and has continued annually since 1965. In 1965 it was organised as a Summer School for the Extra-Mural Department of Durham University, and Dr. Brian Dobson was kind enough to undertake the administration and to assist in the direction of the excavation. Since 1966 the excavation has been sponsored by the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, who also provided the principal financial support in earlier years. The Department of Archaeology of University College, Cardiff, has been responsible for photography and conservation, and has kindly made transport available. The *First Report* covered the excavations of 1958-60, but, except for the details of excavated sites and finds, it is superseded by this report, in which various statements have been corrected or amplified, and measurements given in the metric system.

West Whelpington (NY 974837) stands on a whinstone outcrop on the north bank of the river Wansbeck, 2·4km. west of Kirkwhelpington (fig. 1). It is about 215m. above sea level (700ft. O.D.), and to the north and west the ground rises steadily to open moorland on the watershed between Wansbeck and Rede. To the south and east the land is lower and more fertile. John Hodgson, writing in 1827, gave the following account of the whole parish of Whelpington, of which he was vicar.

> "A broad belt of high and healthy moors lies on the west and north sides of this parish; and the soil of the other parts of it is very various. On the whinstone range it is generally thin, and easily affected by drought; on the sandstone, cold and heavy; but, on the limestone, a rich dry mould. The greatest part of it is in sheep farms, or used in grazing or dairy purposes, the climate being too high and unsteady to allow much of it to be

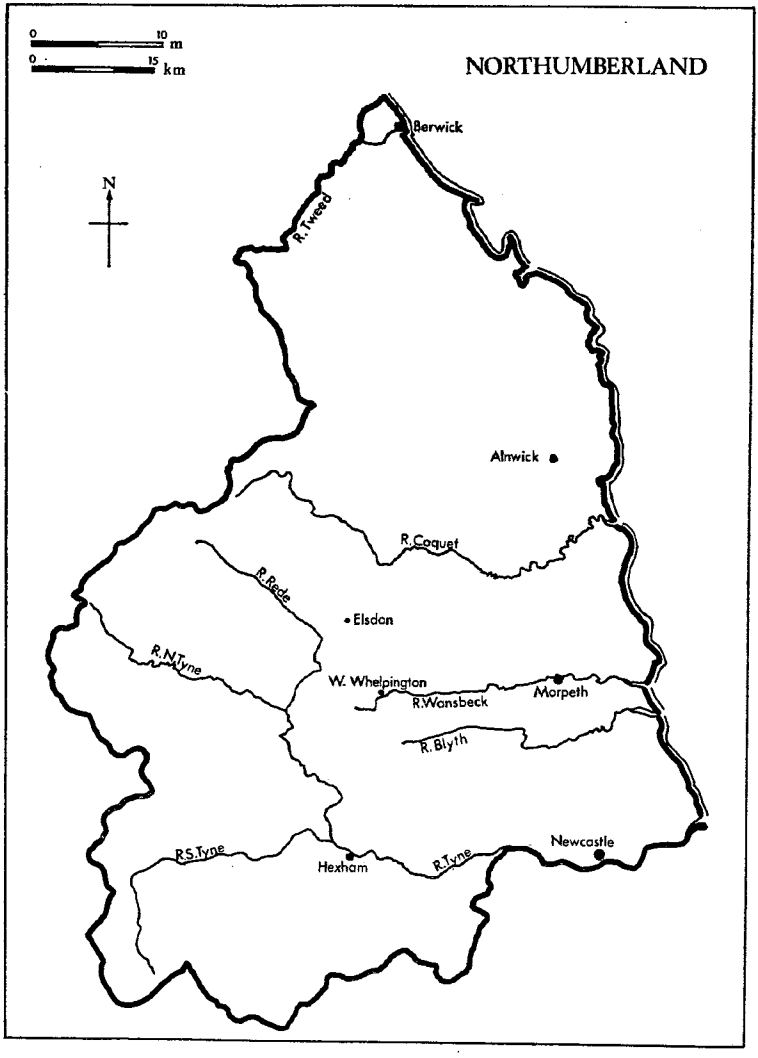


Fig. 1. Map of Northumberland

advantageously employed in agriculture."[1]

Hodgson also provides important information about the economics of the area in the previous century.

> "Till within 50 years since, the people of this place had so little employment about home, that many of them went annually into Lincolnshire during the corn-harvest to earn a subsistence during the winter; but they very generally, in addition to their wages, brought back with them the ague, which often became infectious, and spread through the whole of the families into which it was introduced."[2]

Since about 1937 the outcrop on which the village stands has been subject to destruction by quarrying. The quarry has been working from the south-east. In recent years the rate of destruction has been considerably increased by the mechanisation of the quarry, and the whole outcrop will probably have disappeared by *c.* 1985. The method of working the quarry means that both north and south sides of the village are now threatened simultaneously. Fortunately it has been possible, with increased financial support, to increase the scale and pace of excavations, and since 1960 only two sites (4 and 5) have been destroyed without first being excavated; even this was due to a misunderstanding.

The author's gratitude is due to the sponsoring bodies, and in particular to Mr. J. G. Hurst of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, who has been of considerable assistance at all stages of the work; to the Slater Group of Companies (owners of the quarry, in succession to Mark Appleby (Embleton) Ltd.), and especially to Mr. Walter Appleby; and to Mr. R. Thornton of Cornhills, owner of

[1] *Hodgson,* 189-190. I have used "Whelpington" for the ecclesiastical parish, "Kirkwhelpington" for the modern village and its medieval predecessor, and "West Whelpington" for the deserted village throughout this report. References to the township or civil parish of West Whelpington are always specified.

[2] *Hodgson,* 194.

the site and most of the village lands. He supplied much information about modern land use and recent changes, and readily gave permission to excavate land which he would otherwise have used for grazing. Messrs. Robin Gard and Michael Ashcroft gave assistance with documents in the Record Offices for Northumberland and the North Riding. Dr. Norman McCord kindly supplied a series of aerial photographs of the village, of which some are published as plates XIX and XX. I owe a special debt to Miss Joyce Moffat, who searched the Parish Registers for me, and whose local knowledge enabled her to interview a number of people with memories of the early years of the quarry. All information under these heads derives from her work, and she has placed me further in her debt by reading and commenting upon a draft of the historical sections of this report. The Revd. John Parry, vicar of Whelpington, made available various documents in his care. Professor Henry Loyn has been kind enough to read and comment on the historical sections. My thanks are due to the volunteers who devoted their holidays to an unrewarding site, often in blizzard conditions; the debt to those who acted as my assistants at various times is even greater. Between them Misses F. Berisford and I. H. James (now Mrs. Williams), and Messrs. P. J. Casey, R. J. Clavering, K. T. Greene, P. J. Holdsworth, R. B. Mack, C. F. R. Potter, R. L. Stirrat, N. J. Sunter, and S. Wrathmell, were responsible for most of the original drawings of excavated structures.

Several of them have placed me further in their debt by assisting in the writing of reports on the buildings for which they were responsible; this authorship is acknowledged at the head of appropriate sections. Mrs. Jill Belcher has undertaken the drawing of all the finds except the metal and glass, and has contributed greatly to the reports on the various objects. I must however bear part of the responsibility for all these sections; the reports on glass and metalwork are the sole responsibility of Miss A. J. Price and Mr. I. H. Goodall, and my debt to them is cor-

respondingly great. The finds (except for some of the iron objects) have been deposited in the Black Gate, Newcastle upon Tyne.

2. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES AND THE DATE OF DESERTION

References to West Whelpington as an existing village are few. The earliest are quoted by Hodgson:[3]

> "In 1289, Robert de Lisle, of Chipchase, held a messuage and three carucates of land in Ray and [West] Whelpington, of Gilbert de Umfreville ... *West Whelpington*, in the Lawson transcript of the Testa de Nevil, is enumerated as one of the manors of the barony of Prudhoe; and, in 1322, would appear to have been holden of it by half a knight's fee.... In 1387, Thomas Umfreville died seised in fee of the yearly rent of 30s issuing out of West Whelpington...."

In 1296 the village was assessed at £18 2s 6d for the Lay Subsidy, the tax amounting to £1 12s 11½d.[3a] The figure indicates a reasonably prosperous village, but not an exceptionally large one. At the same time Kirkwhelpington was assessed at £25 16s 7d. The Swinburne MSS contain four documents relating to changes of land-ownership in the period 1483-1512.[4] In the sixteenth century the vill and manor were in the possession of the Herons of Chipchase (by descent from the Lisles), and were valued at £7 8s 4d in 1593.[5] The village is amongst those mentioned in the *Order of the Watches upon the Middle Marches*, laid down by Lord Wharton in 1552:[6]

> "FROM *West-Whelpington* to *Raye*, to be watched with four Men nightly of the Inhabitors of *West-*

[3] *Hodgson*, 197.
[3a] C. M. Fraser (ed.), *The Northumberland Lay Subsidy Roll of 1296*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1968, 27-28.
[4] NRO Swinburne (Capheaton) MS 4/64; /65; /69; /70.
[5] IPM on George Heron, 22.1.1593.
[6] Printed as an appendix in W. Nicolson, *Border Laws*, Carlisle 1747.

Whelpington and *Ray*; Setters and Searchers *William Elsden* and *John Rotchester*."[7]

This does not suggest a village in decay, even though the four men were to be provided by the two villages. Hodgson prints a less detailed list of the watches in 1552, six between Hawick and West Whelpington and two between West Whelpington and Ray. It is not clear which villages provided these men.[8]

The Parish Register. The parish register for Whelpington begins in 1679, but the entries from that date to 1726 were copied into a new register in the latter year, the copy being signed by Edward Fenwick, vicar, and John Ridley, churchwarden. Townships are not recorded for baptisms before 1683 or for burials before 1685. They are rarely mentioned in connection with marriages unless both parties were from the same township. Only one such marriage is mentioned for West Whelpington.

These factors limit the use to which the registers can be put. Other limitations become apparent on a study of the evidence they present. The first is that the parish was, like most medieval parishes in Northumberland, a very large one (*c.* 10 × 8 km. at its widest extent). It includes some 10 townships, so that it is almost impossible to use the registers unless the township is specified. The second factor is that some children were not baptised, or their baptism was not recorded. Further, only a limited number of surnames occur, and within one family a small number of Christian names is used. This makes reconstruction of families a dangerous and uncertain matter. Furthermore it seems likely that "West Whelpington" may sometimes include the settlements at Cornhills and Hornscastle, which are usually mentioned separately though they did not rank as townships. John Lambert is "of West Whelpington" in 1714, "of Cornhills" in 1716 and September 1721. Similarly John Stott is "of West

[7] *ibid.* 185.
[8] *Hodgson* IV, ii, 240.

Whelpington" in 1718, "of Cornhills" in January 1721/2; John Newton is "of West Whelpington" in 1712 and 1714, "of Hornscastle" in 1717. It may be that these represent movements away from the village, but we cannot be certain that this is the case. Cornhills occurs in the register in 1689 and 1690, then not until 1716; Hornscastle is recorded in 1685, 1688 and 1690, then not until 1717. Edward Heymours was "of Hornscastle" in 1690, "of West Whelpington" in 1694. It seems likely that from 1690+, all three settlements were described as "West Whelpington", the specific mention of Cornhills and Hornscastle being resumed *c.* 1716. This probably indicates a different parish clerk—throughout the period Francis Gamul was the vicar—but the point cannot be verified because we are here dependent on the copied register and not the original. On this hypothesis, the only change of abode indicated by the entries summarised above is the move of John Stott from West Whelpington (1718) to Cornhills (1721/2). This is probably to be dated to the last months of 1721; John Lambert was still at Cornhills in September 1721, but does not appear in the register after that date; but he may be no more than a labourer or servant employed by John Stott. As we shall see, Stott is a significant figure in the history of West Whelpington.

Date of Desertion. The latest mention of West Whelpington in the register is the baptism of Anne, daughter of Henry Crenstone, on 24th August 1719. This in itself is sufficient evidence that desertion occurred between that date and 1721. The longest absence of the township from the parish register is from October 1690 to July 1693, and most years contain at least one entry.

It would be tempting to associate the depopulation with the appearance in the register of a new settlement, Middle Rigg (or Rig), which is first attested in January 1721/2. Middle Rig lies 3 km. to the west of West Whelpington, on what is now open moorland. It is not recorded in the register after 1751, and the small number of entries suggests a minute population. Hodgson says of it:

"*Middle-rig* was brought into cultivation about the beginning of the last century, and the site of its farm-house may still be seen on ground that has been ploughed, on the left of the way from Farney-rig to Woodburn."[9]

Ridge-and-furrow are still visible in the area, and may indicate that even at that late date open-field agriculture was being initiated. The abandonment of Middle Rig as a settlement will not be later than 1796, when Simon Dodd purchased Cornhills, Ferneyrigg and Middle Rig. Unfortunately there is no correlation between the names recorded at Middle Rig and those at West Whelpington.[10] Whatever economic pressures led to the foundation of the short-lived settlement at Middle Rig, it seems impossible to link it directly with the desertion of West Whelpington.

John Hodgson's account. We have seen that John Hodgson, one of the greatest of England's county historians, was vicar of Whelpington, owing his promotion (in 1823) "to the unsolicited favor of his late very excellent and very munificent patron, Dr. Barrington, bishop of Durham." To him we owe a most useful account of West Whelpington.

"The *village of West Whelpington* stood proudly on the northern margin of the Wansbeck, on an elevated plain, which slopes gently towards the east, and is defended on all sides, and especially on the south, by a whinstone precipice. It was of an oblong form, about 440 yards long, and consisted of two rows of houses inclosing a large town green, near the centre of which a small circle probably points out the site of its cock-pit, near which has stood a peel house, about 23½ by 21½ feet [7·2 × 6·6 m.] in the inside, having very thick walls, and a sort of yard or barmekin in front, apparently the only little fortified habi-

[9] *Hodgson,* 197.

[10] Nathaniel, son of Matthew Newton of Middle Rig was baptised 4. 7. 1751. An earlier Matthew was at West Whelpington, 1697-1712, in which last year his son Matthew was baptised. This son need not be the man at Middle Rig in 1751; earlier in that year Matthew Newton of Ray Mill was buried, and the surname recurs at Hornscastle and Hawick.

tation which the place could ever boast of. Its name occurs in the parish register up to 1715 in connection, among other names, with those of Harle, Wealons, Newton, Milburne, Lambert and Stote, one of which last family, when he took the whole of it to rent, 'put out 15 farmers' here, according to the phrase and account of a person who was his servant, and is still living at age of 86. No person however remembers any one residing here; and the place is now only remarkable for the distinctness of its ruins, the beautiful verdure of its site, and especially for having been one of the numerous places in the north where a long line of antient tenantry had toiled and gamboled; but were forced, by a new order of things, to quit the only spot on earth that was dear to them, and find employment in some of the populous places, where, in the language of the Deserted Village,

> '... Trade's unfeeling train
> Usurp the land, and dispossess the swain.' "[11]

It is clear that Hodgson had a greater understanding of the deserted villages of the county than many of his successors. He appreciated that West Whelpington was not an isolated or exceptional case—indeed he goes on to demonstrate that Ray also had been virtually deserted. He states that "a new order of things" was the basic factor in depopulation, and supplies vital information about Stott, the man responsible. He seems to have believed that the evicted moved to industrial areas. Moreover he saw the village in a state of decay, before the large-scale stone-robbing of the late nineteenth century. The cockpit and houses we can locate, but the peel tower must depend entirely on Hodgson's evidence. Hodgson's account by itself would suggest a date later than 1719 for the depopulation; his informant, born *c.* 1740, was servant to Stott, the depopulator. The most likely member of the family is Thomas Stott, 1700-49, though his brother Joseph, 1705/6-61, might be in question. But a child of 8

[11] *Hodgson*, 197-198.

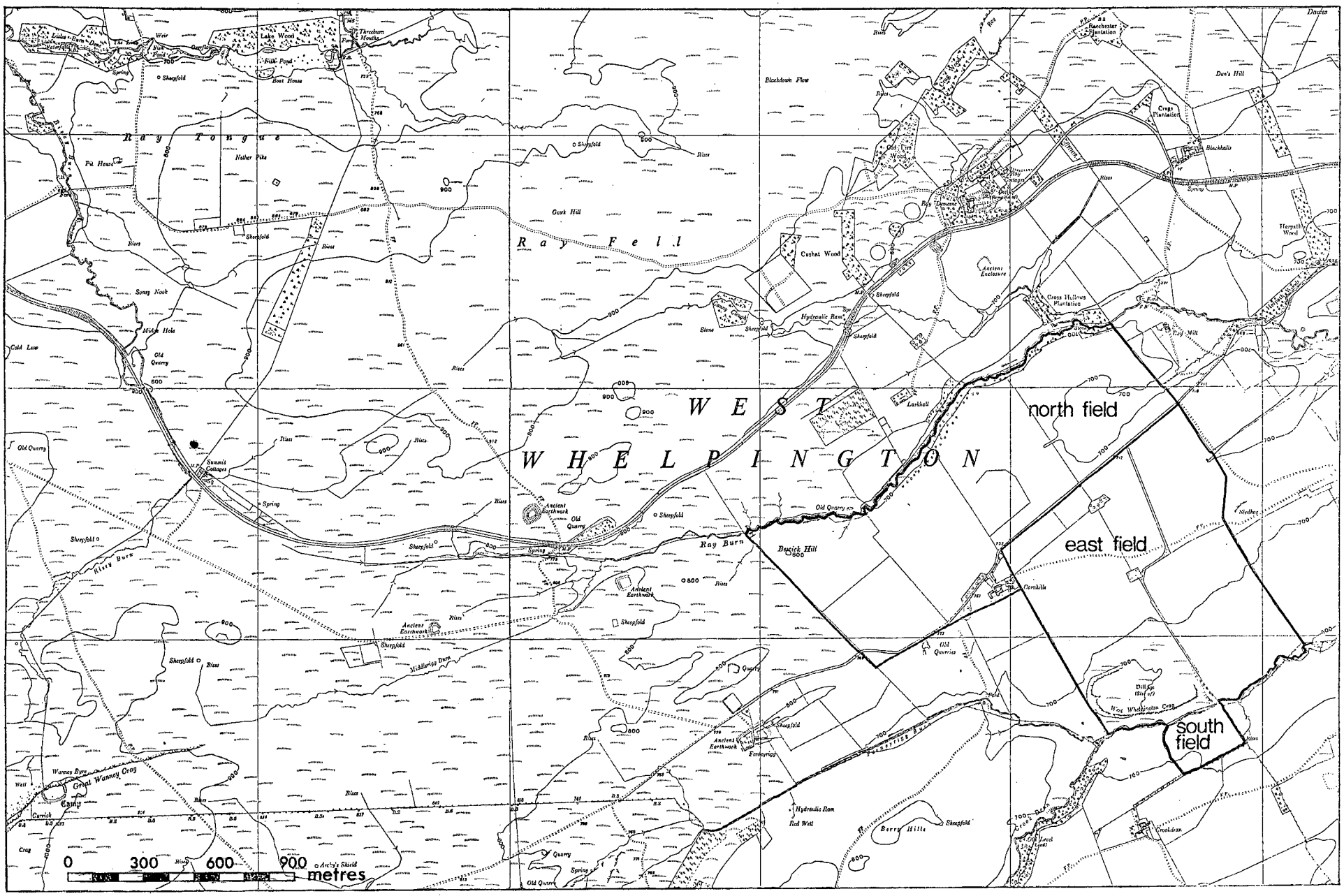


Fig. 2. The open fields, as shown on the Tithe Map of 1844. Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown copyright reserved.

or 9 might well be employed in the mid-18th century; for the poorer classes in this country, the concept of childhood as a period of education and play is a relatively recent one. In the 18th century the children of the poor would be expected to contribute to the family income at the earliest possible moment.

The boundary stone. Stott, the depopulator, was not the owner of West Whelpington. Sir Cuthbert Heron, of Chipchase, had mortgaged it, with Ray and Blackhalls, in 1663, and it came into the possession of the Milbank family of Thorp Perrow and Barningham in the North Riding of Yorkshire.[12] It remained the property of the Milbanks until 1796. In Hodgson's words, Stott "took the whole of it to rent", and was evidently given a fairly free hand by the Milbank owner. The Milbanks never resided in Whelpington, and the surviving Milbank papers contain only title deeds relating to this property. The only record of their activity in this area is the rebuilding of Hornscastle. "Prior to the year 1765, it was a poor thatched building, without any appearance of a fortified place; but about that time was re-built by Mark Milbank, esq."[13]

2 km. west of the village, near the point where the road to Sweethope crosses the Ferneyrigg burn (956384) is a boundary stone. On one face it bears the initials W.B. and Th.S. and the date 1736; on the reverse are the letters M.M. It is too late to mark the depopulation, and investigation reveals that it is one of the stones erected by Sir Walter Blackett, of Wallington; others, of similar form, are known, marking the boundaries of the Wallington estate with the property of the Duke of Northumberland or other owners. In this case the initials are readily interpreted. W.B. is of course Blackett himself. M.M. is Mark Milbank, eldest son of John Milbank Esq. Th.S. is Thomas Stott of Cornhills (1700-49), his tenant. It is this stone which suggests that Thomas Stott, rather than John or Joseph, was the man

[12] NRO Allgood MS 19/3.
[13] *Hodgson*, 197.

responsible for the West Whelpington evictions. The siting of the stone suggests that Ferneyrigg (not certainly existing as a separate farm at this date; but it is surrounded by ridge-and-furrow) was in the hands of Stott, in addition to Cornhills.

Sir Walter Calverley Blackett, Bart. (1707-77) is of further importance to us. Wallington in 1728 "was largely a conglomeration of ragged, unfenced crofts and pastures, and undrained moors and fells; but he [Blackett] left it a noble and well-ordered property."[14] The boundary stones are one of the marks of his improvements. The crops and the new hedges received enthusiastic praise from Arthur Young, on a visit in 1767.[15]

This is of course relevant to land usage in adjacent areas. In the *First Report* it was suggested that the motive for depopulation was probably the greater profit to be made from sheep-farming. This now seems less likely. The name Cornhills (first recorded 1689) indicates the importance of arable farming, and we shall see that this was vital for the economy of our village. At Cornhills, *c.* 1740, there were at least five men of mature age and a boy of 10. This seems to be more than enough for sheep-farming, though not a large labour force if most of the village lands were under the plough. But it must be remembered that these are persons attested by the parish registers; labourers were usually hired by the year, and if they neither died nor fathered children during their service at Cornhills, there will be no record of them in the registers. One such may be the Daniel Oliver, otherwise unknown, who died in March 1732/3. Hodgson's old man of 86 is another. It seems possible therefore that the motive for depopulation was more efficient arable farming, rather than a change from arable to pastoral use. It is doubtless significant that Kirkwhelping-

[14] C. Trevelyan, *Wallington: its history and treasures,* Pelaw on Tyne 1930, 18. This provides the best summary of Blackett's work.

[15] A. Young, *A six months tour through the north of England*, 1770, III, 94-102.

ton was enclosed at about the time of the depopulation of West Whelpington.

> "Prior to the year 1720, the whole township consisted of a common ... and of certain town fields to the south of it, and on both sides of the Wansbeck. The Town-fields belonged to the duke of Somerset, Daniel Craigy, Gawen Ainsley, esq. and the vicar, each proprietor's portion being made up of numerous gavels, ridges, and buts, scattered and intermixed in a very inconvenient way; but, about that time, laid together and inclosed by common consent.... The common was also inclosed and divided by common consent in 1717, and the greater part of the Town-green in 1795, when the duke's portion of it, besides some other small parcels of ground, was divided into half acres, and allotted to his Grace's cottagers ... on its east side, cottages for twelve families were taken down when the half acres were formed."[16]

This activity at Kirkwhelpington may well have influenced the enterprising Stott in the next township. There is nothing to show whether the owner played any active part in the depopulation, beyond allowing Stott to rent the whole lands of the village.

The Stott family. Evidence for the Stott family is incomplete, and certain assumptions have had to be made to reconstruct any credible pedigree. The problem is caused by deficiencies in the parish register, and also by the practice of using only a limited number of Christian names. It has not proved practicable to check on marriage records, since the township is not usually recorded, and the name Stott occurs elsewhere in the parish. Moreover some weddings may have taken place in other parishes. Our knowledge of the family begins with Thomas I (d. 1710) and Elizabeth (d. 1715, presumed to be his wife), both of West Whelpington.

[16] *Hodgson*, 188-189. A detailed account of the enclosure is given at 190-192.

Thomas I had issue

1. *Dorothy*, b. 1696.
2. *Thomas II*, 1700-1749. He married

first Sarah (d. 1735/6, probably in childbirth; Thomas III was buried two days after her.)

second Mary Kay (m. 1736), and had issue

1. William, b. 1730, still alive 1789.
2. Thomas III, d. 1735/6.
3. Thomas IV, d. 1740.

Mary Kay may be the Mary Stott who married Thomas Hepple, 18. 5. 1749: but this is unlikely, for the marriage took place only two weeks after the burial of Thomas II.

3. *Joseph* I, b. 1705/6. He had issue

1. Joseph II, b. 1739.
2. Elizabeth, b. 1742.
3. Ann, 1744-1750.
4. William, 1747-1751.
5. Jane, b. 1750.
6. Ann, b. 1756.

A Joseph Stott, of Hawick (another deserted village) in the parish of Kirkharle was buried at Kirkwhelpington in 1761: he might be Joseph I or Joseph II. Joseph II may be the son of another Joseph: he was "of The Shield."

Probably another son of Thomas I, perhaps the eldest, was John (d. 1743/4) who married Sarah (d. 1741/2), and had issue

1. Jane, b. 1718. She may be the Jane Wilkin, widow, of Cornhills, d. 1757.
2. Elizabeth, 1721-1730.
3. Thomas, d. 1753.

It seems probable that Thomas II, Joseph I and John were jointly responsible for Cornhills after *c.* 1720. We do not know which initiated the depopulation, though Thomas

is recorded on the 1736 boundary stone. Before 1796 Ferneyrigg was built. A stone over the stable door is inscribed "W.S. 1789"; it presumably refers to William Stott, son of Thomas II, born 1730, and may indicate that this branch of the family did not live at Cornhills. Ferneyrigg is not mentioned in the register, being probably subsumed under Cornhills.

Other Stotts occur in the Whelpington register, at Hornscastle and elsewhere; but there is nothing to suggest close connections with the Cornhills family.

The register attests other people at Cornhills, including one family which had probably been evicted from West Whelpington, the Waddells. Thomas Waddell, who died 1739 at Cornhills, was the father of Thomas (b. 1704, West Whelpington). The second Thomas had three daughters, Ann (b. 1740), Mary (b. 1742) and Eleanor (b. 1753); at each baptism he was "of Cornhills." Also of Cornhills was Richard (? b. 1708, West Whelpington), probably son of the first Thomas; he had a son, John, in 1744. A John Waddell of Middle Rig had daughters in 1722 and 1726, but no other record connects him with either West Whelpington or Cornhills.

The Tithe Map. Andrew Armstrong's county map of 1769 shows no awareness of West Whelpington, but the site of the village is marked on Greenwood's map of 1828 (surveyed 1827-8); this doubtless derives from reading Hodgson's work. The survey (February 1844) which resulted in the Tithe Map is of far greater importance, especially when taken with the attached Apportionment dated 5 October 1843. It estimates the size of West Whelpington township at 3758 acres (1521 ha.); of these, 82 acres (33 ha.) were arable and 20 (32 ha.) woodland; the remainder was "meadow pasture or moorland." This indicates a considerable change in the agricultural pattern of the area, a change which has persisted to the present day. In the early 18th century the proportion of arable must have been substantially higher, though of course much of the moorland is unlikely to have

been cultivated at any date. Ray Farm had 1461 acres (591 ha.) of moor, Ferneyrigg 790 acres (318 ha.), with only 18 acres (7·2 ha.) in "fields," and Ray Tongue must have been almost entirely moorland.

The apportionment for Cornhills (fig. 2) gives 1 acre (0·4 ha.) for the homestead and garth; East Ferney Rigg Close (5 acres = 2 ha.); South Field (across the Wansbeck: 15 acres = 6 ha.); East Field (221 acres = 89 ha.); and North Field (238 acres = 96 ha.). There can be no reasonable doubt that this represents the nucleus of the lands of West Whelpington village, with two great open fields, one smaller field and small areas of meadow or enclosed grazing. The total of 546 acres (221 ha.) in 1843 is the same as that of Cornhills at the present day. The subdivision of the East and North fields has been made since 1843, much of it *c.* 1880 (dry walls), but some in recent years (fences).

There is, however, a considerable extent of ridge-and-furrow further west, associated with Ferneyrigg and Middle Rig. We have seen that Middle Rig is a new settlement of the early 18th century, perhaps the result of enclosure at Kirkwhelpington. In 1796 Cornhills, Ferneyrigg and Middle Rig seem to have been in the same hands, for they were collectively sold then to Simon Dodd of The Shield. By this date the Stott family seems to have died out or relinquished its tenancy, though William Stott is probably recorded at Ferneyrigg as late as 1789. By 1843 Ferneyrigg exists as an isolated farm, and seems to incorporate Middle Rig. It was presumably not available for settlement *c.* 1720, when less desirable land at Middle Rig was brought under the plough. By 1843 all its land, with the exception of two small plots south of the farm, was termed "moor." Much of it would still qualify for this description, but an area immediately north of the farm displays prominent ridge-and-furrow, and is pasture. This may have been reclaimed from the moor since 1843, but it is unlikely to have been laid out in the last 125 years with ridge-and-furrow and boundary banks (no longer used). It is however impossible to establish when and by

whom it was cultivated.

There seem to be three reasonable explanations of the Ferneyrigg ridge-and-furrow. 1. It may represent the lands of a village deserted at an early date, which has in consequence escaped documentary record. This seems unlikely. 2. It may be land which belonged (as grazing) to West Whelpington, brought under the plough by the Stott family in the 18th century. One of the Stott brothers might well be responsible for the building of the farm, and the boundary stone (above p. 193) certainly implies that Thomas was the tenant of the lands of Ferneyrigg in 1736. It may be thought that reversion to moorland by 1843 is unlikely in such a case; the Tithe Map gives no indication of field boundaries here, as it does at Cornhills. 3. It may represent land belonging to West Whelpington, cultivated as a third common field, or under occasional cultivation as "outfield," or cultivated only at a time of exceptional land-hunger. Whether cultivated or not, it seems likely to have belonged to the village; the land further west will have provided grazing for the village. The separation of Ferneyrigg probably dates only from the partition of the lands of Simon Dodd between two of his grandsons, at a date between 1796 and 1827, and the farm itself is probably later than 1720.

Assuming that the Ferneyrigg area was not cultivated by the villagers of West Whelpington, and that one of the two great open fields was fallow in each year, the 15 evicted farmers of *c.* 1720 will have had an average of *c.* 15 acres (6 ha.) under plough in each year. The modern yield for barley (the only sown crop) at Cornhills is about 30 cwt. per acre (3772 kg. per ha.); under the conditions of the early 18th century this will have been far less. This suggests that the village must have had considerable land for grazing, and also that the enclosures within the village must have had an important economic function.

The principal area of grazing land must have been West Whelpington common, lying on the higher land west of Ferneyrigg. Grazing rights here certainly remained important

after the desertion, for in 1732 we find them being defined. John Wetheritt, of Birtley, Co. Durham, on behalf of Mark Milbank, agreed with several "freeholders or proprietors of land adjoining West Whelpington Common" that the Reasey [modern Risey] Burn "shall forever be taken to be the certain boundary between the said lordships [of Whelpington and Ridsdale] on that side where the said burn runs."[17]

3. THE VILLAGE PLAN (pls. XIX-XXI; fig. 3)

West Whelpington, like many Northumberland villages, was built round all sides of a green. The outcrop on which it is situated slopes gently to the east, and away from the houses on the north side of the green. On the south there is a precipitous drop to the Wansbeck. Most of the structures excavated were of stone, the normal building material in the area. The aerial photographs (pls. XIX and XX) show that some of the stone walls may be detected at the present as banks underlying the turf; and plate XXI, 1 and 2 shows the importance of snow conditions for the field-worker who does not have access to an aeroplane: banks which cannot usually be seen as a whole by the ground-level observer are shown up by a covering of snow. The photographs would have revealed nothing at all if taken in other weather conditions. The banks which cover the fallen walls of houses and of boundaries between yards and crofts were surveyed in 1958 by a team of Civil Engineering students, supervised by Professors John Hugh Jones and P. C. G. Isaac. Subsequent excavation revealed that many of these banks did not represent walls but tumbled stone fallen from them: the walls themselves had been completely robbed after their upper courses had collapsed (cf. site 1A, pl. XXII, 1, site 2, pl. XXIII, 21). Greater experience of the site suggested that the original survey was inaccurate, and that much might be added to it. The plan was therefore completely revised in 1967-8. The revised plan (fig. 3) includes

[17] 17. 9. 1732; archives of Newcastle Record Society.

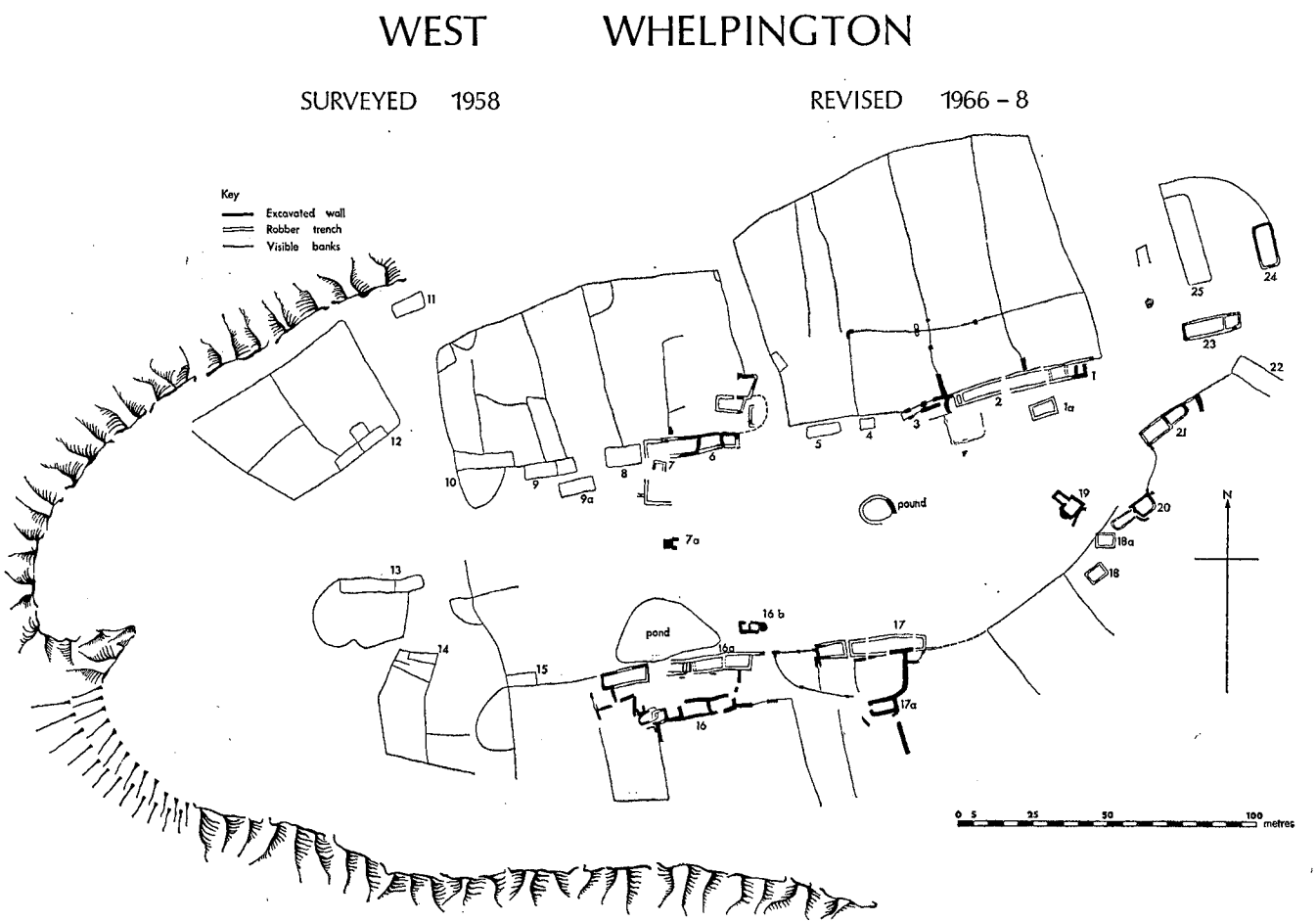


Fig. 3. The village plan, showing excavated features and visible earthworks (1:2500)

the information gained from excavation down to 1969.

On the north side of the green the development appears to be regular, and it was suggested in the *First Report* that this might indicate the original settlement, with subsequent piecemeal development round the south and west sides. Excavation so far has not confirmed this suggestion. Occupation from the 12th century onwards occurs in several parts of the village; earlier pottery has only been found at the west end of site 16. But only one sherd of pottery assignable to the period *c.* 1000 to 1150 has been found (p. 263, no. 50), and that is an import from southern England. No local pottery of the 10th and 11th centuries is known (unless the types assigned to the 12th century were produced earlier). Given this, it is possible that 12th century pottery will be the earliest datable evidence from a site occupied 200 years earlier. So far the evidence for Saxon occupation is not sufficient to prove anything like a permanent settlement, still less to suggest continuity of occupation over a long period before the Norman conquest. It should however be stressed that the pre-Norman pottery so far found comes from an area where there were no surface indications of structures: in the absence of total excavation of the village, it is possible that other evidence of Saxon occupation has been missed. The name Whelpington is probably Saxon in origin[18] but it does not assist us, for West Whelpington was not necessarily the original settlement with the name. The church at Kirkwhelpington might be thought to point to that village as the earliest settlement, but this is not necessarily the case. There is no evidence that the church had (or had not) a Saxon origin, and some early documents refer to the village under the neutral name of East Whelpington. The most that can be said is that when the Norman church was built, Kirkwhelpington was the most obvious of the townships as the parochial centre; if an earlier church existed it was probably on the same site, and we may suggest that at the time the parish was created and/or the first church was built, Kirkwhelping-

[18] E. Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, ed. 4, 1960, 512.

ton was either the most important of the townships within the parish or the one in which the donor of the church lived.

Hodgson[19] refers to a cockpit on the green, and near it a small peel tower with a yard or barmkin outside it. The "cockpit" is presumably the elliptical structure excavated in 1967 and identified as a pound. Nothing resembling a peel tower has been located, but stone robbing could have removed all trace of it. Some fairly solid structure lay to the south of site 2, but excavation in 1968 proved that it had been so thoroughly robbed that only one small fragment of the lowest course of walling remained. The fact that no tumble from its walls survived to indicate the approximate line they had taken might point to the peel tower: it was presumably more solidly built than the peasant cottages, and might have survived almost to full height, to become an early target for stone robbing.

North of site 16A is a large depression which holds water during all except the driest conditions; this is presumably the "pond" of the original survey, though wrongly located on the resulting plan. Fed by surface drainage from the west end of the village, it seems unlikely that it was ever pure enough or sufficiently reliable to form the principal source of water for the village. We must note however that field-drains have been introduced into various parts of the site within the last century; two at least led away from the pond, and Mr. Thornton informs me that they were installed by his father. The pond may therefore have been more important in earlier days. Excavations in the pond in 1968 revealed mud with a high organic content overlying the whinstone. The average depth of mud was 50 cm. (maximum 65 cm.). No objects were found, but it seems likely that the mud was of recent formation. On the north side there were slight indications that the pond might have been artificially enlarged by chipping away the whinstone. That it existed in earlier days is suggested by the heavy paving to the north of sites 16A and 16C.

It is not clear how much of the village was destroyed by

[19] *Hodgson*, 197.

quarrying before the survey of 1958. About 1942 Mr. E. Veevers, of Kirkwhelpington, observed the destruction of a round house with a sunken clay floor, and of a very solid square building which contained many rusty horseshoes. These will presumably have lain near the south-eastern extremity of the village, where the quarry began work. The second building was perhaps a blacksmith's shop, but the "round house" is more difficult to interpret. It seems possible that it had nothing to do with the village, but was a hut circle of Roman or pre-Roman date; Mr. Jobey has recorded several settlements of this character in the area.[20]

The South Field (fig. 2; pl. XX) reveals two distinct periods of ridge-and-furrow. The earlier is of narrow strips, bounded at the north by a cross-bank where the slope to the river becomes steeper. Subsequently alternate furrows were driven through this cross-bank and down the steep slope, suggesting that double strips were now the normal unit of cultivation—and possibly indicating considerable pressure to utilise as much land as possible. It is possible that the breaches in the cross-bank were made after the depopulation, to assist in drainage, but it is difficult to see why only alternate furrows were carried northwards if this is the explanation. The North Field is bisected by a road, with banks at either side, running from south-east to north-west towards Ray; the road cannot be detected in the East Field, where changes have been made in more recent times. It presumably entered West Whelpington from the north, immediately east of site 1.

Excavation has revealed that during its occupation West Whelpington was subjected to considerable changes of plan. Most of the banks which can be traced at the present day seem to indicate the village of the 17th century, rather than its medieval predecessor. The reason for the changes in plan is far from clear, though the finds of pottery suggest that there may have been a decline in population between *c.* 1350 and 1550, with a revival in the 17th century. This cannot be certainly proved (though it would fit tolerably well into the

[20] *AA*4 38 (1960), 1-38.

known history of Northumberland, which suffered tremendously from the incessant wars and border raids of the later Middle Ages). Nor can the detail and significance of the changes of plan be established without the total excavation of the whole area of the village, including the green and the yards and crofts.

4. EXCAVATION METHOD

It has always been clear that total excavation, though desirable, was not possible. The cost, in terms of men and money would have been far greater than was justified in terms of the likely yield, and the speed at which destruction by quarrying was happening would have necessitated at least six months of every year being spent on the site: in other words a virtually permanent excavation staff. Neither time nor money has been (or is ever likely to be) available for operations on such a scale. Work in 1958-60 revealed the inadequacy of excavating only the structures shown on the original survey. Many houses—1A and 2 are the most notable—are revealed only by the heaps of tumble on either side of the wall; the wall itself has been completely robbed. Much of the stone was removed *c.* 1880 for use in new field walls.[21] This is itself an addition to our knowledge of the changing landscape: at the time of the Tithe Map (1843-4) the two great open fields had still not been divided, though they were already used for grazing rather than arable. Earlier stone robbing may have occurred; it seems clear that medieval structures were used as a source of material by builders of the 16th and 17th centuries, and stone from the village may also have been taken for use at Cornhills and Ferneyrigg, though nothing in the present structures suggests this.

Since 1965 it has been the policy to excavate the widest possible area around the structures recorded in the 1958 survey or detected since. Every heap of stones indicated by a rise in the turf has been excavated, at least in part. Such rises

[21] Information from Mr. R. Thornton.

can sometimes be detected by the feet of the experienced field-worker, even when they are not readily seen. Sites 1A and 17A were discovered in this way.

On the whinstone outcrop the soil cover is usually very thin—rarely more than 30 cm.—and the topsoil lies immediately over the bedrock. There are some hollows in the bedrock filled with yellow or grey clay to a depth of 1 m. or more, and smaller holes and gullies may be similarly filled. Archaeological stratification rarely survives, and where it does it has been seriously damaged or even confused beyond hope of elucidation by rabbit burrows. In these circumstances it has been normal to excavate wide areas without leaving any baulks except such as are necessary for access to the areas being worked; these have been removed as soon as their presence became unnecessary.

The normal method of excavation has been to remove turf and topsoil manually, leaving stones even when they are in the topsoil; site 2 proves conclusively that some of the topsoil was formed between the desertion of the village and the robbing of its walls. The pattern of fallen stone reveals the lines of robbed walls as stone-free areas (pls. XXIII and XXIII, 2). Removal of tumble before planning would mean the destruction of the only evidence for these robbed walls. In the rare and localised instances of genuine archaeological stratification, sections have been left as and where necessary. The metric system has been used for all measurements since 1966.

In 1968 and 1969 considerable use was made of compressed air. A small compressor, costing about £15 per week inclusive of fuel, was of inestimable value. With a dust-gun it was extremely effective for cleaning dry walls for photography; without the gun it proved to be the most rapid way of removing earth from areas of bedrock. It also saved many man-hours in removing loose earth from heaps of fallen stone—one of the most time-consuming operations at West Whelpington. There were three principal disadvantages: the first was the noise, which some volunteers found intolerable

after a time. The second was that in damp conditions compressed air was only effective for cleaning bedrock. The final problem was that, in inexpert hands, dust and earth might be blown on to an area of the site which was already clean. If used without the dust-gun it was essential to work with the wind, and to protect adjacent parts of the site with tarpaulin screens; even with this provision, it was sometimes necessary to move volunteers to another area while the compressor was in use. It should be noted that compressed air can be dangerous if allowed to get into a cut or scratch, and that the user (without the dust-gun at least) requires protection for eyes, nose, mouth and ears.[22]

It has not proved possible to use other mechanical equipment. The shallow depth of soil precludes the use of earth-moving machines of any type, and the terrain is unsuitable for dumper trucks or similar vehicles.

The absence of stratification has meant that there has rarely been satisfactory dating evidence. Such floors as have been found (apart from the whinstone bedrock) have been of clay, and so thin that associated pottery can rarely be shown to have underlain them, rather than to have been trampled in from above. It is however clear that the pottery associated with a structure may form a coherent group, even though it is technically unstratified. Site 1A, for instance, produced nothing earlier than the 17th century. It has been suggested that the average peasant was a tidy person, and that therefore the pottery found on a site will be of periods when it was not occupied; in other words 1A would belong to a period before the 17th century. The hypothesis is excessively ingenious, and is certainly not applicable to West Whelpington. The most comfortable house excavated (20) contained pottery of the 16th to 18th centuries; the most primitive (18) only medieval sherds. It is possible that the medieval peasant enjoyed a better built, more comfortable and more sophisticated home than his 17th century successor, but it cannot be proved, and seems most unlikely. Moreover

[22] I am grateful to Mr. D. S. Neal for advice on the use of compressed air.

other evidence supports the view that the sherds associated with a building will indicate its date of occupation. Most of the houses which produce post-medieval objects have been robbed since Hodgson saw the site. Site 24 was not robbed; its pottery was mainly of the 12th and 13th centuries, and nothing (apart from two clay pipe fragments in the topsoil outside the house) was later than 1500. This implies that 24 had been buried long before the stone robbing of the late 19th century, while the houses with post-medieval pottery still had walls standing above the turf a century and a half after the depopulation.

5. SUMMARY OF RESULTS, 1958-1960

The *First Report* included a full account of the excavations of 1958-60, and for detail it will still be necessary to consult that report. For the convenience of those who may not have ready access to it, the basic information on the structures excavated is repeated here, with the measurements converted from Imperial to metric units. New interpretations are offered, in the light of knowledge gained from further excavation of the village.

Site 18. Roughly rectangular building, *c.* 6·7 × 4·9 m. Residential use is not certain, and there is no evidence that the building survived beyond the 13th century. Its ultimate use was as a dump for lime, not necessarily later than 1300. The building was probably of timber with stone packing round the uprights, or half-timbered on a rubble foundation.

Site 18A. Rectilinear building, *c.* 6·1 × 4·6 m. internally. Rubble walling, probably with timber superstructure. Heating by an open fire. Finds mainly of the 17th century.

Site 19. (fig. 4) Six periods were revealed. The first three did not provide intelligible plans, and cannot be placed in order. One of them incorporated a semi-circular platform at its west end. This was interpreted as a loading-platform outside a barn, but the discovery of similar platforms (e.g. 16B, 16C) in association with medieval houses suggests that

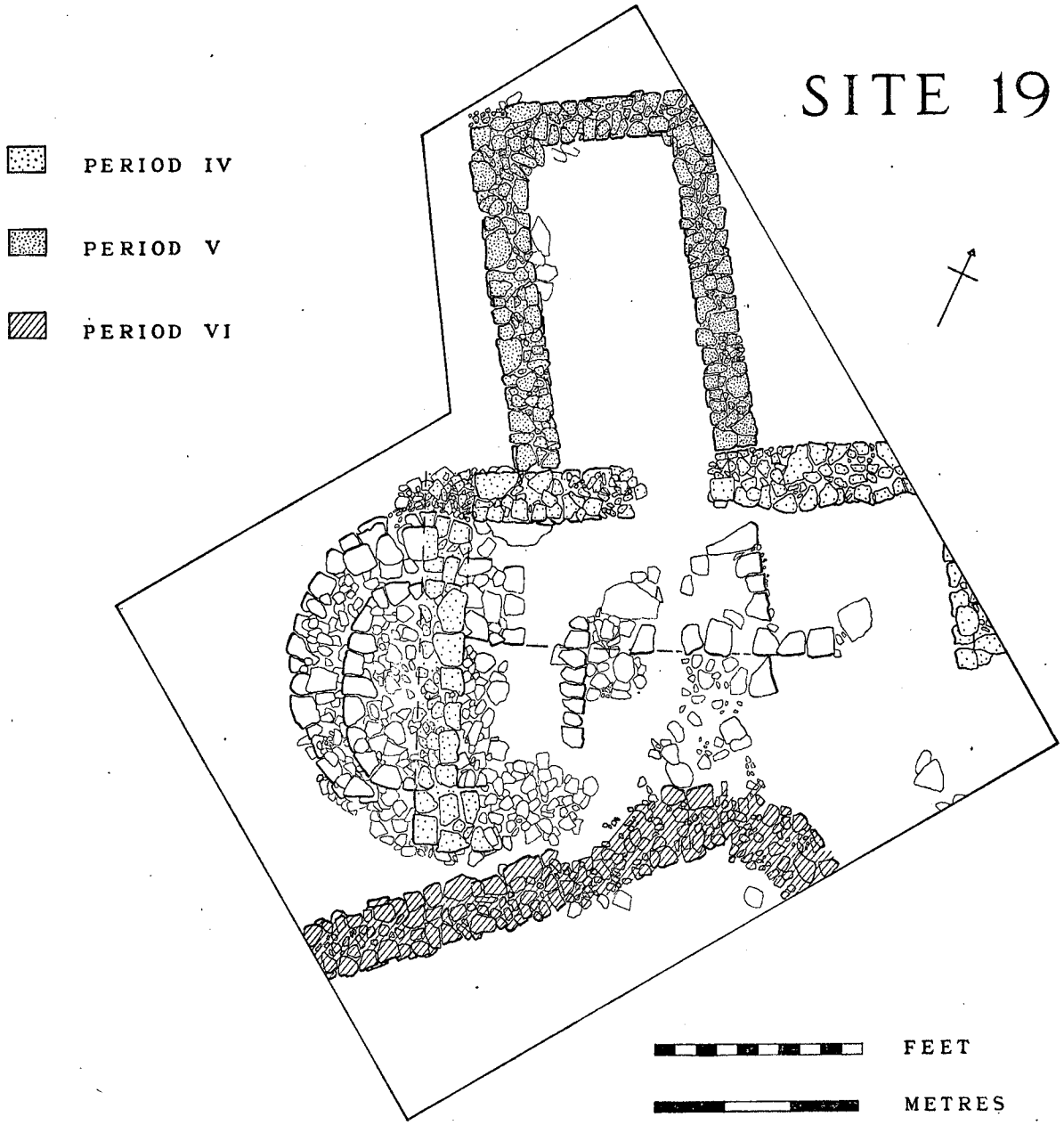


Fig. 4. (1: 100)

Aerial view of West Whelpington from the south. Site 17 under excavation in foreground

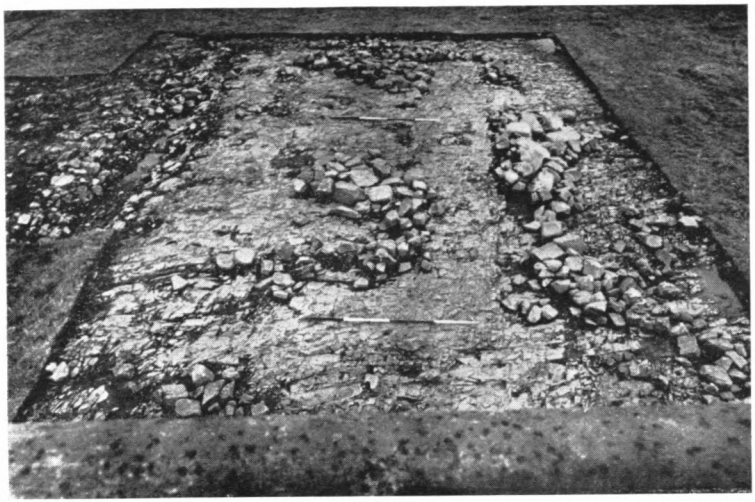
Phot: N. McCord

Aerial view of West Whelpington from the north, Site 1 and 1A under excavation left-centre

Phot: N. McCord

1. Ridge and furrow in the East field

2. The earthworks of the village from the north-east



1. Site 1A from the west *Crown copyright reserved*

2. Site 1, east end: clay levels overlying flagged floor, but running beneath secondary partition wall

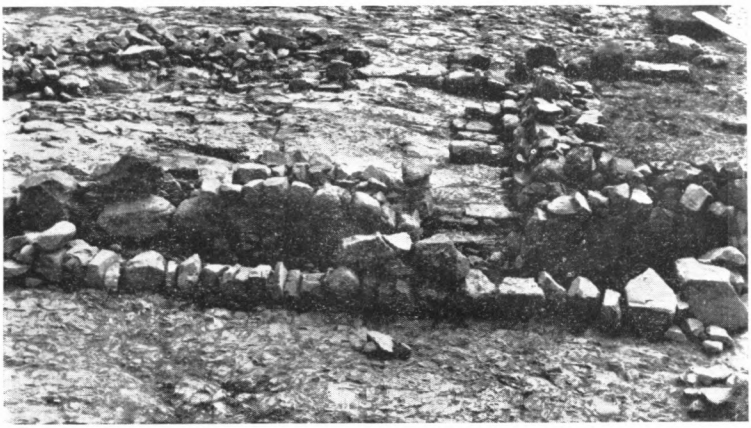
Crown copyright reserved

1. Site 1. Flagged hearth set in clay, overlapping flagged floor
Crown copyright reserved

2. Site 2 from the west
Crown copyright reserved

1. Site 3 from the west, with site 2 (completely excavated) beyond
Crown copyright reserved

2. Site 7 from the west, with Site 6 beyond
Crown copyright reserved



1. Site 6 from the north, showing door (subsequently blocked) and boulder wall outside it

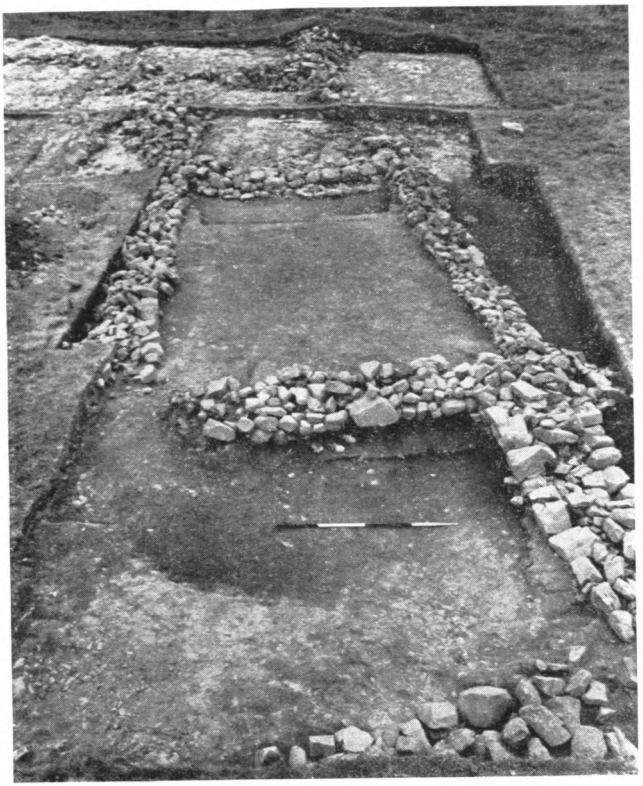
2. Site 7. Paved area at east end, from the south

1. Site 7. Byre drain of Period II. Pits I and II may be seen on the left *Crown copyright reserved*

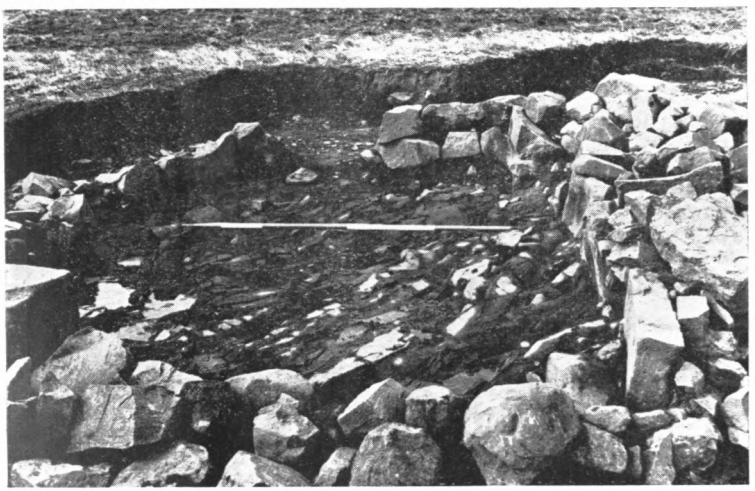
2. Site 7A from the west *Crown copyright reserved*

1. Site 16B from the east *Crown copyright reserved*

2. Site 16B from the west *Crown copyright reserved*



1. Site 16 from the west, showing 16/3, 16/2 and 16/1



2. Site 16. Structure 16/6 from the east

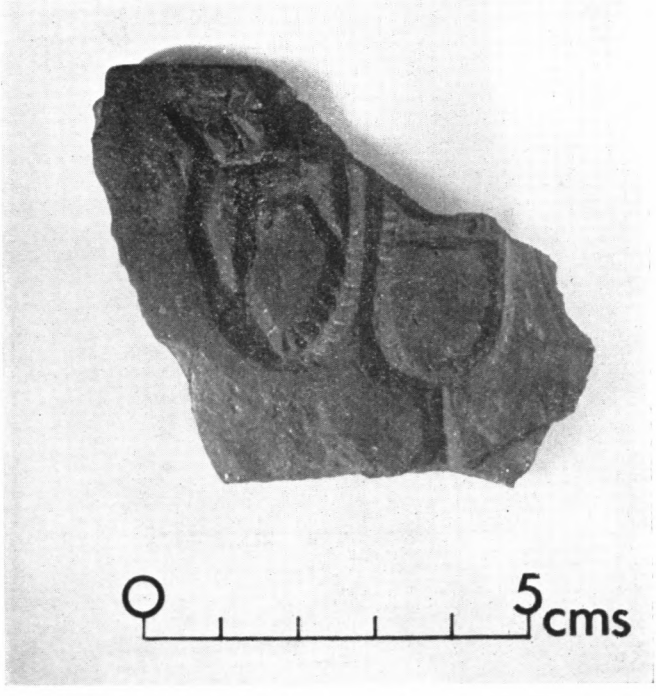
1. Site 16A: byre floor and drain *Crown copyright reserved*

2. Site 17. West end, from the west *Crown copyright reserved*

1. Site 17A from the south-west, with the east end of site 17 in the background

2. Site 24 from the north, showing buttress against north wall

1. Pound, from the west



2. Slate mould

 Phot: D. G. Booth

they are best regarded as the bases for hay-ricks. Since the others are all medieval, a medieval date for this phase of 19 seems likely. Most of the finds from site 19 were of the 16th and 17th centuries, and probably belong to periods IV and V. IV was apparently a single-roomed structure, 7·50 × 3·96 m. internally. In period V another room, 5·04 × 2·30 m. internally, was added on the north side. This extra room had a floor of whinstone chippings, and included the best masonry so far found at West Whelpington. No trace of a hearth was found in 19, and it may not have been residential. None of the finds need be later than the middle of the 17th century, and it seems likely that by that date it had been abandoned; the abandonment is indicated by period VI, a croft wall running over the southern part of period IV/V. In 1962 it was suggested that period VI might be later than the desertion of the village; enough is now known of the subsequent history of the site and its fields to render this most unlikely, and period VI must be placed within the last century of the life of the village.

Site 20. (fig. 5) The last building on this site, probably occupied down to the date of depopulation, was a house with well-built whinstone walls, of varying thickness. It was irregular in plan, the walls measuring: North: 7·39 m. East: *c.* 5·8 m. South: *c.* 5·9 m. West: 5·2 m. There was a door near the north end of the west wall; south of the door was a hearth with a semi-circular buttress chimney, 0·94 m. in diameter. The house was almost certainly stone-built to the eaves.

The earlier phases in the history of the site are subject to re-interpretation. A slighter structure, *c.* 7·6 × 2·1 m. internally, lay to the west. It apparently had a timber-framed superstructure, and may represent an earlier dwelling, or an outbuilding of the ultimate house.

To the north of the latest house an area of paving is perhaps best viewed as a portion of the floor of an earlier building whose robbed walls were not detected in the excavation. There is a suggestion of a semi-circular platform (for a hay-rick ?) on the north side.

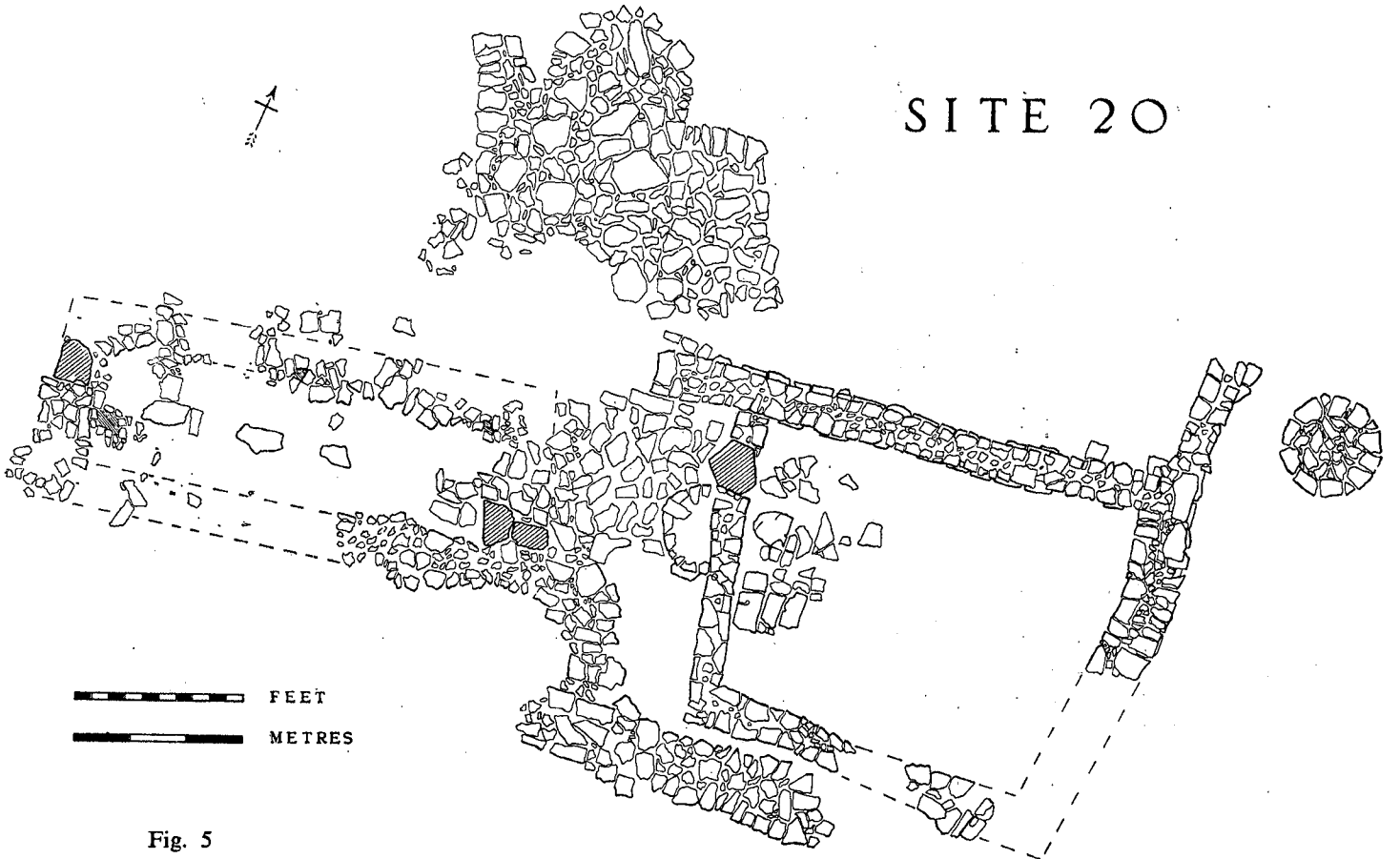


Fig. 5

SITE 21

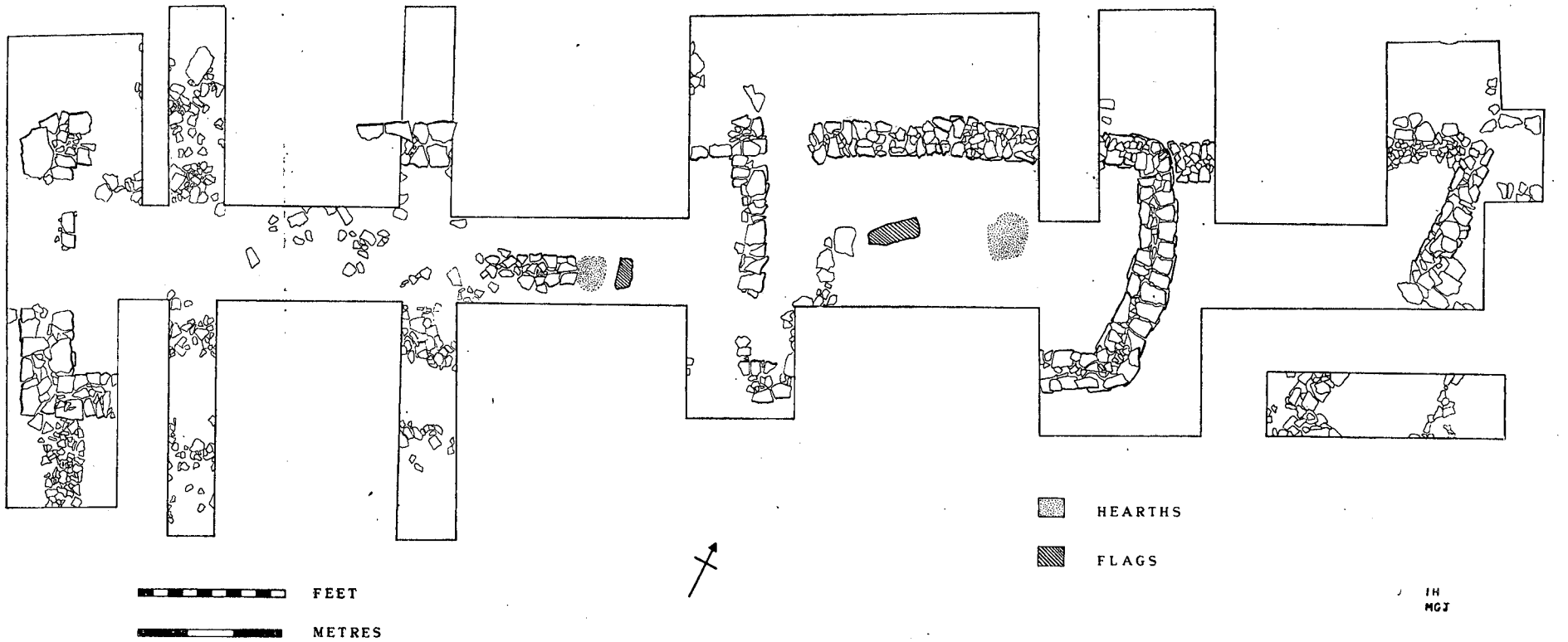


Fig. 6

The north wall of the latest house continues west of the line of the west wall, which butts against it. The west wall is therefore structurally later, and may well be chronologically later also. Immediately south of the south wall of the latest house, and parallel with it, is another broader wall: it continues as far west as the north wall, and north of its west end there are stones which may be part of a north-south wall, or of an area of paving. This evidence suggests an earlier house, *c.* 5·6 m. from north to south. Its extent from east to west is less certain: the north wall of the later house butts against the east wall, and the south-east angle is robbed. This might be held to indicate that the east wall is earlier still, and was re-used in the house we are discussing; but it is also possible that this east wall of the latest house replaced an earlier east wall of the larger house. There are signs that the north wall may have been breached one stone west of the junction with the east wall, the gap between the two being subsequently filled with smaller stones.

Almost all the pottery from this site belongs to the period *c.* 1550 to 1720; only five sherds were earlier than *c.* 1500. It is not now possible to date any one phase precisely, though the latest house was almost certainly occupied down to the date of depopulation.

Site 21. (fig. 6) 23·2 × 6·1 m. overall, this building was divided into two rooms 13·7 × 4·23 m. and 7·6 × 3·96 m. internally. The smaller room had an external door, and both had open hearths; probably two dwellings are indicated. The finds from site 21 are all earlier than 1500, but the building contained a fragment of the wall of an earlier building.

Site 23. Excavation was incomplete. Internal dimensions of the building were 20 × 4·2 m. It may have been a row of cottages rather than a long-house. The few finds were all earlier than the 16th century.

Site 24. Only a part of this structure was excavated in 1960. For a complete report see below, p. 212.

6. EXCAVATIONS, 1965-1969

SITE 1A

Lying immediately to the south of site 1, separated from it by a small gully in the bedrock, 1A is a single-period house of the 17th century. That its walls were still standing after the desertion of the village is attested by the subsequent thorough robbing; only one stone of the walls survived *in situ*, though before the 19th century robbing the upper courses had fallen both inwards and outwards. Only this tumble defined the line of the walls clearly (pl. XXII, 1; fig. 7), though the general area of the house was indicated by a platform of bedrock, chipped away outside the line of the walls —probably to prevent water soaking into the house. This smooth platform formed the floor of the house.

The tumble was of whin and freestone, as (presumably) were the whole of the walls. It may be guessed that the freestone came from the demolition of a medieval house, since the 17th century structures contain little but whin. The amount of clay mingled with the tumble suggested that the walls had been bonded—or at least the cracks filled—with clay. The house measured 7·3 × 3·3 m. internally, with walls about 1·0 m. wide. The robbing had removed all trace of a door, but the absence of tumble over much of the north side may indicate that the entrance was here; but there is also a suggestive absence of tumble near the east end of the south side.

Two places within the house revealed evidence of burning. That near the centre was apparently an open hearth, though it may be earlier than the house. Against the east wall was built a hearth of freestone; its position suggests the possibility of a chimney on the east gable, though there is of course no structural evidence to support this suggestion. Such a refinement would be appropriate to the date indicated by the finds from the site, which are exclusively of the 17th century. They include a few fragments of window glass, though not enough to assert confidently that the house had glazed win-

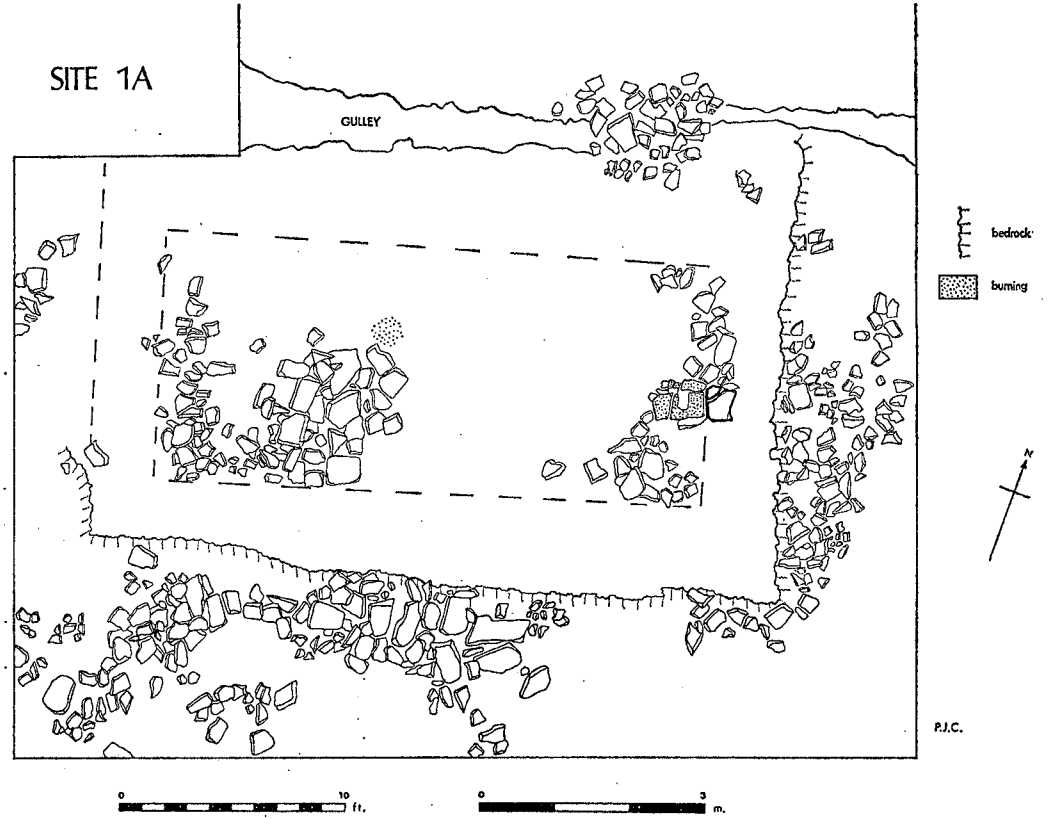


Fig. 7 (1:100)

dows. The evidence of other 17th century houses at West Whelpington indicates that it probably did.

SITES 1 and 1B (pls. XXII, 2; XXIII, 1; fig. 8)

Site 1B was not completely excavated. Its west end, with the east end of site 2, was destroyed by the quarry in 1967-1968, and the relationship between the two structures was not established; but the evidence from other parts of the village suggests that they probably formed a continuous line, though not a straight one. The walls of 1B had been completely robbed, but it would seem to have been *c.* 4·8 m. wide internally, with a length of something more than 6 m. The only features of note were the heavy paved floor (which was not continuous) and a line of smaller stones towards the west end of the part excavated. To the west of this line the flags are *c.* 10 cm. lower than those to the east; the small stones probably represent some of the packing from the base of a timber partition. The heavy paving suggests that 1B may have been a byre, though it lacks the central drain found in other byres (e.g. sites 3, 7, 16A). Nothing in the finds (which were few in number) suggests occupation before the 16th or 17th century.

Site 1 is more complex. The south-east angle of a building (*c.* 19 × 4 m. internally) survived, with parts of the adjacent walls. The construction was of large whinstone blocks, packed with rubble and yellow clay. The whole was set on a base of clay. The line of the north wall was approximately marked by a yellow clay bank left after the wall was robbed; one or two walling stones remained, apparently *in situ*. The south wall was marked by a stone-free line immediately north of a heap of rubble which had presumably fallen from the upper courses between the desertion of the house and the stone-robbing of *c.* 1880. The building lies at right angles to the wall dividing yards 1 and 2; it is presumably contemporary with that wall, for it formed the northern boundary of the yard. There can be little doubt that this building is of post-medieval date.

If this is so, it was not the earliest building here. The finds include a considerable quantity of medieval pottery. No medieval building was identified, but a few scraps of evidence may relate to it. Outside the east wall of the post-medieval structure is an area of paving, which may derive from an earlier building. Inside site 1 are three open hearths, as well as other areas of burning. The most easterly hearth, just west of the east wall, certainly relates to the post-medieval structure, and it is presumed that the most westerly, against the wall dividing 1 from 1B, is of similar date. It was in part stone-built, and overlay an area of paving. Other hearths and patches of burning on the bedrock might be associated with the medieval building whose existence we must postulate. Just inside the south wall is a rock-cut hole, *c.* 35 × 30 cm.; it appears to be a post-hole, but since it is alone it can only relate to a support for the roof of the post-medieval building. In the centre of that building is a shallow rock-cut depression, *c.* 2 × 1 m. in extent. Its function and date are alike uncertain.

East of this depression an irregular burnt area indicates the site of an open hearth of uncertain date. Immediately to the east lay a large flagstone, worn smooth on its western side: the juxtaposition of hearth and flagstone was noted in the *First Report* (e.g. site 21), but remains unexplained. A smaller flagstone to the east underlay a line of stones which may represent a north-south partition wall of the post-medieval building.

If this is a partition, nothing reveals whether it was primary or secondary in that building. Another partition wall, *c.* 2 m. west of the east wall, was certainly secondary. It was narrower than the east and south walls, and built mainly of freestone. It overlay layers of clay and ash associated with two open hearths, themselves imposed on a small area of flagging which clearly belongs to the first phase of the post-medieval structure; the flags run right up to the east wall, on the same level as its lowest course.

Pl. XXIII, 2 and fig. 9 demonstrate the stratification at this

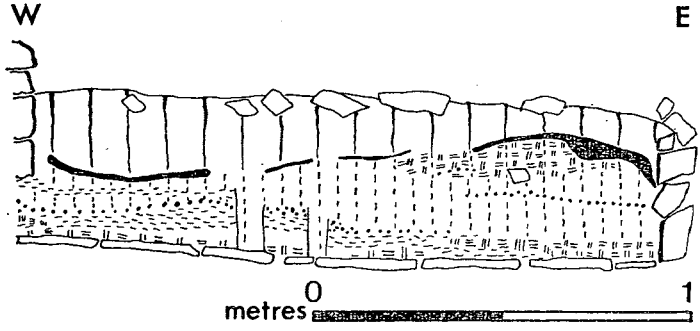


Fig. 9. Section of floor levels at east end of site 1 (1:20)

point. The flagged paving lies directly on the bedrock, occasionally levelled up with yellow clay. A layer of clay overlies the flagstones, and above it is a thick layer of black ash from the hearth. [The first hearth was an open fire laid on the flagstones; a new hearth, of similar flagstones, was built at a higher level among the ash.] In the ash deposit are lenses of reddened ash with brown soil above. The soil may well represent a seal over imperfectly extinguished ashes. Through these ash deposits two posts were sunk on to the top of the flagstones. Their function is uncertain, though they may represent additional supports for a sagging roof. Above the ash is a thick band of brownish earth, incorporating some burnt material, and with patches of yellowish clay in the upper levels. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this layer derives from the collapse of a turf or thatch roof, with clay washed out of the upper courses of the east wall. Above this level is an old turf line, indicating a period of stability before the accumulation of topsoil and the collapse of the walls.

In its final form site 1 was apparently residential. The evidence is too fragmentary for certain conclusions, but it seems likely to have formed a row of two or three cottages, with 1B a byre beyond them. We shall see that the development of terraces of single-storey buildings, some of them houses and others byres, is a feature of the post-medieval


paving
burning
clay
hollow in bedrock
SITES 1 AND 1B
m.
ft.
F.B.
P.J.C.

Fig. 8 (1:100)

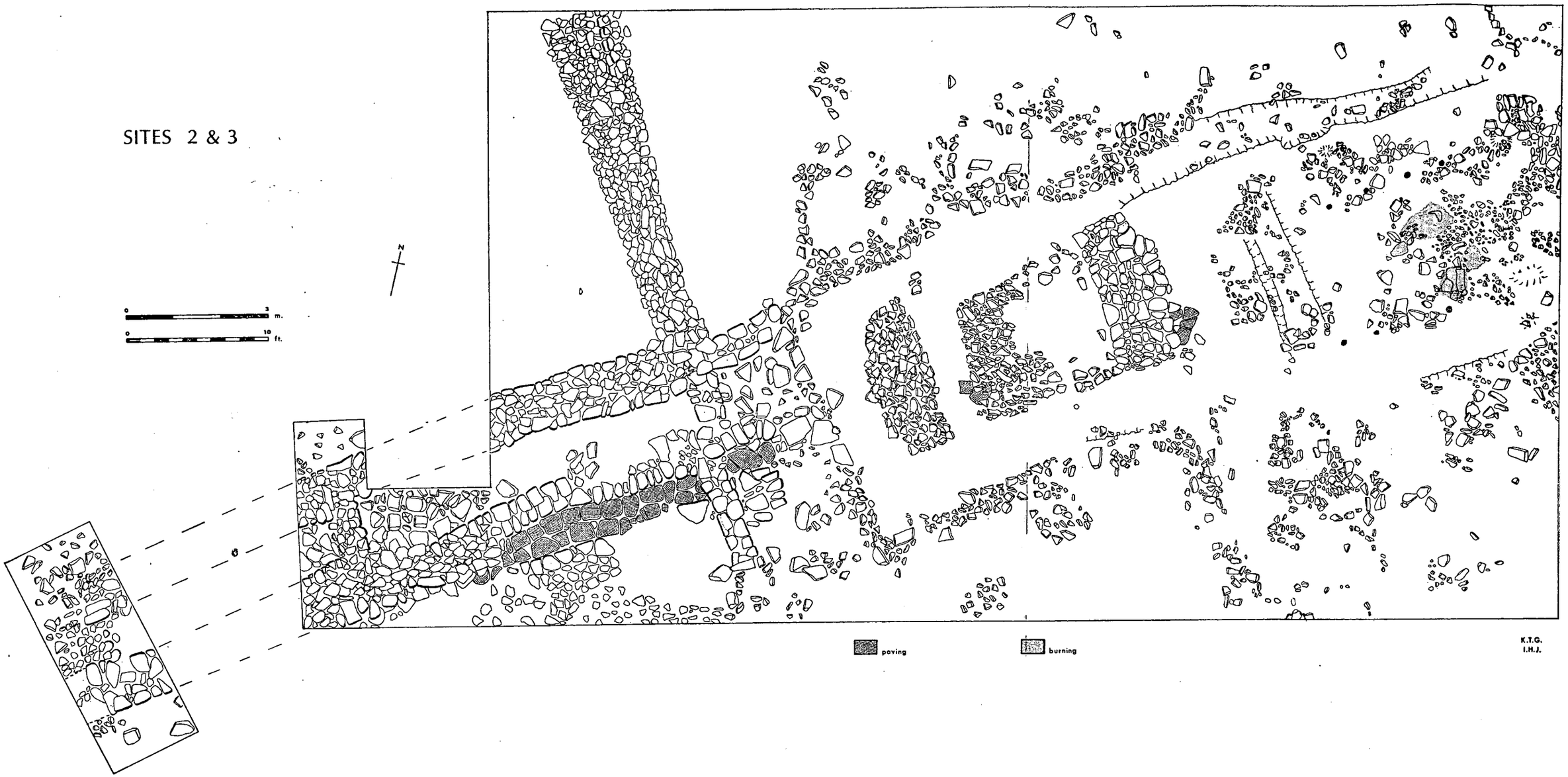


Fig. 10 (1 : 100)

village. Some attempt was made to pave parts of the floor, and the open hearth against the west wall may mark a move towards the hearth-with-chimney, which has so far only been identified on site 20.

SITES 2 and 3 (pls. XXIII, 2 and XXIV, 1; fig. 10)

Site 2

Site 2, whose east end had been destroyed with the west end of 1B, consisted of two successive buildings, both completely robbed. The westerly one was probably the earlier, and when the second structure was erected the east wall of the first was demolished, but the remainder of the building continued in use. Certainty is not possible, but it seems likely that both were post-medieval.

Period I

The westerly building, *c.* 9 × 3·5 m. internally, was readily defined by the stone-free robber-trenches; these clearly indicated an internal partition-wall near the west end. The east end of the building was marked by the extent of the yellow clay floor, which ended at a ridge of bedrock with a shallow gully on its west side; it appears likely that the east wall had originally stood on this ridge.

Most of the floor appears to have been of yellow clay; in two places patches of paving had been used below the clay to level up irregularities in the bedrock. This may suggest that the clay floor was an addition to the building, possibly after it had been in use for a considerable time. In the centre of the building was a patch of paving (not shaded on fig. 10) which extended across the whole width of the structure; it overlay one of the smaller patches of paving. Its western limit was defined by a careful straight edge, but at the east side it ended irregularly, where its stones had been removed to make way for the west wall of the secondary structure.

At the west end of the period I building 5 to 10 cm. of soil had accumulated on the clay floor before any tumble

fell from the walls. This may well represent the collapse of the thatch or turf roof. Since this building forms a part of the south wall of yard 2, it is to be presumed that it was still standing at the desertion of the village. It was linked by a short wall to the south-east angle of yard 3. The finds confirm the post-medieval date, though they suggest a medieval occupation of which no structural evidence was found. Nothing indicates the function of this building, but the absence of any hearth suggests that it was not residential.

Period II

The east end of the first building was demolished to make way for the period II structure. The new west wall cut through the area of paving in the centre of the earlier building. The north wall lay on the southern edge of a rock-cut gully which will have acted as a drain; outside the south wall the bedrock was again chipped away to leave the house on a slightly raised platform—a feature which recurs on site 1A. The house was *c.* 4 m. wide internally, and more than 7·5 m. long. On the line of the north wall (marked X on fig. 10) was a rock-cut pivot-hole; no evidence survived for any other entrance to the building.

Extensive patches of burning suggest a succession of open hearths; with one was associated a fragment of a clay pipe-bowl. The finds as a whole suggest that the house was post-medieval, and the absence of any substantial quantity of tumble from the walls may be an indication that they were still almost intact in the 19th century.

Seven rock-cut holes, *c.* 30 cm. in diameter, were found in the house near the north-east angle of the area excavated. Individually they look like post-holes, but they do not form any coherent pattern, and their lines are not parallel with the walls of the house.

Parallel with the north and south walls of the house, and about 0·5 cm. from them, were lines of holes *c.* 10 cm. in diameter, spaced 0·8 to 1·0 m. apart (shown solid on fig. 10). Their function is uncertain; they might have supported

benches or shelves along the side walls of the house. They seem too closely spaced to relate to any normal method of supporting the roof.

Site 3

Time did not permit a full excavation of site 3. In the earliest phase its north wall (which was also the southern boundary of yard 3) seems to have been related to a building with a longitudinal central channel and a raised platform on either side. Despite the narrow width of these platforms, (as little as 1·8 m. on the north side) the structure must be interpreted as a byre; it throws light on the extent to which careful breeding in the 18th century improved domestic animals.

The date of the byre is not certainly proved; it may well be medieval, for even the rough east-west wall which was built over the drain and the northern platform was not certainly post-medieval. The function of this secondary wall is far from clear; in places it is linked by a short stretch of walling to the north wall of the byre, which therefore still survived; the two were little more than 1 m. apart. Both walls continued in a westerly direction for at least 13 m., and they may have been linked by another cross-wall. The byre drain ran almost as far as the west wall of site 2, and might be contemporary with it. It is overlain by two rough walls which continue the line of the wall which separates yards 2 and 3.

Yard and croft boundaries

Sections were dug across yard and croft boundaries, as indicated on fig. 3. In one section the stones lay partly on topsoil, partly on a patch of grey clay in which a small fragment of medieval pottery was found. In another section the stones lay directly on natural clay. Both suggest, as do the other boundaries examined, banks of clay and stone, rather than walls. This was clearly the character of the division between yards 2 and 3, though it stood to a height of well over 1 m. Mr. N. J. Sunter points out that many local

field-boundaries are clearly earthen banks *c.* 1 m. high, encased in roughly piled dry stone walling, and suggests that many of the boundaries at West Whelpington may have been built in a similar way.

Area south of site 2

Surface indications suggested an enclosure to the south of site 2, encroaching on the village green. It was only possible to cut small trenches across the apparent line (fig. 3). The evidence from these suggested that an enclosure wall had existed, but had been almost completely robbed: at only one point was convincing walling, one course high, located. At two other points tumble on both sides of a stone-free line suggested a robber-trench. To the south of the enclosure a group of large whinstone blocks, apparently *in situ*, must have derived from an exceptionally solid structure: possibly this is all that survived of Hodgson's peel-tower, with the enclosure as its "yard or barmekin."

SITES 4 and 5

Due to a misunderstanding with the quarry owners, these sites were destroyed before excavation, and before the revision of the survey was completed. An inspection before they were destroyed suggested that they formed a continuation of the line of sites 1 to 3, and, like them, had suffered considerable robbing. If these unconfirmed observations are correct, we may reasonably presume that the buildings belonged to the 17th century. The lines of the 1958 survey, shown on fig. 3, appeared to be heaps of tumble inside the line of the robbed walls.

An inspection of the dumps produced by bulldozing these sites produced evidence of whinstone, but not freestone, as a building material. A small group of 17th century finds may come from these sites, or from a part of the village green which was stripped at the same time. They have therefore no evidential value. The material certainly derived from site 5 contained, towards the west end, a quantity of coal, indica-

tive of a fuel-dump in or near the house, and abandoned with it. This in itself is strong presumptive evidence that site 5 was residential, and that it was occupied until the final depopulation of the village; if the house had been abandoned earlier we should expect that one of the remaining villagers would have removed the coal for his own use.

SITES 6 and 7 (pls. XXIV, 2; XXV and XXVI, 1; fig. 11)

with *R. J. Clavering* and *Stuart Wrathmell*

These two sites comprised a complex of buildings aligned roughly east and west. The pottery ranged in date from the 12th century to the 17th. Probably the earliest features were three rectangular pits cut into the bedrock. Pits 2 and 3 were both approximately 1·2 × 1·0 × 0·5 m. deep, filled with earth and large whinstone chippings. The fill of Pit 1 was similar, but had additionally a sealing layer of yellow clay and a capping of sandstone flags levelling it off to the bedrock surface. It was also somewhat larger than the others, being about 1·4 × 1·2 m. × 0·5 m. deep. A feature common to all three was a ledge of bedrock which had been retained a few cm. below the surface of the bedrock. Their function and associations are unknown. The fill of Pit 1 contained pottery (including number 32) of early medieval date.

Period I

Superseding Pit 3 were the remains of a rectangular building (site 6) of which the north-east corner and possibly parts of the south wall survived. Its width internally was *c.* 3·6 m.; the length was at least 6·8 m., as is indicated by the paving which had been used to level off the floor, which was elsewhere of bedrock. A doorway was discovered in the north wall near the east end of the structure. The walls themselves consisted of large irregular whinstone blocks with clay bonding.

To the west of building 6 remains of another, probably

separate, structure had survived (site 7) beneath a secondary phase of construction in much the same position. Fig. 12 shows the relationship of the two buildings. A north wall (represented by a clay foundation trench) overlies the edge of a clay floor and burning associated with the destruction of that floor. Elsewhere the floor was itself related to the earlier north wall. The east wall of the primary building was probably on the same line as that of the later structure, and the same wall may have served in both periods.

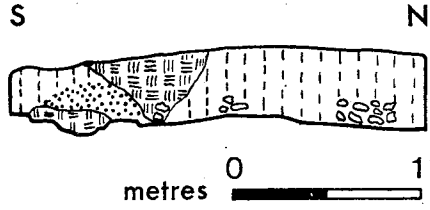


Fig. 12. Section across lines of successive north walls of site 7 (1:40)

From the north-east corner the north wall remained for some 7·2 m. Thereafter its line was marked by the edge of the fragmentary clay floor for at least another 8·8 m. The make-up of the clay floor contained only pottery of the 12th and (?) 13th centuries.

The south wall survived for some 6·6 m. west from the presumed south-east angle. It was clay bonded, and pottery of the 13th century was recovered from its fill. The continuation of the south wall was suggested by the line of a ridge of chipped bedrock which extended for *c.* 4·0 m. further: this ridge formed the southern limit of the clay floor and associated burning.

Probably to be related to this primary structure was a hearth near the east end, measuring 0·6 × 0·7 m. and cut into the bedrock. It was found beneath the paving of the secondary building. No evidence was found for internal partitions in the primary building.

Period II

A room, added on to the east end wall of 7 in either its primary or its secondary phase was found partly to overlie building 6. Its internal width at the west end was 4·6 m. and at the east end 3·6 m.; its length was *c.* 7 m. It contained a doorway (subsequently blocked) at the north-west corner, and another in the south wall, 1·4 m. from the south-west angle. A hearth was built against the west wall. The floor was of bedrock levelled with earth and whinstone chippings. The walls were of whinstone blocks bonded with clay; the north wall overlay a sherd of 12th century pottery.

The second phase on site 7 had a slightly different alignment, and seems to have consisted of a byre with a drain at the west and a paved area at the east end. The walls at the east end of the Period I building were largely retained, although restoration is evident near the north-east angle. From a point about 4·6 m. to the west of this corner the original north wall had been superseded by one which itself survived only as a clay-filled foundation trench. The western termination of this trench coincided with the west end of the byre drain on a north-south line which probably indicates a robbed west wall: this interpretation is supported by the distribution of tumble to either side—though interpretations at the west end of site 7 may require modifications when site 8 is excavated.

The south wall of Period I had also been retained in part, to a point 6·6 m. from the east wall. Thereafter a new wall, clay-bonded and containing freestone orthostats in its outer face, was constructed further south, giving an internal width to the byre of *c.* 6·6 m. The remains of this wall were extremely fragmentary, but it was certainly parallel with the Period II north wall, rather than that of Period I.

The byre drain, 1·0-1·4 m. wide and surviving to a length of 6·5 m., was formed from large flagstones and worked bedrock. It could not be assigned with certainty to

Period II, though the alignment suggests this. Its position and width would be impracticable in terms of the earlier structure. The drain slopes downwards from west to east, its outlet being presumably to the west of the paving through some point in the north wall.

The paved area was contained within the narrower eastern end of the building. It overlay the hearth and areas of burning associated with the earlier structure. The entrance to this area was near the south-east corner of the building, its threshold formed by flagstones which united the internal flagged area with paving which ran along the front of the south wall, levelling a natural gully in the bedrock.

Whether this paved area in the east part of the building was part of the byre or separate living quarters is not clear. The latter would be a possible interpretation though it presupposes a willing acceptance of unnecessary discomfort, in view of the eastward slope of the byre drain. No evidence of partitions was found, although a line of stones ran east-west through the paved area for a distance of 2·2 m., and may represent a footing for some such feature.

The abandonment of the Period II structure on site 7 was accompanied by burning; this made it impossible to ascertain whether a hearth had existed in the paved area. The destruction layer itself contained much medieval and post-medieval pottery, together with window glass, fragments of lead and (possibly) a roofing flag.

After the abandonment a rough north-south partition wall was built about 3·0 m. from the east end of building 7. It consisted of large whinstone blocks resting upon *c.* 20 cm. of earth which had accumulated after destruction.

A well-built croft wall entered the area of site 7 from the north; it presumably joined the north wall of 7, but robbing had destroyed all the evidence. A sherd of 12th century pottery was found in this wall.

To the east of this croft wall a rough boulder wall, faced on the north side, was discovered parallel to and within 1·0 m. of the north wall of building 7. It had sur-

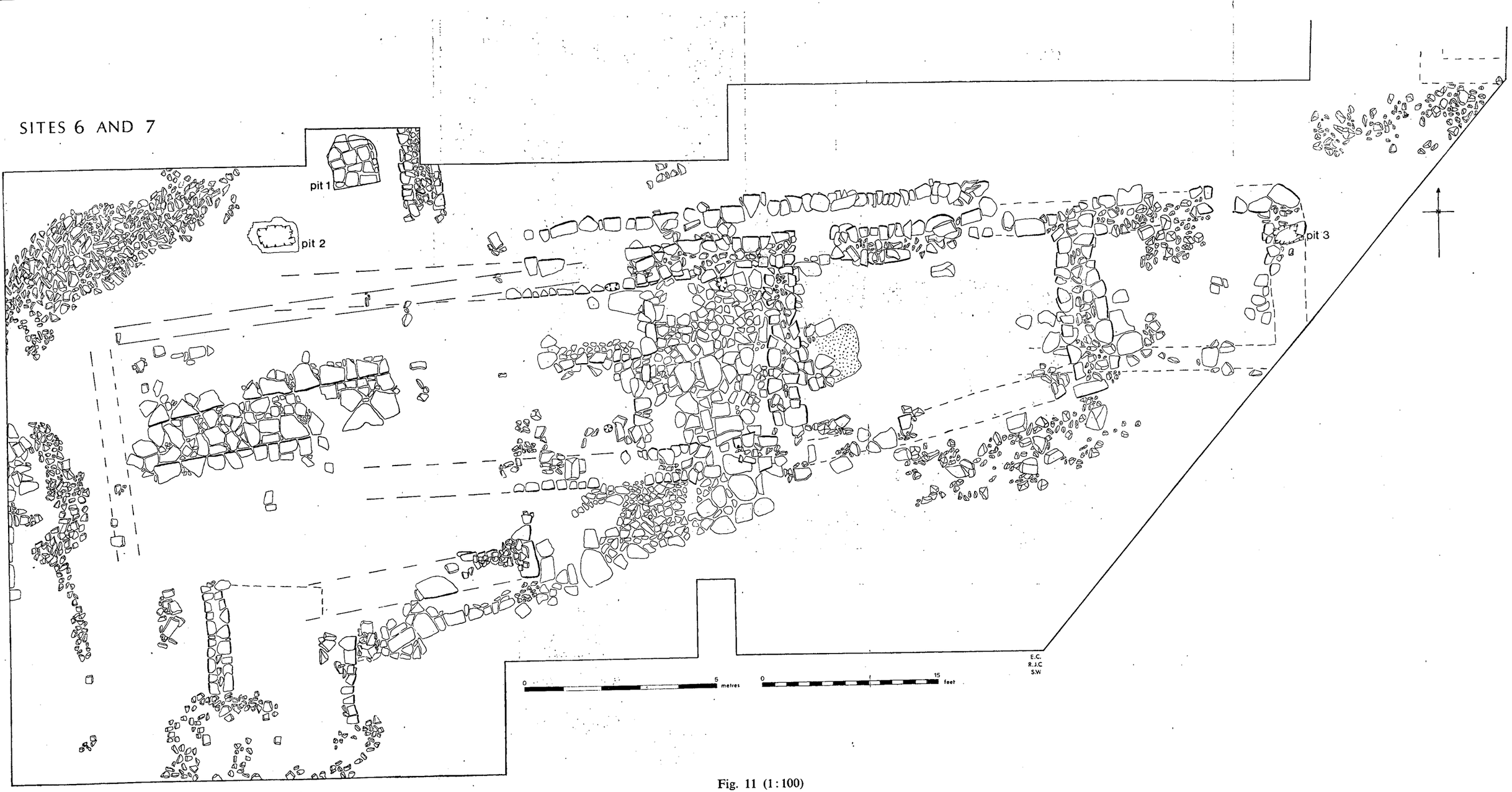


Fig. 11 (1:100)

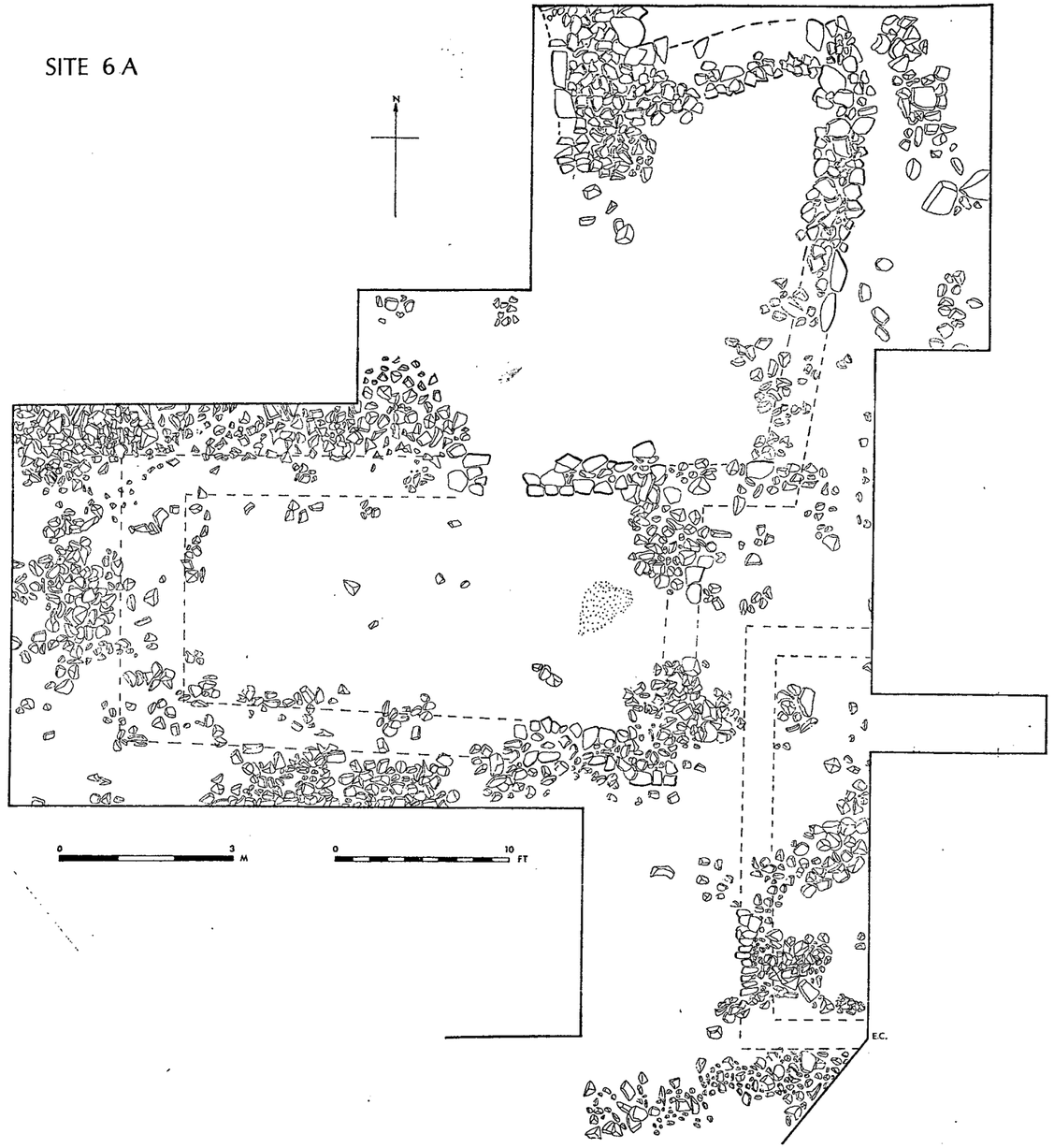


Fig. 14 (1:100)

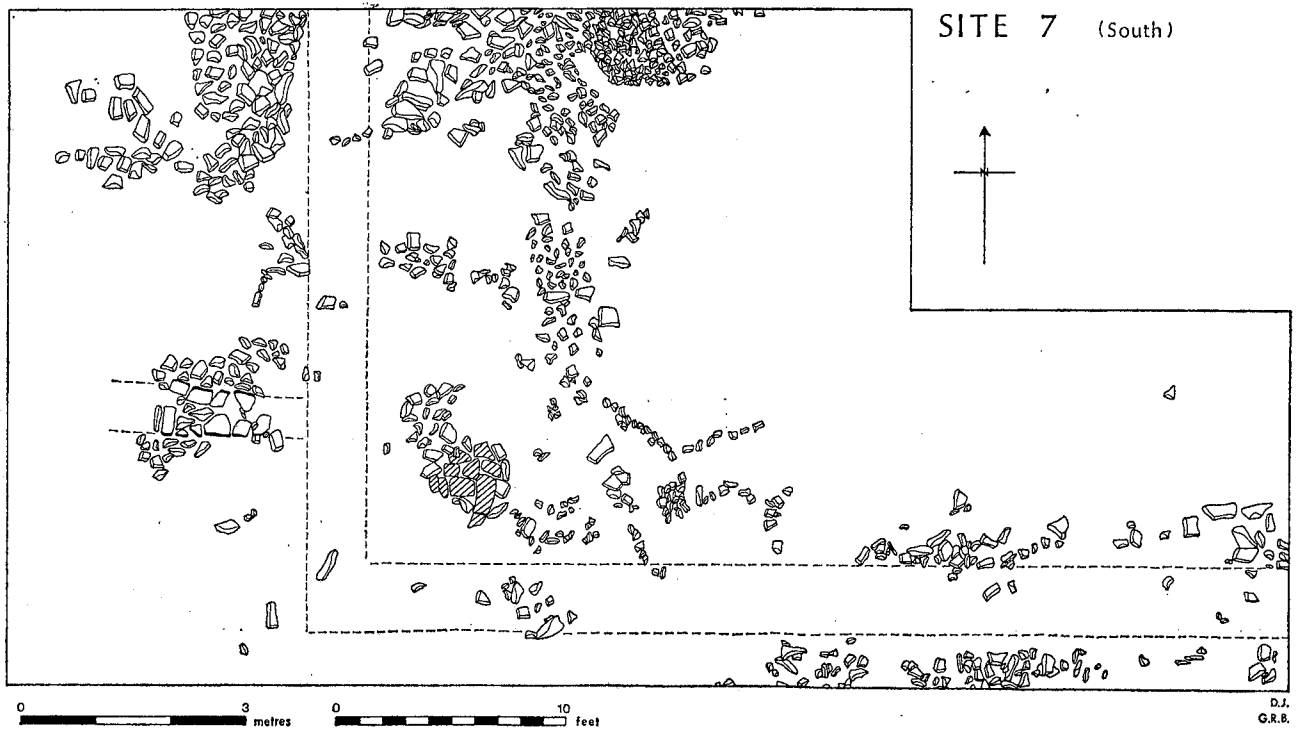


Fig. 13. (1:100)

vived at most to a height of two courses, and its function is not clear. It appears to have been associated with building 7 and the additional room at its eastern end: it is founded upon bedrock, and we should expect that any boundary wall constructed after the abandonment of the building would stand upon an accumulation of earth and debris, as in the case of the boulder wall running across the paved area. Moreover this wall would not have defined anything not already defined by the remains of the north wall of 7, which had itself survived to a height of two or more courses. The boulder wall ran across the blocked north doorway of the added room at the east end of Period II, suggesting that it was later than the blocking of that entrance.

Buildings south of site 7 (fig. 13)

South of the byre drain, and the presumed line of the south wall, lengths of two parallel walls were discovered, running north-south. Unlike the walls of buildings of 6 and 7 these were constructed of small whinstone blocks without clay bonding. They were faced on both sides, and stood 2·2 m. apart. A thick layer of burnt earth with charcoal was limited by these walls on its east and west sides; to the north it had a clearly defined edge on a line with the north ends of these lengths of walling. This suggests a rectangular building 2·2 m. wide internally and at least 3·6 m. long. The destruction layer contained some medieval pottery and a considerable number of post-medieval sherds, including number 43.

Further south traces of walled compounds extending into the village green were found. A north-south wall had been completely robbed, but was indicated by the lines of tumble. It may have begun at the south-west angle of the byre, and continued southwards for about 12 m. Thereafter it turned eastwards, and ran for at least 12·2 m. in this direction. Fragments of paving were found in the south-west angle thus formed. A further wall, running westwards

towards site 8, had a junction with this enclosure about 1·2 m. north of the south-west angle.

West of building 7, about 2 m. from it was the outer face of the east wall of another building (site 8). It may be a platform like those observed elsewhere at West Whelpington; its relationship, if any, to site 7 cannot be established until the excavation of site 8.

SITE 6A (fig. 14)

with *R. J. Clavering*

Surface indications did not reveal the connection between the wall on the east side of croft 5 (north of site 6) and the east end of site 6, a distance of about 19 m. Understanding was made more difficult by the slope down to a sunken track (?) between sites 5 and 6, and the possibility that some features which had been observed might be natural outcrops rather than the remains of walls.

Excavation to solve these problems produced unexpected results. At the north-east angle of the area examined the croft wall, as had been suspected, followed the edge of an outcrop east and then south. The sunken track was revealed as a natural break in the line of the whinstone outcrop, though it may well have served as a track: neither of the adjacent crofts incorporated it. The croft wall did not continue direct to site 6. Instead it turned westwards, to form the north wall of site 6A, whose existence had not previously been suspected. The croft wall incorporated several sherds of medieval pottery, one of them probably not earlier than the 14th century.

6A was badly robbed; one course survived in the east ends of the north and south walls, and a few facing stones in the east wall. A doorway leading northwards into the croft was marked by a break in the north wall, and by a stone with a pivot-hole at the south-west angle of the entrance. A similar stone was found in the tumble to the west of the house. The robbed walls were, as usual, marked

by the lines of tumble on either side, though relatively little had fallen into the house. The only internal feature was a clay floor at the east end, part of which was burnt red as though from an open hearth. There were few finds from 6A. They included some medieval pottery, but also post-medieval sherds, window-glass, and two fragments of wine bottles probably datable after *c.* 1680. In view of this, and of the amount of robbing, a post-medieval date for the house seems most likely.

South-east of site 6A was a short length of wall (west face only) aligned north and south. It might be a continuation of the croft wall to join it to an eastward extension of the north wall of 6; but the distribution of tumble suggested that it might be the west wall of a building running down the slope to the "sunken trackway." If it was such a building, it revealed no indication of its date or function.

SITE 7A (pl. XXVI, 2; fig. 15)

with *Stuart Wrathmell*

In the *First Report* reference was made to the cursory examination of a square stone platform in the village green, south of site 7. It was then thought to be the base for a cross or similar monument. The structure was fully excavated in 1969. The platform, of large whinstone blocks, was the most obvious feature. It measured *c.* 3·0 × 2·7 m., and was uniformly one course (*c.* 0·5 m.) high. It had been laid directly on bedrock which sloped away in all directions; only at the N.E. corner was clay used to level up the rock. There was virtually no tumble round this platform, and it seems unlikely that it was ever higher.

From the N.E. and S.E. corners of the platform fragments of walling ran eastwards. These were built of smaller whinstone blocks set on clay. Another possible piece of wall lay between the two: it appeared to have a southern face only. This lay on a band of yellow clay. It might be merely tumble, but this seems unlikely. None of these walls

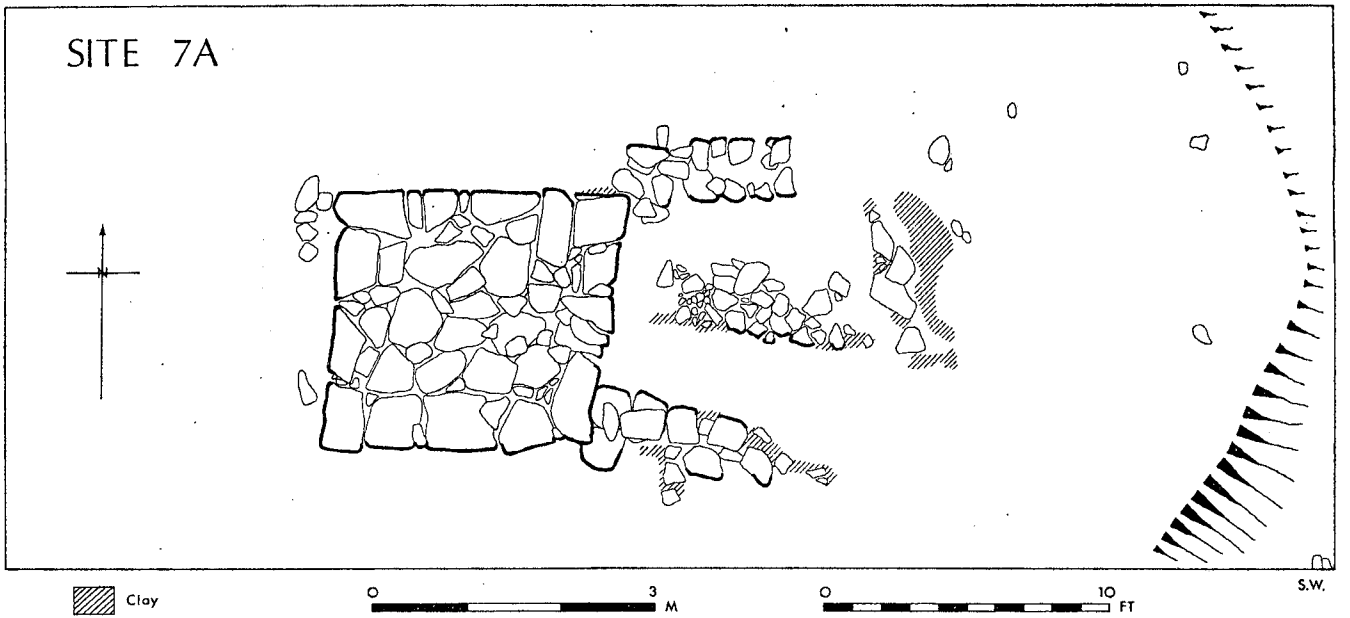


Fig. 15 (1:80)

was complete, and it is consequently difficult to understand the character of the building to which they belonged.

The central wall has probably nothing to do with the others and is perhaps the only surviving fragment of a building of different date. The remainder of the structure may perhaps have been a small house like 16B, with the base for a hay rick at its west end, the west wall of the house (like the east wall in 16B) being presumably laid on the edge of the platform. The maximum possible length of the house (excluding the platform) is about 6 m., for beyond this point the eastward slope is too steep for building. This would imply a door in one of the long sides, again paralleled in 16B. A patch of clay *c.* 3·5 m. east of the platform, with a few stones, might indicate the line of a partition wall. Other houses of this character appear to be medieval in date, and, for what it may be worth, the only two sherds found on site 7A were medieval.

SITE 16B (pls. XXVII, 1 and 2; fig. 16)

This small house lay on the south side of the village green, north of the east end of 16A, from which it was separated by a small hollow in the bedrock which drains the overflow from the pond in exceptionally wet conditions. The house was aligned east-west, and measured 8 × 4 m. overall; it consisted of two rooms with a semi-circular platform at the east end.

The west room, measuring 2·6 × 2·5 m. internally, was presumably entered by a door on the north side, where the wall had subsequently been robbed. It had a hearth near its south-east corner, consisting of a single flag set on clay, close to the partition dividing the two rooms. This partition stood only one course high, and is of such flimsy construction that it cannot have stood much higher at any time. It showed traces of burning behind the hearth. There was no indication of a door through the partition.

The east room, 3·0 × 2·5 m. internally, had a door near the west end of the south wall. Its east wall was formed by

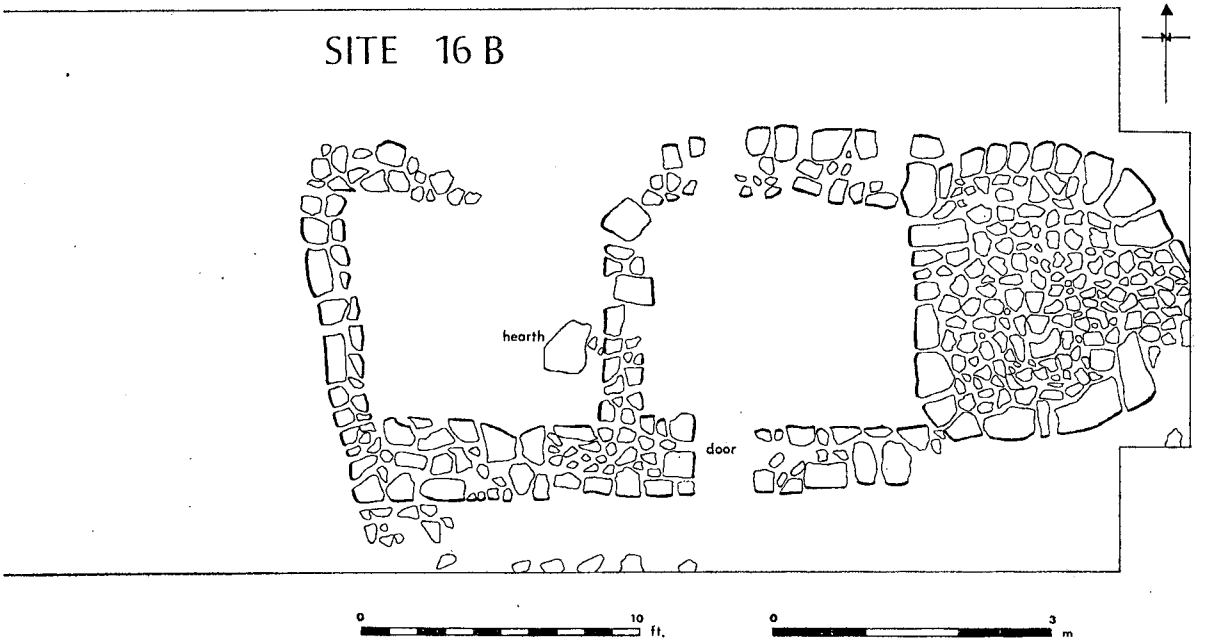


Fig 16 (1:80)

the west edge of the semicircular platform.

The platform, one course high, was edged with large whinstone blocks, with no inner face. The interior was filled with whinstone rubble. It may have replaced the original east wall of the house, for both north and south walls of the house appear to have been broken to make way for the platform. But the quality of the walling in this building is so poor that little emphasis can be placed on this; it would be possible to argue that these are merely incompetent butt-joints, indicating that the platform is earlier than the house. A similar platform was found at the west end of site 19. The function is uncertain; the most likely explanation is that they were bases for hay-ricks, to keep them off wet or muddy ground.

The walls of 16B were composed partly of whinstone, partly of freestone. The west wall was narrower than the others, and built exclusively of freestone; it was however bonded with the north and south walls, and there is no reason to suppose that it was of a different date from the rest of the structure. There was no positive evidence to show the original height of the walls. Little tumble survived around them. There was no evidence for a timber superstructure, and the character of the walls, narrow and badly built, suggests that they cannot have stood more than *c.* 1 m. above ground level.

Finds from 16B were of medieval and post-medieval date. None was stratified. There is therefore no conclusive proof of date. It is however reasonably clear that the house underwent no major alterations, and its construction was such that a long life can scarcely be postulated. We must therefore place it either in the 12th and 13th centuries or in the 16th and 17th; there is no pottery assignable to the intervening period. The balance of probabilities is heavily weighted in favour of a medieval date. It is smaller than most of the post-medieval houses, and worse built. Its walls contain much freestone, a phenomenon we have come to associate with medieval buildings at West Whelpington.

It is not associated with croft or garden walls, as are most, if not all, of the 17th century houses. Nor did its walls survive to be robbed in the 19th century, though we must concede that they might well have fallen and been buried by then even if the house were post medieval. Further, it seems likely that platforms built against the end walls of houses are an indication of medieval date; none so far found is certainly post-medieval.

SITES 16, 16A, 16C, and 16D (pls. XXVIII to XXIX, 1; figs. 17-24)

with *Freda Berisford* and *R. J. Clavering*

Summary

Work on this complex area is not yet completed; modifications may therefore be necessary to the accounts of 16C and 16D. In particular, further excavation in 1970 should clarify a number of problems concerned with 16D. It must be stressed that 16D is an area with no surface indications of structures other than croft boundaries. As in site 6A, unresolved problems have led to the investigation of a superficially barren area, with most important results. These results indicate the success which might attend the total excavation of a similar village, should that ever become possible; they are also a measure of the inadequacy of an excavation of visible structures only.

Fig. 17 indicates the disposition of the various elements in this complex. On present evidence the earliest occupation appears to be the irregular structure (16/6) at the west end of 16—Saxon occupation on 16D, and pre-Norman timber buildings in that area are not certainly proved. Intensive occupation of 16D in the 12th and 13th centuries is suggested by the pottery, but complete structures are at present lacking. 16/1 and 16/3 appear to be of similar date, with 16/2 as a later addition; they were probably not residential. 16C is not earlier, in its long-house form, than the second half of the 13th century; but at least one earlier building

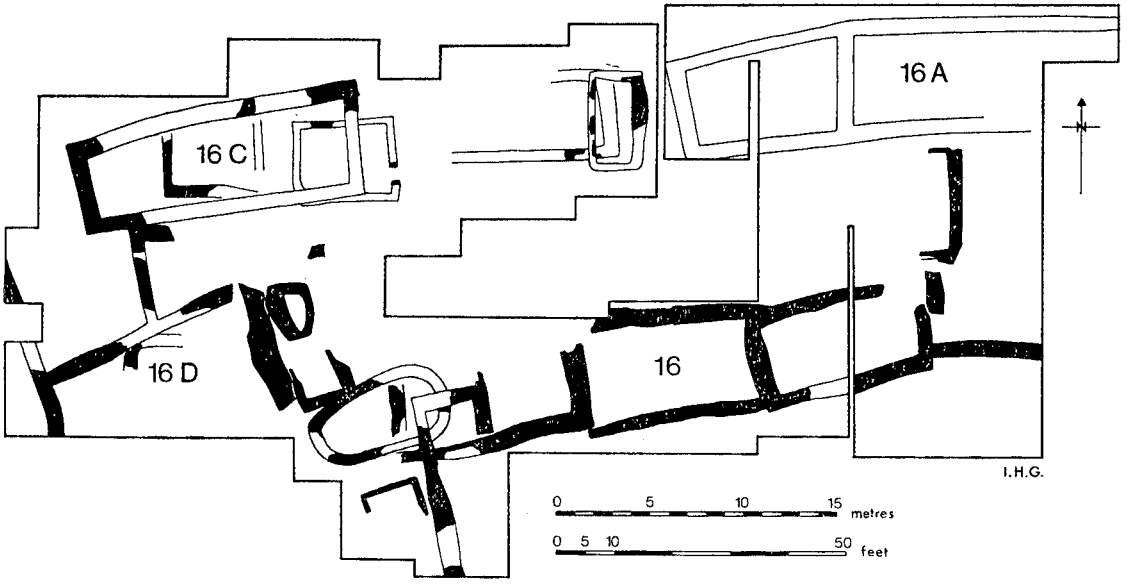


Fig. 17. Plan showing relative positions of sites 16, 16A, 16C and 16D (1:240)

preceded it. 16 and possibly 16C continued into the post-medieval period, but 16D appears to have been abandoned and the area incorporated in crofts and yards. 16A was the most important structure in the area in the 17th century, with a house and a byre. Pottery suggests medieval occupation, but structural evidence is lacking. A wall which probably linked 16A to 16 suggests that 16/1, 16/2 and 16/3 may have been farm buildings for 16A.

Site 16 (fig. 18)

In its later stages site 16 apparently consisted of croft boundaries and outhouses; these presumably belonged to houses 16A and 16C. The south wall of a terrace of three structures forms a boundary running east-west; continuing to the north-west, in the direction of 16C, it makes use of the remains of several earlier structures. Another croft boundary runs south from it to the edge of the cliff overlooking the Wansbeck. There is some post-medieval pottery, though most of the finds were of medieval date. The croft boundaries at least probably continued in use until the desertion of the village.

At the east end of the terrace is a rectilinear structure (16/1) of clay-bonded whinstone, *c.* 8 × 3·5 m., with an outer revetment of whin and freestone against the north wall. At the west end it was built on earth, at the east on either earth or bedrock. It produced no hearth or internal partition; window-glass was also absent, and it seems unlikely that it was residential. The entrance was presumably in the centre of the south side, where the wall has been robbed; less probable is a doorway in the north-east angle. The north-south croft wall between 16 and 16A may have had a westward return which joined the north-east angle of 16/1.

16/2 utilises the west wall of 16/1 and the east wall of 16/3 (also earlier), and forms a rectilinear structure *c.* 8 × 4 m., built on dirty earth *c.* 0·5 m. deep over undisturbed clay. The earth layer extends outside the south wall, and produces considerable quantities of early medieval (12th

and 13th century) pottery. Some of this earth layer must have been formed after the occupation (and even after the abandonment) of 16/2; nothing indicates any division within it, the only feature being that, in a line parallel with the inner face of the south wall and about 7 cm. below its lowest course, it was mixed with whinstone chippings and more pottery than elsewhere. No floor line, or old turf line could be detected in several sections across the building. The north wall is mainly of whinstone; it incorporates a blocked entrance, probably about 2·5 m. wide; this was the only entrance, and its blocking was perhaps contemporary with or later than the robbing of the north-west angle. It seems unlikely, from their rough construction, that the walls were continued to any great height, and we are probably dealing with an unroofed stockyard between two buildings.

The plan of 16/3 is uncertain. Its south wall survived complete, and extended 8 m. to the west. Part of the east wall was preserved as the west wall of 16/2; it may originally have continued further north. A possible west wall, fragment E, is built against the south wall; but at its north end it has a westward return, suggesting a possible connection with walls F and C. C is also butted against A, which continues still further west. It seems likely that C and F are to be taken as part of 16/3, thus forming a whinstone structure *c.* 7 × 2 m., divided by E into 16/3 (4 × 2 m.) and 16/4 (2·5 × 2 m.). It seems unlikely that the walls stood to a height of more than *c.* 1·5 m., though they may have supported a timber superstructure. There are remains of paving in 16/4, and a paved threshold between E and F. 16/3 has a series of clay levels below the bottom of the walls; its entrance was presumably in the (robbed) north wall. Neither 16/3 nor 16/4 has a hearth or any further indication of residential function.

Butted against the south face of wall A is wall B, a croft boundary: its alignment suggests that it may be contemporary with C, and therefore (on the interpretation suggested above) with wall A. A platform of whinstone chippings

(16/5) to the south-west of 16/4 is destroyed on the line of wall B, and presumably antedates it. The platform has a well-defined edge at the north-east angle, extending 3 m. to the west and 1 m. to the south; elsewhere the edge is destroyed, but the remains indicate that it was originally at least 4 × 2 m. Parallels elsewhere (e.g. 16D) suggest that such platforms may have been the floors of buildings; the walls might have been of timber set on sill-beams on the bedrock, or stone walls which have been completely removed by subsequent builders. The few finds from above this feature were of 12th or 13th century date, but in view of the complex history of the area we cannot be certain that they are to be associated with 16/5.

North of 16/5 and west of 16/4 are the remains of an irregular structure (16/6) with curved ends. The south wall had been incorporated in a much later croft boundary, and the north wall was incorporated in the later 16/7. It is not certain whether wall I formed part of the original structure (H) or was an extension of J, to which it bears a stronger resemblance. Wall H is of a construction so far unique at West Whelpington. In redeposited clay (which also formed the floor of 16/6) the long narrow pieces of freestone were set on edge. The wall could scarcely have stood more than two courses high, and was probably no more than the packing at the base of a timber structure; no traces of posts survived in the badly eroded clay. The gap in wall H at the west end of 16/6 is probably an entrance, though it is not necessarily original and might relate to a period after the building had been abandoned. No hearth was detected, but the finds suggest occupation in the 12th century and no later; this is confirmed by the best parallels noted—though they are scarcely close parallels: these are the "boat-shaped houses" of the south Midlands. Wall G is cut through the clay floor of 16/6, and its alignment suggests that it can form no part of the original structure. It is of whinstone, and set on bedrock, and perhaps marks a late conversion of 16/6 into an enclosure, *c.* 4 × 3 m., after

the original east end had been destroyed.

Wall H appears to have been robbed on the line of J, rather than built against it, and so must have been obsolete before 16/7 was erected. 16/7 is more substantial, consisting mainly of roughly dressed freestone, and is rectilinear. Wall K, although appearing roughly contemporary with J, is not bonded into it; this fact, together with the substantial nature of I, suggests that 16/7 may possibly have extended eastwards: but the area east of K was completely barren. J and K together form a structure *c.* 2 m. wide and of unknown length; against the east wall were traces of what may have been a manger, suggesting that 16/7 may have been a small byre.

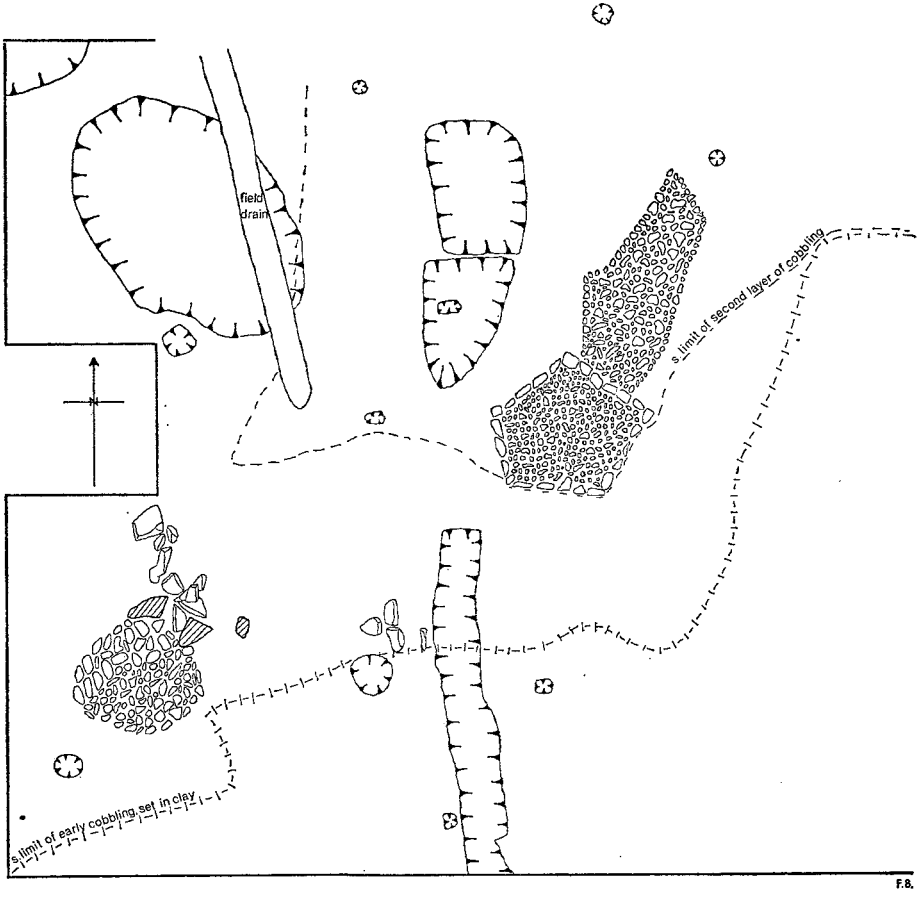
D and L are late croft walls, completing and consolidating a boundary line formed largely from the remains of earlier buildings. The relationship between D and L cannot be established, and they have few structural features in common. D is built of large whinstone blocks laid lengthwise over topsoil or existing walls—there is similar consolidation of the junction between H and J. L is built on bedrock, and is little more than a low heap of whinstone with a west face of large whinstone blocks. Wall L peters out to the north, but is met by a croft wall running from the west across site 16D. Its late date is shown by the fact that it is built against the face of J. Clay had been dumped against the east face of L, to form a ramp of unknown function. Overlying the clay, and therefore post-dating L, are wall M—a fragment unconnected with any other surviving feature—and a coal bunker. This is probably the latest feature of site 16: it consists of a substantial north-south wall *c.* 3 m. long, of large whinstone blocks, with a crude, low curving wall to the east. The quantity of coal found within the enclosure left no doubt of the function of this structure at least.

Site 16D (figs. 19 and 21)

Before excavation only two croft walls, presumed to

relate to the second (long-house) phase of 16C, were visible. Excavation revealed a complex series of earlier features, which, though stratified, could not be placed in strict chronological sequence.

The earliest features were sealed beneath a layer of small, closely-packed cobbles set in clay which levelled up a



SITE 16 D Early Levels 0 10 feet 0 3 metres

Fig. 19 (1:100)

depression in the bedrock. Cut into the natural rock in the south-west corner of the area excavated in 1969 was a shallow post-hole, 40 cm. in diameter. It bore no obvious relationship to any other feature. Cut into the clay and down to bedrock, in the north-west corner of the area, was a large oval pit. It measured 3·7 x 2·4 m., with its long axis from north-west to south-east. A single post-hole, 40 cm. in diameter, was found cut into the clay near its southern lip. The pit contained 12th or 13th century pottery in its black silty fill; but its eastern edge had been disturbed by a modern field-drain, and the overlying layers of cobbling had sunk into the soft fill, so that these sherds cannot be regarded as certainly sealed in the fill of the pit. The discovery of Saxon pottery (no. 81) in this part of the village suggested that the pit might be a Grubenhaus; but this interpretation seems unlikely. Fig. 20 demonstrates a considerable slope on the sides of the pit; the single post-hole is not on the long axis, as we should expect in a Grubenhaus; and there was no evidence of other timbering apart from the single post-hole. Evidence of other post- or stake-holes might have been destroyed by later activity, but the case for this pit as anything more than a pit is very weak.

In the southern part of the area excavated were two square post-holes, *c.* 20 cm. across and 2·1 m. apart, cut in bedrock; they may belong to a structure not yet fully revealed. All other features on 16D lay above, or were cut

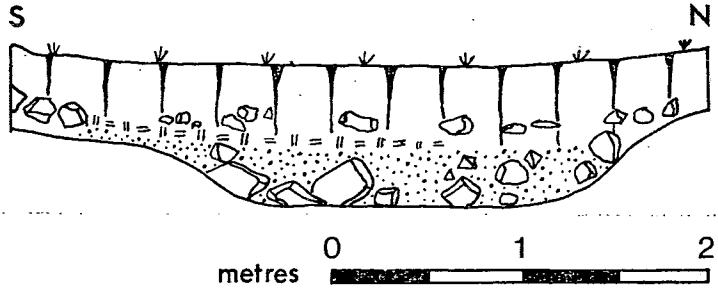


Fig. 20. Section across pit, west side of site 16D (1:40)

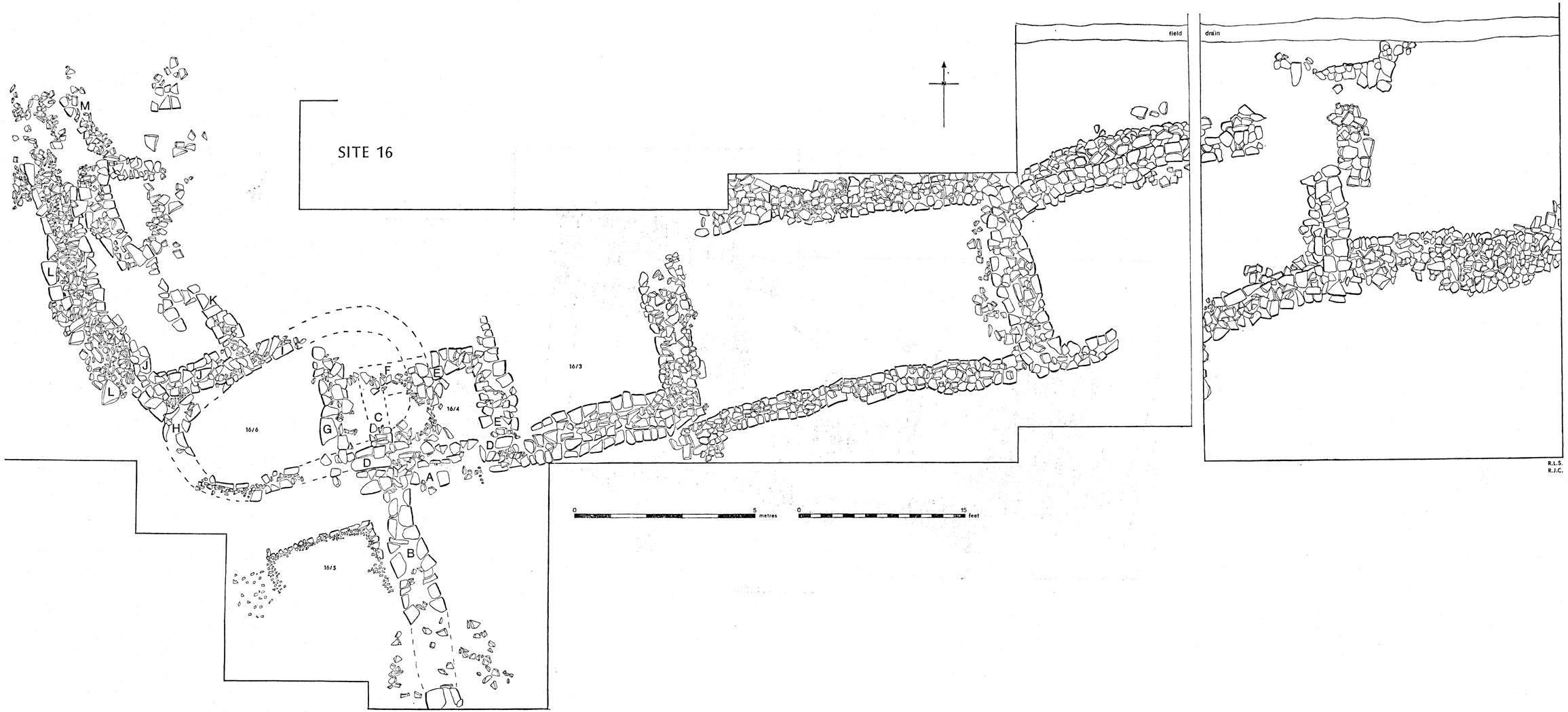

SITE 16
field
drain
16/3
16/4
16/5
16/6
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
J
K
L
M
0
5
metres
0
15
feet
R.L.S.
R.J.C.

Fig. 18 (1:100)

SITE 16 C

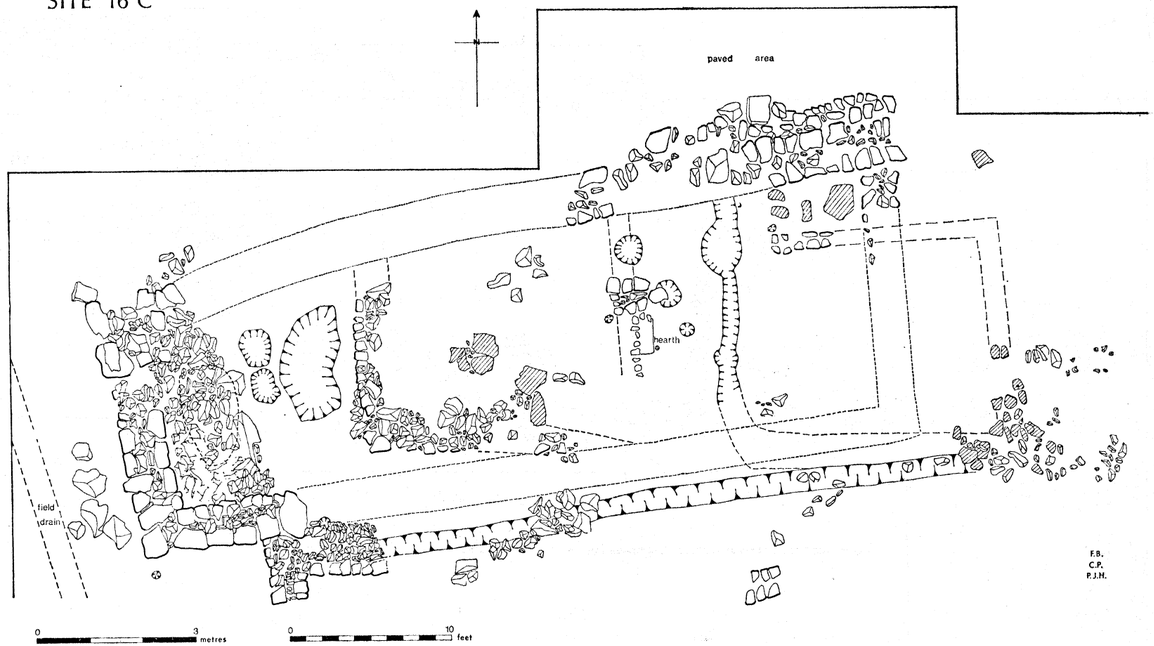


Fig. 22 (1:100)

into, a layer of small cobbles which covered all but the south and east ends of the area, and continued north across the western half of 16C. The purpose of this layer of cobbles did not emerge, though it may be guessed that it formed a surface for a farmyard: the buildings with which it may have been associated cannot be identified until further excavation has taken place.

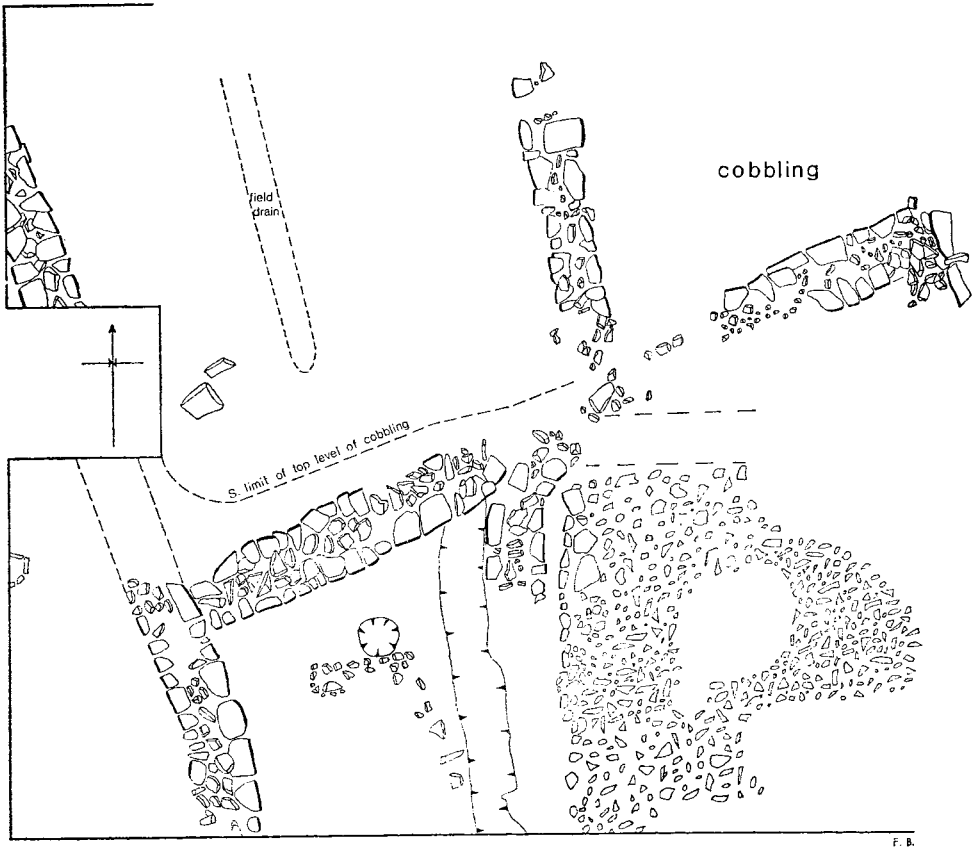
At the north end of 16D were two pits, similar to those at the west end of 16C; all were cut through the earliest cobbled layer, and had the same soft fill of charcoal and ash. Their function is unknown.

Covering the south-east corner of the earliest cobbling, and extending further south, was an irregular area of clay. It was thickest at its western edge, which lay in a straight-sided hollow cut into the bedrock. This may represent the western end of a small clay-floored structure. A semi-circular hollow along its west wall may have been a post setting; a rock-cut post-hole was found close to its south-west corner. The clay was not deposited before the mid-13th century, to judge from the pottery it seals.

The western end of another building lay west of the clay. A shallow channel had been cut into the natural rock (here much decayed); it ended beneath a croft wall at its north end, and continued south beyond the limits of the excavation. Along its eastern edge a short length of the west wall and the north-west corner of the building had survived. A stone-free line in the whin and freestone tumble to the east may mark the line of the north wall. No east wall was found, and the southern wall is still unexcavated. 10 cm. inside the west wall was a further step up in the bedrock; along the top of this lay the stone edging of the floor.

The relationship of this building to the area of freestone cobbling immediately north is uncertain; the juxtaposition suggests that the two may be contemporary. The second cobble layer lies directly on the first, and extends under the cobbled yards and croft walls of the latest phase. At its

north side it underlies the south wall of the long-house which is the second phase of 16C. It is well laid, its southern edge neatly faced with larger, flat stones. Within this cobbled area were two distinct smaller areas. The first was a squarish patch edged with large flat stones and packed with cobbles; the second was a strip of very worn cobbling running north-



SITE 16 D Later Levels

0 10 feet 0 3 metres

Fig. 21 (1:100)

west from this patch. They are perhaps earlier features incorporated into the larger area of cobbling. The second looks much like a path, perhaps running from the building to the south. The second cobbled layer contained five shallow post-holes, perhaps constructed as the cobbles were laid. They are too small and too irregularly placed to form a building, but may mark a fence or similar partition of an open area.

In the south-west corner of the area excavated, above the earliest cobble layer and beneath the junction of two later croft walls was the tumble from a stone wall; a robber trench was detected in the western limit of the excavation, and there were a few large stones amongst the cobbling to the east; more tumble lay beneath the bank of whin chippings to the south. Taken together, these may indicate the presence of a further building. Immediately to the west, and similarly stratified, was an oval area of tightly packed cobbling measuring *c.* 1·8 × 1·4 m.; this may have been the base for an isolated hayrick, similar to that found east of site 20.

In its final phase 16D consisted of two roughly cobbled yards with a croft to the south, all probably related to the second phase of 16C. The yards and croft were separated by a wall running for 10 m. south-west from the west end of 16; at its west end it butted against a second wall. A third wall divided the two yards, a gap 0·5 m. wide near the north end allowing access from one to the other. This wall ran south from the south wall of the second phase of 16C. Its junction with the east-west croft wall has been robbed. All these walls were of whinstone with a rubble core, and considerably more substantial than most croft walls at West Whelpington. The west end of the east-west wall and much of the wall against which it butted were laid on a wide bank of whinstone chippings. Cut partly into the southern edge of this was a shallow hole, 0·5 m. in diameter; it may possibly have supported a water-butt or similar container.

The only other feature was a post-hole, cut into the clay and lined with flat, oblong stones set on end and

sloping inwards to the base. It was neatly sectioned by the western edge of the excavation. It is manifestly late, and probably relates to an unexcavated feature further west.

Site 16C (fig. 22)

Period I

The period I building lay at the east end of this complex; it measured 5·3 × 4·8 m. overall. The lines of the west, north and east walls were marked by shallow trenches, *c.* 30 cm. wide and 20 cm. deep, cut into decayed whinstone at the west and yellow clay at the east. The south wall was marked by a line of tumble under the clay bank which carried the south wall of Period II. The building was basically of timber, though the north, east and west walls revealed traces of stone footings which would have supported a timber superstructure. A post-hole, 80 cm. in diameter, was found at the north-west angle. Near the south end of the east wall was a doorway, 0·7 m. wide, with a displaced pivot-stone just outside.

Outside the west end of the building were three post-holes cut into decayed whinstone bedrock; they were sealed by an accumulation of ash from Period II. One was aligned on the north wall of Period I, but it is not clear that they relate to that period; they may be earlier.

Further west were four pits filled with ash and charcoal, cut through the layer of small cobbles set in clay which extended over the west end of 16C and into 16D. One pit lay beneath the inserted platform of Period II. The significance of these pits is not clear; they may belong to Period I, or to some other structure not identified.

Period II

A new stone-built house was built in Period II, with its east end overlying the west end of Period I. It measured 15·3 × *c.* 5 m. overall. The walls were much robbed, except at the west end, where the lowest course of the west wall and

two or three courses at the west end of the south wall survived. Two parallel clay banks supported the north and south walls. The east wall was set in a shallow foundation trench, 70 cm. wide, which cut across the north wall of Period I. A length of the north wall, with an outer revetment, survived two courses high in places, and a butt joint was visible at the north-east corner. All the walls were of whinstone blocks with a rubble core. There was an entrance in the west wall, near the north-west corner.

A narrow partition wall divided the house into two rooms. The floor of the western room was provided by the layer of small cobbles which covered the whole of the western part of this site. While the building was still in use the doorway at the west end was blocked, and an internal platform of irregular whinstone blocks was laid across the whole of the west end. This room may have served as a byre, with a platform acting as a manger.

Certainly the eastern room appears to have been the living quarters, for it had a hearth built against the partition wall. A thick deposit of ash covered the floor of this room, and filled the slots of the north and west walls of Period I. The clay and bedrock floor was heavily burned, and it may be inferred that this room, though not that to the west, was destroyed by fire.

Partly under, and partly outside the presumed line of the south wall was a rock-cut channel sloping steeply down to the east; it was presumably a drain, though nothing connects it directly with the byre. But if there was a doorway in the south wall this difficulty would be overcome.

Period III

After the destruction of the east room of Period II, 16C was reconstructed on a smaller scale, with only a single room. A new west wall was built, east of the Period II platform, reducing the length of the building to 10·4 m. A new south wall appears to have been built, inside the line of the Period II south wall. The north and east walls

of Period II seem to have been incorporated in Period III. At the west end of this building the floor was of rough cobbles, overlying the earlier small cobble layer. The central part of the building had a clay floor, into which a small (and probably unsatisfactory) drain was set; this floor overlay the Period II partition wall. Further east, overlying the ash deposit were patches of a floor of whinstone chippings in clay, and above this a few flags which may indicate a more sophisticated secondary floor.

The coin of Edward I (no. 2) was found below the Period III floor of whinstone chippings and clay, indicating that Period III is later than *c.* 1280. Considerable quantities of pottery stratified below the Period II walls and the inserted platform indicate that Period II cannot be earlier than the second half of the 13th century. Period II did not necessarily last for long, and Period III may have followed at once. It is tempting to see in its smaller scale and inferior construction a reflection of the recession of the 14th century, caused largely by the Scottish Wars. We lack any structure which might be associated with the post-medieval pottery and clay pipes found in 16C; Period III could (on the stratified evidence) be post-medieval; but it is so much smaller and inferior to other post-medieval buildings that this seems unlikely. More probably the 16th and 17th century finds, which form a small proportion of the total, are merely a scatter of rubbish, perhaps from 16A.

Site 16A (fig. 23)

The principal structure of 16A was a long-house (16A/1) measuring *c.* 20 × 6·2 m. overall. Two small rectangular buildings lay to the west of it. The eastern half of the long-house lay directly on the natural whinstone, but the western half was built on clay. Some of this was apparently a natural pocket in a hollow in the bedrock, but more clay was imported to level up this hollow. Even at the west end it was possible to build the north wall on bedrock. The walls had been almost completely robbed: only

1 m. of the outer face of the north wall, with 3 m. of revetment outside the south wall, survived. All trace of the west wall had been obliterated by a modern field-drain, but the other walls showed as robber trenches between lines of whin and freestone tumble. The line of the north wall was clear enough to detect a southward shift of *c.* 30 cm. at 10·2 m. from the east end, but no corresponding change could be detected in the less distinct line of the south wall. A line of tumble at this point suggested an internal partition wall; midway along it was a flagstone, perhaps marking the threshold of a doorway.

The living quarters were at the east end. Flagstones had been used to level up the worst hollows in the bedrock, but they do not appear to have formed a continuous floor. Two hearths, surrounded by spreads of ash and charcoal, were found. The larger had begun as an open fire in a hollow in the bedrock, and was overlain by a later stone hearth. The second hearth was against the north wall and had been less intensively used than the first.

The western room was a byre. It had a well-preserved flagged floor, with a central drain. The flagging stopped short of the north and south walls, and the intervening areas were roughly levelled with stones. On both sides of the drain the flagged floor lay on a foundation of rubble and earth.

Another structure (16A/2) of unknown date and function lay *c.* 1 m. south of the eastern end of the long-house. All that remained was one course of the east wall, the north-east corner, and about 1 m. of the inner face of the north wall.

1 m. west of the long-house lay a small rectangular building (16A/3), resting on the clay which levelled up the depression in the bedrock. It measured 3·1 m. from north to south, and 1·8 m. from east to west (internally). Its north and south walls had been extensively robbed, and only the inner face of the west wall remained. The lowest course of the east wall did survive. It was built of whin and freestone

with a rubble core, and suggested a substantial but crudely built structure. There was no evidence for clay bonding, and nothing to suggest a timber superstructure; but the fragmentary condition of the wall means that certainty on these matters is impossible. A doorway, 1·8 m. wide with a flagged threshold, was found in the west wall. No hearth was noted in the building, and a deposit of ash and charcoal in the doorway was presumably placed there after abandonment. Unfortunately the relationship between this building and the long-house had been destroyed by the field-drain, but the pottery from this area contains a high proportion of medieval sherds, suggesting that 16A/3 was earlier than the long-house.

Traces of an earlier structure (16A/4) were uncovered immediately west of 16A/3, but it had been so completely robbed that its size could not be estimated. A wide shallow slot with a dark silty fill ran north-south across the interior of 16A/3 (fig. 24). It may represent the east wall of 16A/4. A clay bank with tumble lying to either side presumably carried the north wall. Parallel to it was a bank of whinstone chippings, *c.* 2 m. wide, which was presumably the base for the south wall. A short length of wall, immediately west of the south-west angle of the rectangular building already described, may be a part of it. Within this structure was a wide channel cut in the bedrock; the material from it presumably went into the bank on the line of the south wall. In the channel were a few flagstones set on edge.

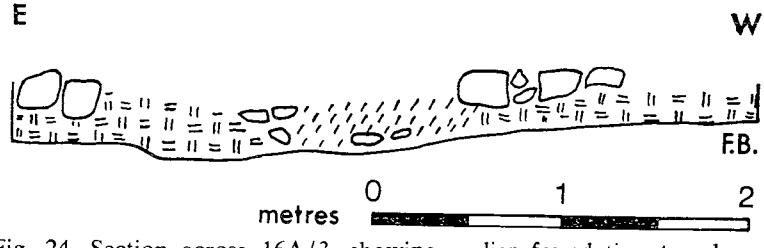


Fig. 24. Section across 16A/3, showing earlier foundation trench of east wall of 16A/4 (1:40)


SITE 16 A
16 A/3
16 A/4
0
3
metres
field drain
0
10
feet
16 A/1
16 A/2
field drain
F.S.

Fig. 23 (1:100)

SITE 17

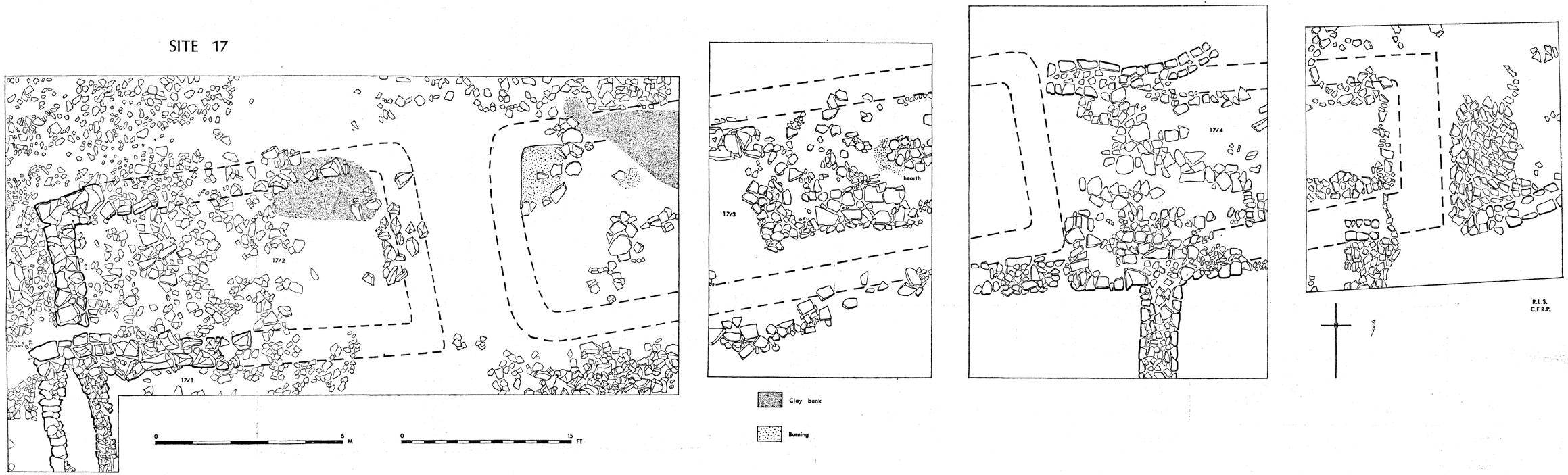


Fig. 25 (1:100)

Their function remains uncertain.

North of sites 16A and extending westwards to 16C was a cobbled track; its presence is probably due to the proximity of the pond, which renders this area muddy at most seasons. 16A was linked to 17 by a croft wall, and like 17 it produced mainly post-medieval pottery. There can be little doubt that both were of 16th or 17th century date. 16A may have been a fairly substantial farm; another wall probably linked it with 16/1, and several of the structures in the complex designated 16 may have been in use as farm buildings, with the intervening area as farmyard.

SITES 17 and 17A (pls. XXIX, 2 and XXX, 1; figs. 25-26)

with *Roderick Stirrat*

Site 17 revealed itself as a medieval house at the west end, subsequently replaced by a post-medieval house with (?) separate byre further east. These structures formed the northern boundary of an enclosure with the non-residential 17A at its south end; it was linked by walls to 16A and to the 17th century building which must surely have existed near site 18. 17 was badly robbed, and most of the excavation took place in snow or heavy rain; in consequence the evidence from this site is less satisfactory than for most others.

Probably the earliest building was 17/1, lying south of the west end of the main line of 17. Only its north-west angle, with parts of the adjacent walls, was excavated. The north wall underlay the south wall of 17/2. The whinstone blocks used in 17/1 are smaller than those of 17/2, and the construction is much neater.

17/2 lay at the west end of the main complex, and measured *c.* 8·3 × 3·6 m. internally. It was built of large whinstone blocks. Its east end had been completely destroyed, though a few stones lay on the probable line of the east wall. Near to the north-east angle a patch of clay had probably washed out of the walls when they fell.

There is a gap of *c.* 25 cm. between the south end of the west wall and the north face of the south wall; this wall continues a little further west before turning south as a boundary wall running to the west end of 17A. The finds from 17/2 were all of medieval date; this is the principal evidence to suggest that it was a structure separate from 17/3. Neither hearth nor window-glass was found, and the building was probably a barn. To the north was an area of rough cobbling, and there seems to have been an attempt to pave the floor of the building with small and irregular flagstones. It presumably survived as a boundary at least in the post-medieval period.

17/3, measuring 13·5 × 4·2 m. internally, seems to have been occupied at the same period as 17/4 to the east. 17/3 has been completely robbed. The north-west angle, with the lines of the north and west walls, is clearly defined by a patch of burning. This lacked the redder nucleus which we should expect if it had been a hearth. The south wall is marked only by the robber trench north of its tumble, and the east wall's position has to be presumed from the surviving west end of 17/4. Two small post holes just inside the line of the north and south walls, and 1·8 m. from the west end, may mark the site of roofing crucks; no similar holes were found further east, but the crucks might have been placed on the bedrock and packed with stones. The eastern half of 17/3 revealed areas of paving. Two paved floors were separated by burnt material in the centre of the house. The hearth marked on fig. 26 belonged to the second paved floor, and overlay the first. It seems possible that the first phase of occupation (not earlier than the late 16th century, if the paving is primary) ended in destruction by fire of the roof and any timber superstructure; the walls must have survived, for the house was re-occupied. It seems likely that it survived in use until the desertion of the village. A certain amount of medieval pottery was found in 17/3, but it seems unlikely to belong to the house in the form in which it is recorded.

17/4, measuring *c.* 9 × 3·4 m. internally, lay to the east of 17/3, on a slightly different alignment. It was not possible to determine whether 17/4 was built against 17/3, or whether 17/3 cut off the west end of a pre-existing 17/4. The walling of 17/4, of whinstone blocks bonded with clay and set on a clay bank, was badly robbed. The north wall showed evidence of rebuilding after a length of wall had slid northwards off its clay foundation. The only internal feature was an area of paving, with occupation debris of the 17th century below and above it. The entrance may have been in the south wall, close to the more easterly of the two croft walls which ran southwards. A further croft wall ran east towards site 18, presumably joining a post-medieval building in that area which was not detected in 1958-9.

Outside the (robbed) east wall of 17/4 was a thick deposit of soft black earth; into the upper levels of this had sunk some of the stones tumbled from the east wall. The absence of pottery and other specifically domestic refuse tells against the idea of a kitchen midden, but we may have here a dung-hill; this would support the suggestion that 17/4 was a byre.

Site 17A lay some 16 m. south of 17. It was a rectangular building, measuring 7·0 × 3·7 m. internally, with walls of whinstone laid directly on the bedrock. No trace of clay bonding was observed, and it seems tolerably certain that the walls were of dry construction. Outside the east end of the south wall a small lean-to structure (of unknown function) was added. The main entrance was at the west end.

There was no evidence for a hearth in 17A: this, with the drystone construction and the absence of window-glass, suggests an agricultural function. The few sherds found were all of the 17th century.

Site 24 (pl. XXX, 2; fig. 27)

with *Freda Berisford*

North-east of the main group of buildings round the

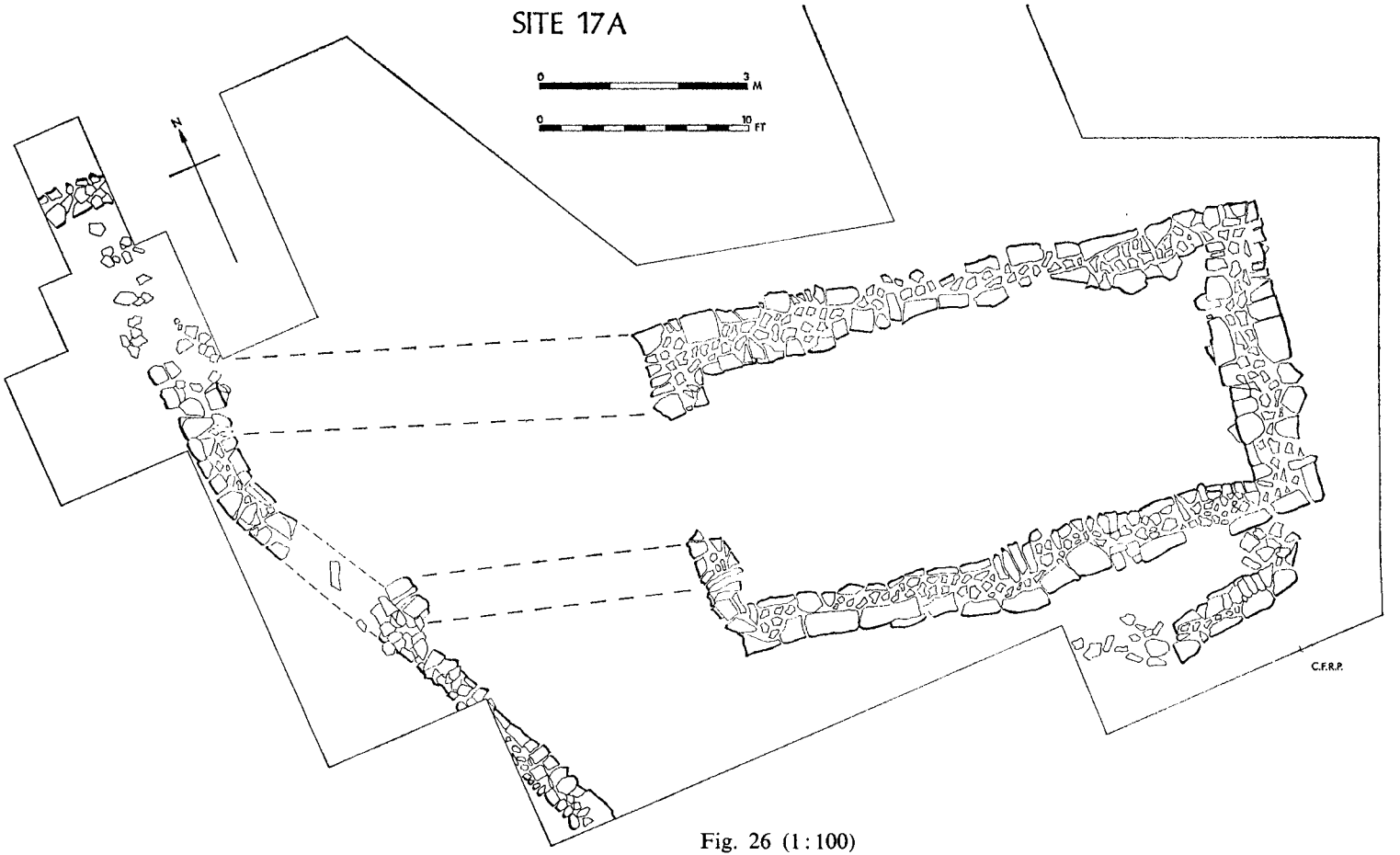


Fig. 26 (1 : 100)

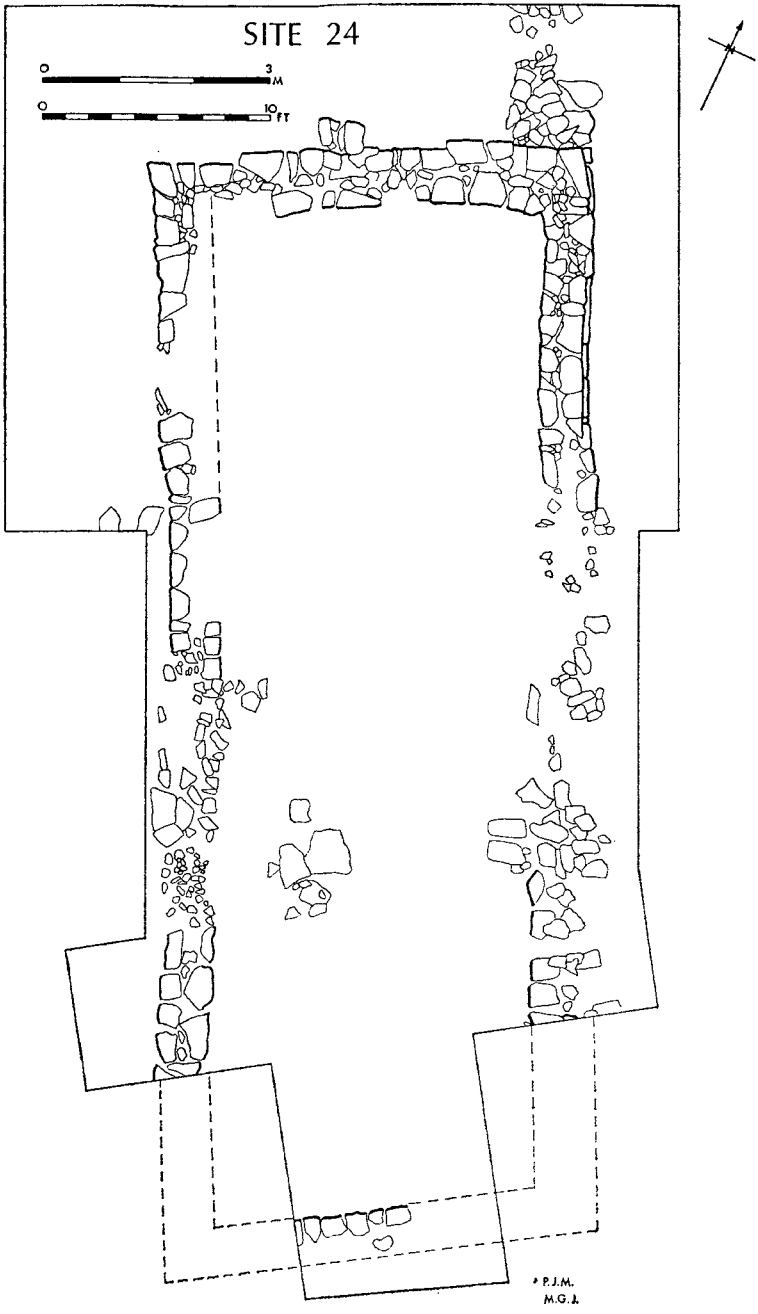


Fig. 27 (1 : 100)

village green are three others. 24 is the one furthest from the green, unless others have been destroyed by the quarry track. It revealed itself as a medieval house, with no internal divisions. It measured *c.* 14·6×5·7 overall.

The walls, 0·7 m. thick, were constructed almost exclusively of roughly-dressed freestone blocks; they had a rubble core, and were bonded with clay. A steep slope in the bedrock towards the north-east had resulted in a thick deposit of natural clay, which formed the base for the walls in this part of the house; elsewhere they lay on the bedrock. Much of the walling survived, especially at the north end, where as much as three courses remained in the outer face of the north wall.

It is clear that the northward slope posed problems. A buttress had been added in the centre of the north wall. This indicates a difficult site, rather than a structural weakness. The main thrust of the roof woud have been borne by the side walls, which did not require buttresses; the small buttress at the gable end must be an attempt to counter the effect of the sloping ground. Its necessity is demonstrated by the fact that the surviving courses of the north wall all leaned outwards; the distribution of fallen stone makes it clear that the whole of this wall fell to the north. By contrast tumble from the side walls suggests that these fell both inwards and outwards.

The outer walls call for little comment. The north end of the east wall had an external offset of about 8 cm. above the lowest course. Elsewhere only one course survived, except on the outer face of the north wall; this showed no significant offset. There was no evidence for any timber superstructure, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the walls were of stone up to eaves at a height of *c.* 1·5 to 2 m. above ground level.

No hearth was found *in situ* in this house, but the tumble inside the house and on the line of the east wall contained broken flagstones reddened by fire. Such flagstones were usually all that remained of open hearths at

West Whelpington.

No doorway was found. The most likely place for the entrance is near the centre of the east wall, where the wall had been completely demolished. Confirmation may perhaps be found in the fragments of a large, unburnt, flagstone just outside the line of the east wall. Several other houses at West Whelpington had just such a flagstone as threshold.

Apart from two unstratified fragments of clay pipe, found outside the west wall, the finds from site 24 were all of 12th or 13th century date; it seems certain that it was abandoned by *c.* 1350 at the latest.

The whole area of the house was covered with tumble from the walls, and there was no evidence of subsequent stone-robbing, This, with the lifting of both hearth and threshold, may perhaps point to a violent destruction. The pottery from the site would be consistent with a sudden end during the Scottish wars of the early 14th century.

POUND (pl. XXXI, 1; fig. 28)

with *Roderick Stirrat*

This structure stood near the centre of the village green, north of site 17. It was built of whinstone, but very badly robbed. Even the robber-trench was not always clearly marked. It is just possible that this was a sub-rectangular structure, but it seems more likely that it was oval in plan. It measured 9·3 m. east-west and 7·9 m. north-south, with walls 1·5 m. thick. There was no trace of an entrance in the surviving walling. The finds consisted of post-medieval pottery, clay-pipes, glass and two horse-shoes.

This is presumably the "small circle, probably ... the site of its cock-pit" recorded by Hodgson. He places it near a peel-house, and close to the centre of the green. No trace of a peel-tower has been found here or anywhere else at West Whelpington, and we assume that it has been completely robbed.

It seems unlikely that this structure was a cock-pit; it

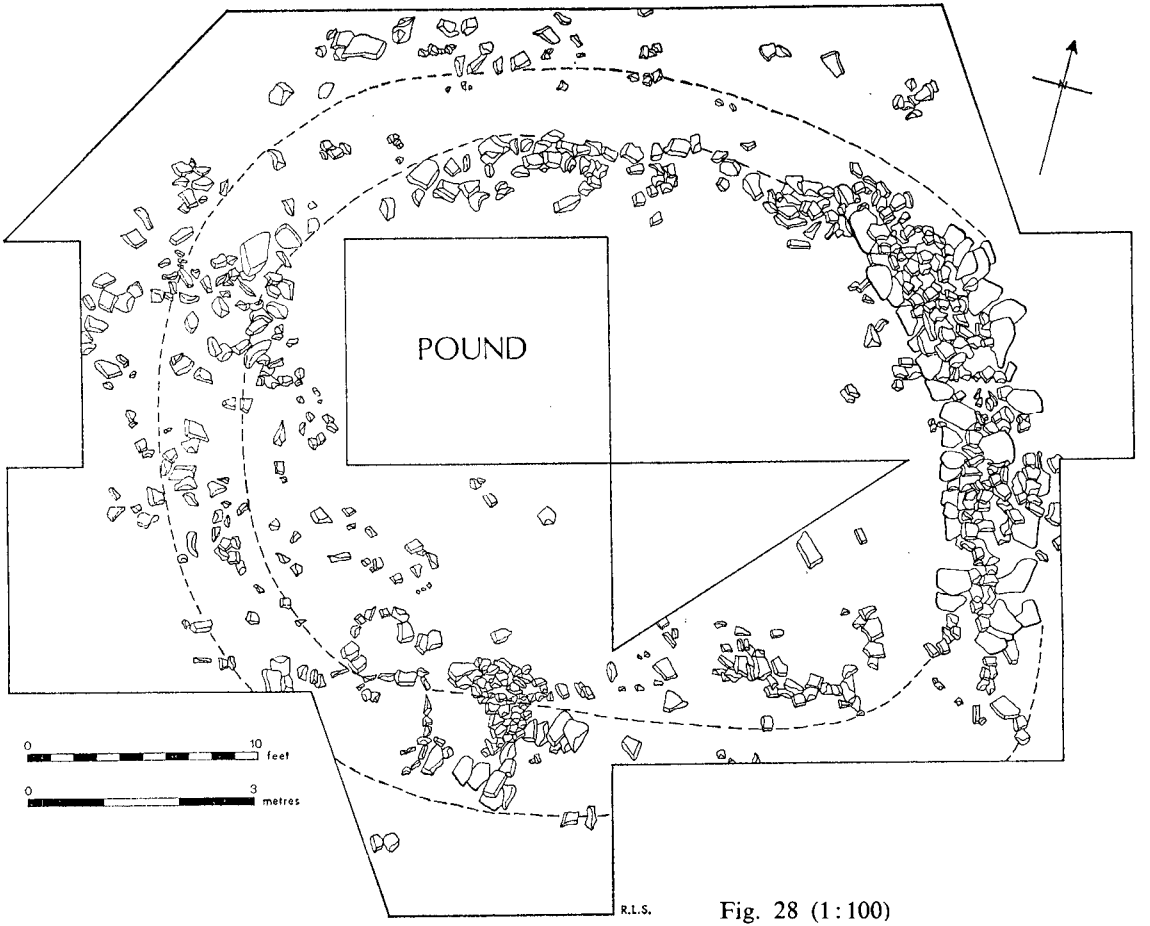


Fig. 28 (1:100)

is more probably a pound for straying animals. At Elsdon (NZ 9393) there is a circular pound on the village green; it is 12 m. in diameter, with walls 1·5 m. high, and a single entrance with a stone lintel. It seems to have been rebuilt in the 18th century. No evidence proves either interpretation, though the two horse-shoes may lend support to the suggestion that this is a pound.

7. THE FINDS

In the sections that follow, the finds from the excavations of 1965-1969 are described in detail. An asterisk indicates that an object is illustrated. Stratification is indicated, where relevant, for individual finds; where no note of stratification is given, the object was not significantly stratified. Recognising that the study of most of the objects found is still in its infancy, we have sought to draw and describe everything which seems to merit this, even though it may be of little significance for the history of West Whelpington.

A. COINS

1. *Site 16C. From tumble at west end of Period II.* Badly worn and much corroded bronze coin, diameter 22 mm. Mr. G. C. Boon reports that it is too worn for identification; it is probably a Scots turner (2d. piece), but might be a Roman *antoninianus.*

2. *Site 16C. Below the floor of Period III.* Silver penny, broken into four fragments. Mr. G. C. Boon reports that it is of Edward I; the crown indicates that it is earlier than 1302, and it is probably of Class II, issued January to May, 1280. London mint.

3. *Site 17, unstratified.* Smooth and irregular copper or bronze disc. Dr. J. P. C. Kent reports that the size and fabric suggest that it is a Scots *turner* of Charles I, dating to the 1640s; but its condition is such that certain identification is impossible.

4. *Site 17, unstratified.* Identified by Mr. G. C. Boon as a badly worn Scots turner, probably 3rd issue of Charles I (1642, 1644, 1650), cf. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (1955), p. 157 and pl. 18, no. 239.

Three of the four coins listed here are Scots 2d. pieces of the mid-17th century; with them we should take the only coin recorded in the *First Report,* a late 17th century token, probably from Nuremberg. Only one medieval coin has so far been found, number 2 above. *Hoskins* points out that coins can have had little importance

in a peasant economy, but calls attention to the higher standard of living which seems to have developed from *c.* 1550; this appears to have been associated with a greater availability of coin in the late 16th and 17th centuries. The evidence from West Whelpington is slight, but tends to confirm Hoskin's observations for Wigston Magna.

B. POTTERY (figs. 29-33)

with *Jill Belcher*

There is little of general importance about the pottery from West Whelpington. It ranges from the 8th century to the 18th, though there is little which seems likely to be earlier than the 12th century. The medieval vessels are mainly of the poorer sort; little of the highly decorated table-ware found on royal, urban and monastic sites appears at West Whelpington. There may be a decline in the amount of pottery of the 14th and 15th centuries, compared with 200 years before 1300. This however may be merely a reflection of the uncertainties which attend the dating of all medieval pottery. In consequence of this, little attempt has been made to assign dates to the pottery in this report; and where dates are given, they should be treated cautiously. One of the few exceptions is the square- or club-rimmed cooking pot which seems to be characteristic of the north of England in the 12th century. Even here some doubt remains: these vessels were undoubtedly current in the second half of the 12th century, but we do not know for how long before or after that period they were manufactured and marketed widely. The post-medieval pottery calls for little comment. The sources from which it derives are far more widespread. As well as slipware from south-eastern England, we have imports from the continent: Delft, German stoneware and two sherds of Weser or similar ware.

Site 1

Fragments of a number of medieval vessels were found; none is necessarily earlier than the 13th century. Thereafter the pottery sequence seems to be unbroken.

Medieval

1. Large jar in very hard grey fabric with patches of treacly green glaze. Three wide strap handles (cf. SAN 6; 7 (Norham); 29 (Dunstanburgh); 70; 73; 74; 76 (Newcastle)) probably come from this vessel. 15th century?

*2. Rim of cooking-pot in black sandy fabric with white surfaces. 12th-13th century.

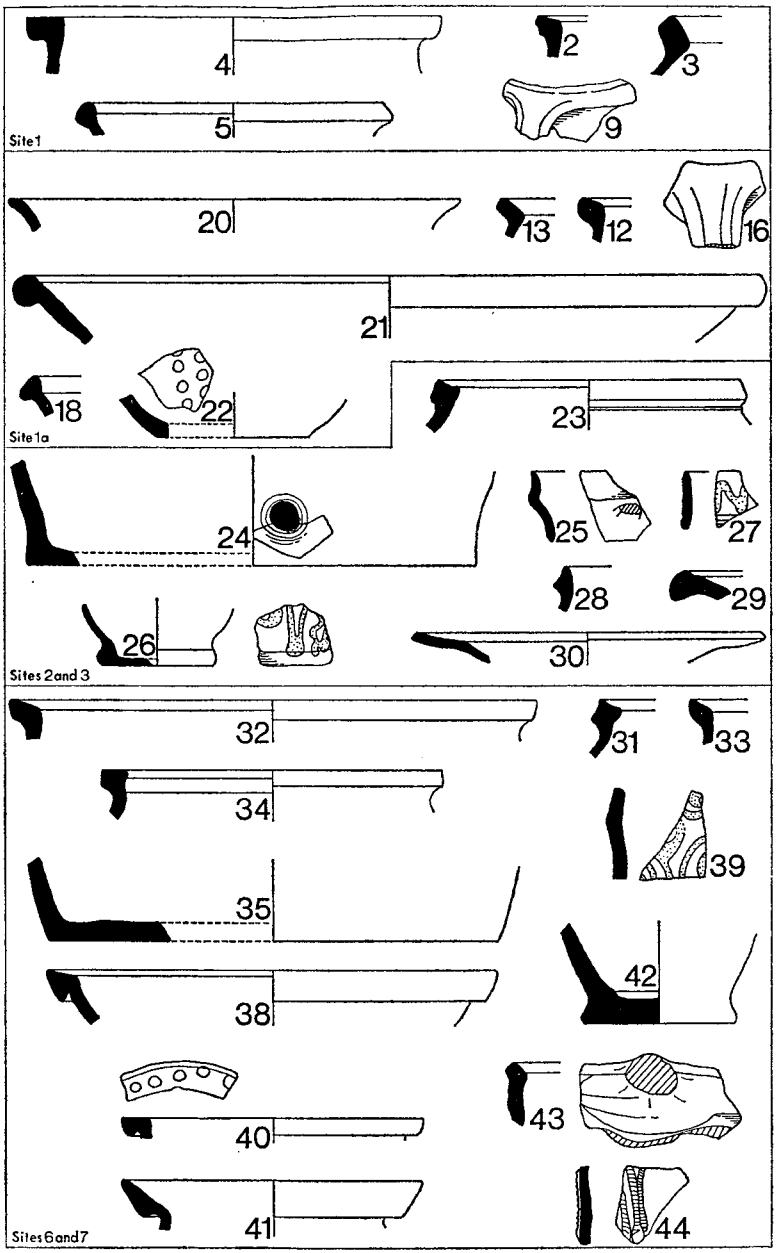


Fig. 29. Pottery from sites 1, 1A, 1B, 2, 3, 6 and 7 (1 : 4)

*3. Rim of cooking-pot in off-white fabric with fine red and white grits. 12th-13th century.

*4. Rim of cooking-pot in grey gritty fabric with pink wash. 12th-13th century.

*5. Rim of dish or bowl in hard off-white fabric with thick light green glaze. Probably not of local manufacture.

Post-medieval

6. Frilled base of flagon in grey stoneware with brown external glaze. Raeren ware, early 16th century.

7. Fragments of two jugs or flagons in grey stoneware with speckled brown external glaze. Frechen ware? 16th or 17th century.

8. Fragment of hard red vessel with clear glaze applied internally, and externally over dark brown slip ornamented with thin white lines. Late 16th or early 17th century.

*9. Rim and handle of chamber- or cooking-pot in soft brick-red fabric with brown and green glaze on interior and upper surface of rim. Probably 17th century.

10. Four fragments of delft pottery; two are polychrome, and perhaps early 17th century. The other two have the usual blue decoration on white background, and are not closely datable.

11. Two sherds of English slipware, both probably from plates. 17th century.

Gully between site 1 and site 1A

Seven sherds of pottery (stoneware, delft, etc.) datable *c.* 1550-1700. No medieval sherds.

Site 1A

Only 3 medieval sherds, from a total of 28. The rest are certainly post-medieval.

Medieval

*12. Rim of cooking-pot in hard off-white fabric with grey core.

*13. Rim of cooking-pot in hard orange-pink fabric.

14. Rod-handle in hard gritty off-white to grey fabric, with pale sage-green glaze. Probably not a local product.

Post-medieval

15. Fragment of flagon in grey stoneware with mottled brown and grey external glaze. 16th or 17th century.

*16. Rim and strap-handle of jug in moderately hard brick-red fabric with internal and external chestnut glaze. 17th century.

17. Body sherd from jug or jar in hard dirty pink fabric with thick internal dark green glaze.

*18. Five sherds from at least three slipware dishes. One rim is illustrated. 17th century.

19. Six sherds of blue and white delft. 16th-18th century.

*20. Rim of delft dish or bowl, with blue and purple ornament on white background. Late 16th century?

*21. Rim of dish in hard pink fabric with white slip over upper surface and rim. Fragments of apple-green glaze survive on the upper surface.

*22. Basal angle of dish or plate in hard pink fabric with clear internal glaze over applied white spots.

Sites 2 and 3

The range of pottery is from the 12th century to the 17th.

Medieval

*23. Rim of jar in hard grey sandy fabric, probably overfired. 12th century?

*24. *In S.E. corner of yard 3.* Base of large jar with bung-hole, in soft buff fabric with grey core. Internal and external light green glaze.

Post-medieval

*25. *Yard ?, south of site 2.* Rim of beaker or small jug in very hard grey fabric with metallic purplish glaze and rod handle. 17th century.

*26. Basal angle of jug or jar in hard brick-red fabric with external white slip ornament and clear glaze (showing chestnut except over slip) internally and externally. 17th century.

*27. Rim of small beaker in brick-red fabric with external white slip decoration, internal and external clear glaze. 17th century.

*28. Rim of bowl or jar in brick-red fabric with internal clear or brown glaze.

*29. Rim of slipware plate. 17th century.

*30. Rim of dish in hard cream fabric with frilled edge. Clear glaze over feathered brown ornament on upper surface. Staffordshire, early 18th century.

Sites 6 and 7

Pottery ranging from the 12th century to the 17th was found in all parts of this complex area.

Medieval

*31. *Below north wall of house 6.* Rim of jar in hard buff gritty fabric with darker external wash. Probably 12th century.

*32. *Below yellow clay seal of rock-cut pit north of house 7.* Rim of jar or cooking pot in hard buff, slightly sandy, fabric. 12th century?

*33. Rim of bowl in fairly hard pinkish-buff fabric with sparse grits.

*34. *Destruction layer north of byre-drain.* Square rim of jar in hard cream fabric with fine grits. 12th century? [Note: this layer also contained one 17th century sherd.]

*35. *Make-up below line of byre wall.* Part of thick base in very hard light grey fabric with large grits (up to 6 mm.), orange-pink outer surface.

Post-medieval

36. Three sherds of stoneware, from three different vessels. 16th or 17th century.

37. Small fragment of blue and white delft.

*38. Rim of bowl in moderately hard pink fabric with white slip decoration on inner surface, and clear glaze over; much of the slip has been lost, and the ornament is not illustrated. 17th century.

*39. Two sherds of slipware from different vessels; one is illustrated. 17th century.

*40. Rim of jar in pink fabric with applied white spots on upper surface. Over the rim, and apparently continuing into the interior, is a thick and hard glaze; where thick it is dark green, elsewhere clear. 16th or 17th century.

*41. Rim of jug or jar in dark pink fabric with treacly brownish-green internal glaze, spilling over the rim.

*42. Base of jug in hard gritty brick-red fabric with clear glaze (appearing chestnut) internally and externally. 17th century.

*43. *From patch of burning at south side of site 7, between the two north-south walls.* Rim of wide vessel with rod handle, in hard brick-red fabric with internal and external orange-brown glaze. Probably a shallow dish. 17th century.

*44. Body sherd in hard dirty pink fabric with white slip ornament, overstamped in bars. Clear internal and external glaze showing cream over the white slip and dark brown over the body of the vessel. Cistercian ware, late 15th or 16th century; for the ware and methods and centres of production, see *Pontefract* pp. 117-119. This vessel is of type 1, which appears before the end of the 15th century at Kirkstall.

Site 7A

45. Fragment of wide strap-handle in hard grey fabric, fired to pink where not protected by light olive green glaze. One other sherd of medieval pottery was found on this site.

Site 16

Most of the pottery from this site is medieval, though a few post-medieval sherds may indicate use of the site as outbuildings for 16A in the 17th century.

Medieval

*46. Rim fragments of jar in off-white fabric with some grits, patchy external glaze, usually clear but with flecks of green.

*47. Fragment of rim jar in hard buff-pink fabric with large grits. Unglazed.

*48. Rim of jar in off-white gritty fabric with orange-pink surfaces. Unglazed.

*49. Bifid rim of jar or cooking pot in dark grey fabric with cream surfaces.

*50. Rim of jar in soft grey very sandy fabric with pink internal surface. Mr. J. G. Hurst kindly informs us that it is probably an import from southern England, perhaps from East Anglia, and is of the 11th or 12th century. Similar vessels have been recorded as far north as Yorkshire.

*51. *Below wall D, at junction with wall E.* Square rim in hard gritty fabric, off-white with grey core. 12th century.

Post-medieval

*52. Body sherd from Cistercian ware cup. Fine hard red fabric, white slip decoration, clear glaze over exterior and part of interior. 16th century.

Site 16A

Post-medieval pottery predominates, though relatively little of it justifies comment.

Medieval

53. Rim of narrow-necked jug in soft pink fabric.

*54. Rim and rod-handle of large jug in hard cream slightly gritty fabric. Band of rectangular rouletting round neck; the sherds show only a few spots of glaze, the result of dusting with galena. 13th century.

*55. Rim and rod-handle of jug in fairly hard dark grey sandy fabric with thick but patchy external pale green glaze. 13th century.

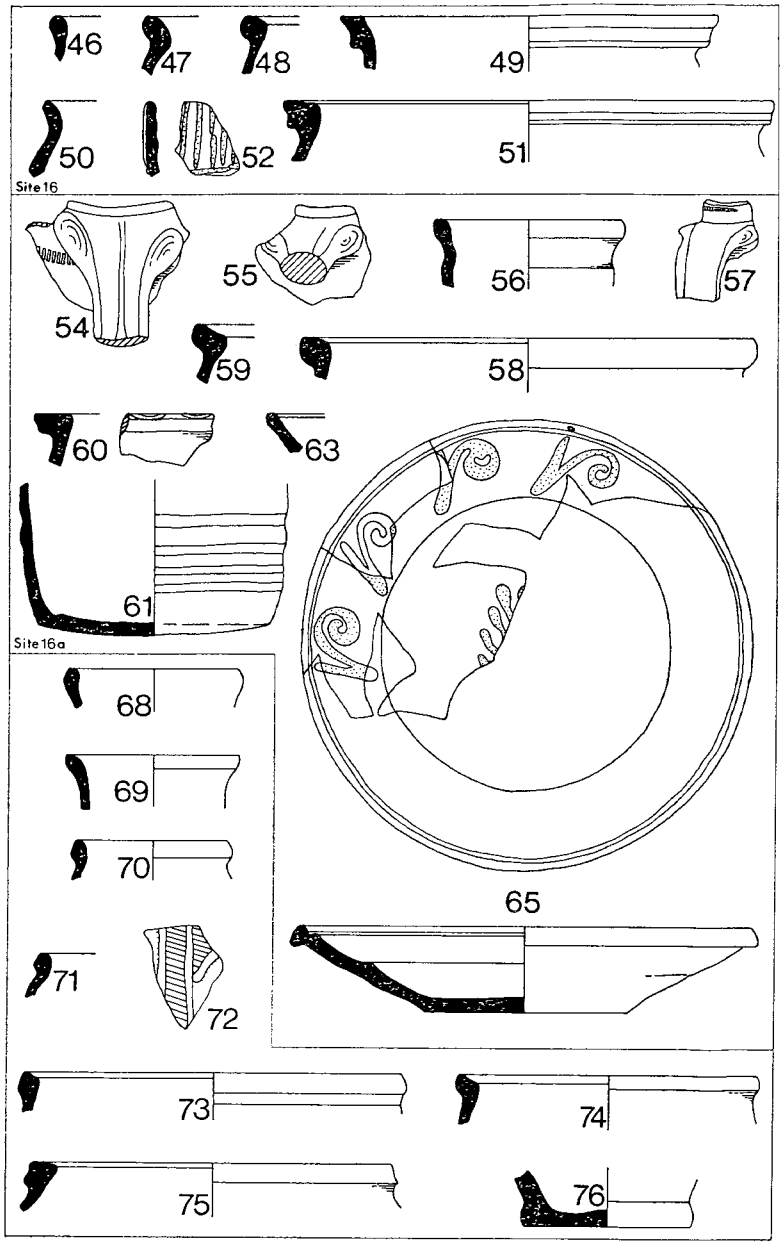


Fig. 30. Pottery from sites 16, 16A and 16C (1:4)

*56. *Beneath wall of house west of byre.* Rim of jug in orange-buff fabric with thin and patchy pale green external glaze.

*57. *Burnt material below topsoil, probably not significant.* Rim and rod-handle of small jug in fine grey ware. The vessel has been overfired, almost to a stoneware, and the external glaze has become merely a thin purple surface film.

*58. Rim of cooking-pot or bowl in dark grey gritty fabric with cream surfaces. 12th-13th century.

*59. Rim of cooking-pot or bowl in hard grey gritty fabric with pinkish-buff surfaces. 12th-13th century.

*60. *Yard between 16A and 16.* Rim of jar in hard white gritty fabric.

*61. Base of jug in hard pink fabric with patchy pale-green external glaze.

Post-medieval

62. Two sherds of stoneware with grey and chestnut glaze. 17th century.

*63. Rim of dish or bowl in orange-pink fabric with thick internal and external chestnut glaze. 17th century.

64. Rim of dish or bowl in hard brick-red fabric with thick internal and external light chestnut glaze.

*65. Slipware plate in brick-red fabric with clear glaze over white trailed slip decoration on upper surface. 17th century.

66. Body sherd in buff-pink fabric with white slip ornament below greenish glaze. Probably Weser ware, early 17th century; for the date see *Colchester* no. 19.

Site 16B

Four sherds of medieval pottery, two of post-medieval. None is closely datable, and none calls for illustration or description.

Site 16C

The great bulk of the pottery from this site is of medieval date. Most of it is in the gritty fabrics characteristic of the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is some evidence to suggest that these wares were still produced at later dates. The absence of the finer fabrics of the later middle ages may indicate the poverty of the villagers, rather than a period of abandonment.

Medieval

*67. *West of the platform at the west end of the house, in an ash level which runs under the platform.* Jar (or jug?) in off-white fabric with orange surfaces where not protected by the thin and

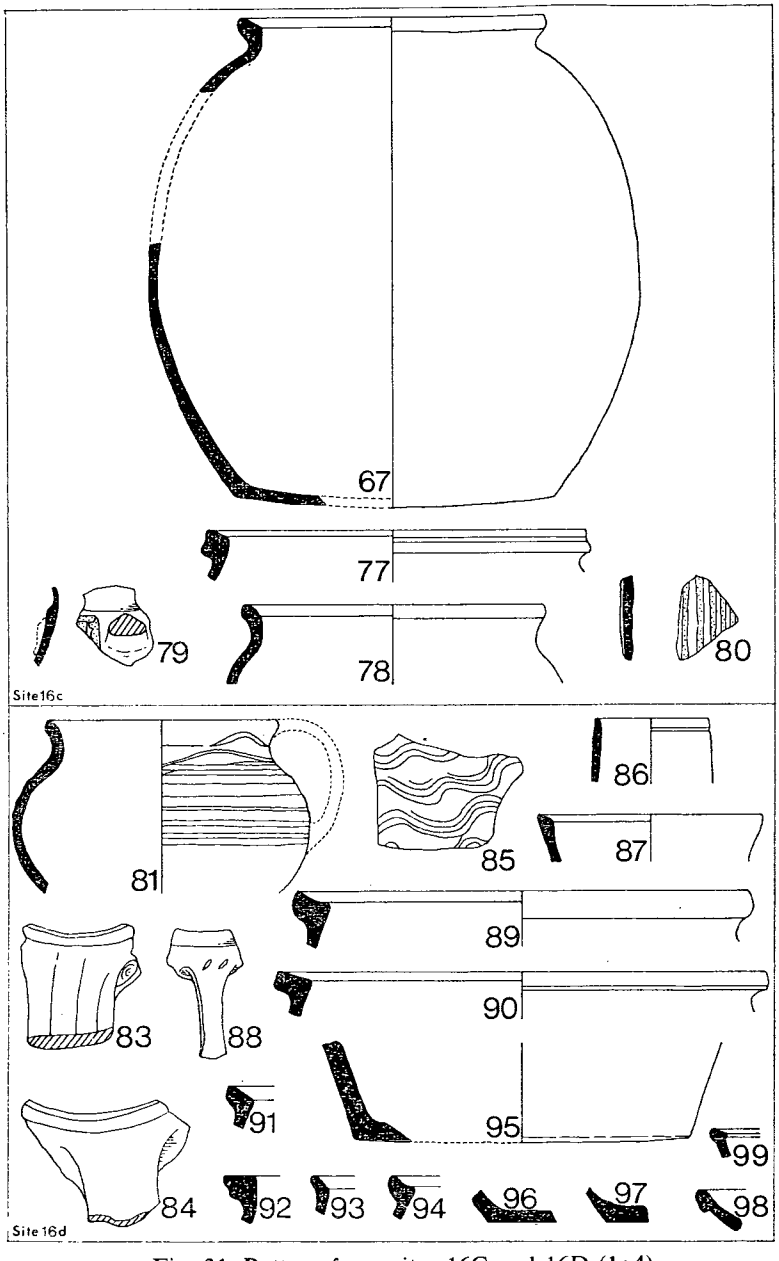


Fig. 31. Pottery from sites 16C and 16D (1:4)

patchy green glaze; the characteristic pits at the centre of each patch of glaze reveal that it was formed by dusting with galena before the final firing. Early 13th century?

*68. Rim of jug in soft pink sandy fabric.

*69. *Below platform at west end of house.* Rim of jug in buff sandy fabric with thin external glaze. 12th or 13th century?

*70. Rim of jug in pink gritty fabric.

*71. Rim of jar in grey gritty fabric, fired to pink where not protected by the patchy external olive-green glaze.

*72. *Stratification as no. 67.* Body sherd of jug in off-white fabric with fine grits. Decorated with applied ridges and panels of brown glaze; the remainder of the exterior has light olive-green glaze. Second half of 13th century?

*73. *Below platform at west end of house.* Rim of jar or cooking-pot in light grey sandy fabric.

*74. Rim of jar or bowl in grey gritty fabric with buff surfaces.

*75. *In fill of north-south foundation trench inside house 16C.* Rim of jar or cooking-pot in hard gritty orange fabric. 12th century.

*76. *In fill of hollow cut into floor of small stones.* Base of jar or jug in soft orange-pink fabric with internal and external thick brownish-green glaze.

*77. *In south wall of platform at west end of house.* Rim of jar or cooking-pot in pink gritty fabric. 12th century.

*78. *Stratification as no. 67.* Jar or cooking-pot in buff fabric with much very fine grit. 1150-1250?

Post-medieval

*79. Body sherd from cup or jug with small handle, in brick-red fabric; applied external strips in white, clear glaze internally and externally, showing brown except over ornament. Clearly a derivative of Cistercian ware. Second half of 16th century?

*80. Body sherd from Cistercian ware cup. Pink fabric, white strip decoration, clear (brownish-purple over body) internal and external glaze.

Site 16D

The overwhelming majority of the pottery from this site is medieval, most of it in the forms and gritty fabrics characteristic of the 12th and 13th centuries; but it is by no means certain that their manufacture did not continue as late as the 15th century.

Anglo-Saxon

*81. *In east-west croft wall, and in top layer of flagging below it; in clay and charcoal below uneven (late) cobbling.* Seven sherds

from one handled globular jar in grey gritty fabric with darker surfaces. Hand-made, decorated with incised wavy lines on neck and grooves round shoulder and belly. At least one handle crudely applied, with considerable thickening at the rim. Parallels are not readily found. Miss R. J. Cramp informs us that there are none from her excavations at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Co. Durham); Mr. Hurst calls our attention to vessels in similar fabric at Whitby (Yorks.). The date is uncertain; it seems tolerably certain that the vessel is later than the 6th century, and earlier than the 12th, but it would at present be rash to venture on a closer dating; not merely do we lack parallels for this vessel, we also lack any considerable quantity of Anglo-Saxon pottery from the north-eastern counties with which it might be compared.

Medieval

82. Rim of narrow-mouthed jug (ink-pot?) in hard grey fabric with dark green external glaze.

*83. Rim and strap-handle of jug in hard light grey fabric fired to orange-pink on surfaces not protected by the thick but patchy external olive-green glaze.

*84. Rim and strap-handle of jug in hard grey sandy fabric fired to buff where not protected by patchy light green external glaze. Much cruder than 83. *c.* 1250-1300?

*85. *From fill of pit at N.E. corner of 16D.* Body sherd in hard light grey fabric with fine grits, thick and lustrous dark olive-green external glaze over combed wavy line ornament. Late 13th century?

*86. Rim of beaker in creamy-grey stoneware with thin external clear glaze, burnt to light brown. 15th century?

*87. Rim of narrow-necked jug in buff fabric, fired to pink on surfaces. Trace of pale-green external glaze.

*88. *In the lowest layer of cobbling.* Fragments of multi-handled jug in cream or light grey gritty fabric, patchy external olive-green glaze. Rim and one small handle illustrated. For a more sophisticated vessel of the same general type, see SAN 44. *c.* 1250-1300.

*89. Rim of cooking-pot in hard orange-pink gritty fabric with grey core. 1150-1250?

*90. *Clay above lowest layer of cobbles.* Rim of cooking-pot in soft pink sandy fabric with grey core.

*91. Rim of cooking-pot in fairly soft dark grey sandy fabric with pale pink surfaces.

*92. *In top layer of cobbling, north of east-west croft wall.* Rim of cooking-pot in grey gritty fabric with pink surfaces. 12th-13th century?

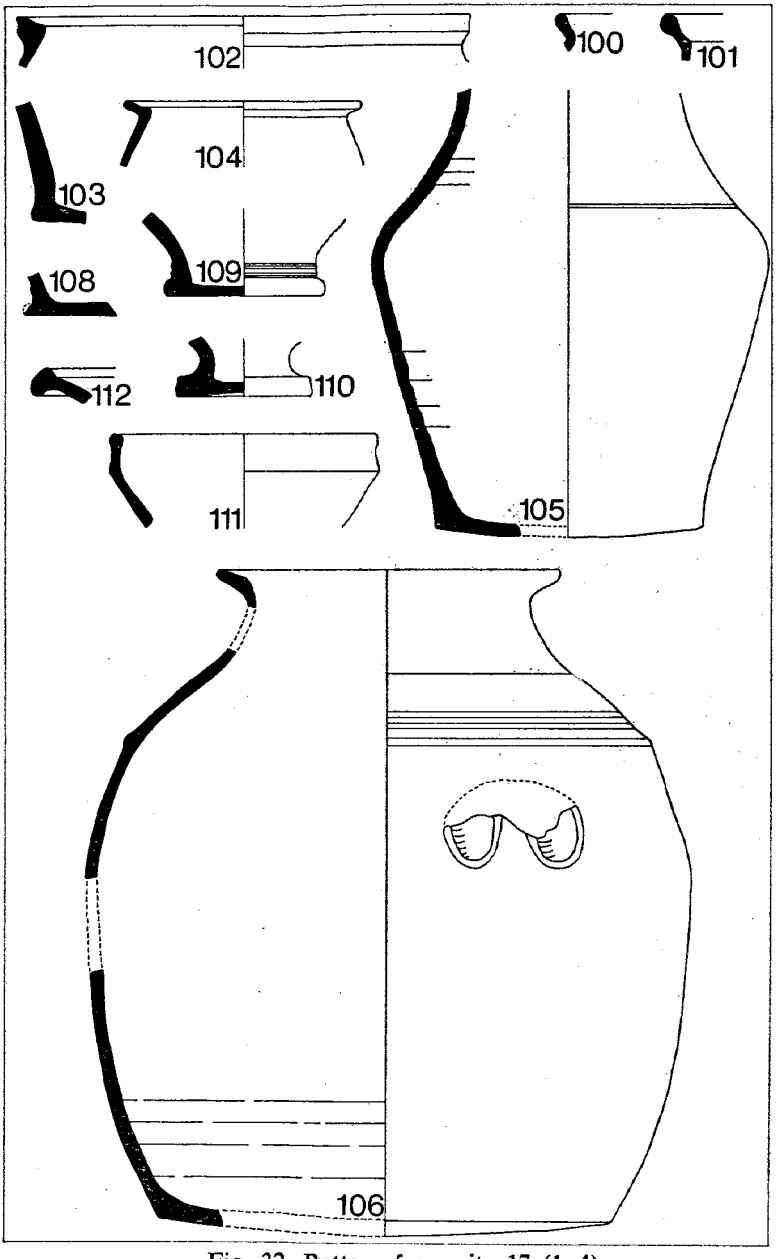


Fig. 32. Pottery from site 17 (1:4)

*93. *Stratification as 92.* Rim of jar in cream sandy fabric.

*94. Rim of lid-seated jar or cooking pot in hard grey gritty fabric with pink surfaces.

*95. *In bank of whinstone chippings.* Basal angle of jar in very hard light grey fabric with some fine grits, light buff outer surface. Fabric and form are both unusual, and the vessel is probably not of local manufacture.

*96. *In channel beside raised floor of earliest house, below tumble.* Basal angle of jar in grey gritty fabric with pink inner surface and patches of external olive-green glaze.

*97. Basal angle of jug or jar in grey gritty fabric with buff surfaces and patches of external pale-green glaze.

*98. *Stratification as 92.* Rim of bowl in fairly soft grey fabric with external olive-green glaze.

*99. *Below east-west croft wall.* Rim of bowl in soft orange-pink fabric with patches of external olive-green glaze.

Site 17

Medieval and post-medieval pottery were present at the east end of the site (17/3 and 17/4); the west end (17/1 and 17/2) produced only medieval sherds.

Medieval

*100. Rim fragment in fairly soft heavily gritted pink fabric with black outer surface, possibly burnished; slightly soapy texture. The fabric and form are both alien to Northumberland in the 12th century and later; the vessel may be earlier, or an import, or both. The nearest parallel to the fabric is perhaps Romano-British Derbyshire Ware.

*101. *In south wall of 17/4.* Fragment of lid-seated rim in fairly soft buff gritty fabric with darker surface. Neither fabric nor form is paralleled in the area in the medieval period.

*102. Rim of jar in hard cream gritty fabric. 12th century.

*103. Basal angle of large jar in very hard grey fabric. 14th or 15th century.

*104. Rim of jar in hard fine off-white fabric with apple-green internal glaze. Mr. Stephen Moorhouse informs us that the sherd is probably from the Surrey kilns; the lid-seating suggests a date *c.* 1625-1675.

*105. Jar or jug in hard grey slightly gritty fabric with external light olive-green glaze. Fabric suggests a 14th or 15th century date.

*106. Jug in fairly soft grey gritty fabric, with thin glaze on upper external surface, mottled dark and light green. 13th century?

Post-medieval

107. Two sherds of delft, blue decoration on white ground. 16th or 17th century.

*108. *From later occupation layer.* Basal angle of jug or flagon in pale buff stoneware with clear external glaze. 16th century?

*109. *In croft to west of 17, unstratified.* Basal angle of jar or flagon in grey stoneware with external dark brown and cream mottled glaze.

*110. Base of jar or jug in hard brick-red fabric with purplish-brown metallic glaze overall. 17th century.

*111. Rim of bowl in hard brick-red fabric with thick dark green over whole of internal and parts of external surface.

*112. Rim of slipware plate in fairly hard brick-red fabric, with white slip decoration on upper surface, overlain by clear glaze. 17th century.

Site 17A

Only five sherds were found, all of post-medieval date.

*113. Rim of jar in soft orange-pink fabric with thick mustard-yellow glaze internally and externally.

*114. Rim of large jar in very hard dirty-pink fabric, with thick internal greenish brown glaze.

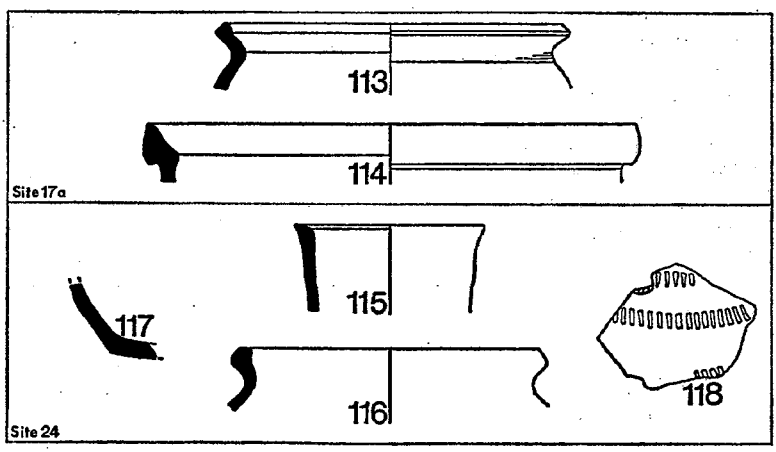


Fig. 33. Pottery from sites 17A and 24 (1:4)

Site 24

All the pottery from this site was of medieval date, none of it necessarily later than 1300.

*115. Rim of jug with pinched spout in fairly hard buff fabric.

*116. Rim of jar or jug in fairly soft grey fabric with very fine grits; small patches of external olive-green glaze shows the characteristic pit at the centre which is the result of dusting with powdered galena.

*117. Basal angle of jug in buff fabric, with thick but patchy external olive-green glaze.

*118. Body sherd in fairly soft greyish-buff fabric, with rouletted decoration below the external light olive-green glaze.

C. CLAY PIPES

with *Jill Belcher*

The clay pipes found in 1965 to 1969 confirm the conclusions of *Parsons* on the sources of supply for the north-eastern counties. His summary is:

1600-1650	London.
1630-1670	Bristol and S.W. England.
1650-1700	Hull and York.
1645-1953	Local manufacture, with Gateshead as the most important centre of the industry.

The only caveat which must be entered is that there appears to be little evidence for the dating of the Yorkshire pipes. None of the pipes or stamps from West Whelpington conflicts with this pattern. We may however suggest a modification to Parsons' scheme for dating stamps: he suggests that his type b stamp (initial letters of maker's name on either side of spur) should be dated *c.* 1700 to 1780 in the north-east. No stamp of this kind has yet been found at West Whelpington, which was abandoned *c.* 1720: it therefore seems probable that we should date the introduction of this type of stamp not earlier than *c.* 1720. Argument from negative evidence is always dangerous, but it may be observed that West Whelpington produces a number of pipes probably made within the last ten years of the life of the village, so that in this case the negative evidence is of value. Of the pipes which were too incomplete for illustration, none calls for comment; all the bowls described are therefore illustrated.

1. BOWLS (fig. 34)

Site 1

1. Long straight-sided bowl with spurred base and rouletting below the lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 6c, *c.* 1670-1690, and *Parsons* type 5, same dates.

2. *In occupation layer on flagged floor.* Long straight-sided bowl with spurred base and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 8b, *c.* 1680-1720, and *Parsons* type 6, *c.* 1680-1710.

3. Squat bulbous bowl with broad flat base and rouletted groove below lip; a York type, *c.* 1650-1700.

Site 1A

4. Elongated bowl with spurred base and rouletted groove below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 a, type 4, *c.* 1670-1710 (Broseley), and *Parsons* type 4, *c.* 1650-1680.

5. Bulbous bowl with flat base and groove below lip. There does not appear to be a close parallel, but the type may be compared with *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4c, *c.* 1630-1670.

6. Bulbous bowl with flat base and rouletted groove below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4c, *c.* 1630-1670.

7. Small bulbous bowl with broad flat base and plain groove below lip. A York type of *c.* 1650-1700.

Site 2

8. Long slender bowl with spurred foot and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 6c, *c.* 1670-1690, and *Parsons* type 5, same dates.

Sites 6 and 7

9. Distinctive spurred foot, curving slightly forward.

10. Steeply stepped foot with single rosette on each side (stamp number 12); the bowl is *Parsons* type 10 (pp. 236 and 247), assigned to 1710-1750. The foot appears to have been made as a separate piece.

11. Small bulbous bowl with flat base and groove below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4a, *c.* 1620-1650, and *Parsons* type 23, *c.* 1640-1670.

Site 16

12. Small bulbous bowl with stepped heel and groove with trace of rouletting below lip. Stamp number 15 on heel. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4a, *c.* 1620-1650, and *Parsons* type 24, Bristol, *c.* 1640-1670.

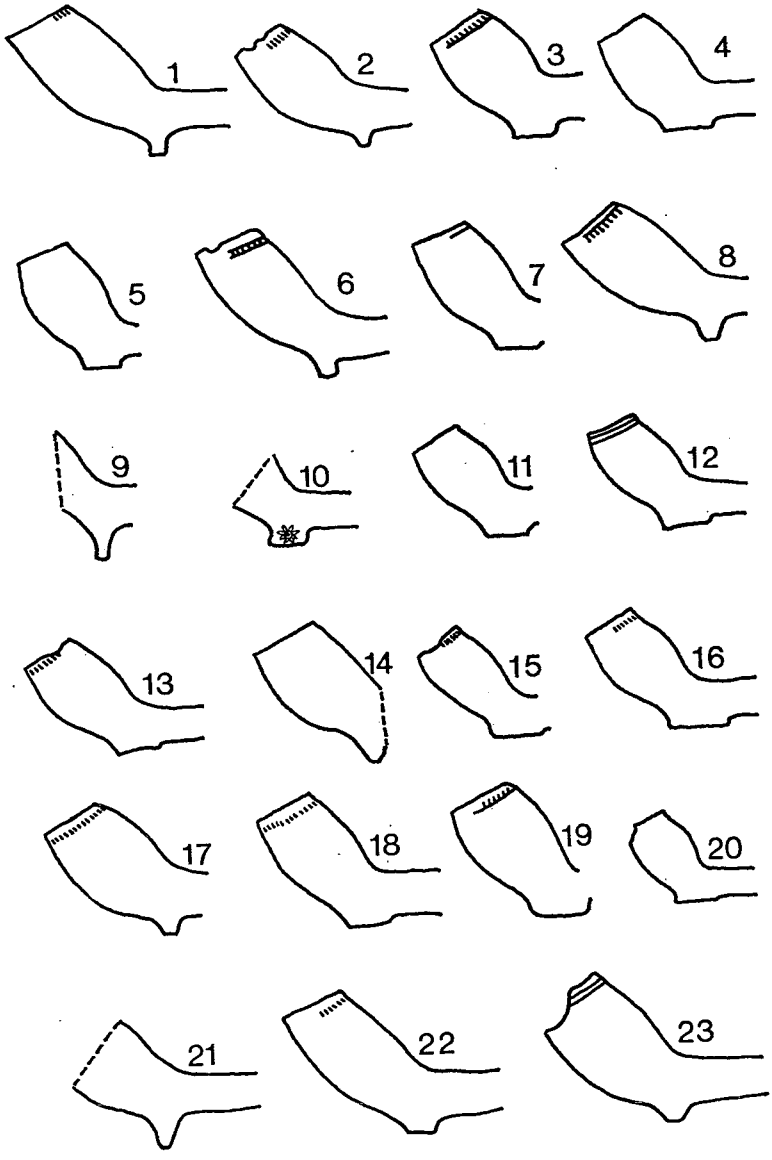


Fig. 34. Clay pipes (1 : 4)

13. Bulbous bowl with circular flat heel and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4a, *c.* 1620-1650.

14. *In fragment of* (?) *east-west wall south of site 16C.* Bulbous bowl with spurred heel and rouletted groove below lip. cf. *Parsons* type 4, *c.* 1650-1680.

Site 16C

15. Small bulbous bowl with heart-shaped flat heel and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 4a, *c.* 1620-1650.

16. Small bulbous bowl, though more elongated than number 15, with stepped heel and slight trace of rouletted groove below lip. Stamp number 18 on underside of circular heel. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 5b, *c.* 1640-1670, and *Parsons* type 23, Bristol, 1640-1670.

17. Slightly bulbous body with stepped heel and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 7a, *c.* 1670-1710.

18. Squat bulbous body with large circular heel; stamp number 16 on underside of heel. York type, *c.* 1650-1700.

19. Slightly bulbous bowl with spurred foot and rouletting below lip. cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 6c, *c.* 1670-1690, and *Parsons* type 5, same dates.

Sites 17 and 17A

20. Very small bulbous bowl with flat heel and groove below slightly waisted lip; heart-shaped stamp (number 19) on heel. Paralleled exactly by *O'Neil* types 4 and 25, dated to 1640-1660; but cf. *Oswald* 1955 b, type 3c, *c.* 1600-1640. The earlier date seems preferable, in view of the size of the bowl.

21. Wide heavy bowl with spurred foot and rouletted groove below lip. Stamp number 21 on stem near bowl, of one or other of the John Thompsons of Gateshead. The bowl is *Parsons* type 4, which he dates 1650-1680; if the dating is correct, it is presumably the elder John Thompson (attested 1663-1690) who is in question.

22. Spurred foot, upper part of bowl missing.

23. Long straight-sided bowl with stepped foot and rouletted groove below lip.

2. STAMPS

Site 1

1. Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered; opposing quarters, lengthways, have a fleur-de-lys; the other quarters bear the initials **I** and **H** (or **A**). The centre is marked by a star. This type of stamp is assigned by *Oswald* (1960, 50) to the early 17th century "mainly in the London area"; *Parsons* (240) however states that it

is found on pipes from Yorkshire (Hull and York) of the second half of the century, though he does not quote precisely dated examples. James and John Hicks (attested 1631 and 1667 respectively) of London seem the only likely makers who are at present on record (*Oswald* 1960, 74). John Hastings of Gateshead (*Parsons* 231) may presumably be excluded; he certainly used a different type of stamp, and this type is not so far recorded for any Gateshead maker.

2. Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered, with fleur-de-lys in each quarter.

3. *In the occupation layer above the flagged floor.* Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered; details lost.

Site 1A

4. Part of elliptical embossed stamp on stem, the only legible letter being **E**.

5. Part of elliptical impressed stamp on stem, with foliage; illegible.

6. Part of a badly impressed elliptical stamp on stem. Last two lines read:

[I]OHN
SON

No Johnson appears to be recorded as a pipe-maker before 1714 (John Johnson of Liverpool); presumably this is a manufacturer hitherto unrecorded.

7. Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered, with fleur-de-lys in each quarter.

8. Part of stamp similar to number 7.

9. *From fill of gully between 1 and 1A.* Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered. Opposing quarters, lengthways, bear respectively the initials **T** (or **I**) and **P**, with a star above and below each letter. Maker uncertain. Gateshead reveals two makers called John Parke, two called Thomas Parke, all in the late 17th century; one at least used a stamp of different form (*Parsons* 253, illustrated 246), and Gateshead manufacture is unlikely with this stamp type. If we follow *Oswald* (1960, 50) in assigning this type to the London area and the early 17th century, Thomas Piper of Shadwell is the most likely name. If *Parsons* (240) is correct in assigning the type to the Yorkshire area, two Hull makers, Thomas Pate (attested 1651) and John Page (1673) must also be considered.

Site 2

10. Impressed stamp, probably elliptical, on stem. Last line

reads: **PA**[ ]. Presumably one of the numerous Parkes of Gateshead (*Parsons* 253).

11. Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, quartered; fleur-de-lys in each quarter.

Sites 6 and 7

12. *Bowl number 10, fig. 34 and p. 273.* Raised rosette on either side of flattened spur. The bowl is *Parsons* type 10 (pp. 236, 247), assigned to 1710-1750.

13. *In patch of burning between two north-south walls at south of site 7.* Faintly impressed heart-shaped stamp on underside of flat heel; illegible.

14. Faintly impressed heart-shaped stamp on underside of heel, with raised letters **IC**. Possibly James Cooper of Gateshead (*fl.* 1669), for whom no stamp type is recorded (*Parsons* 250); but Parsons does not regard this stamp as a type used in the north-east, assigning it to south-west England.

Site 16

15. *Bowl number 12, fig. 34 and p. 273.* On underside of heart-shaped heel, impressed circular stamp with raised letters **AW**. Probably a Bristol type of mid-17th century (*Parsons* 238). No manufacturer with these initials is recorded at the period.

Site 16C

16. *Bowl number 18, fig. 34 and p. 275.* Circular impressed stamp on underside of circular heel. Raised letters, not now legible.

17. Circular impressed stamp on base of heart-shaped heel, with raised letters **IS**. A number of Bristol manufacturers with these initials are listed by *Oswald* (1960) for the period 1630-1670.

18. *Bowl number 16, fig. 34 and p. 275.* Elliptical impressed stamp on bottom of heart-shaped heel, with raised letters **IE**. Presumably Isaac Evans of Bristol (*Oswald* 1960, 68), attested in 1699. The form of both bowl and stamp are substantially earlier than 1699, suggesting rather the period 1640-1670.

Site 17

19. *Bowl number 20, fig. 34 and p. 275.* Heart-shaped stamp on bottom of flat heel, with letters **GC** above a mullet. Paralleled exactly by *O'Neil* type 25, which he dates *c.* 1640-1660; we argue above for an earlier date. The stamp might be George Crosse or George Carter, both of London, attested in 1638 and 1641 respectively.

20. Elliptical stamp on stem, impressed lettering:

[ ]R[ ]
WALKER

Possibly Henry Walker of Gateshead, attested 1674-1699; but the last letter of the first line, though indistinct, seems to be K. Mark however is an uncommon name amongst pipe-makers at this period.

21. *Bowl number 21, fig. 34 and p. 275.* Elliptical stamp on stem, impressed lettering:

IOHN+
THOMP
[SON]

Parsons records two Gateshead makers of this name, in 1663 to 1690 and in 1700-1713 respectively. *Jarrett* 1960 has other pipes at Durham and West Whelpington, using a slightly different stamp. The bowl suggests that the elder John Thompson must be the maker in question.

22. Elliptical stamp on stem, impressed lettering:

LEO
NAR[D]
HO[L]
ME[S]

Parsons records two Gateshead makers of this name, in the period 1672-1707. cf. *Jarrett* 1960 for a similar stamp from West Whelpington.

23. Fragment of elliptical stamp on stem, showing foliage only.

Site 24

24. *Unstratified outside the house.* Embossed lozenge-shaped stamp on stem, exactly similar to number 1, *q.v.*

Pound

25. Elliptical stamp on stem, impressed lettering:

[J]OSEPH
[F]AWELL

Two flowers below. Joseph Fawell is attested in Gateshead in the period 1693-1708.

3. STEM-BORE DIAMETERS

Use has recently been made of changes in the diameter of pipe-stem bores as an indicator of date—mainly in North America. *Walker* (1967) summarises the methods used and the results obtained. A similar study has been made of the pipe-stems found at

West Whelpington in 1965-69. This will be published elsewhere. For the purposes of this report it is sufficient to note that it contributes nothing to our knowledge of West Whelpington except a hint that smoking was unusual before *c.* 1650. Pipes of north-eastern manufacture do not appear to have gone through the same changes of stem-bore as those exported (mainly from Bristol) to North America.

D. GLASS

by *Jennifer Price*

1. Window glass. Window glass was found on most of the post-medieval sites at West Whelpington. Most of the 55 fragments were pale green, though six fragments of blue-green, one of dark green and one of dark blue were recorded. The window glass is cylinder blown (broad glass), 1·5 to 2 mm. thick, with very few bubbles. Some of the fragments have lines scored on one surface; these are guide lines for cutting the sheets of glass into individual panes. The window glass is not closely datable, but probably belongs to the last century of the life of the village.

2. Wine bottles. Fourteen fragments were found from wine bottles of the late 17th or early 18th centuries. In no case was it possible to reconstruct the shape of the bottle. Sites 6 and 7 produced 6 fragments between them, and site 2, 3 fragments.

3. *Site 17.* Ginger-beer bottle in yellowish-green glass. Cylindrical body with sloping shoulders, narrow neck with collar at rim; inscription in raised letters reading vertically downwards: GILPINS' UNFERMENTED GINGERBEER.

Messrs. Gilpin & Company began business in 1790, probably as porter merchants, and the firm appears under various names in Newcastle Directories until 1911. In 1850 J. Gilpin and Sons Ltd., porter merchants are also listed under the heading "Lemonade, soda water and ginger beer manufacturers." An entry in *Descriptive account of Newcastle*, published by Robinson, Son and Pike, of Brighton, *c.* 1895, pp. 96-97 gives the address of Messrs. Gilpin and Co. as 137, Pilgrim Street, and states that "all bottles made for the firm have the name in full in raised letters, and those bought plain have the name stencilled by a special sand-blast." The West Whelpington bottle can be dated to the second half of the 19th century. It has not proved possible to trace the manufacturers of bottles for Gilpin and Co. I am indebted to Mr. A. Wallace, Acting City Librarian of Newcastle upon Tyne, for the information upon which this note is based.

*4. *Site 1A* (fig. 35). Opaque black glass button, hemispherical in

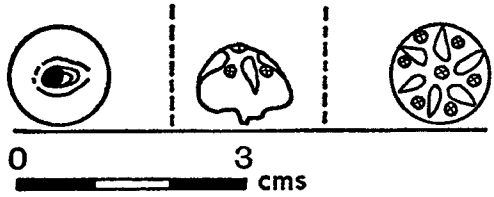


Fig. 35. Black glass button (1 : 1)

shape, with broken iron wire loop projecting from the flat underside. Diameter: 12 mm. The convex surface is decorated with a painted design, of central yellow dot, six white petals and six yellow dots around it. Mrs. F. Russell-Smith has kindly examined this button and on the decoration dates it to the 17th century; the type of button might be worn on doublets, or by the common people. Black glass buttons are mentioned in news-sheets of the latter part of the 17th century.

E. METAL (figs. 36-41)

by *Ian H. Goodall*

a. IRON

Most of the iron comes from sites occupied in the post-medieval period; medieval houses have produced very little. This may perhaps be a reflection of the situation detected at Wigston Magna by *Hoskins*: there the greater prosperity of the late 16th and 17th centuries was marked by a much greater use of iron by the peasant farmers. I am indebted to Dr. W. H. Manning for his assistance in identifying the iron objects.

Site 1

*1. Object of tapering rectangular section, turned at the thicker end; both ends are broken.

*2. Chisel. Part of the tang, stop and thinning to the blade.

*3. Stud. Circular domed head and square tapering shank.

4. Nails. Three shank fragments, maximum length 7 cm. Rectangular section, two 8×4 mm., one 10×8 mm.

Site 1A

*5. Two fragments of an iron vessel. The relatively clean break along the top of the fragments suggests that the everted rim, typical of a cauldron. has been broken off.

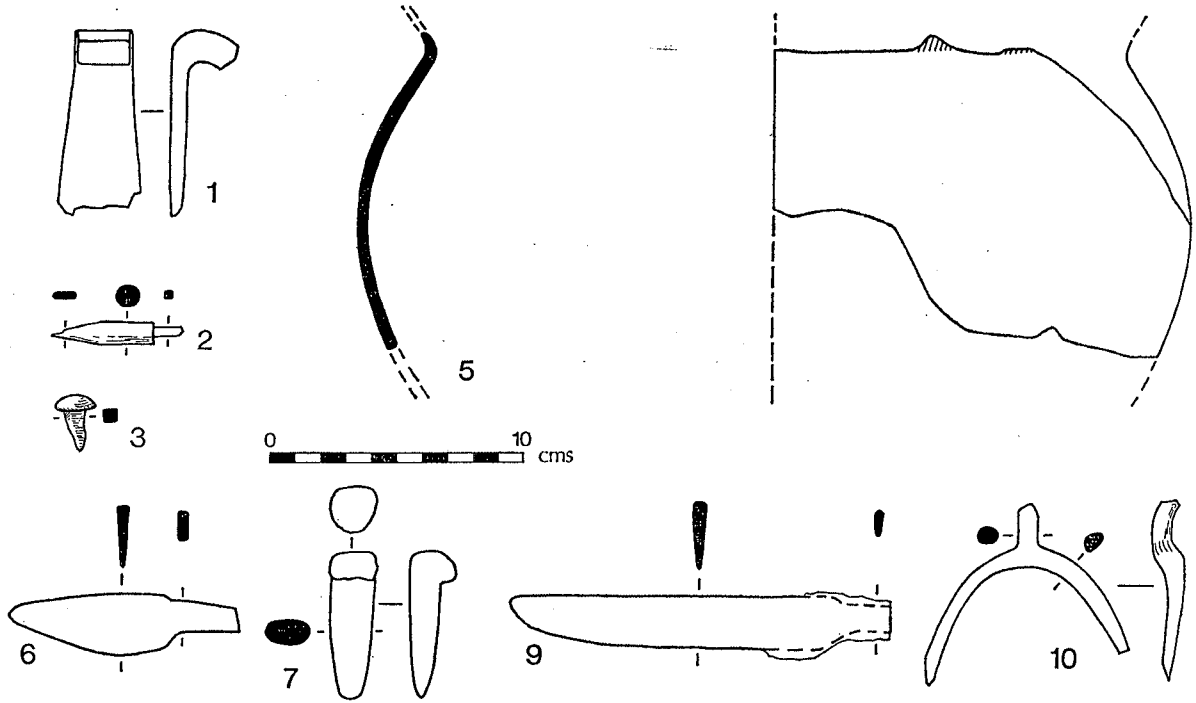


Fig. 36. Iron objects from sites 1, 1A and 2 (1:3)

*6. Knife. Blade and broken tang. The size of the blade suggests considerable wear from repeated sharpening.

*7. Small wedge, with head burred in one direction.

Site 1B

8. Iron bar, 30 cm. long; rectangular section, 4×1 cm.

Site 2

*Knife, Blade and broken tang, their junction obscured by corrosion.

*10 Spur, broken. The shank is angled to the body.

Site 6

11. Corroded key of circular section, 11 mm. diameter; circular bow 55 mm. external diameter; hollow stem at least 8 cm. long. There is a fragment of a bit.

*12. Stirrup. One arm and the rectangular box for the stirrup leather.

*13. Horseshoe. Both arms are broken across nail-holes, which are set in a slight fullered groove.

*14. Knife. Distorted tang, stop and part of blade.

15. Nail, complete. 48 mm. long. Rectangular head 6×5 mm., and tapering rectangular shank 5×5 mm. With all nails measurement of the shank was taken just below the head, if this survived.

Site 7

*16. Large key with D-shaped bow and solid stem (broken) of square section, becoming circular at the bit. The simple, symmetrical bit is partly obscured by corrosion. This common form of door-key is found throughout the medieval period, cf. *London* type VII b.

*17. Double buckle, broken. The head of the pin remains on the central bar.

*18. Distorted and incomplete fragment of binding of tapering width, with nail holes at each bend. Fractures suggest that these bends are not original.

*19. Socketed tool.

*20. Broken handle with circular terminal riveted to a fragment of curved iron sheet, 3 mm. thick.

*21. Small mason's chisel with expanded head and square shank, thinning to a broken blade. The form of the head indicates that the tool was used with a wooden mallet.

*22. Link (broken) from a horse's bit.

*23. Rowel spur. The shank and arms are broken.

*24, 25. Two corroded fragments, probably from the same spur

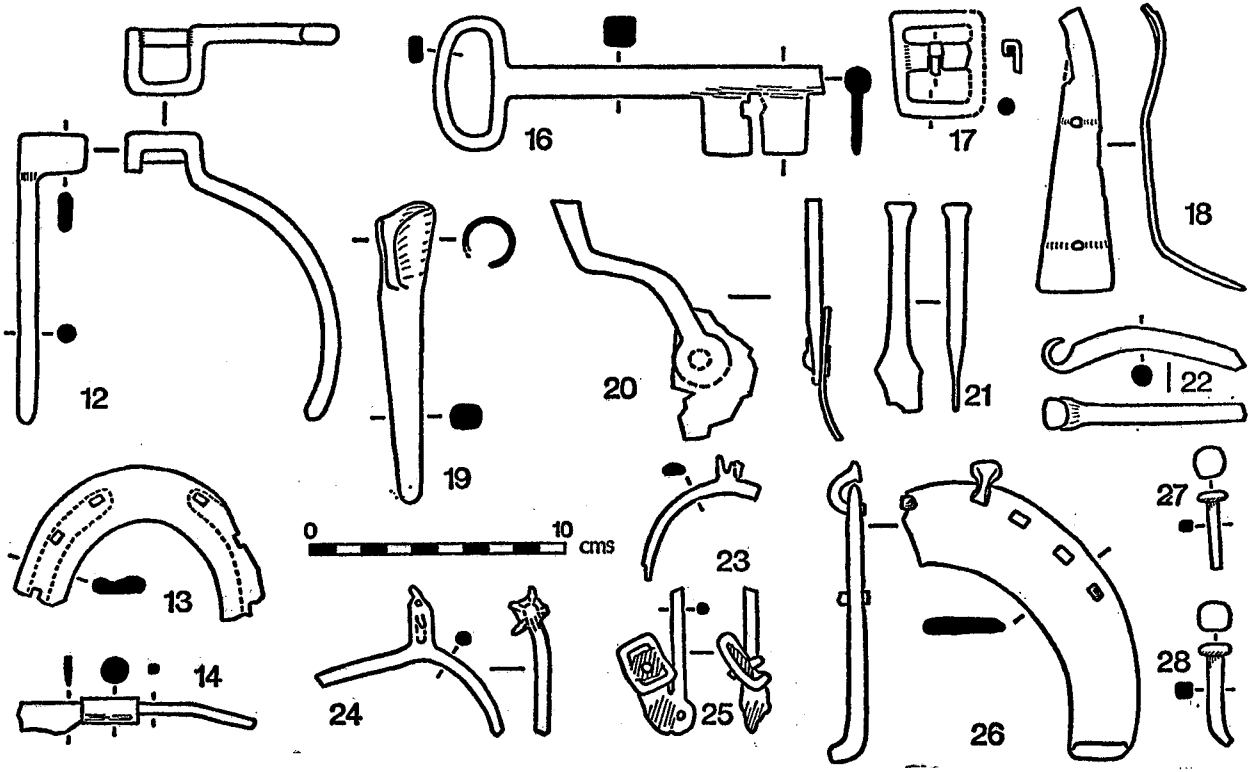


Fig. 37. Iron objects from sites 6 and 7 (1:3)

24: Rowel spur, both arms broken, one distorted. The five-pointed rowel, corroded and incomplete, is carried on a shank set at a slight angle to the body. 25: spur terminal and buckle. Corrosion obscures the precise method of attachment.

*26. Horseshoe, heavy form. The incomplete arm has an upturned calkin and four nail-holes, two retaining their nails, one of which has an expanded head. The other arm is broken across a nail-hole.

*27, 28. Two nails, incomplete.

Site 16

*29. Iron ram or cow bell with traces of bronze plating on the handle and both faces of the body. The body has been made from two sheets of iron 2 mm. thick, overlapped and welded together down each side and along the top. The tip of the suspension hook for the clapper was let through the top joint and hammered down. The clapper is forged from circular section iron, flattened at the top where it forms a loop, and expanded towards its tip. Pierced lugs decorate each end of the handle where it joins the body of the bell.

Bells coated with bronze have a long ancestry. Small specimens are from Maiden Castle (Dorset) and Feerwore Rath (Co. Galway) in Roman and early Christian contexts respectively (Jope, E. M., *Oxoniensia* 21 (1956), 37). G. Coffey (*R.I.A. Collection: Guide to the Celtic Christian Antiquities* (Dublin 1909) 47, 65-67) describes similar cattle bells in ecclesiastical contexts, and notes that dipping in bronze "is done with some modern sheep bells."

*30. *From fill of east wall of 16/1.* Horseshoe fragment with three nail-holes in the arm.

*31. Horseshoe fragment with four nail-holes in the arms and signs of wear on the toe.

*32. Spur. Arms and shank broken.

*33. Rowel spur. Arms and shank broken.

Site 16A

34. Two rings, 3 cm. external diameter, of circular section iron 3 mm. in diameter. Ring, 28 mm. external diameter, of circular section iron 5 mm. in diameter.

*35. Claw-hammer, broken in use. One claw is broken, the other complete but bent sharply downwards. Two incomplete nails were found in the same deposit; the first had a head 10×6 mm. and shank 7×4 mm.; the other was 6 mm. square in section.

*36. *Below tumble from south wall of 16A.* Rectangular plate folded over at one end to suspend a ring (corroded).

*37. Symmetrically curved object.

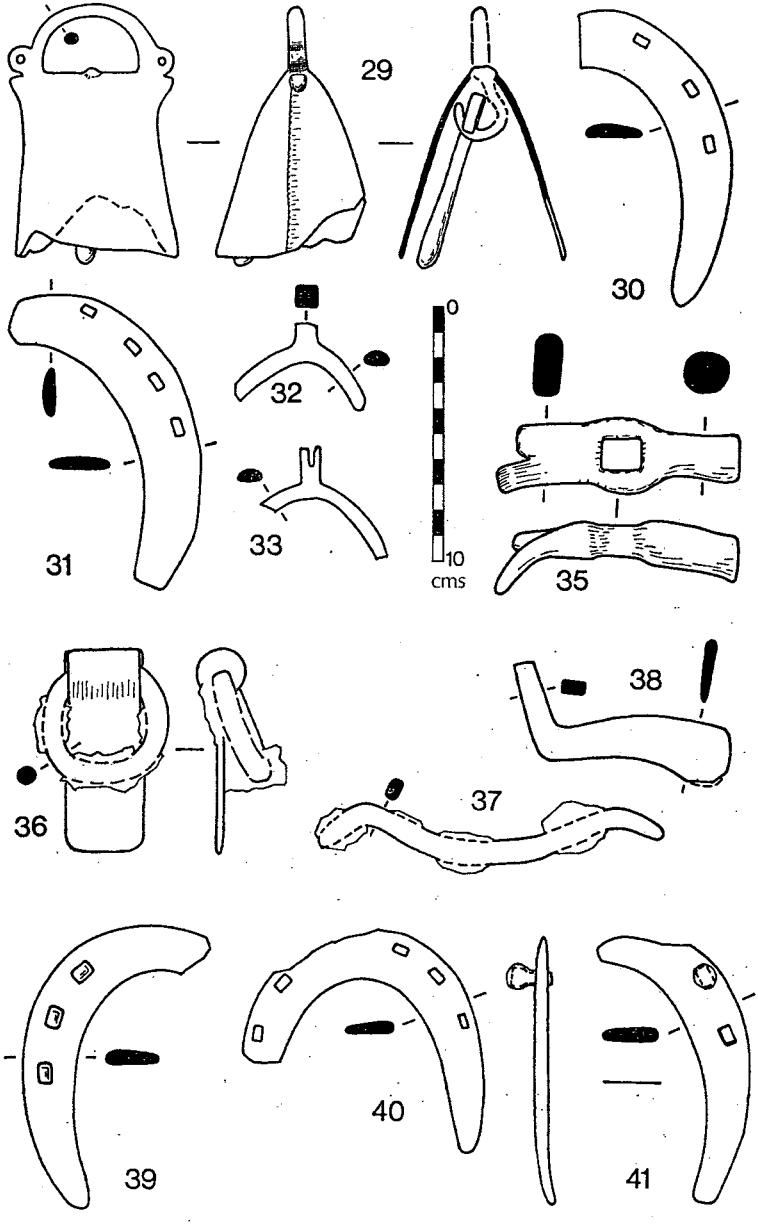


Fig. 38. Iron objects from sites 16 and 16A (1:3)

*38. Hook with wedge-shaped tang.

*39. Horseshoe, one arm broken. The three nail-holes retain fragments of their nails.

*40. Horseshoe, incomplete. The complete arm has three nail-holes.

*41. Horseshoe, one arm broken. The nail-hole retains a corroded nail.

*42. Stirrup. The body is in two pieces. The suspension ring, which is incomplete, is set in the same plane as the stirrup body. Two semicircular loops, one damaged recently, spring from the central bar of the tread.

*43. Spur. Arms and shank broken.

Site 16B

*44. Nail. Head burred, shank incomplete.

Site 16C

*45. *In clay floor of Period III, probably trampled in from above.* Knife. Part of the blade, stop and tang.

Site 17

*46. Fragment of double buckle.

*47. Hook with flat expanded head, retaining part of a nail in its centre.

*48. Knife, incomplete. The knife had a strip-tang with a handle formed of scales held in position by bronze rivets passing through the whole assemblage. Mrs. B. Westley kindly tested a sample of scale, and reports that it is more probably of wood than of bone. The separate piece of the handle indicates that both scales were elaborately decorated. Only one of the bronze rivets in this fragment, shaded in the drawing, actually passed through the tang. In addition to this rivet, bronze pins form a decorative pattern, including a trefoil. An iron sheath fitted over the handle, but not (apparently) the blade, although corrosion precludes certainty.

Knives with strip-tangs are known from at least the late 13th century onwards. Post-medieval examples include one from Waltham Abbey, Essex (*Post-Med. Arch.* 3 (1969) 90, fig. 33, 1). A wooden knife-handle from Rievaulx Abbey, Yorks. (Dunning, G. C., *Ant. J.* 45 (1965) 58-59, fig. 6) is decorated with bronze pins and rivets in the form of a row of little shamrock leaves on either side.

49. *Black occupation layer below topsoil inside house 17/3.* Key, heavily corroded, with oval handle 3 cm. long and 4 cm. wide; stem 10 cm. long with fragments of bit.

*50. Small wedge with head (damaged) burred in one direction.

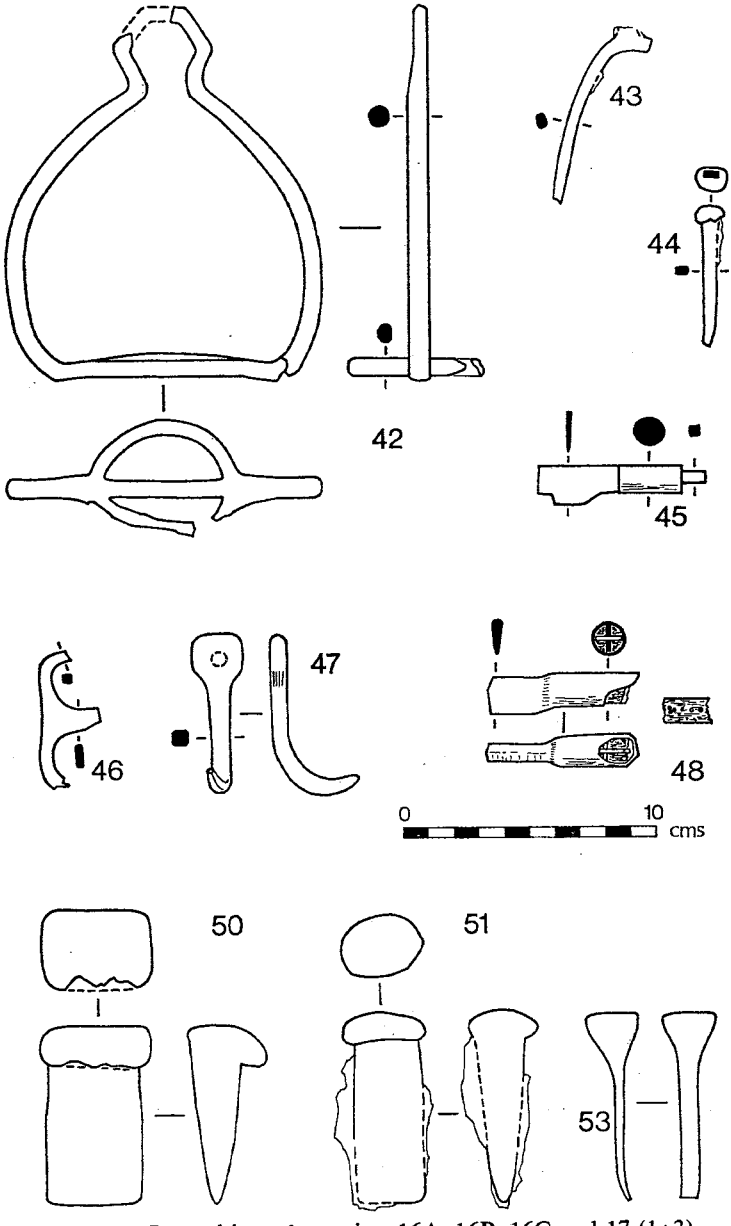


Fig. 39. Iron objects from sites 16A, 16B, 16C and 17 (1 : 3)

*51. Small wedge with evenly burred head.

52. Nails. Among the corroded nail fragments from site 17 the following could be recognised:

Two complete nails, 5 cm. long, with rectangular heads 10 × 8 mm. and tapering shanks 8×6 mm.

Six head and shank fragments, maximum length 4 cm., with rectangular heads ranging from 10×8 mm. to 17×13 mm.

Two head and shank fragments 48 and 56 mm. long, with heads 20 and 13 mm. square, and shanks 8 mm. square.

Four shank fragments, maximum length 35 mm. Rectangular shanks ranging from 6×4 mm. to 10×5 mm.

*53. Nails. Drawn: nail with head of inverted pyramidal form and flat square top, incomplete rectangular shank. The head only of a similar nail was found.

Nail 38 mm. long with rectangular head 9×7 mm. and shank 6×4 mm.

Nail, 25 mm. long, the tip bent over. Rectangular head 10×7 mm., shank 5×3 mm.

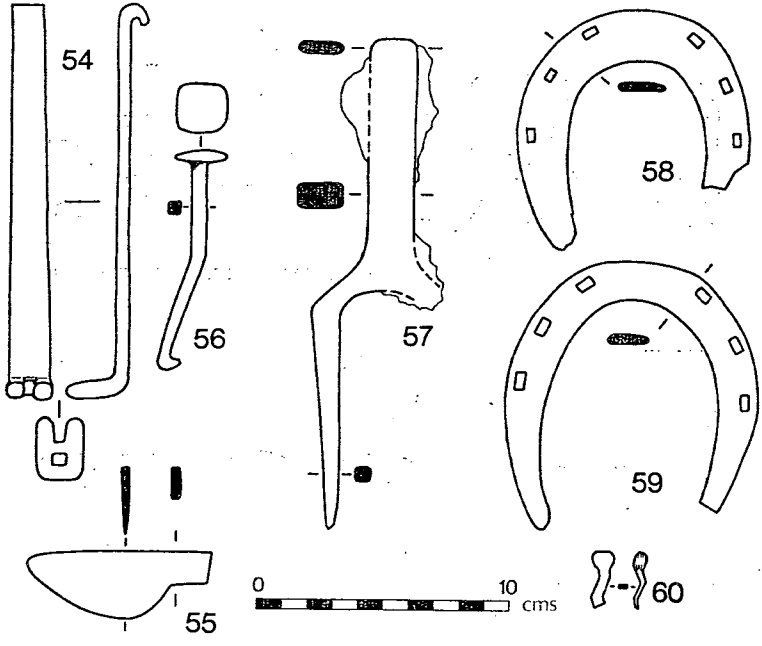


Fig. 40. Iron objects from sites 17A, 24 and Pound (1:3)

Three nails with rectangular heads 12×9 mm., and broken shanks 6×3 mm. Maximum length 3 cm.

Two shank fragments, sections 8×8 mm. and 8×5 mm.

Site 17A

*54. Barrel-padlock key with plain shank, hooked terminal (broken) and bit set laterally to the shank. The wards form a loop with two projections.

*55. Knife. Part of the tang; blade much worn by sharpening.

*56. Nail. Shank bent, tip clenched over.

Site 24

*57. *Occupation layer inside house.* Incomplete forked object with tapering tang. Probably a pitchfork.

Pound

*58, 59. Horseshoes, incomplete. Three nail-holes in each arm. Light type.

*60. Horseshoe nail.

b. IRON SLAG

Single lumps of iron slag, weighing 70 gm. and 145 gm. respectively, were found on sites 7 and 17A. Numerous lumps of slag, weighing 3·96 kg., were found together on site 6, just inside the north wall.

c. COPPER ALLOY

Site 1

61. *Clay and charcoal on flagged floor at east end.* Circular button, probably brass, 11 mm. in diameter, and lenticular section 3 mm. maximum thickness. The attachment loop of the button has been broken off, but the two ends of the iron wire which formed it are embedded in the button.

Site 1B

*62. Brass candlestick with partly hollow stem, with two knop-mouldings and a similar stop to the socket; base missing. The stem is circular in section, partly flattened at the socket. The cylindrical candle-bowl, which is not pierced for the ejection of the stump, has three external decorative bands. Similar candlesticks, with only one knop-moulding on the stem, and with their bases, are known from Winchester (*Winchester I*, 48, 152; 154, fig. 52, 5, probably before *c.* 1550); from Tintern Abbey, Mon. (unpublished; National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, Acc. No. 32.430.1, claimed as 16th or

17th century); and from London (*Guildhall Museum Catalogue* (1908) 313; pl. LXXXV, 11, claimed as 17th century).

Site 7

*63. *In the layer of soil which accumulated between the abandonment of the house and the collapse or robbing of the walls; sealed under the clay bonding which had washed from those walls.* Circular bronze collar with slight shoulder. Broken at the bottom edge.

64. *In tumble from south wall.* Ring of tubular brass, 2 mm. section diameter. The ring has an external diameter of 28 mm.

Site 16A

*65. *In cobbling north of 16A/3 and 16A/4.* Reconstruction drawing of cylindrical object, with walls made from three sheets of metal 2 mm. in total thickness. The outer and inner sheets are bronze, enclosing one of iron. One half only of the outer bronze casing appears to have binding strips, but these are not functional. The design has been raised from a single sheet of bronze, and the strip which runs the length of the object (side-view) covers the junction of this sheet. The top of the object is horizontal, but incomplete, and the bottom, though obscured by corrosion, seems to be incurved. The interior is blocked at the bottom, but it is impossible to tell whether by anything functional. There may have been an organic bung in the top, but the state of preservation precludes certainty.

Dr. G. C. Dunning and Mr. H. Russell Robinson have been kind enough to examine drawings of the object, but despite this, and discussions with other scholars, its function remains uncertain. The decoration with strip-binding resembles the (functional) binding on barrel-padlock cases, as at Winchester (*Winchester I*, 189, fig. 66, 8; pl. VII); but, as Dr. Dunning notes, the incurved end is out of place on such a padlock. The elaborate construction may be thought to suggest a more personal piece of equipment than a padlock case, and it has been suggested that it might be part of a powder-flask; no parallels have been found to support this suggestion.

66. Rectangular bronze plate, damaged; 32×23 mm., with central rectangular perforation, 4×3 mm.

*67. Button of uncertain alloy, with central decorated band and complete attachment loop.

Site 16C

*68. Circular bronze object, not perforated.

*69. Bronze "spectacle" buckle, pin missing. One loop is frac-

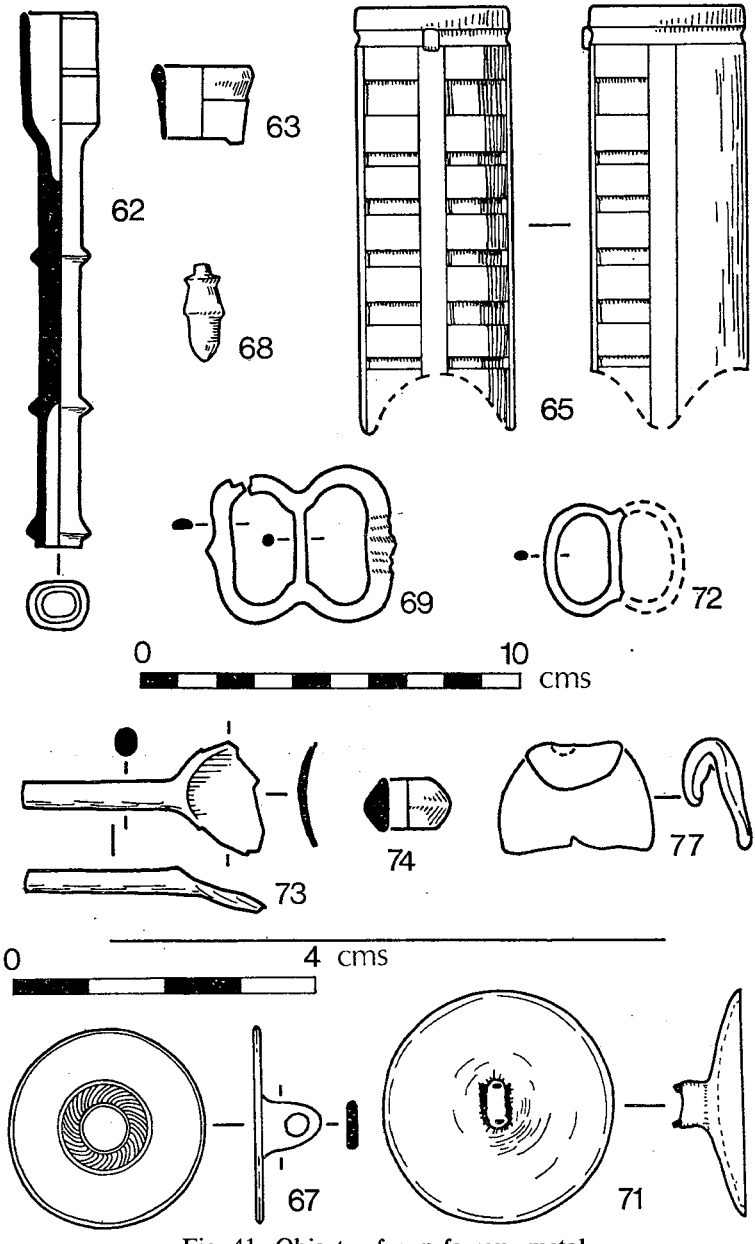


Fig. 41. Objects of non-ferrous metal

tured; the other has shallow grooved decoration.

70. Bent bronze fragment, 13 cm. long, section 3×2 mm.

*71. Button of uncertain alloy, with enamel coating. Inset missing, wire attachment loop broken.

*72. One loop of bronze "spectacle" buckle.

d. LEAD AND ALLOY

Site 1A

*73. Pewter spoon, bowl and stem both broken.

Site 17

*74. Circular lead spindle whorl.

75. Lump of lead, weight 130 gm.

76. Fragment of lead tube, 11 mm. maximum length, 26 mm. external diameter, thickness of metal 3 mm.

Site 17A

*77. Fragment of lead binding or weight, with a nail-hole 5 mm. in diameter in the bend.

78. Sites 6, 7 and 17A produced fragments of lead, but none of recognisable shape.

F. STONE (fig. 42)

with *Jill Belcher*

We are indebted to Dr. W. H. Manning for assistance in identifying the stones used; in no case does expert petrological examination seem likely to add anything of value to our knowledge.

1-3. Spindle-whorls in mudstone.

4. Disc in local freestone.

5-8. Whetstones in two slightly different fine-grained sandstones.

9. Unidentified object in ? chert. Scratch marks and grooves on the side as though it has been used for sharpening needles; but it seems a very unsuitable stone for this purpose.

10. (pl. XXXI, 2). Part of mould, in grey slate. It was probably for a brooch, though no brooch like this has been found in the published material from medieval sites.

11. Stone balls in local freestone. One, *c.* 8 cm. in diameter, has been used as a rubber or pounder and is polished on one surface. Two others, 15 mm. in diameter are of uncertain function.

12. Flints from guns or strike-a-lights were found on several sites.

*13. Fragment of the upper stone of a quern in fine-grain sandstone.

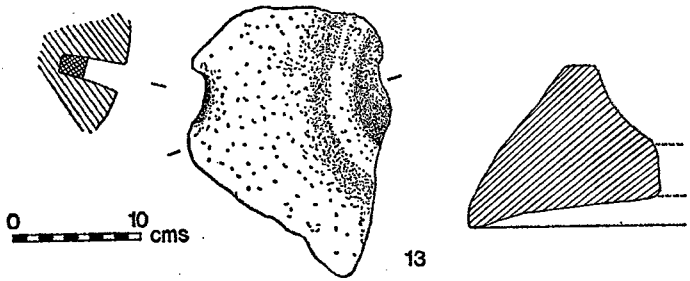


Fig. 42. Fragment of quern (1:6)

8. CONCLUSIONS

Since much further work remains to be done, both in excavation and in background research, all conclusions presented here must be regarded as tentative; for the same reason the discussion will be restricted in scope. It is hoped that the final report may provide a full discussion of points which are merely recorded here.

(i) *Deserted villages in Northumberland.* Elsewhere in England, depopulation appears to be particularly common in the late 15th and early 16th centuries; the usual motive was the greater profit to be derived from sheep-running, rather than arable farming. Desertions do of course occur, for various reasons, at other periods. In the *First Report* attention was called to the fact that Northumberland seemed to show its earliest desertions under Elizabeth I. One or two earlier abandonments may be detected, but it seems clear that the peak period was *c.* 1580-1650. It was suggested that this might be the result of the ending of border warfare; until peace was made, it was dangerous to leave the borders with reduced manpower. The point is now made more clearly by Dr. Eric Kerridge, who associates depopulation not only with the end of border wars, but also with the abolition of border-tenure under James VI and I. After that abolition most peasants in the border counties will have been mere tenants-at-will, without

the protection of manorial custom; that protection had gone with the abolition of the customary form of land-tenure. Even before the Union of the Crowns, the process of eviction in order to turn arable land over to sheep-pasture was well under way; the accession of James I made the landowners' improving policies easier to execute.

It is not clear whether the enclosures at Kirkwhelpington in 1717-1720, and at West Whelpington at the same period, were actuated by the same motive. There were certainly differences between the two villages: at West Whelpington the landowner permitted one tenant to take over the whole of the village lands, while at Kirkwhelpington the four landowners simply enclosed their lands, and apparently allowed the peasants to continue renting them. We have seen that it is impossible to determine whether the object at West Whelpington was sheep-running or improved arable farming.

(ii) *Population trends.* In 1814 the population of the parish of Whelpington was 793. Hodgson, using pioneering methods of demographic study of surprising modernity, provides us with the evidence to suggest that the population in 1700 must have been similar. He compared the statistics for the parish for two ten-year periods:

	Baptisms	Burials	Marriages
1696-1705	189	126	33
1816-1825	144	145	40

The fall in the number of baptisms is presumably due to increasing numbers of Nonconformists being baptised outside the parish church; the rise in the number of burials—though not a very great rise—reflects the near monopoly of burial grounds enjoyed by the established church in rural areas. If anything, it seems likely that the population of the parish must have risen slightly in the eighteenth century, despite the depopulation of West Whelpington.

The situation is very different today; the population of the parish is only about 250. The coming first of the

railway and later of the motor-car has not rendered rural isolation more tolerable: it has merely shown that other things are possible, and provided the means of escape. It is hoped that it may be possible to make a fuller analysis of population trends in the parish for the final report.

(iii) *Economic and agricultural aspects of West Whelpington.* It has already been seen that we cannot be certain of the type of agriculture practised by the Stott family after the depopulation of the village. We can however say a little about the economic life of the village. It seems certain that in addition to the arable farming of the open fields, there must have been considerable grazing of both sheep and cattle on the common land to the west of the village fields (fig. 2). Cattle are indicated by the byres which have been found in recent years. These seem to be a phenomenon of the post-medieval village; only 16C has produced what appears to be a medieval byre. But the platforms attached to the gable ends of medieval houses have been interpreted as the bases for hay-ricks; Mr. P. V. Addyman has called my attention to similar bases in parts of Ireland. But for the 17th century we have no evidence for the storage of hay, though we have byres in which hay-eating cattle must have been kept. We must presume that hay was now stored under cover, perhaps in some of the buildings (e.g. 17A) which have no obvious function. If some sort of a loft was created in the typical 17th century house, hay may also have been stored there. It is only necessary to look at some of the Leicestershire inventories of the 17th century quoted by Hoskins (295-299) to see the variety of equipment and farm stores which might be kept in a peasant house. Even a substantial yeoman with a seven-roomed house kept a pitchfork in the best bedroom and "all the butter and cheese in the house" in another.

There is little direct evidence for sheep rearing; one pair of shears and one (possibly two) ram-bell. For pigs there is not even this evidence. No bones of any domestic animals have been found at West Whelpington; clearly

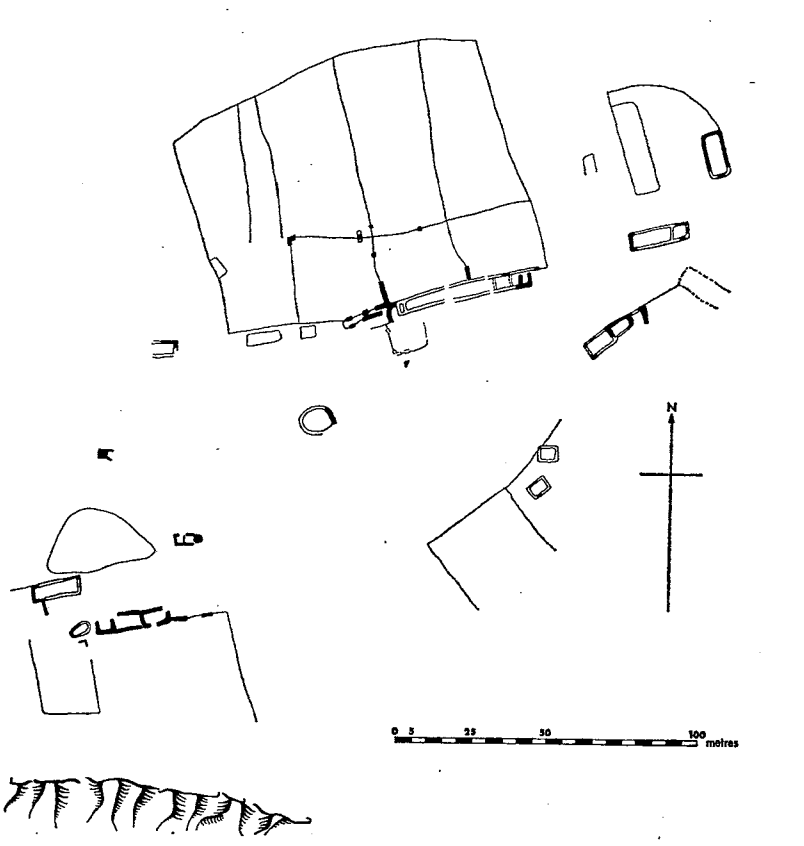


Fig. 43 (1:2500)

the Northumbrian peasant was a tidy person, who disposed of his food refuse by burning it or by spreading it on the fields. A number of horse-shoes have been found; nothing reveals whether the horses were for riding or for agricultural work, though riding is more likely.

Little suggests industrial activity of any sort. A very

small amount of iron slag has been found, and we have the shale mould for a buckle or ornament. Apart from this the only industry attested is spinning. We may note however that coal was found in or close to many of the houses, and the working of open-cast may have been a village activity.

The enclosures within the village must also have had considerable economic importance. The evidence so far available suggests that they are to be connected with the post-medieval village; though it must be confessed that our uncertainty about the plan of the medieval village leaves room for doubt on this point. Figs. 43 and 44 contrast what is known of the two periods; enclosure boundaries are shown on both, and it has been necessary to show on the medieval plan some post-medieval houses (e.g. 1 and 1B) which have produced medieval pottery. The plan of these is probably of the 17th century, but the character of the earlier structures on the same sites cannot be determined.

The basic change is from a number of detached houses, apparently scattered more or less at random over the area, to what is almost a planned layout round the green, with houses, byres and other buildings forming long terraces. Sites 16A and 17 suggest that some at least of these peasant farms had a yard behind, with agricultural buildings (sites 16 and 17A) behind the yard and with a further enclosure beyond that. The yard was presumably for stock of one kind or another; and doubtless fowls were kept here. The enclosure further from the house might, one would think, be a garden, though we can scarcely expect to find evidence of this. On the north side of the green the slope of the ground means that a reasonable depth of soil has built up in these outer and larger enclosures, and cultivation seems both possible and likely. The same is true of the area south of site 16. That south of 17A poses a more difficult problem, since the soil was frequently not more than 10 to 15 cm. deep above the whinstone: successful cultivation does not seem likely.

WEST WHELPINGTON EAST END POST MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS

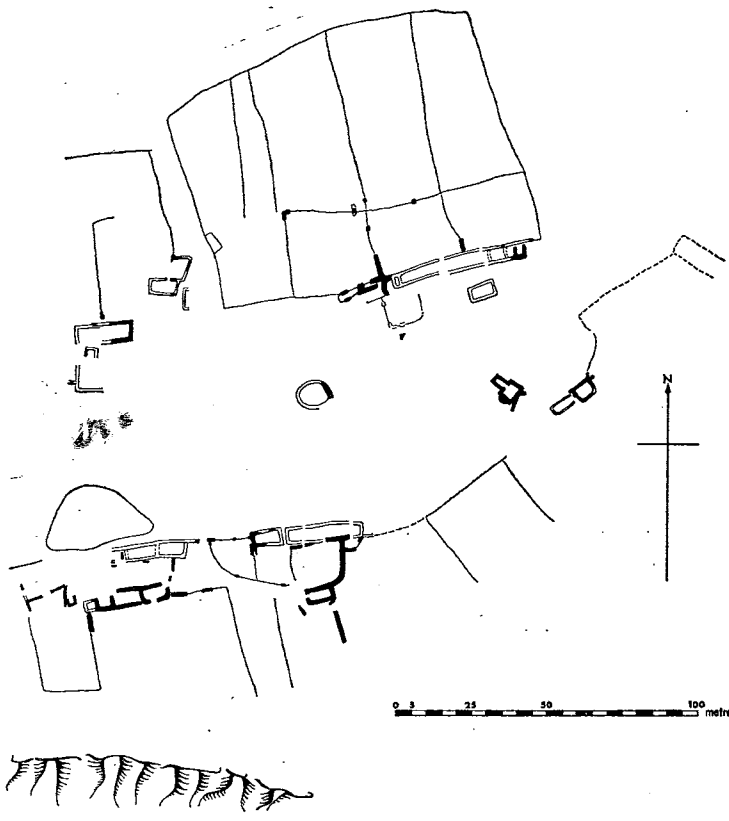


Fig. 44 (1:2500)

(iv) *Constructional features.* Timber buildings have seldom been found at West Whelpington. The reason is clear: the rock on which the village stood is so hard that post holes would not be dug if any alternative was available. On 16D (note also 16/5) there was evidence to suggest that some timber buildings may have been erected on sill-beams set

on the bedrock: only the floors of these structures survived. No evidence at all would have been found if they had not possessed deliberately laid floors. Elsewhere (16/6; 18; 18A; 20 (west)) there was evidence to suggest that timber uprights were set in a rubble-and-clay base, or supported between the faces of a low stone wall.

The other structures were of stone. Most were of dry-stone construction; they were probably one storey high, and stone built to the eaves. Some of the walls contained clay, used as a filler between stones, rather than a bonding material. This was the more necessary when the building material was whinstone; this is a hard rock which cannot readily be dressed square. It was the normal building stone in the 17th century, and was much used in the medieval structures also. Freestone is readily available within a short distance of the village—there is an old quarry at NY 963845—but only in house 24 and period V of site 19 was it used exclusively. Parts of house 24, and of some other structures were built on a clay bank; but in some cases (e.g. site 1) the clay bank seems likely to derive from the filling left behind by stone-robbers. Sites 1A and 2 revealed a different phenomenon: in both cases the bedrock had been chipped away round the walls, leaving the house on a platform a few centimetres in height.

No clear evidence for roofing structure has been found, nor did any roofing material survive. Presumably the roof timbering was of the simplest—no building was wide enough to pose technical problems—and was covered with perishable material, either thatch or turf. This may be represented by the soil which formed inside house 2 before the walls collapsed. It is probable that the timber structures were cruck built. Crucks as roofing supports may have occurred in some of the stone buildings: slight evidence was found in 17/3. We may make a reasoned guess that the normal roofing material was thatch. No evidence for tile or slate roofs was found, and only one possible fragment from a stone roofing slab. As far as I have been able to

ascertain, there is no evidence for turf roofing in Northumberland.

Timber partitions occur on one or two sites (e.g. 2; 16C); they do not appear to be related in any way to the roofing of the buildings. We might expect evidence of timber door-frames, but none has survived; in several instances the door was clearly swung in a pivot hole cut in the natural whinstone, or in a stone beside the door. A flagged threshold is often the only guide to the position of the door. Flooring was normally the whinstone bedrock, occasionally with a thin covering of clay; substantial areas of paving occur in byres, and in the residential parts of sites 2 and 7. The open hearth seems to have persisted down to the end of the life of the village; only site 20 shows evidence of a well-built chimney and hearth. A similar hearth was built against the end wall of site 1, and a more rudimentary hearth against the east wall of 1A: in neither case did any evidence survive for a chimney.

Medieval houses at West Whelpington seem to have been small, of one or two rooms. They contain no obvious provision for cattle. The nearest to the "long-house" is 16C, with (probably) a manger at its west end, and a timber partition separating the byre from the residential accommodation.

The 17th century houses at West Whelpington show some features which suggest that the Northumbrian peasant of the period lived at something rather above subsistence level, though not in luxury. The houses were larger, and most had glazed windows—though the date of these cannot be established certainly. Hoskins shows that window glass was rare at Wigston Magna before *c.* 1650, and it is not clear that it was used at West Whelpington before that date. Some houses at this period had locks. But there is little to suggest participation in what Hoskins calls the "Housing Revolution" of the late 16th and 17th centuries. None of the houses seems to have contained more than two rooms, and many had only one. This should not surprise

us. Northumberland was not advanced in its domestic provision for the poorer members of society. New cottages of 1799 at Brandon Hill, near Powburn (NU 04 17) had only one window, and the entrance was still through the cow-byre (NRO Allgood MSS, ZAL 89/11A). In 1821 Newbiggin Farm, near Bellingham, had only two rooms, with cow-byre attached (NRO Hedley MSS, ZHE 43/21). As late as 1850 a cottage at Chatton (then thought to be reparable) consisted of a single room and a cartwright's shop. It had a mud floor, and the walls were mud-filled (NRO, Soc. Ant. MSS, ZAN Bell 61/10).

The 17th century village had houses and byres adjacent one to another, probably under the same roof. Here is something approximating to the "long-house"—perhaps best termed an "over-long-house". Caution is required. A plan of Chatton (NU 056 284) in 1780 might be compared with West Whelpington in its last years: it reveals a scattered distribution of property. One man has his byre at the other side of the village from his house; the byre next to his house belongs to another man whose own residence is some distance away.

Rather more than half of West Whelpington has now been excavated, and there may be some who will ask whether the expenditure of any more public money is justified. The argument would be that the law of diminishing returns must surely apply, and that we are unlikely to learn much of value from the excavation of what remains. Such arguments are erroneous: on a site like West Whelpington, whose history is the sum of histories of individual structures and areas within the village, the relevant law is a Law of Increasing Returns. After 8 seasons' work on the site it seems clear that, if anything, we are doing too little, not too much. The first byre was only excavated in 1967; the first certain post-hole in 1968. The first suggestions of pre-Norman occupation were not found until 1969. The excavation programme at West Whelpington is not significant in one season; but the picture which is gradually developing of

the history of a whole village is an important contribution to our knowledge and understanding of peasant life in the middle ages and in the 17th century. Further large-scale excavation seems certain to add substantially to what has already been learnt.