THE DESERTED VILLAGE OF WEST WHELPINGTON, NORTHUMBERLAND: THIRD REPORT, PART ONE

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1. INTRODUCTION*

EXCEPT WHERE another author is credited the draft report was prepared by Dave Evans and revised and edited by Michael Jarrett. The *Full Report* was written as a monograph and completed in 1985; typescript copies have been deposited and may be consulted in the Newcastle Museum of Antiquities and in the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff. In 1986 it was decided that it would be more practical to publish an abridged version in three parts in *Archaeologia Aeliana*.¹ For this Dave Evans has revised the reports on pottery and on clay pipes to take account of work published in 1978 to 1986. Apart from this Michael Jarrett has been responsible for this final version of the report.²

The authors are grateful to University College, Cardiff who provided space and other facilities for the preparation of the report, and permitted them to use the services of various people in the Department of Archaeology. Most of the original drawings were by Pam Lake and Anne Thomas. Howard Mason was responsible for a number of the others, and for final corrections to many more; he also gave considerable assistance in assembling the whole report for publication. Gaye Booth undertook all the processing of photographic materials. Between them Sabina Thompson and Viola Dias have typed and corrected various versions of the report.

The debt to the authors of specialist reports will be apparent to the reader. Amongst them is Stuart Wrathmell, whose contribution goes far beyond the pages to which his name is attached. His knowledge, advice and criticism have been of immeasurable value, particularly in the interpretative sections of this report, which will appear in Part Two.

The village of West Whelpington (NY 974837) lay on the north bank of the River Wansbeck 2.4 km west of Kirkwhelpington (fig. 1). It was built on the east-facing slope of a craggy dolerite outcrop at c. 215 m above sea level. To the north and west the ground rises steadily to open moorland on the watershed between Wansbeck and Rede (fig. 2); to the south and east the ground is lower and more fertile. The outcrop forms the lower leaf of the Whin Sill, intruded into Carboniferous strata. Most of it appears to be free from drift deposits, though a certain amount of weathering material from the dolerite is found in hollows; this usually takes the form of yellow or grey clay

* Figures in this report as printed are not consistently in sequence. Those not printed here may be found in the microfiche or the *Full Report* (FR). See page v and p. 210 n1.



Fig. 1 Location map.

to a depth of 1 m or more. Elsewhere in the township sandstone outcrops in the Great Wanney Crags and beds of tufa occur to the south and west of nearby Blackhalls; coal is found in Crookdene to the south.

Soil cover on the outcrop is fairly thin, often less than 0.3 m; in places this has been augmented by hillwash from higher up the outcrop, to a depth of 0.5 m or more. The soil is fairly acid and now supports the wiry grasses and weeds of disturbed ground commonly found on upland sites in this area; as the site is well drained it is used for cattle grazing, particularly during calving.

The medieval open fields were divided and hedged in the early 18th century. They were further partitioned and provided with new stone walls c. 1880. Several of the new fields have been flattened and improved since 1945 and are now used for cereals, but the principal land use throughout the township is the raising of sheep and beef cattle, as it has been since at least the early 19th century (Hodgson 1827, 189–90).

The village of West Whelpington, which was abandoned c. 1720, is sited on the southern edge of its township but occupies a fairly central position in the parish of Kirkwhelpington. By the early 19th century the parish comprised 11 poor-law townships (fig. 3, nos. 1–11) of which Capheaton was separated from the rest of the parish by the township of Kirkharle; this, with Hawick, formed the parish of Kirkharle. While there is no evidence that the two parishes ever formed part of a single larger unit it seems sensible to consider them together.

The 19th-century townships were simply units of rating, but were evidently based upon earlier territorial divisions which reflected both land tenure and economic activity. Their apparent uniformity masks a variety of settlement forms and agrarian organization. The smaller units-Fawns, Coldwell and Crookdene-each contained about 140 ha (350 acres). Not only is there no evidence that they were ever nucleated; it is quite possible that their basic settlement form remained unchanged from the Middle Ages until the 19th century when they were severalty holdings farmed from single steadings. At the other end of the scale are the larger townships such as Capheaton, Kirkharle, Great Bavington and Kirkwhelpington (mostly about 800 ha=2,000 acres) which seem to have contained open fields and nucleated villages until the 18th century; villages now survive only at Kirkwhelpington and Great Bavington.³ The arable lands of West Whelpington were enclosed in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, those of Kirkwhelpington in 1717-20, of Kirkharle in 1724 and of Great Bayington and Hawick after 1769. The subdivision of the fields was accompanied by the introduction of severalty holding, often worked from steadings outside the village sites. The result was a decrease in the size of the village and occasionally its total abandonment. Where villages survived they were sometimes relocated during emparking, as at Little Harle (by 1769), Capheaton (1756-86) and Kirkharle (1758–1828; information from Mr. P. Willis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne). The changes which led to the complete abandonment of the village of West Whelpington in c. 1720 are typical of processes at work throughout the parish and indeed through much of this part of Northumberland (Wrathmell 1975).

The whinstone outcrop on which West Whelpington stood has proved an ideal source for roadstone. It has been quarried since about 1937, beginning in the south-east corner. Work was mechanized in the late 1950s, when about 10% of the



Fig. 3 The parishes of Kirkwhelpington and Kirkharle with their constituent townships; the early nineteenth century boundaries are based on the Tithe Surveys of 1839–44, now in NRO.

outcrop had been destroyed. When blasting ceased in 1976 about 75% had gone. By 1979 the quarry was closed and there is no sign that it will reopen in the near future. Consequently there is no immediate threat to the west end of the site and no indication of when its excavation might be completed. If and when excavation is resumed it is likely that its results will be published in *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The site was first recorded as an antiquity by John Hodgson, the county historian (Hodgson 1827, 197–8n). It was subjected to large-scale stone-robbing c. 1880 when new field walls were built. The earliest aerial photographs were taken in 1947 but the earthworks were not surveyed until 1958, shortly before excavation. A revised survey was undertaken in 1966–8; its accuracy has been demonstrated again and again by excavation. Unfortunately the only record of the south-east corner of the village remains the 1958 survey; adjustments have been made to bring it into the correct relationship to the rest of the site, but it is certain that much was never recorded in the area of crofts S to V.

Mechanization of the quarry provided the incentive for excavation. This was financed by the Ministry of Works (now English Heritage) through the (Deserted) Medieval Village Research Group; from 1966 it was organized by the Department of Archaeology of University College, Cardiff. It was supervised throughout by M. G. Jarrett. Reports on the excavations were published in 1962 and 1970. The *First Report* dealt with sites 18 to 24; the *Second Report* described the sites excavated in 1965 to 1969. The interpretations which were offered there are largely superseded by those in this report, which amplify those of a paper on the post-medieval development of the north-west terrace (Jarrett and Wrathmell, 1977). Excavation ceased in 1976 but in 1979 it was complemented by a survey of all the earthworks, field systems and standing buildings within the township of West Whelpington. The results of this will be included in Part Two.

In 15 years of excavation about 14,000 square metres were cleared, approximately 20% of the total area of the outcrop. Only five of the buildings represented by earthworks were not examined at all, though many others were not thoroughly excavated. Many structures which produced no earthworks were doubtless missed: excavation of large areas of the green and crofts revealed two pre-medieval sites and a great many medieval buildings which were never suspected before excavation. The plans of 95 medieval and post-medieval buildings have been recovered. This makes it possible to say something of value about the whole village and about building traditions there, as well as discussing individual structures within the village. With increasing costs and the greater speed of most threats to village sites it seems unlikely that there will be another opportunity to excavate a site of comparable size on such a large scale.

It was inevitable that with such a long-running excavation the methods and approaches to the site would evolve over the years. A glance at the plans in the earlier reports is sufficient to show many of the inadequacies of small-scale excavations on a large site where nothing was predictable. On the sites published in the *First Report* excavation was restricted to visible earthworks, with the object of examining at least part of each building. On sites 21, 23 and 24 this was limited to trial trenches or small boxes. On sites 19 and 20 a form of open area excavation, based on that then in use at Wharram Percy, was employed. No excavations were made outside the earthworks of apparent buildings. One of the innovations of the report was that it was probably the first report on a deserted village where the surrounding ridge-and-furrow was recorded—albeit schematically (Beresford and Hurst, 1971, 61).

From 1965 new methods and approaches were evolved, comparable to similar developments on urban sites (Biddle and Biddle, 1970). The metric system was introduced for all recording; new techniques were developed to deal with the problems of extensive stone robbing (Second Report, 206); and wider areas were excavated with a larger labour force and with considerable use of compressed air (ibid., 206–7). It became customary to clear the whole earthwork and an area round it. Initially access baulks were left in these areas (e.g. sites 1, 1b, 16 and 17) but these tended to obscure the relationship between buildings. Therefore from 1968 there was a move to larger, open area excavations (e.g. sites 6, 7 and 16). As more and more buildings were found to extend beyond these areas total excavation became an inevitable policy. Some of the piecemeal excavations published in the Second Report had inadequacies which became increasingly manifest-some due to inadequate funding at this stage. Some buildings were excavated as isolated structures, rather than as part of a continuous terrace (sites 1 to 3); robbed outbuildings were missed (site 7b) and partly excavated buildings were completely misinterpreted (sites 6 and 7). After eight seasons the longhouse, which can now be seen to be one of the common building plans at West Whelpington, had still not been recognized.

The discovery of structures extending into the southern crofts led to the decision to initiate total open area excavation of the rest of the village; as a result three of the southern crofts, large areas of the green and much of the west end of the village were stripped. Progress of the quarry led to concentration on the southern and central parts of the outcrop. Part of the northern crofts was to have been left for future work but much of the area has been destroyed by a new access road or covered with large spoil heaps.

The larger scale of excavation involved a greatly increased labour force, and for a while a short season was carried out in March–April in addition to the main summer excavation; these rather pyrrhic winter seasons were abandoned in 1972. Only in crofts N and O could machinery be used to advantage, though doubtless with a reduction in the number of objects found. The use of compressed air declined during the last seven years; it had been successful on the hard rock at the east end of the village but was less suitable for the clays and weathered bedrock on the south and west sides of the outcrop.

Like many Northumberland villages West Whelpington was built round all sides of a green (fig. 4). Two main rows of houses lined its north and south sides, with blocks of crofts behind them; the east and west ends were closed off with other buildings and enclosures. Access from the green to the town fields was probably by droveways between crofts D and E and at the east and west ends of the green. This, with the contour of the site, split the tofts and crofts into four discrete blocks. Three of these have been shown by excavation to have been fronted at one stage by continuous terraces; the frontage of the south-eastern block was never examined adequately, but it seems likely that this also would have been fronted by a terrace (fig. 5). To the east

WEST WHELPINGTON

EXCAVATIONS 1958-76

EARTHWORKS SURVEYED 1958; CORRECTED 1966-70 & 1979



Fig. 4 A simplified plan of the village, showing most of the major excavated structures of all periods and the unexcavated earthworks.

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a) Sites 8 and 9, from the west. In the foreground the byre drain kerbs of house 9/1 are overlain by the east end of house 9/3. Beyond the drain is the living room of 8/1 with hearth-stone and partition wall immediately beyond the ranging pole; east of that lay the cross-passage and two-phase byre drain of house 8.



b) Threshold stone of internal doorway between the house (right) and byre of 9/3. The sockets for timber jambs and pivot hole for the door are visible; the door opened into the byre.



Fig. 5 Plan of the village, showing the areas described in each report.

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a) Fireplace of house 9/3 from the east. Some paving remains in front of the fireplace and on the right the byre drain of 9/1 has been levelled up with slabs.



b) House 13, from the west. The hearth stone of 13/2 is at the bottom centre; the paving of the byre drain lies between the upper two ranging poles.

of the green the ground sloped gently down to the fields; to the west the scarp rose steeply to form two exposed knolls on either side of a sheltered cleft. On the south the crofts extended to the edge of a precipitous drop to the Wansbeck, to the north they fell away to a droveway at the edge of the outcrop.

In the original survey the earthworks round the green were numbered from 1 to 25 in an anti-clockwise direction, beginning and ending in the north-east corner. The crofts behind them have been labelled from A to V on the same basis. Excavation has since then led to the discovery of other buildings, and has shown that a single earthwork of the survey may include a number of different buildings. This has led to the creation of new site numbers. Any numbers used in the Second Report have been kept, but for structures excavated since 1979 codes have been assigned as follows:

a) The basic earthwork site or complex is still indicated by its original survey number, e.g. site 9.

b) A building element within a complex is indicated by a numerical suffix, e.g. site 9/1.

c) An associated building omitted from the original survey is indicated by an alphabetical suffix, e.g. building 9a.

d) A building element within that associated building is indicated by a numerical suffix, e.g. building 9a/1.

e) The total croft is indicated by its basic letter, e.g. croft H.

f) A subdivision of that croft, such as an enclosure, is indicated by a numerical suffix, e.g. croft H/1.

The excavated areas covered by previous reports are shown in Fig. 5. Section 2 of this report describes only those structures excavated since 1969. A reconsideration of some of the earlier sites in the light of current interpretations will be given in Part Two; a more detailed reinterpretation occupies section 4 of the *Full Report*.

In section 2 the village is described in terms of its natural blocks: the north-east tofts and crofts, the north-west tofts and crofts, the west end and the south-west tofts and crofts. The account of each block begins with a brief summary of the units and holdings which comprise that block and what is known of their development. The detailed excavation text follows the brief summary; a key plan of the block shows the relationship of the detailed plans one to another. Drawn sections are indicated by the prefix S- on detailed plans, and these can be found on figures at the end of the relevant text, or on the microfiche (M1), see p. v.

The archaeological evidence enables us to suggest three main building periods which seem to apply to the whole village; these are essentially a matter of interpretation, and the argument for them will therefore appear in Part Two. It may be helpful to the reader if we summarise the conclusions here. We have used *Period* to refer to these stages in overall development, which are essentially matters of interpretation; *Phase* refers to the observed stages in the development of an individual building. *Period One* extends from the origins of the village, in the 12th century or earlier, to c. 1320. On some sites it embraces several phases. The evidence was too slight to demonstrate overall planning at the beginning of Period One. The origin of *Period Two* is best dated by the end of Period One in the aftermath of Bannockburn. There may have been decades of stagnation before the reorganization and rebuilding which mark Period Two; this could be as late as the early 15th century. The west end of the village was abandoned and the four quadrants round the green laid out as terraces of longhouses. *Period Three* probably began c. 1675 when a new landowner reduced the number of holdings within the framework of the Period Two terraces, modifying longhouses to provide discrete houses and byres. The term *Period Four* has been used to cover later modifications down to the abandonment of the village in c. 1720.

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The director of excavations is grateful to the sponsoring bodies, and especially to Mr. J. G. Hurst of English Heritage, for support throughout the long programme when there were many other sites which might have been excavated. Mr. R. Thornton of Cornhills, owner of the site and of much of the village lands, gave his fullest cooperation at all times and also readily granted permission to measure his farmhouse and outbuildings, and to survey field systems on his land. Similar permission was given by Mr. Johnson of Ferneyrigg and Mr. White of Horncastle. Tilcon Ltd., owners of the quarry, gave considerable assistance, and Mr. Walter Appleby was especially helpful. Professors J. K. St. Joseph and N. McCord kindly supplied aerial photographs of the site. The staff of the Northumberland and Yorkshire County Record Offices gave considerable help with documents. A grant from the British Academy financed the Township Survey (Part Two) which enabled us to put the deserted village in a wider context. The survey was carried out by Stuart Wrathmell, Dave Evans and R. J. Clavering with assistance from Piers Dixon and Susan Wrathmell.

Thanks are due to those who worked as site supervisors at various times, and who were responsible for on-site recording: Freda Berisford, R. J. Clavering, S. Wrathmell, D. H. Evans, P. G. H. Hill, P. J. Ashmore, P. J. Holdsworth, M. J. Yates, A. R. Robertson and H. Mason. Doubtless many of their ideas and suggestions have been incorporated in this report without acknowledgement, for they have all contributed to our thinking about West Whelpington.

NOTES

¹ Part Two will appear in Archaeologia Aeliana 1988. These two parts deal with the medieval and post-medieval village of West Whelpington. The third part, which will also appear in Archaeologia Aeliana, deals with two prehistoric and Roman sites which occupied the village site but had no other connection with it. The Full Report contains considerably more detail on the excavation and the finds (especially unstratified pottery) than is published here. Figure numbers in the Full Report differ from those in the published reports for figures above no. 70; figures 40, 50, 59-62, 79, 83, and 107-9 are omitted from this report. Some portions of Sections 2 and 3 including most of the catalogues of finds with many of the figures principally from Section 2 will be

found in the microfiche at the end of the volume. See page v.

 2 I am grateful to the Department of the Environment (now English Heritage) for supporting Dave Evans as my research assistant; they also provided a draughtsman. Without this assistance publication would doubtless have taken even longer than it has done.

³The medieval settlement form of Catcherside is uncertain. In 1296 it provided 10 taxpayers (Fraser 1968, no. 69) but we do not know whether they lived in a village or dispersed steadings. By the 19th century it was only 200 ha (500 acres) in extent; it may have been larger in the medieval period.

2. EXCAVATIONS, 1970–1976

The north-eastern tofts and crofts

The original survey of the earthworks suggested that this part of the village comprised a rectangular block of four crofts (A–D) fronted on the south by five buildings (sites 1–5) and bounded on the other sides by droveways. Most of the eastern half of the line of tofts has been excavated (*Second Report*, 214–19) but the western half was destroyed with only a watching brief. Excavations had suggested three phases of buildings. In the third discrete farmsteads had replaced a terrace of longhouses. The earthworks of sites 4 and 5 suggested that these also were Period III farms, marked by the characteristic robber trenches.

In their latest form the crofts are longer and wider than any of the fully excavated crofts. Aerial photographs reveal a number of north-south banks within these crofts which may represent earlier croft divisions. If, as seems likely, there were eight holdings in Period II we might expect a similar number of crofts; the present layout relates better to the Period III steadings. An east-west bank divided the crofts. Three outbuildings were visible (sites 2a, 5a and 5b). Apart from the north end of croft D (fig. 7) excavation in the crofts was restricted to small cuttings across boundaries (fig. 6).

Crofts A to D (fig. 6)

The eastern and northern boundaries were rubble banks; in croft C the north bank had a substantial stone facing on the north side only (fig. 24, S 14). Limited excavation of site 2a provided no indication of function, and produced only one sherd of medieval pottery. Croft D was divided by a stone wall running north-south. The east-west bank of crofts A to C did not continue into D. Earthworks of two buildings, 5a and 5b, were visible. 5a gave an opportunity to examine the droveway which separated this block from crofts E to I.

Building 5a (fig. 7)

Two successive buildings, 5a/1 and 5a/2, were incorporated into the north-west angle of croft D. 5a/1 was apparently contemporary with the croft wall. It was divided into at least two rooms; a later trackway had presumably removed all trace of an entrance to the west room. No trace of hearth or paving was found, and it is assumed that the building was non-residential. The north and south walls had both received revetment, and the partition wall was bonded with the revetment rather than the original walls; it may therefore be secondary. The building may have been open to the east; no trace of an east wall was found though its likely position was clear enough.

A heavily cobbled surface to the east skirted 5a/1. The cobbles continued under the north wall of the croft, which is here clearly a later blocking. East of the track and on the same orientation lay the west wall of D/1, which was presumably contemporary.

Site 5a/2 was a small enclosure which overlay the west wall of 5a/1. It is unlikely to have been roofed. To its east and not necessarily contemporary was a cobbled track laid across the west room of 5a/1 (fig. 24, S 15).

Enclosure D/1 (fig. 6)

The western boundary of this enclosure was a substantial stone wall bonded with the stretch of north croft wall which blocked the track east of 5a/1 (fig. 24, S 16). The eastern boundary was an earth and rubble bank which abutted the croft wall. All of the finds from croft D, enclosure D/1 and site 5a were medieval, apart from one unstratified post-medieval sherd.



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The north-eastern tofts and crofts. Fig. 6



Fig. 7 Building 5a.

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The north-western tofts and crofts

The earthwork survey indicated a block of five crofts of unequal size (E to I, fig. 4). They appeared to be fronted by five buildings to the south and to be bounded on the other sides by droveways. Excavation of the frontage revealed three main phases of building; in the second phase sites 6 to 9 formed a continuous terrace. Excavation within the crofts produced evidence of earlier croft divisions and of a number of outbuildings and enclosures. Sites 6 and 7 were described in the *Second Report* (221–8). The slight remains of Period I (fig. 9) suggest buildings on the alignment of the later terrace with outlying structures to the south and west. Period I walls were invariably laid directly on bedrock; the masonry was smaller and neater than that of later periods and incorporated much more freestone. In Period II a continuous terrace of five longhouses was associated with several outbuildings (7b, 8b, 9b, 10) and cottages (6a, 7a, 9a). In Period III the longhouses were adapted to form three farmsteads, sites 6/2, 8/2 and 9/3 (fig. 11). This Period saw further encroachments on to the green, with yards in front of 6/2, 8/2 and probably 9/3.

The present croft divisions correspond broadly with the layout of the Period III farmsteads, but excavation has demonstrated that they are of at least two phases. The earlier is characterized by neatly faced walls, the later by walls of rubble faced with larger and rougher blocks. The northern boundary was of one build from E to H (fig. 24, S 18). Direct dating evidence is not available. Crofts E to H are of Period III or earlier: each Period II toft appears to have a croft and an outbuilding. The boundaries may be even earlier than Period II since they do not appear to match its house divisions. By Period III the southern parts of the crofts contained a number of enclosures and outbuildings, and some had been levelled with rough cobbling; none of the Period III farmsteads had direct access to a croft.

THE TOFTS (pl. IVa)

Site 8: Phase I (figs. 9 and 12)

At least three phases of building were identified. The hard bedrock was rarely broken by the cutting of post-holes or trenches. These were only found where there were deposits of clay. The preponderance of medieval finds suggests considerable activity. The north entrance of the Phase II longhouse sealed a stretch of wall with small neat facing stones, significantly better built than the Phase II north wall. It was founded on bedrock, whereas the rest of the north wall stood partly on clay, earth and rubble. Another fragment of similar construction ran north-south through the backyard (croft G); it had been incorporated into an area of rough cobbling round the north edge of a later sump or pond. Possibly related is a stretch of poorer quality walling aligned from north-west to south-east and cut by the south-east corner of the pond.

Phase II: House 8/1 (fig. 12)

8/1 was a longhouse with living area and byre of approximately equal length and separated by an entrance passage. The living quarters were at the west with a central



Fig. 8 Key plan of the north-west terrace and crofts.

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Fig. 9 The north-western tofts. Period I.







Fig. 11 The north-western terrace. Period III.



hearth. The north wall, of one build from site 8 to site 9/2, had a clay core with facings of large whin boulders. The west wall butted against the north wall. The only evidence of flooring was an area of paving at the west end of the room. The cross-passage was paved with large and small flags. The south entrance opened on to a strip of whin paving, had two worn thresholds and a pivot-stone to the east. The north entrance, which was blocked in Phase III, was approached from the north-west by a cobbled path. The paved byre had an axial sump or drain bounded by single lines of wide slabs of whin and freestone; it lacked an outflow. The original east end was clearly visible as a north-south line of facing stones in the Phase III paving. Most of the finds sealed by Phase II were medieval, but a sherd from a dark green-glazed cup lay below the flagging of the byre sump; form and fabric would normally be assigned to the 15th or 16th century.

Phase III: House 8/2 (fig. 12)

Phase III is characterized by the separation of byre from living rooms; site 8 was less drastically modified than the rest of the terrace. A partition wall with a doorway near the north end was inserted to divide the living area from the entrance passage; nothing suggests direct access through the south wall. A substantial rectangular hearth was built against the west face of the partition with a smaller hearth or oven to its south. The north doorway of the passage was blocked, preventing direct access to croft G. The south entrance remained in use and the external paving was extended eastwards to complement an extension of the byre into the area of site 7 (now abandoned), its length being almost doubled. At the same time the entrance passage was widened by paving 2 m of the original sump. The extension to the sump was characterized by a change in alignment and by the use of smaller flagging and of kerb-stones set on edge. The partition wall sealed a sherd of a late 15th or early 16th century Raeren mug. The site also produced small quantities of 17th century material—clay pipes, slipwares, delft and a black-glazed cup. Although none need be later than 1690 some might post-date the abandonment of site 8.

Phase IV

The Phase III occupation ended in a fire. The bedrock and tumble around the west wall were heavily burnt, as was the north-east corner of the extended byre, which also produced lumps of burnt daub. The site ceased to be inhabited and the living quarters were partly covered by a rectangular platform of rough cobbling which extended over the 9/1 byre to abut the east wall of 9/3. The platform stood on a deposit of clay and earth 0.5 m thick which sealed the burning and also a clay-pipe bowl dated to 1640 to 1670 (fig. 105, no. 32). The Phase II/III north wall marked the northern edge of the platform. A short stretch of north-south wall 1.8 m east of the platform was presumably contemporary with it but might be part of a later enclosure.

Site 9: Phase I (figs. 13 and 14)

On excavation site 9 proved to consist of two longhouses in Phase II, replaced in Phase III by a single house and byre. The western third of the area was a clay-filled





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Fig. 14 Site 9. Phase plans.

hollow into which a number of features had been cut. A large area of natural clay also extended south towards the village green.

9 West

The northern edge of the hollow had been cut away and the resultant hole had been filled with clay and rubble. Into the south end of this fill a number of pits and gullies had been cut. Pits 2, 4 and 6 seem to have been cess pits; they contained charcoal, seeds, pottery and occasional animal bones. Pit 2 was fed by gully 1 and cut by pit 4 (fig. 23, S 1); pit 4 was also fed by a gully and had been enlarged by recutting (fig. 23, S 5 and 7). To the west of these pits lay a rock-cut house, site 10a; the gullies on either side of this house drained towards the clay-filled hollow. To the south was pit 6 (fig. 23, S 4) into which a fragment of east–west walling had sunk. The wall was associated with a layer of ash sealed by the clay floor of house 9/2. Possibly related were slots 5 and 8. East of pit 6 slot 7 underlay a rectangular area of small neat cobbling which was sealed by the southern threshold of 9/2 and the area of Phase II paving to its south.

9 East

A stretch of east-west walling survived beneath the north wall of the 9/1 byre. It was narrower than that wall and of neater construction; it was cut by the byre paving. The wall stood directly on bedrock. It may represent the base of a timbered structure since three stake-holes (9, 10 and 11) were incorporated. The wall defined the edge of a clay floor at least $8 \cdot 2 \times 2 \cdot 2$ m in extent. Patches of the floor sealed by the paving and walls of 9/1 showed signs of heavy burning. Burning below the Phase III threshold in the cross-wall of 9/3 might also belong to this building.

Phase II: House 9/1 (figs. 14 and 15)

The limits of this longhouse were defined by houses 8/1 and 9/2. It was the shortest

Period II house in the terrace with a living area smaller than the byre and possibly separated from it by an entrance passage. Little evidence for its internal arrangements survived. The eastern half of the site consisted of a byre with paved floor and axial sump. Internal stall divisions are suggested by a line of three facing stones running south from the north wall; these cut the line of the Phase I north wall and are sealed by that of Phase III. There was no evidence for a connecting door between 8/1 and 9/1. The north wall of the living room underlay that of 9/3 but the south and west walls had been removed in the Phase III rebuilding. At the east end a hearthstone was incorporated into the Phase III paving. Burnt clay in the north-east corner of the room and below the 9/3 threshold might belong to either Phase I or Phase II. The pottery sealed by 9/1 was all medieval; a fragment of clay-pipe below the byre paving was probably intrusive.

House 9/2 (fig. 15)

In Phase II clay was added to level up the hollow at the west end of site 9. Its northern edge was revetted by a single line of large boulders (figs. 14 and 15). The living room of a longhouse was built on this platform, separated from an eastern byre by a cross-passage. The byre had a paved floor with an axial sump bounded on either side by a single course of large flat whin slabs. The north wall was of continuous build with 8/1 and 9/1; its outer face was visible below the north wall of 9/3. The wall between 9/1and 9/2 presumably lay immediately east of the byre drain of 9/2 and was not bonded into the north and south walls. Entrances to the cross-passage are indicated by paving which encroached on the line of the north wall and by a runnel which separated the internal paving from an area of external flagging on the south. At least the north-west corner of the living area had been paved. It may have been partitioned since there is a line of facing stones 3.3 m west of the passage; these were incorporated in the west wall of the Phase III outbuilding. The position of a central hearth was indicated by a heavily burnt patch of clay; the hearth-stone was subsequently moved 0.4 m to the west, where it was found. Backing the new hearth a line of facing stones suggests that at this stage there may have been a full partition between room and passage. During Phase II the south wall of the living area was reconstructed on a new alignment, 0.6 m to the south; one course of this wall was incorporated in a new area of paving. All the pottery sealed by 9/2 was medieval. A fragment of window-glass sealed beneath the Phase III house suggests that 9/2 may have had glazed windows at some time.

Phase III: House 9/3 (fig. 15)

The whole of site 9 was amalgamated into a single holding; the process involved considerable rebuilding. A new living room was built over the 9/1 byre and the area to its west. The walls on all sides had survived to a height of three courses. There were recesses for timber trusses midway along the inner faces of the north and south walls; the stump of a rounded post, 0.3 m in diameter, was found in the northern one. The south wall lay 0.4 m north of its predecessor and was of continuous build from the living room at the east to the byre and outbuilding at the west. Originally there was no direct access to the living room. The north wall was 0.5 m south of that of Phase II, and was bonded with the east wall which overlay the byre sump of 9/1. The west wall

was bonded with the south. A fireplace was built against it; its side stones had vertical grooves in their inner faces, presumably for fixing firebars (pl. Va). House 20 was the only other site to produce evidence for fireplace fittings. North of the fireplace was a doorway from the byre. The threshold stone was finely worked, with sockets for timber jambs and a pivot-hole next to the southern one (p. IVb). The interior of the room was payed to the level of the Phase II drain kerbs with a mixture of large flags and smaller stones. A drain capped with two large stones ran south through an area of external paying along the south wall. West of the living room the Phase II byre was rebuilt and reused. The north wall was on the same line as in Period II and thus lay north of the line of the living room wall. The south wall incorporated part of the modified Phase II wall: 2.8 m from its east end was an entrance with a wooden sill which had a pivot-hole cut into its east end. The Phase II byre sump presumably continued in use; it was just enclosed by the new west wall. The 3 m wide strip to the east of the sump had been paved with stones which included a roll-moulded door-jamb (fig. 112, no. 19) and the upper stone of a rotary quern. West of the byre a small room was built, partly covering the living quarters of 9/2; paving survived in its north-west corner. Destruction of 9/3 by fire seems assured: all the floors were covered with burnt material and the bedrock in the byre was heavily burned. The walls of the living room sealed 17th-century brown-glazed pottery, a Raeren drinking mug and an iron plough-share (fig. 106, no. 44). The walls and floor of the byre covered slipware, clay-pipe stems and window glass. The door-jamb reused in the byre paying is best paralleled in a bastle of the late 16th or early 17th century at Gatehouse, Tarset. Clearly 9/3 was not built before c. 1600; a date of 1650 ± 30 years seems more likely.

Phase IV

The burning of 9/3 does not necessarily mark the end of activity on the site, though the nature of any later occupation is unclear. At some stage the doorway between the byre and the living room was blocked and the west wall of the living room was partly rebuilt. Burning appeared to run under the blocking. If this is contemporary with the heavy burning which affected the whole building it suggests a fourth phase. The byre may have been abandoned with the living room retained in use. It would presumably be at this stage that a new entrance was created at the east end of the south wall, possibly associated with an area of secondary paving and with the Phase IV platform on site 8. There is no helpful dating evidence for this phase: the material below the secondary paving and below the blocked doorway is not significantly later than that which dates Phase III. Unstratified material may be relevant. It includes continental imports unmatched on any other house site, as well as large quantities of clay pipes of types usually dated 1640–1710. If this material relates to the occupation of the house it suggests that occupation continued until the last years of the village; also that its holder was wealthier than other villagers.

Sites 9a and 9c: Phase II (fig. 15)

Built against the south wall of the byre of 9/1 was a small outbuilding, 9c, with a western entrance marked by a kerb of small pieces of whinstone set on edge, presumably to exclude water. The south wall had butted the north side of the platform



KEY TO SYMBOLS

PLANS

CLAY



HEARTH

BURNING



FLAGGING /PAVING

SECTIONS

LOOSE EARTH OR LOAMS



COMPACT OR CLAYEY LOAMS

CLAYS



SILTS



CHARCOAL

Fig. 114 Key to symbols.



of 9a/1. An east-west drain ran through the paving immediately south of the threshold and connected with another drain which ran south from 9c below the floor of 9a. 9c was presumably abandoned in Phase III when the south wall of 9/1 was levelled and incorporated in the paving outside 9/3.

9a/1 was a rectilinear building with a trapezoidal platform abutting its west end. It lay immediately south of 9c. The platform consisted of a rubble interior faced on all sides with large whin boulders; it presumably lay outside the building and may have been the base for a hayrick.

Site 9a/2: Phase III/IV (fig. 15)

The platform was roughly squared off on its north side with rubble, and extended to the south; this may indicate that the south wall was rebuilt. A line of tumble crossing the east end of its robber trench may mark the position of an entrance. The building produced no evidence of internal partitions or of a hearth. Despite its similarity to site 16b this need not be a cottage. Fragments of clay pipes and post-medieval pottery amongst its tumble cannot be certainly associated with the construction or use of the building.

Site 10: Phase I (figs. 16 and 17)

A complex of earthworks closed off the south end of croft I and extended into the western half of croft H. Excavation revealed three phases of activity. The last two showed no evidence for a habitation site and 10 may never have been a separate holding with its own croft. In Phase I there were two separate buildings on the site: a rock-cut house platform, site 10a, was created in the south-west corner of croft H and a rectangular building (10/1) to its west in croft I.

Site 10a (figs. 14 and 16)

West of the clay-cut Phase I features of 9 West a house platform was terraced into the hillside. It was aligned east-west with drainage gullies on its north and south sides (slots 12 and 13). The exact size of the building and the details of its construction are unknown. In a number of places there were irregular shallow cuts which might represent the bases of post settings: the most convincing are shown on Fig. 16. In the centre of the building was an oval sandstone hearth; 1.4 m to the south a slab of freestone might represent a threshold. Slots 12 and 13 must have served as storm drains or eaves drips; a similar gully may be postulated round the (unexcavated) west end. The only finds from the platform were medieval. They included several sherds of a decorated jug (fig. 88, no. 99) in slot 13 and fragments of jugs of pastes 1 and 7 in slot 12 and below the possible threshold.

Site 10/1 (figs. 9 and 17)

Further west a few pieces of early walling were partly sealed by or incorporated in the walls of a later enclosure. They are the fragmentary remains of an early building aligned east-west, with a possible entrance on its south side. There was no evidence for the function of the building; its date is suggested by large quantities of unstratified medieval pottery.



Fig. 16 Site 10, eastern part.

Enclosure H/6 (fig. 25)

South of 10/1 a D-shaped enclosure was built on the higher ground to the west of site 9. It was later than 10/1 but preceded 10/2. The east end of the north wall had been destroyed by the construction of 10/2 and only the western 10.5 m survived; this overlay the threshold of 10/1, and incorporated part of its wall at a lower level. Its construction differed from other walls on the site; its outer face was formed by large slabs set on edge with small stones set carefully in the gaps. The building sequence 10/1; H/6; 10/2 is clearly established. The position of 10a is less secure. The east wall of H/6 cuts the line of the outflow of one of its drains (fig. 25) suggesting that 10a is earlier than H/6; it is not certain that 10a and 10/1 were contemporary.

Site 10/2: Phase II (figs. 10 and 16)

We have little evidence for the internal arrangements of 10/2 and 10/3. The building of 10/2 involved the removal of part of the north wall of enclosure H/6. Its west wall included two facing stones from an earlier wall; they might have been part of the east wall of 10/1 or of an early enclosure wall. The present croft wall seems to abut the north-west corner of 10/2. The south wall overlay the rubble-filled depression of Phase I on 9 West and also the boulder facing for the house platform of 9/2. There was no trace of an east wall, and no clear indication of a robber trench. At the east end the site had been levelled up with a platform of compacted whin chippings faced with a single row of large whin boulders. Both the north and south walls continued beyond the east face of the platform, implying that the platform was part of an earlier building or was completely enclosed in 10/2. A single flagstone may indicate that the platform was once paved. A patch of burning below the south wall was the only evidence for earlier activity. All the finds sealed by the walls and platform were medieval. In the absence of a hearth we assume that 10/2 was not residential.

Site 10/3: Phase III (fig. 16)

In its final phase 10/2 was shortened to 9.6 m by the construction of a new east wall which butted against both the north wall and the south and overlay the west end of the platform. A fragment of clay-pipe stem was embedded in its core, suggesting a 17th century date.

THE CROFTS

The west end of the village (figs. 26 and 27)

At the west end of the green the outcrop rose steeply to form two exposed knolls separated by a sharp cleft. The soil cover was mostly very thin, in contrast to the enclosures and crofts to the east which had probably benefited from the accumulation of hill-wash. The layout of buildings and enclosures had obviously been affected by the topography (fig. 70, S 73 to 75). The earthwork survey suggested that there had been five buildings (11 to 14 and 26) and a large number of enclosures (fig. 4); a droveway passing through the cleft between sites 12 and 13 led from the green to the fields and common west of the village.

In the medieval period at least four holdings formed a western group of tofts and crofts, though the topography dictated that they should be disposed irregularly (fig. 4). At the east site 26 encroached on the village green. In the cleft to the west site 13 formed the east end of a terrace of three buildings (fig. 26); north of this site 12 was probably a single holding; these buildings were probably associated with crofts J, K and L. Sites 11 and 14 were probably small outbuildings. Most of the crofts had been subdivided. Site 26a lay on the green and is interpreted as a cottage; nothing reveals its relationship to other holdings. Only two of the house sites (13 and 26) have been excavated but both show a number of phases. The final phase on site 13 ended in a fire; similar evidence was found on site 26. Site 14 may also have been burnt, and it was certainly abandoned with a coin hoard concealed in it. It is suggested that we have here evidence of the destruction of this part of the village between 1311 and c. 1320, presumably in a Scots raid. Following this the west end was abandoned and a boundary bank was erected between crofts I and M, forming the new western limit of the village. Site 26 was rebuilt to the east of this bank. See M1/A8 and A9.

Site 26a: Phase I (figs. 33 and 34)

South of site 26 a fairly level area of rotten bedrock with patches of natural clay sloped away to site 15 on the south and to the rest of the green to the east. The area had been extensively disturbed by medieval ploughing and later robbing, and several features could not be satisfactorily related to any one phase. The earliest building which could be defined was 26a/1 on a north-south alignment immediately south of site 26; a cobbled path linked it with site 15f further south. The northern half contained a hearth and the east wall a threshold. The building was defined by drainage gullies (65 to 67) on the north, west and south and by a shelf in the bedrock to the east. Parts of the floor had been chipped away to give a level platform. No evidence of walling survived; it was probably of timber with, at most, insubstantial stone footings as on sites 26/1 and 26a/2. A threshold of small cobbles just north of the mid-point of the building was sealed by the stone sill of the Phase II building. A stone-lined post-setting (72) on the line of the east wall may be of this phase; it appeared to predate the Phase II sill. A line of three posts (80 to 82) west of the building could be of this phase. They probably formed part of a fence and may be connected with the fence line sealed beneath 26/1.

A path of well-packed cobbling led from the east side of 26a to a sub-circular structure (15f) to the south. The cobbling fronted the south and east sides of this structure and partly overlay its foundation trench; it post-dated the Phase I cobbling north of 15/1. 15f consisted of a level clay platform faced on north, west and east with stone footings packed into shallow foundation trenches. It is perhaps best interpreted as the base for a container such as a water-butt or for a haystack.

Site 26a/2: Phase II (figs. 33 and 34)

26a/2 replaced 26a/1 on a similar alignment but slightly to the north. Its walls were of timber resting on stone sills; one of these lay outside the area of 26a/1 and others overlay its drainage gullies. The east wall overlay the east end of slot 65, the Phase I entrance and posthole 72. The sill of the north wall lay north of slot 65; its line



Fig. 26 The west end of the village.



Fig. 27 Key plan of the west end of the village.

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Stake-holes

28-39 ÷Ę





Phase 2

Phase 3

Pre-platform phase







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- KEY
- SURVIVING WALLS
- = = = INFERRED WALLS
- /////. PAVING
- XXXX HEARTHS

Phase 2





Fig. 33 Site 26a. Phase plans.

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appeared to be cut by slot 48 so that it presumably predates house 26/2. The new south end was marked by a clay-cut gully (68). A large irregular drainage gully (69) fed into it from the west; it may have brought water flowing over the scarp to the south-west. The area south of gully 68 was heavily waterlogged.

Phase III: Building 26a/3

After 26a/2 was abandoned the site was ploughed. Plough-marks showed in the clay south of the earlier buildings and on some of the tumble and wall core from them, later sealed by the Phase III packing. After this 26a/3 was constructed; it was 4 m wide but its length was uncertain. The east wall overlay the Phase I slot (65) and cut the line of the east sill of Phase II. The walls were apparently of timber framing set on a low stone sill. Pits 70 and 71 may belong to this phase; both were rectangular and flat-bottomed and might represent the bases for containers such as the stone trough which was incorporated within the wall of 26/4. Burning suggests that Phase III ended in fire. 26/1 may also have been burnt; it had the same construction and may have cut the line of 26a/3: it is suggested that the occupation of site 26a ended before their construction. All the finds were medieval and the latest—an unstratified fragment of Langerwehe jug—might be debris from house 26/4.

Site 13: Phase I: Building 13/1 (figs. 36 and 37)

Site 13 was a short terrace which ran up the cleft between the highest points of the outcrop. Less than a third of it was excavated and the interpretation offered may be modified if further work proves possible. The buildings appear to be associated with croft K. The only certain evidence for 13/1 is slot 94, a rock-cut drainage gully sealed by the walls and entrance paving of 13/2 which was on a slightly different alignment. Pit 98 was dug into the fill of its eastern terminal, and seems best assigned to Phase IIb; 94 is clearly earlier. No other features are certainly of Phase I. The east end of the building might be indicated by a short stretch of walling east of the Phase II east wall. A length of internal facing might derive from the south wall. Postholes 96 and 97 were sealed by the byre stalls of Phase II. Other rock-cut features may be sealed beneath later cobbling which was not removed.

Phase IIa: Building 13/2a (figs. 36 and 38; pl. Vb)

A stone house replaced 13/1. It was at least 7 m long and the earthworks suggest that it continued westwards for about 2 m. Entrance was through opposed central doorways though there was no evidence for a paved cross-passage. The living area lay to the west and the byre to the east. 4 m west of the north-east corner was a flagged threshold; the later blocking sealed a decorated jug (fig. 94, no. 174). A new east wall, slightly west of that of Phase I, was badly built and part of it had slipped; it appeared to abut the north wall. The south wall was on a different alignment from that of Phase I though its eastern part may include some earlier work. A stone-lined external drain lay below the paving of the southern threshold. A large burnt hearth-stone lay near the centre of the floor in the living area. In the byre the sump was paved but lacked



Fig. 37 Site 13. Phase I.

the usual stone kerbs; the floor on either side was raised with stone packing to form the stalls.

Phase IIb: House 13/2b (figs. 36 and 38; pl. Vb)

This phase consists of modifications to house 13/2. Both entrances were blocked and separate access to the byre was provided; similar provision for the living quarters was presumably made. The new byre entrances were 2 m west of the east wall; the south entrance lacked the paving which was found on the north. The earlier drains (94 and 95) were filled with rubble, and the east wall of croft K ran over the capping of 95 to abut the south wall of 13/2. A strip of heavy packing, bordered by lines of stones set on edge, led to the track up to site 14; the track had a similar edge on its west side. The final modification to 13/2 was the blocking of the south entrance to the byre. The building seems to have been destroyed by fire: the tops of the walls and the levelling on either side of the byre sump were heavily burnt. A complete pot, apart from handle and rim, was abandoned in the north-east corner of the byre where it had been set upright in pit 98. The base of the pot and the edges of the pit were also heavily burnt. The few finds from site 13/2 were all medieval, and none was distinctively late within the Middle Ages. We should not be justified in suggesting occupation in the 15th or later centuries; the site might have been abandoned long before 1400.

Site 14 (fig. 39)

South of site 13 the bedrock rises steeply to the knoll on which site 14 stood. Further west the ground rises gently towards croft K and an open expanse to its south (fig. 70. S 76); immediately east of site 14 the ground drops steeply towards enclosure M/2 and the green (fig. 70, S 75). Building 14, whose function is unknown, was situated on a fairly level shelf of rock. Its west end was delimited by a rock-cut drainage gully (99). Most of the west wall had fallen into the interior of the building. 3 m west of the north-east corner was a paved threshold with a pivot-hole to its east. A track ran from this entrance to site 13 and the area north of site 26. The east wall of croft L, at the top of the slope, swerved to avoid site 14. The only internal features of the building were a rectangular platform in the south-east corner, composed mainly of sandstone slabs, and fragments of flagging which suggest that much of the eastern third of the building was paved. There was no evidence for a southern entrance giving access to croft L or enclosure L/3 though we should expect it. All the pottery sealed by the walls was medieval. Hidden in a cavity just above the first course of the wall in the south-east corner was a hoard of five silver coins which was almost certainly deposited between 1311 and 1320; it probably provides a date for the abandonment of site 14. A large lump of burnt daub found just outside the north wall might suggest that occupation was ended by a fire; but there were no obvious signs of burning on the walls or bedrock. One of the finds from the building was a barrel-padlock.

The south-western tofts and crofts (figs. 49–53)

This block was bounded on the north by the village green and a large pond and on the east by area Q which lay opposite the droveway which separated the north-eastern and north-western blocks. The original survey suggested that there were three crofts



Fig. 38 Site 13. Phases IIa and IIb.





Fig. 49 Key plan of the south-west terrace and crofts.

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of different sizes and two detached building complexes (fig. 5). Excavation has shown that one of the large crofts really comprised two (M and N) and aerial photographs suggest that croft P may have been three distinct crofts. The pond was a natural depression, enhanced in places and faced in stone round some of its edges. The croft layout suggests that there may have been six holdings in Period I (fig. 51). The remains of at least three buildings (15/1, 15/2 and 16c) were found on the frontage and fragments of walls and gullies suggest that a line of buildings extended along its full length. In Period II these were replaced by five longhouses (fig. 52), four of which formed a continuous terrace south of the pond (sites 16a and 16c); house 15/3 lay to the north and west. In Period III these five holdings were replaced by two farmsteads (16a and 16c) and a blacksmith's forge, site 15/4 (fig. 53). It is not certain where the smith lived; there is a suggestion of a building which may have been a dwelling to the east of the forge (15/5).

The entire western half of the block of crofts (M to O) was excavated but only an outbuilding complex (site 16) in croft P. The earliest medieval buildings preceded the layout of at least some of the croft boundaries (Period I, fig. 51). They were of stone or timber and conform to no regular pattern. Subsequently the croft area was ploughed for a short time (Period Ib). In Period II some of the croft divisions were either built or rebuilt as stone walls; some of the outbuildings belong to this phase (fig. 52). In Period III some of the croft walls were rebuilt on different alignments; part of site 16 probably continued in use as outbuildings. In Period IV site 15 was abandoned and a new croft wall was built across the north ends of crofts M and N, closing off these areas from the green.

Site 15: Phase I: Sites 15/1 and 15/2 (figs. 54 and 55)

The earthwork survey suggested that this was a small building attached to an east-west wall which fronted crofts M and N (fig. 4). It proved to be of much greater complexity. The site lay on a fairly flat shelf of bedrock which sloped gently down from west to east, with a clay-filled depression at the east end. Four main phases of occupation were recognized (fig. 54). It will be argued that this area, in some phases, constituted two separate holdings. The remains of two early buildings, 15/1 and 15/2, were sealed beneath the walls, floors and levelling of later structures. Some croft divisions corresponding to the surviving pattern already existed, for the west wall of croft M and the west end of house 15/1 were drained by the same network of gullies.

15/1 was a badly robbed stone structure defined on three sides by rock-cut drainage gullies (features 147–9). If, as is suggested, it was contemporary with 15/2 the furthest eastern extent is given by the west drainage gully (feature 162) of that building; this would give a maximum size of 13×5 m. Rock-cut postholes within the area of the building may be associated with it. A north entrance is indicated by a pivot-hole on the south side of 149. Almost opposite this and sealed beneath the south wall of the Phase II longhouse (15/3) was a flagged threshold, suggesting that 15/1 may have had a cross-passage. A hearth on the centre line of the building just west of the entrances was probably of Phase I rather than Phase II. If it was, the living area of 15/1 was at the west; there was no positive evidence that the eastern part of the building was a byre.



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Fig. 51 The south-western tofts and crofts. Period I.



Fig. 52 The south-western tofts and crofts. Period II.

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Fig. 53 The south-western tofts and crofts. Period III.

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East of 15/1 lay the remains of a second rectangular building, 15/2, defined on three sides by drainage gullies (features 162–4). Its western half lay over the clay-filled depression which may have been enlarged to form a platform. Only the western 6 m of the building was excavated. The north and south gullies give a maximum width of $5 \cdot 2$ m. None of the walls of this building survived and its internal arrangements are unknown. Six possible postholes may relate to it: of these 166, 168 and 169 are earlier than Phase IV, for they were sealed by the walls of building 15a.

Phase Ib

A number of features clearly postdate 15/1 and 15/2, but some of them are sealed by the walls and floors of the Phase II structures. They represent modifications to or rebuildings of the two structures, on much the same alignment, and need indicate little more than the recutting of silted gullies. In the western holding gully 175, later than posthole 151 (fig. 69, S 45), seems to mark the west end of a building. It fed into gully 177 which may be a recut of gully 148. A 2-2 m length of facing may be part of the north wall of this Phase or of Phase Ia. Further west its position is marked by gully 174, which probably fed into gully 179. On the eastern holding similar changes are suggested by gullies 178–80, and possibly 181 and 184. 179 was covered by Phase II cobbling. Its relationship to gullies 163 and 178 had been destroyed by the building of 15a.

Site 15/3: Phase II (figs. 54 and 56)

A new stone building (15/3) replaced 15/1. The principal evidence consisted of a paved cross-passage sealed beneath the Phase III forge platform; the plan of the building is uncertain, since it had been extensively robbed. Our interpretation is clearly influenced by other Period II buildings. There was no evidence for a building on the site of 15/2; here a layer of cobbling extended eastwards along the front of sites 16a and 16c and southwards into croft N. West of 15/3 a spread of cobbling respected the bank which cut off the west end from the rest of the village; this should mean that the bank (marking the abandonment of the west end) was earlier than or contemporary with the beginning of Period II.

Little of the walling survived; wall lines were defined by external drains (176, 177), by robber trenches and by the thresholds of the paved cross-passage. The southern entrance had been disturbed and robbed during the construction of the Phase III forge: its position was marked by a robber pit, 188, which preserved the shape of some of the threshold stones. The living area lay to the west and may have been paved. In its eastern part a central hearth included half of a millstone amongst its burnt stones. The byre had been almost completely robbed though the western $2\cdot 2$ m of its sump remained, chipped into bedrock on the south and edged with small cobbles on the north. A few fragments of flagging suggest that the floor was paved. The position of the east wall was marked by an external area of compact freestone and whin cobbling which extended along the front of sites 16a and 16c: the robber trench shown cutting through this on fig. 56 is that of the north wall of site 15a. All the finds sealed by the walls and floors of 15/3 were medieval. A sherd of a Dutch red-ware tripod pipkin (no. 305) was sealed in gully 177 beneath a later croft





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wall: it might suggest that 15/3 was in use in the 15th or 16th century. Of similar date, but unstratified, are fragments of two Langerwehe or Raeren drinking mugs and a Martincamp flask.

Sites 15/4 (forge) and 15/5: Phase III (figs. 54 and 57)

The longhouse (15/3) was replaced by a forge (15/4) on the same alignment. East of it a number of features suggest fresh activity which may mark a badly robbed building (15/5), 15/4 had also been robbed but much of its south-eastern corner survived. The east wall was constructed of massive freestone blocks with a rubble core. The surviving course of the south wall used smaller facing stones. The west wall lay on top of a whinstone ridge immediately east of the Phase I gully 147. A raised platform in the south-east corner was faced on the north and west with larger stones; it and the adjacent walls were very heavily burnt. On excavation it yielded about 50 kg of ash and slag. It was incorporated in a larger levelled surface which occupied the whole east end of the building but survived to a height of only one or two courses; though structurally secondary to the platform both may have been in contemporary use. The whole is best interpreted as the foundation for a raised hearth which would have stood about waist high; it had a raised step in front of it and a working platform to the north, possibly for a pair of bellows. A clay-pipe stem was sealed below this working platform. The eastern half of the building was lightly covered with a scatter of burnt material and produced a large number of iron objects including horse-shoes, buckles, spikes, brackets and many pieces of rod and sheet metal.

The position of the entrances is far from clear. A pivot-stone 4 m west of the north-east corner may well have been reused since it is only 1.2 m away from the hearth and its platform; in many forges the door is at the opposite end to the hearth to reduce cross-draughts and also to keep animals away from the fire. 6.8 m west of the south-east corner a strip of paving at right angles to the south wall incorporated a pivot-stone well north of the wall; if this is *in situ* it presumably marks an internal doorway through a robbed partition wall. This would have given a small stance for animals waiting to be shod, a common feature in many later forges. The main entrance to the building would probably have been into this area. West of this strip of paving an area of burnt flags may have been a secondary hearth.

No traces of a front vent or a fire-pit were detected in the raised hearth. There would have been a fizz-pit near at hand. This could have been incorporated in the platform next to the hearth as in the 19th century Lisrace Forge (now in Cultra, Ulster Folk Museum); alternatively it might have been free-standing on the ground, as in a forge now in the Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagan's. The anvil was presumably removed when the building was abandoned; its wooden block would have left no trace. Most of the slag was mixed with hearth lining, suggesting that the hearth and its chimney had been lined with clay daub.

A 17th century date for the forge is assured by the pipe stem sealed below the platform. Unstratified clay pipe fragments (e.g. figs. 104–5, nos. 20, 28, 34, 36 and 44) suggest activity in the period 1640 to 1710. Also unstratified was a sherd from a late 17th century Dutch tin-glazed charger.

3 m east of the forge there were slight indications of another building (15/5). An



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east-west stretch of regular freestone walling overlay the Phase II gully 177 and also the Phase II cobbling east of house 15/3. Part of this wall was sealed by a layer of clay and a Phase IV croft wall. 4.4 m to the north the position of a parallel wall may be indicated by a fairly straight edge to a layer of massive cobbling.

Site 15a: Phase IV (figs. 54, 57 and 66)

After the abandonment of the forge part of its south wall was incorporated in a croft wall which linked the west wall of croft M with site 15a. 15a was a small fold on the site of 15/5. Its north and west sides were indicated by a single course of rubbly freestone core resting on a clay bank; the south wall may be represented by a 1 m length of freestone walling north of the south wall of 15/5 and the structure may have been open to the east. The interior was covered with small compact cobbling on a level platform of clay.

THE CROFTS (figs. 49 to 53)

Extensive excavation of crofts M, N and O produced evidence of Iron Age and Roman occupation which is the subject of a separate report. Two complexes of outbuildings and enclosures, sites 16 and 16d, were included in the *Second Report*. In addition to these, aerial photographs suggest that there were at least two other buildings in croft P, one in the south-west corner of the croft and the other south-east of site 16.

The Crofts: Period Ib

The area of the south-western block of crofts was ploughed at some time during the Middle Ages. On the higher ridges of bedrock, and on the highest surviving stones of some early walls (e.g. site 15d) were plough-marks which were particularly noticeable in the south and west parts of croft M. Considerable quantities of pottery were found in the area. Joining sherds have been found in different crofts and up to 50 m apart. This suggests that they were spread during manuring, and that the area had been manured as a single unit or that a communal midden had been in use. The fabric and styles of the pottery are uniform with those from the west end of the village: this suggests that the deposition of the pottery should be dated before that area was abandoned in the early 14th century.

The use of a plough team would have been awkward if there were standing buildings or croft walls. It is therefore likely that the period of cultivation occurred before the present croft divisions were made. Pottery identical with that from the cultivation phase was found beneath the levelling for the east wall of croft M (pots 310 and 313; see site 15d). In itself this is not conclusive; but many of the stones in this same croft wall bore plough-marks. It stretches credulity to suggest that all of them represent repairs to the wall.

After the period of cultivation the area was divided into three crofts of more or less equal size. The new croft walls usually lay directly on the bedrock or on a thin layer of soil above it. They often consisted of nothing more than banks of small whin chippings



Fig. 66 Site 15c.





Fig. 70 Sections across house 26/4 (70 and 71) and pit 253 (72); profiles across west end of village (73-5).

revetted (sometimes only on the uphill side) with large whinstone blocks set on edge. They rarely survived to a greater height than 0.8 m. They had presumably been topped with hurdles or a quickset hedge when in use. This type of construction also occurred in croft L and enclosure L/3. Part of the west wall of croft M was constructed or rebuilt whilst site 15/1 was in use since it respects gully 147.

Changes to the crofts during Periods II and III

In the later medieval period substantial changes were made to the croft boundaries: long stretches were rebuilt and several changes of alignment were made in the northern sections, presumably to meet the end walls of the new frontage sites. In croft M gully 147 was filled with large stones and the new west wall was built over it; this change might well be contemporary with the construction of house 15/3. The slighting of the east wall may have happened then or later. Changes to croft N cannot be ascribed to this stage with any confidence since it is not known whether there was a building on its northern frontage. At some stage 15/3 was abandoned and a layer of clayey loam was deposited over its cobbling; this layer produced sherds of a late 15th or early 16th century Langerwehe or Raeren drinking mug. The most dramatic changes took place in croft O. Over 21 m of its original west wall was incorporated in a new and wider wall which had massive facings on a rubble and earth core. The east wall was similarly massive, up to 1.75 m wide. In the northern half of the croft the west wall was rebuilt on a new, north-westerly alignment (Second Report, fig. 21), suggesting a significant change in the pattern of the holdings on the frontage. At a later stage a rough wall was constructed across the northern ends of crofts M and N, abutting the north end of the new west wall of croft O. It cuts slot 330 and lies within the area of 15/3, clearly postdating it. After the forge (15/4) was abandoned its south wall was replaced by a continuation of this croft wall.

3. FINDS AND ENVIRONMENTAL REPORTS

In this section the finds from the excavations of 1970 to 1976 are described in detail. A brief summary of finds from the earlier excavations is included where relevant. The catalogues of finds have been included in the fiche at the end of the volume.

A. COINS

In 15 years of excavation only 13 coins and one token have been found. One was too worn for identification, and might be either a Scots turner or a Roman *antoninianus* (*Second Report*, 257). The others include a half-penny of John, four pennies and a halfpenny of Edward I, two pennies of Edward II, a sixpence of Elizabeth I and a halfpenny of George II; there are also two, or possibly three, Scots turners of the mid-17th century and a probable Nuremberg token of the late-17th century (*First Report*, 221). A comparative scarcity of medieval coins has been noted on many sites (Hurst 1962–3, 138). The slightly higher proportion of coins and tokens of the 17th

century suggests that coins may have been more readily available in the last years of the village; but we must remember that these are coins of low value, with no medieval equivalents. The silver coins of the 13th and early 14th centuries suggest greater prosperity at that period.

B. POTTERY

The basic report, written in 1978, was completely revised in 1986 to take account of recent work. Quantification is expressed in terms of the minimum number of identifiable vessels.

INTRODUCTION

The apparently large pottery assemblage is in fact meagre in relation to the area excavated. Of the minimum of 1,475 vessels considered in the report 0.75% were prehistoric or Roman, 6% post-medieval and the remaining 93.25% medieval (fig. 75). The main reason for the disparity between medieval and post-medieval numbers is a change in depositional practices at or close to the end of Period I; thereafter intensive cultivation of the crofts at the west end of the village and in the southern crofts ceased. Midden rubbish was presumably carted away to be spread on the fields. The only potsherds which remained on the village site had fallen into cracks in the bedrock or between flagstones, or lay around the yards close (presumably) to the site of middens.

The range of imports is small-in stark contrast to the wealth of material which could be expected on an urban or castle site of similar date (cf. Ellison 1981; Moorhouse 1982; and unpublished excavations at Edlingham and Prudhoe). The range of early medieval forms is extremely limited; in later periods the range increases but there are some notable absences, such as skillets, dripping trays, large pitchers and chafing-dishes (fig. 81). A number of explanations may be offered. Some vessel forms must have been present in other materials: wood must have been used for all dairy vessels (milk bowls, cheese presses etc.) and may have been the principal material for the trenchers, bowls and cups in use before the late 17th century. Other cups and tankards may have been made of bone or horn, and copper alloy or iron would have been suitable for larger cauldrons (cf. Second Report, fig. 36, no. 5). Wealthier households may have had latten or pewter table vessels and, in the latter years of the village, the occasional item of glass. The absence or scarcity of some forms suggests that their function was served differently in the village: candles were certainly in use (cf. no. 79 and the brass candlestick found on site 1B: Second Report, fig. 41, no. 62) but the restricted evidence for them suggests that the main form of lighting may have been rush-lights or prickets. The absence of certain vessel forms might have been predicted: medieval urinals are a feature of monastic sites and post-medieval chamber-pots are ubiquitous in towns; aquamaniles (e.g. no. 366) and lavers form part of the table service in higher status and larger households than are indicated at West Whelpington. Less easily explicable is the absence of some cooking



Fig. 84 Medieval and post-medieval pottery from Crofts A and D, Yard 3 and Site 2. Scale 1:4.

vessels. Pottery frying-pans are found in Newcastle from the 15th century onwards (Ellison 1981, figs. 23–4) but may not have been used in rural communities; there are none from the excavated site in Holy Island village (Bown 1985). Also missing are dripping-trays, which were placed on the edge of the hearth to catch the fat dripping from a spit. They were used by some households in the area (Ellison 1981, fig. 23). Metal vessels may have been used at West Whelpington for this and for frying, though this seems unlikely. Less remarkable is the absence of chafing-dishes; the form is occasionally found on rural sites, and in some areas is more usually of metal than of pottery: but they would be appropriate to wealthier and more sophisticated households than those evidenced in our village.

The contexts

Multi-period rural sites present considerable problems with stratification: there is no great build-up of deposits and relationships between structures are, more often than not, horizontal rather than vertical. Over large areas of this site there are no intervening layers between the topsoil and bedrock or natural clay. This is not to say that deposits are inevitably mixed, merely that no stratification can be demonstrated.

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Fig. 85 Medieval pottery from Sites 8 and 8a, and Crofts G and H. Scale 1:4.

This problem is compounded when areas such as the terraces of housing have been in continual and intensive use for several centuries. Even when material has been found in rock- or clay-cut features (and therefore "stratified") the possibility of intrusion or contamination remains: medieval sherds were found in prehistoric palisade trenches in the southern crofts. The most securely stratified finds from the village were those beneath closely packed surfaces such as cobbling or paving. Objects found beneath walls or loosely packed surfaces were less certainly stratified: the possibility of disturbance by burrowing animals or root action had to be considered, and the reliability had to be assessed from the circumstances of the individual find and even from its size and weight. Finds incorporated in wall cores might not be securely stratified: stretches of walling might have been repaired or partly rebuilt without necessarily being demolished to foundation level. The only material which has been catalogued as "stratified" is that where the context seems fairly certain. Unstratified material has not been, and cannot be, ignored. It often provides the most complete examples of vessel forms, and allows the reconstruction of a more complete ceramic sequence (fig. 81).

Period I

Associated vessels: 43, 50–6, 98–9, 114–16, 127–8, 131, 166, 168–202, 204–37, 239–66, 277–8, 281, 306–7, 310, 313, 362–5, 367.

Period I contexts produced vessels ranging in date from the late 12th or early 13th century to the first quarter of the 14th. Other evidence indicates that the period ended in a Scots' raid in the years after Bannockburn, and nothing in the ceramic evidence suggests otherwise. The vessels associated with house 13/2 and site 14 are of particular interest since these structures were destroyed in the raid and not subsequently rebuilt, as were other buildings which suffered at the same time. In two Period I buildings (26/1 and 13/2) vessels were set upright in holes in the ground just inside or immediately adjacent to the buildings. The practice of burying vessels is described in a number of medieval recipes for medicinal and industrial preparations; often the base set in the ground acted as a support for a second vessel (Moorhouse 1978, 10 and 12–13; 1981, 116 and fig. 90). It might be left in the ground for up to a year. We have recipes for potions for dropsy, palsy, dysentery and pleurisy as well as for industrial preparations such as oil of juniper, white lead and vermilion. Both the vessels from West Whelpington had been damaged before being buried.

The other notable feature of the Period I assemblage is the evidence it yields for the cultivation of crofts L to O, discussed above in Section 2. This cultivation clearly ended with Period I.

Period II

Associated vessels: 6, 24–5, 27, 44, 46–7, 100, 125–6, 130, 137–41, 148–9, 272–6, 311–12, 356–61, 369.

Although this period has left substantial structural remains the stratified contexts associated with it were relatively uninformative. The vessels sealed beneath its walls



Fig. 86 Stratified medieval pottery from Site 9. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 87 Ring vase from depression on Site 9 West. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 88 Medieval pottery from Site 10. Scale 1:4.

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were all of early medieval types and indistinguishable from those in use in Period I. Crucial questions about the dating of the layout of the crofts, of the main terraces of longhouses and of the bank across the west end of the green depend on a small collection of locally made wares. The bank was clearly later than house 26/3, but we have no certain evidence for its date of abandonment: fragments of Langerwehe stoneware from the area suggest occupation in the 15th century, but this might be 26/4 rather than 26/3. Langerwehe, Raeren and Cistercian wares were introduced during this period but no sherd of any is firmly associated with a Period II structure.

Period III

Associated vessels: 26, 48–9, 101–4, 280, 368. Unillustrated fragments of Raeren stoneware, a black iron-glazed cup, and various slipware and reversed slipware vessels.

The medieval wares and Raeren stoneware are clearly residual. The crucial evidence for dating the construction of the Period III buildings is provided by the slipwares and the iron-glazed cup. Comparable forms and slipware designs were included in a pit



Fig. 89 Medieval and post-medieval pottery from Sites 9 South and 26a, and from the Green. Scale 1:4.

group of c. 1645 + at the Black Gate, Newcastle upon Tyne (Ellison *et al.* 1979); the group also contained an unillustrated sherd whose description suggests comparison with the reversed slipware found at West Whelpington (ibid. 166). Ellison argued that the pit was dug during the Civil War, and that deposition began c. 1645 and continued until at least 1675. Slipware plates and dishes (her types 1 and 2) with designs similar to those associated with Period III at West Whelpington were present in small



Fig. 90 Medieval and post-medieval pottery from Site 26 West and the area north of 26. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 91 Medieval pottery from Enclosure L/2. Scale 1:4.

quantities in the lowest layers of the Black Gate pit, but became far commoner in the middle layers where they were associated with a Commonwealth half-groat (ibid. Table 1). Thus the pottery suggests, as do the clay pipes, a *terminus post quem* of c. 1645-50 for the beginning of Period III at West Whelpington; other evidence points to a rather later date.

Period IV

Associated vessels: 279, 282-7.

None of this material provides any significant dating evidence.

THE EARLY MEDIEVAL POTTERY (12th to 14th centuries)

Only two medieval pottery kilns have been excavated in Northumberland—at Newcastle upon Tyne, probably of the late 12th century (pers. comm. Eoin Cox) and at Eshott, of the mid to late 12th century (Youngs and Clark 1982, 201). There are suggestions in documentary sources of at least another dozen pottery production centres in the area (FR fig. 79) and Appendix A) and doubtless many kilns besides these remain to be found. The maxim that medieval coarse wares were unlikely to be traded more than 20 miles from their kilns is as likely to apply to Northumberland as to the rest of the country (Hurst 1962–3, 147). A major outlet for the distribution of pottery was provided by the regular system of markets (fig. 80), and perhaps also by the annual or twice-yearly fairs (Moorhouse 1978). The rudimentary state of the road



Fig. 92 Medieval pottery from the area south of Site 13. Scale 1:4.

network meant that the main lines of communication were along the river valleys (cf. Hadcock 1939, pl. XXIII). Pottery may also have been distributed by itinerant hawkers and packmen but it is impossible to assess their contribution because they scarcely appear in the documentary record. Pottery may also have been purchased at the kiln.

The bulk of the wares found at West Whelpington appear to derive from a kiln or kilns located in the band of Millstone Grit which crosses the county (fig. 82 and FR Appendix B). They differ markedly from the other major published assemblages from the area; whilst there are general similarities in forms and manufacturing techniques these can best be explained in terms of a larger regional tradition of Gritty Ware production extending down the east coast from Aberdeen almost to the Humber. In Scotland these gritty sand-tempered wares are now generally referred to as Scottish White Gritty wares, earlier terms such as Leuchars Ware having been consigned to a well-deserved oblivion. In Northumberland similar wares have been defined as Tweed Valley ware (Bown 1985), Oxidized Gritty ware (Ellison 1981, 105) and Berwick wares types 1 and 2 (Moorhouse 1982, 113). Forms found in a fabric deriving from coal measure clays have been termed buff/white wares (Ellison 1981, 105–7). Such wares seem to be common currency from the 12th century to the 14th, being replaced by later medieval fabrics such as those of the reduced Greenware tradition.



Fig. 93 Medieval pottery from Site 13. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 94 Medieval pottery from Site 13. Scale 1:4.

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Fig. 95 Medieval pottery from Site 14. Scale 1:4.




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Imported wares

An interesting aspect of the assemblage is the lack of imports. Sites of comparable date on the coast have included substantial quantities of Scarborough ware, together with the occasional fragment of Western and Northern French fine-ware such as Saintonge and Rouen wares and Low Countries fine and coarse wares (Low Countries Greywares and early Redwares and Aardenburg-type jugs: cf. Ellison 1981, Moorhouse 1982, Verhaeghe 1983a, Bown 1985). The means by which imports were distributed during the medieval period were by no means straightforward (Evans 1978 and 1983); clearly, in this case, such wares were being off-loaded at the major ports in the area and reaching the occasional rural site on the coast (e.g. Holy Island village, Bown 1985) but their distribution did not extend to upland rural communities such as West Whelpington. In this report the only notable import is no. 56 (fig. 87), a fine-ware vessel of uncertain, but presumably English, origin.

Local wares

The sequence appears to start in the 12th century (fig. 81). Even the earliest vessels from the site were wheel-thrown and had been fired in the same kilns as glazed vessels. The clay used produced good quality, light-firing fabrics. Variations in the amount of temper may be the result of using different mixes for vessels of different sizes or functions, or even for different parts of the same vessel—a potter sometimes uses a different mix of clay for his handles.

LATER MEDIEVAL WARES (15th–16th centuries)

The most notable aspect of this period is the appearance of several new types of imported ware. The change in depositional practices at the end of Period I, together with the general paucity of stratified Period II deposits, means that it is difficult to say anything with certainty about the local wares. Evidence from other sites in the county suggests that by c. 1400 other fabrics (e.g. Reduced Greenware tradition) should have replaced the Northern Gritty tradition. The pottery published here does not support this view, though that in the *Second Report* might have done so. Typically late forms, such as the bung-hole cistern, have been found in the village (*Second Report*, fig. 29, no. 24) but in what appear to be early medieval fabrics; we do not know whether these are early examples of the form or whether, on this site, the early fabrics persisted into the 15th century.

Langerwehe stoneware

Fragments of larger jugs with the typical semi-matt iron wash, resulting in purple surfaces, were found on sites 14 and 26 and the adjacent area of the green. None of the sherds is sufficiently diagnostic to suggest the precise shape of the jug but a 15th century date seems likely for all. There are also several sherds of Langerwehe/Raeren type mugs or small jugs of later 15th-century date (see below). There may also be Langerwehe stoneware amongst the unpublished material from the sites covered by the earlier reports.

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Fig. 97 Medieval and post-medieval pottery from Croft L. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 98 Medieval pottery from Croft L. Scale 1:4.

Siegburg stoneware

Siegburg mugs were reaching some sites in the county from the mid-14th century to the 16th, but not in the same quantities as the near contemporary Langerwehe products (cf. Ellison 1981, 148–50). No examples have been found at West Whelpington, the two Siegburg vessels of the *First Report* (27 and 43) being mis-identified Raeren drinking mugs.



Fig. 99 Medieval pottery from Enclosure L/1. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 100 Medieval pottery from Enclosures M/1 and M/2. Scale 1:4.

Raeren stoneware

Production at Raeren is thought to have begun c. 1450 and the early vessels are indistinguishable from contemporary Langerwehe forms—hence the description "Langerwehe/Raeren type". Importation of the characteristic drinking mugs began in the late 15th century and continued throughout the first half of the 16th century; they arrived in such prodigious quantities that they can safely be regarded as a type-fossil of the period 1475–1550, particularly in eastern England.

At West Whelpington 18 sherds were found on the sites covered by this report; whilst some of these may be of Langerwehe/Raeren type all are probably from drinking mugs. The fabrics range from dark to light stonewares and include underfired examples; the glazed surfaces range from grey to brown in colour. Other Raeren sherds were found on sites 19 and 20 (*First Report*, nos. 27 and 43) and on sites 1, 16A, 16D and 17 (*Second Report*, nos. 6, 57, 86 and 108).

French stonewares

Examples of both Beauvais stoneware (grès) and of Martincamp type II flasks have been noted in Northumberland (Ellison 1981, 127–8; Bown 1985, 75). Three small fragments of a possible costrel have been found on site 15; none of these is sufficiently diagnostic to define either the form or the production centre. The vessel is likely to be 16th century.

Low Countries redwares

Production began at a number of sites in what are now Belgium and the Netherlands in the 14th century (Jansen 1983; Verhaeghe 1983b) and continued well into the 17th century (Jennings 1981, 134–42), albeit with changes in forms and manufacturing techniques. Substantial quantities of both late and post-medieval redwares have been found on a number of sites in Newcastle (e.g. Ellison 1981, 130–46) and elsewhere in the county. At West Whelpington there are only two examples of this ware, both from site 15. They are the bases of pipkins or *grapen*. One of the vessels (no. 305) has three feet, the other has a thumbed protruding flange. These particular vessels are probably of the 16th century.

Cistercian-type ware

Vessels in this fine-ware tradition were manufactured from the 1460s onwards at numerous places in England and Wales, in a zone extending from north of the Thames to the Scottish border; production continued throughout the 16th century and in some places merges into the 17th-century blackware traditions. These characteristic vessels were first recognized on monastic sites in Yorkshire, but their manufacture was not restricted to that county or to sites associated with the Cistercian order. These wares have been recognized on a number of sites in Northumberland (Ellison 1981, 154–9; 1983, 177; Brown 1985, 46). They are often still regarded as imports into the region though some of the forms and decorative motifs seem sufficiently specific to Northumberland to suggest local manufacture (Ellison 1981, 156). No kilns are known, though a waster has been found in Newcastle (Ellison 1983, 157).

At West Whelpington type 1 posset cups have been found on sites 9 (no. 92) and 6



Fig. 101 Medieval pottery from Site 15. Scale 1:4.

and 7 (Second Report, fig. 29, no. 44). Other cup fragments were present in croft M (nos. 354–5) and on sites 16 and 16C (Second Report, figs. 30–1, nos. 52, 79 and 80).

POST-MEDIEVAL WARES (17th to 18th centuries)

The early 17th century saw the introduction of new forms such as cups, bowls, platters and handled jars in new fabrics. The most notable of these is a Glazed Red Earthenware tradition which was appearing in other parts of the country at the same time; for the emergence of GRE fabrics in Norwich see Jennings 1981, 157–86. The fabric is mostly fine and sandy, firing red under oxidizing conditions; in slightly reducing conditions the cores are unevenly fired, with a dark grey or black centre flanked by lighter margins. The surfaces have been dipped in shiny iron-bearing lead glazes which fire dark brown or dark green. A similar range of fine-ware platters, cups and dishes have decoration trailed in white pipe-clay, firing light yellow on brown under the clear lead glazes.

Occasionally "reverse slipware" is found. This is decorated with an iron-rich slip on a cream-ware fabric under a clear lead glaze, firing to dark brown on light yellow. A third fine-ware tradition is provided by a range of iron-glazed redware cups and tankards, sometimes fired to such a high temperature that the fabric is almost vitrified. These were clearly intended to have shiny black glazes but variation of firing conditions has sometimes resulted in dark greens and browns rather than a true black.

Were these locally made or were they imported? A similar range of forms and fabrics can be found at this date in Newcastle (Ellison et al. 1979; Ellison 1983) but it has been assumed that this was all imported from the Low Countries or from west and central Essex. The Newcastle area had hosted a pottery industry from the 12th century to the 16th (see above and FR Appendix A; also Ellison 1981, 106-7; 1983, 157) and was to be a thriving ceramic centre in the 18th and 19th centuries (fig. 83), yet Ellison argues persuasively that the only ceramic articles which were being made on Tyneside in the 17th century were clay pipes. There are two apparent supports for her thesis: the absence of any documentary evidence for pottery manufacture in the area at this date and the homogeneity of the fabrics and forms which have been found in recent excavations at the castle and elsewhere in Newcastle, and their similarity to known imported wares. For these reasons she has attributed the slipwares and iron-glazed wares to west and central Essex, the cream wares to Surrey and all of the coarse pottery to Essex or the Low Countries. The implications cover a wider area than just the city of Newcastle, for if we accept the conclusion that no locally made pottery was in use there in the 17th century it is difficult to conceive the possibility of local manufacture elsewhere in the area.

Ellison's first point is valid: at present nothing is known of 17th century pottery manufacture anywhere in the county. For the earlier medieval period the kilns which were supplying Newcastle seem, from the documentary evidence (FR fig. 79 and Appendix A) and from Ellison's own work, to be sited in and around the town itself. As the town expanded the location of many of these industries would become unsuitable because of the fire risk and the anti-social nature of the work. It is likely

that production shifted to small rural kilns, with perhaps a number of sites spread over a wide area but belonging essentially to the same industry; this pattern can be detected in the post-medieval Welsh Borderland wares (Vince 1984, 41–3). Such industries may in turn have been part of a wider regional tradition, like that of Cistercian ware; Ellison herself has argued that Cistercian ware was probably being produced locally (Ellison 1983, 157) yet she suggests that within a century all local



Fig. 102 Medieval pottery from Croft M. Scale 1:4.



Fig. 103 Medieval pottery from Croft N. Scale 1:4.

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pottery production ceased. It seems much more likely that in the north-east, as elsewhere in England, the manufacture of iron-glazed blackware cups evolved from the Cistercian ware tradition than that these vessels were all imported from Essex. The absence of documentary evidence for rural kilns may not be significant. It may reflect a relative lack of work on rural documentation. If pottery production was seasonal the potters may have been recorded as farm workers etc. in contemporary parish documents; this phenomenon has been observed amongst rural clay-pipe makers at Rainsford (pers. comm. Peter Davey).

Ellison's second argument is less convincing. Her fabric groups embrace such a diversity of products from widely scattered centres that acceptance of them becomes an article of faith rather than a conviction based on real evidence. For example her Type 1 fabric at the Black Gate includes North Holland slipwares, Dutch redwares, Dutch-type glazed red earthenwares, Metropolitan slipwares, other slipwares which cannot be paralleled "in Essex or elsewhere", undecorated Glazed Red Earthenwares and iron-glazed black wares (Ellison et al. 1979, 159-63); the one common characteristic is that the fabric is red. This is not to be unduly critical of her work but rather to point out that these problems are inherent in the material. The petrology of large areas of East Anglia and of the coastal strips of Belgium and the Netherlands is so similar that fabric work based on macroscopic analysis becomes pointless, particularly when, as in the post-medieval period, the inclusions in the fine wares are so small. The problem is exacerbated by the copying of Low Countries forms in apparently similar fabrics, as in the Dutch-type red earthenwares found in Norwich (Jennings 1981, 134–42). Lastly, we know that in the 18th century the Tyneside potteries were using Devon clay tempered with London flint, both materials being imported as ballast in returning coal ships (Celoria 1976); we do not know whether the practice goes back to the 17th century.

Ellison's arguments about pottery forms being paralleled in Essex are not as strong as might appear at first. The very existence of wide-ranging regional traditions of fine-wares underlines the fact that vessel forms were becoming more standardized; differences between the products of different kilns might be insufficiently pronounced to assign a vessel to a particular area or even to a particular county. Association with known imports is not necessarily conclusive: substantial quantities of Metropolitan slipwares have been found in Norwich, along with small numbers of local slipwares; the black ware cups and tankards found there came not from the kilns at Harlow, Essex but from rural kilns at Wroxham, 11 km from Norwich (Jennings 1981, 150). While some of Ellison's attributions are almost certainly correct it is likely that she has over-emphasized the importance of imported wares. Most coarse wares and some fine wares (e.g. the black wares) may well have been local products. If pipe-clay was being imported for pipe manufacture it may also have been used for local slipwares.

Even if Ellison's interpretation of the Newcastle evidence is accepted as being broadly correct the situation at West Whelpington is not directly comparable. Most of the pottery groups from excavations in the city have included a recognizable Low Countries element which is conspicuously absent in the material from the village: there is not a single sherd even of the familiar redwares, let alone the fine-wares. The English slipwares from West Whelpington show forms and decorative motifs reminis-

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cent of Metropolitan slipware but the quality is much cruder: the fabrics tend to be more mixed, the registration of the slip is very uneven and the colours and quality of the glazes are far less consistent and generally poorer. Moreover the range of vessel forms is limited; for example, the fine-ware beakers (Jennings 1981, fig. 42, nos. 672–9) are missing. The bulk of the post-medieval material from the village consists of coarse-wares which are typical of the products of any number of country potteries in the north of England; such wares, like their medieval counterparts, are unlikely to have travelled any great distance. It seems unnecessary to look for parallels in south-east England: they are more likely to be revealed by further fieldwork in Northumberland.

Imported wares

Leaving aside the question of whether any of the above-mentioned wares were imported into the area the one clear change which took place in the 17th century is that some 25% of the assemblage consists of imports, mainly German stoneware flagons and assorted tin-glazed chargers and drug-jars; most of these are common on sites of the period and call for little comment. Discussions of the range of fabrics, forms and decorative motifs can be found in Jennings 1981.

German stonewares are represented by a single Westerwald jug (no. 72a), a Frechen bellarmine (*First Report* nos. 44 and 45) and several of the smaller mugs (*Second Report* nos. 7, 15, 62 and 109). Of far greater interest are the German slipware vessels—a solitary Werra ware dish from site 9 (no. 70) and the fragments of Weser ware from croft M (no. 353) and site 16A (*Second Report*, no. 66). These vessels were exported in quantity to the Netherlands (Stephan 1981, *abb.* 41 and pp. 133–5) and it was probably by this route that many of the examples found in Britain came. Their distribution is heavily concentrated in eastern Britain and is largely confined to the seaboard and the immediate hinterland (Stephan 1981, *abb.* 47: although this could now be augmented by more recent finds in such outlying spots as Scalloway in Orkney the basic pattern is largely unchanged): hence Weser products were reaching remote upland settlements such as West Whelpington but not major inland cities such as Oxford (Hurst 1981, 144).

Most of the other imports are tin-glazed vessels. The majority of those dealt with in this report were identified by the late Louis Lipski as being of North Netherlands origin. Although he never had an opportunity to re-examine the vessels published in the earlier reports it seems reasonable to suggest that these also were largely of North Netherlands or Anglo-Netherlands origin, on the evidence of the illustrated examples. Other continental imports include a solitary Martincamp type III flask (no. 78).

English imports are largely confined to the last years of the village, or even to the post-desertion period. With the exception of a possible Surrey jar (*Second Report*, no. 104) these consist mostly of Staffordshire wares (*First Report*, no. 42; *Second Report*, no. 30; below, site 10, unillustrated) or the odd example of English 18th-century tin-glaze (e.g. no. 75).

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C. FLOOR TILE

From area south of site 13: fragment of border tile, 70 mm square; coarse red fabric with inclusions of quartz and mica; red surfaces. Upper surface covered with slip under a clear lead glaze, firing light yellow; vestiges of an incised line parallel to one edge. This is almost certainly intrusive since it is unlikely that any of the buildings on the site had the status to warrant a tiled mosaic floor. The closest likely source from which this tile may have come is the church at Kirkwhelpington.

D. THE CLAY PIPES

The basic report on the pipes and all of the drawings were completed in 1978; consequently the method of presentation of the material, and the degree of detail in the descriptions of the pipes and stamps differ markedly from those which would now be adopted (cf. the approaches outlined in Davey 1981). The introduction and discussion sections were completely rewritten in 1986 in the light of some of the recently published groups from the area, and cross-references to these have been inserted into the catalogue. A full re-evaluation of the pipes published in the *First* and *Second Reports* must await the compilation of a corpus of moulds and stamps from the area.

Introduction

Tobacco smoking was introduced into the village during the latter years of Period II—as evidenced by the numerous fragments of stems and bowls which were sealed beneath Period III structures. Only two bowls are likely to be earlier than 1620 (*First Report*, fig. 9, no. 1; *Second Report*, fig. 34, no. 20). Thereafter, pipes began to arrive in substantial numbers, and by the beginning of Period III were ubiquitous. The majority of the pipe fragments fall into a date range of c. 1635–90; the paucity of fragments which can be dated after c. 1700 reflects the fact that some holdings went out of use at the end of Period III, or during Period IV. It also suggests that the dating of late 17th century pipes may require modification.

During the 17th century smoking became widespread amongst all classes, and was not necessarily restricted to either males, or adults. Later illustrations of this are offered by Young, who commented at Hetton on "The poor women and children in total idleness. They do not drink tea, but smoke tobacco unconscionably" (Young, 1770, 67); and again at Fenton, "The poor women and children have no employment. They are not tea drinkers but smoke tobacco immoderately" (ibid., 80). His observations serve as a useful reminder that by the last years of the village the habit of smoking was no longer a luxury.

Sources of the pipes

The earlier reports suggested that the pipes found in the village came from several different centres, notably London, Bristol, Hull, York and Gateshead, at different periods of the 17th century, and that the period 1600–45 was dominated by London







TTTT



































Fig. 104 Clay pipes. Scale, bowls 1:2; stamps 1:1.













































































Fig. 105 Clay pipes. Scale, bowls 1:2; stamps 1:1.

and Bristol pipes (Second Report, 272). A detailed study of an important group of pipes from the castle in Newcastle (Oswald 1983) suggested that the "chinned" bowls such as had previously been ascribed to London and Bristol makers, were also made in the North-East (ibid., 186-8 and fig. 14); however, the local products could be distinguished from their southern counter-parts by the use of a heart-shaped base to the bowl, instead of a round projecting base. In the Newcastle group these local pipes were found to outnumber the southern ones by a ratio of 5:2 for the period 1635–75. If Oswald's theory is correct, it seems likely that the importance of southern English pipes in north-eastern groups has been over-estimated, and that many pipes which have previously been attributed to London and Bristol were in fact made locally. At West Whelpington it is possible to parallel not only the types illustrated and described by Oswald on his Newcastle site, but also the products of the same makers (e.g. the NW and GC stamps: see below); whilst it is difficult to state the ratio of local to southern pipes on the site without a re-examination of the fragments published in the Second Report, the local bowls seem to be clearly in the majority for the comparable date range.

Most other assemblages published recently from the north-east contain a proportion of Dutch pipes; whilst the actual numbers involved seem to vary from a fairly minor component (e.g. Oswald 1983) to perhaps 14% or more at Berwick upon Tweed (Davey 1982, 95), this is obviously a potential source of supply for any site in the area. As Davey has pointed out, there are a number of problems involved with the identification of Dutch pipes in the earlier part of the 17th century (ibid.). A re-examination of the pipes from West Whelpington might reveal the presence of Dutch material; all that can be said at present is that there were no obviously Dutch marks, and that the only ones which might be given a Dutch attribution are the fleur-de-lis stamps (see below).

The stamps

Almost all of the identified stamps belong to Gateshead and Hull pipemakers—which confirms the suggestion that these two centres were the main sources for the pipes found in the village. The Gateshead makers include Thomas Parke I (d. 1675) or II (1661–82), and other members of the Parke family, John Thompson (1663–90), James Cooper (m. 1669), Henry Walker (1674–99), Leonard Holmes (1672–1706), Joseph Fawell (1693–1708), and possibly John Bowman (1645–89) and William Sewell (1646–51); moreover, some of these are represented by more than one design of stamp. Although Yorkshire-type pipe bowls form a major component of the assemblage, the only maker who can be positively identified is John Page of Hull (freeman 1673).

Other stamps are less easy to attribute to individual makers. One such belongs to the series of GC marks found on the heart-shaped bases of Oswald's locally produced pipes (*Second Report*, fig. 34, no. 20, and p. 277, no. 19). Oswald illustrates nine stamps of this maker from his Newcastle group (Oswald 1983, 188–9), and similar stamps are found in other 17th-century assemblages from the area (Oswald 1979, fig. 9, no. 75: Davey 1982, fig. 12a). Oswald discussed these stamps in detail, but concluded that identification with a particular maker was "quite uncertain" (Oswald

1983, 189–90). Equally enigmatic are the NW stamps (fig. 104, no. 4). In the bastion group at the castle in Newcastle upon Tyne there were examples of at least six different dies for this mark, and Oswald notes that he used "three buttons for the bowl tops, together with one roulette 'mushroom' and at least three moulds" (Oswald 1983, 190–1); the large number of examples of his pipes found in the Newcastle area, compared with anywhere else in the country, suggests that this maker was working locally between c. 1640 and 1670 (ibid.). Yet another may be the ESH stamp recorded on a flattened bowl base (*First Report*, 218); is this perhaps a mis-reading of the ESX stamps which have been recently found in Newcastle (Oswald 1979, fig. 9, no. 73; 1983, 193, no. 183)?

One of the most frequent motifs encountered on the stems is a fleur-de-lis in a lozenge-shaped stamp; some 14 different examples of these have been found on the site. They can be divided into two groups: those associated with pairs of initials. and those with just four fleurs-de-lis in the lozenge. The first group are now generally thought to be the products of Gateshead makers-the initials IB, LH, HW, C COLL and TP being equated with John Bowman, Leonard Holmes, Henry Walker, one of the Colling family, and Thomas Parke (Oswald 1983, 194 no. 254; Higgins 1985, fig. 13, no. 9; Brown and Gallagher 1980, fig. 2 nos. 20, 22-3 and 26; Davey 1982, fig. 13a). The origins of the second group seem to be more contentious. Although these have usually been found in association with the first group of stamps in Northumberland, and on numerous sites throughout the north-east from Hull to Berwick. and even on pipes of north-eastern type, Parsons seems to be alone in arguing for a north-eastern origin (Parsons 1964, 240). This type of stamp can be clearly paralleled in contemporary Dutch pipes (Oswald 1983, 194 nos. 281, 541 and 721), and some genuine Dutch examples were reaching sites in the area (Davey 1982, fig. 12 e-g). Nevertheless in the absence of any other obvious Dutch pipes from the site. the frequency of occurrence of this type of stamp, the form of pipes on which it is usually found, and its association with the admittedly similar Gateshead examples would seem to argue for a local origin.

Stem-bore dating

This produced a series of dates which were completely at variance with both the dating suggested by the bowls and stamps, and with that suggested by the associated pottery (Belcher and Jarrett 1971) and for these reasons no further work on stem bore measurement has been attempted on pipes from the village.

The contexts

The vast majority of the pipe fragments were not found in sealed contexts. Those which were found beneath Period III and IV structures often consisted either of small pieces of unmarked stems, or tantalizingly small fragments of bowl. Only three diagnostic fragments were found beneath Period III paving (figs. 104–5, nos. 3, 39 and 46), all below the same strip of paving to the south of house 9/3. As this is structurally secondary to the construction of the building, it cannot be *definitely* shown to be part of the original scheme. Nevertheless, it was probably laid within a year or two of the construction: the building was adjacent to a pond, and would soon have needed

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substantial paving in front of its byre. No. 3 is a fragmentary example of Oswald's 1983 type 2a bowls, which he dates to 1645–60; no. 39 is the heart-shaped base of one of his locally made pipes, of c. 1635 and 1675 (Oswald 1983, 188), no. 46 is a stem stamped with a lozenge enclosing four fleurs-de-lis: if this is Dutch, it might be of 1620–45, but if, as seems more likely, it is a north-eastern product, it might date to c. 1650–80 (cf. Oswald 1979, fig. 9, no. 69). The earliest date therefore which these pipes suggest for the construction of this Period III paving is c. 1645/50. However, so few pipes were found in these contexts that it would be dangerous to assume that the absence of later pipes from beneath Period III structures, or their apparent introduction with the initial Period III occupation is significant for a starting date early in the bracket 1650–70.

The evidence which pipes provide for the construction of Period IV structures consists of a single bowl (no. 32, of c. 1660–90) sealed beneath the platform on site 8.

E. IRONWORK

A. R. Robertson

The ironwork recovered from the village has formed an assemblage that is very much what one would have expected from a small, impoverished, agricultural community. Most of the implements and horse furniture, which make up a large proportion of the finds, might have been found on any rural settlement site from the Norman conquest right up to the beginning of the 20th century. There is an absence of any decorative metal-work or weaponry which might have been more useful for dating. Where it is possible to give some idea of the date of an object, either through stratigraphy or typology, this has been done in the catalogue.

F. GLASS

The site has produced two fragments of Roman date. All of the rest of the glass can be divided into two main categories: (a) a sizeable quantity of material of 17th or early 18th century date, and (b) a small quantity of post-desertion material which can probably be attributed to either picnics, or subsequent farming practices.

The first category comprises substantial quantities of window glass, a few wine bottles and glasses, and two objects—a possible wig curler (see M1/E14), and a black glass button (*Second Report*, 280, fig. 35). Glazed windows appeared in the village by the end of Period II, as fragments of glass are sealed beneath Period III walls and paving on and around site 9. Fragments of window glass have been found in almost all of the Period III and IV houses, and in some of the later cottages (e.g. 1a and 6a). It is cylinder blown broad glass, about 1.50 to 2 mm thick, and with very few bubbles. Most of the fragments are pale green, though blue-green, dark green and dark blue pieces have also been found (*Second Report*, 279). Some have lines scored on one surface, but no lead cames have been found. Several of the houses have produced



Fig. 106 Ironwork. Scale 1:4.

fragments of wine bottles, which presumably date to the later 17th or early 18th centuries, but the only near complete example is of post-desertion date (see M1/E14). The only other vessel glass is represented by two wine glasses, one of which is sealed beneath a Period III wall.

The second category comprises a number of bottles of post-desertion date. A 19th century wine bottle (see M1/E14) and a ginger-beer bottle of similar date (*Second Report*, 279) are probably the remains of picnics. A disinfectant bottle and a second clear glass bottle (see M1/E14) probably attest farming activities on the outcrop.

G. OBJECTS OF COPPER ALLOY

Very few copper alloy objects have been found in the village at all, and those which have represent a fairly restricted range of artefacts. There are four buckles (*First*



Fig. 110 Objects of glass (1), copper alloy (2–8), silver (9), lead (10–11), and flint (12–13). Scale 1:2.

Report, fig. 10, nos. 12–13; Second Report, fig. 41, nos. 69 and 72), and three rings (fig. 110, nos. 3–4; Second Report, 290, no. 64); three buttons (fig. 110, no. 5; Second Report, 289–92, nos. 61, 67 and 71); two ram's bells (fig. 110, no. 2; First Report, fig. 10, no. 1), and a bronze plated cow bell (Second Report, fig. 38, no. 29); one or two barrel padlocks (fig. 106, no. 59, see ironwork, above; Second Report, fig. 41, no. 65); a solitary candlestick (Second Report, fig. 41, no. 62); a single bridle-bit (fig. 110, no. 8), a thimble (ibid., no. 6) and a few fragments of sheet binding and bronze plate.

I. OBJECTS OF LEAD AND ALLOY

The site has produced a very small quantity of artefacts; with the exception of a pewter spoon (*Second Report*, fig. 41, no. 73), they have all been of lead. There is a spindle whorl (ibid., no. 74), and two perforated discs (ibid., no. 77; *supra*, fig. 110, no. 10); a fragment of rod or bar (fig. 110, no. 11), and a lead tube (*Second Report*, 292, no. 76). A small quantity of lead waste shows that it was occasionally worked in the village.

K. WORKED STONE OBJECTS

These fall into two main categories: (a) architectural features, e.g. door pivots, jambs, carved thresholds, and fixtures such as horse troughs; (b) a wide range of artefacts of varying sizes, including spindle whorls, hones, moulds, stone balls, chipped discs and querns. As most of the querns cannot be closely dated, they are published in the report on the earlier prehistoric and Roman settlements. Other objects (e.g. the stone balls) might well belong to either the medieval and later village, or to one of the earlier settlements—a situation further confused by the fact that quite a few of the objects have clearly been reused in later walls or paving.

Before Period II, the whinstone outcrop on which the village is sited was not greatly exploited as a source of building stone; this does not seem to apply to its use for making objects such as spindle whorls, whetstones and chipped discs, some of which are found in Period I contexts. The other main stone which was used in the village both for building and for artefacts, was sandstone. This was probably quarried from the local carboniferous series, was the principal source of freestone in use during all Periods, and was invariably used for the more elaborate architectural features. It was also used at different times to make saddle querns, rotary querns, stone balls, chipped discs, spindle whorls and roofing slates. Although a high proportion of the worked stone objects found on the site is made from these two types of rock, there are also a few objects in more exotic rocks, which probably reached the site as finished pieces. One of these types is the quartz-mica schist whetstone, which occurs widely on medieval sites in Britain (e.g. Dunning, 1948, fig. 65-though this distribution map is greatly out-of-date); recent petrographic work on examples from other sites has shown that many of these are probably Norwegian Ragstone, possibly from the Eidsborg quarries in Telemark (Ellis 1969), but as none of the West Whelpington examples has been thin-sectioned, a Scottish provenance cannot be ruled out (Moore,

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Fig. 111 Worked stone objects. Scale 1:4.

1978, 72). Another exotic type of rock found on the site is granite; there are three querns and a stone ball in this material. Lastly, one class of exotic material which is noticeably absent is the lava quern, which sometimes occurs on medieval sites. The geological identifications are by Mr. Stephen England.

L. PLANT REMAINS

J. R. A. Greig

Pit 2

The small number of seeds recovered from this sample are from plants of two main vegetable types—weeds of disturbed ground, especially those found on acid, sometimes damp soils, and on high ground, and secondly plants usually associated with stream sides and damp meadows.

The weed flora includes rather catholic plants like *Atriplex* (orache), *Rumex* (dock) and *Urtica* (nettle), together with plants that are more specific in their habitat requirements like *Potentilla* (tormentil) which is common on acid upland soils. All of

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Fig. 112 Stone roll-moulding. Scale 1:6.



Fig. 113 Stone trough fragment. Scale 1 : 6.

these plants would be expected around the site today, especially on the spoil tips. There are also such plants as *Juncus* (rush) and Isolepis (bristle scirpus) which would not be unexpected growing in damp parts of the site.

The waterside flora includes a group of *Carex* (sedge) species and other plants like the tiny *Montia* (blinks) and *Ranunculus* subg. *Batrachium* (water crowfoot) which only grow in or very near water (e.g. the village pond).

The context in which this material was found was very shallow, but it appeared to be well sealed and safe from the risk of contamination from rodent nests etc. The preservation of the seeds was quite good, perhaps due to the airtight sealing of clay on top of the layer sampled.

M. ANIMAL BONE

Very few bones of domestic animals have been found on the site. Those which have are almost entirely teeth or fragments of burnt bone. In view of the evidence for cultivation and manuring at the west end of the village and in the south-western crofts a fairly large sample of bones might have been expected; its absence, and the restricted range of the surviving fragments, suggests that the acid soil conditions are unfavourable to bone preservation.

The sample of surviving bone is too small to contribute anything to our understanding of the village economy. The only stratified bone is as follows:

Sealed beneath the Period II track in croft D: Horse tooth.

House 9/3, beneath the threshold and external paving: Some cattle teeth (one of which was from a 4–5 year old animal) and a fragment from an indeterminate species.

Croft L, in fill of depression 100: Piece of sheep's tibia.

The unstratified bone fragments derived from cattle, sheep, horse and probably pig. We are grateful to Dr. T. P. O'Connor for the identifications.

N. IRON SLAG

Some 31 kg of iron slag was recovered during excavation of the village; over 60% of this came from the vicinity of three buildings, and more than 35% came from one of them (15/4). No iron ore was found and there was no evidence for iron smelting in the village. Apart from the three sites discussed below none of the enclosures or buildings produced more than 0.7 kg of slag and in each case it might have been introduced with levelling material or manure.

As noted in the Second Report (289) 3.96 kg of iron slag were found on site 6, just inside the north wall. The Period III forge, site 15/4, yielded over 11.12 kg of slag, mostly lying on or incorporated in the forge platform. Sites 26 and 26a produced 2.29 kg, together with a large piece of whinstone bearing a smooth run of slag. Although the only identified forge was post-medieval it is likely that smithing

occurred throughout the life of the village and that earlier forges have not been excavated or have escaped recognition.

Dr. R. F. Tylecote examined samples from sites 15/4 and 26 and commented that these were smithing slags. Both sites produced a few small, hollow, bun-like pieces that are very typical of smithing hearths, but the bulk of the material consisted of slag mixed with hearth lining, with a few smooth-surfaced fragments of weathered slag. The small quantities from both sites were typical of a smithing operation.

4. ANALYSIS OF HOUSES AND OTHER BUILDINGS

Previous sections have described individual buildings from the surviving evidence. The present section deals with the plan forms of the various structures, the constructional methods employed and the planning of farmsteads. This material will be placed in the wider context of vernacular traditions in Northern Britain in Part Two.

Houses (fig. 71)

Period I

Some at least of the earliest medieval houses seem to have accommodated cattle as well as humans; their plans are compatible with the "longhouse" tradition. Their precise dates of construction are uncertain, but some are probably earlier than the late 13th century. It seems therefore that their appearance cannot be associated with climatic deterioration (cf. Beresford 1979, 125–7).

Although Period I buildings are less well-preserved than their successors four of the twelve had positive evidence of byres, in the form of sump or paved standing (13/1, 13/2a, 13/2b and 26/1). Moreover three of the other houses clearly consist of two rooms, of which one was probably a byre (2, 15/1 and 16c); in four of these houses the entrance(s) can be shown to be placed near the centre of one or both long sides, between the two rooms (13/2a, 15/1, 16c and 26/1).

In Period I, most houses were built of timber on stone foundations. These might be rubble sills (16c and 26/1) or small neat dwarf walls which were usually associated with settings for timber uprights (6–7, 8, 9 east and 10/1). Both whin and freestone were used, but the proportion of freestone is higher in Period I than later periods. The sills and dwarf walls are too narrow to have supported cob walls, so it is reasonable to infer that the house walls were of timber (either planking or studs), probably with wattle and daub infilling. There is evidence for cruck roofs in later stone buildings; and a burnt cruck from the eastern part of site 26 might belong to house 26/1 or a Period II building. There is certainly nothing to suggest any other type of roof support in Period I. The rounded corners of some Period I structures, such as outbuilding 14 (fig. 73), may be a sign that gavelforks were used. Before the end of the period at least two successive houses (13/2a and 13/2b) had been built in stone to the eaves; the earlier can scarcely be later than the 13th century.

House 10a was cut back into a slope, and 26/1 was built over a hollow which had



Fig. 71 Comparative house plans.

been levelled with clay. Eight of the buildings had drainage gullies round their west (uphill) ends and parts of their sides (2, 10a, 13/1, 13/2a, 13/2b, 15/1, 15/2 and 16c); these would keep surface water away from the foundations, whether the building was stone or timber. As some of the drains are associated with 12th and 13th century material they are unlikely to be a reaction to a deteriorating climate.

Little is known about the internal arrangements of Period I houses. Hearths were composed of oval or rectangular flags, often of a fossiliferous mudstone. Only house 13/2a can be shown to have had a cross-passage, but several of the others had at least one paved entrance. Door pivots in 13/2a, 13/2b and 15/1 point to permanent doors

rather than wicker screens; a hinge bracket from site 13 might belong to one of these. Barrel padlocks suggest the existence of chests or cupboards; one from site 14 was certainly from a Period I context. The byre sumps ran longitudinally down the byres, with standing on either side. The surviving sumps were all paved, but where houses lay directly on rock paving may not have been deemed necessary. A number of small postholes in the byre of house 2 probably show the position of tethering posts, whose upper end would be pegged to the feeding box. Cattle were tethered with their noses to the wall on either side of the byre.

Most of the Period I houses are too fragmentary, and the sample is too small, for comparison of sizes to have much validity; what is known is shown below. Even where the general lines of a building are clear the precise position of the walls may not be certain; the measurements given for house 26/1 are those of its platform; the house may well have been smaller.

Comparative dimensions of Period I houses (sq. m)

| | Total floor area | Living room | Byre |
|-------|------------------|-------------|------------|
| 2 | 38.5 | 0 | 1 4 |
| 6–7 | c. 50 | | |
| 13/1 | 29.75 | | 14 |
| 13/2a | 32 | 14 | 12 |
| 13/2b | 32 | | 12 |
| 15/1 | c. 52.5 | | |
| 16c | 27+ | 12 | |
| 26/1 | 67.5 (max.) | | |

Period II

Some of the Period I building traditions persisted into Period II. The byre of 26/3 was of timber on a rubble sill; unless it was a freestanding byre, for which there is no parallel, the living room to the west would have been of the same construction. Three other buildings had rock-cut drainage gullies round their west ends (15/3, 26/2 and 26/4). Clay was used to level up depressions in the bedrock to provide a suitable building surface (2 west, 9/2, 15/3, 16a west and 17 east). The main changes are the widespread appearance of longhouses built of stone to eaves level, and a greatly increased use of whinstone; together these must have represented a considerable saving in carting of both stone and timber: but this cost benefit will have been reduced if a significant part of the whinstone had to be quarried. Moreover it is possible that much of the freestone derived from field clearance; and timber may have been in short supply, so that the change in materials may have been enforced.

The large whinstone boulders used in the new houses were often bonded with clay (1 east, 1 west, 8/1 and all the buildings on sites 16a and 16c). All had a living room to the west, separated by a cross-passage from a byre; this placed the byre on the downhill side. The only apparent exception to this arrangement is on site 2. Nothing suggests a permanent partition between the two rooms. The most that can be postulated is a screen of timber (house 8/1) or wattle. The byres would be used for stalling cattle during the winter, forming an extra living room during the summer—a practice recorded in early 19th century longhouses. The roof was perhaps supported

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by crucks. In addition to the burnt cruck from site 26 (which might be of Period I), postholes on the wall line survived on site 17.

We know more about the fixtures and fittings of these houses than those of Period I. In the living rooms the hearth is usually axial, often close to the cross-passage. The evidence is usually a burnt patch of bedrock, but stone hearths survive in houses 9/1, 9/2, 15/3 and 26/4. As stone hearths were usual in Periods I and III we assume that they were the norm in Period II also, and that the burnt patches of bedrock underlay stone hearths which had been reused in a modified building, as in house 9/2. Two houses (9/2 and 26/4) had evidence for a stone fire-back to the hearth. None of the buildings had chimneys, smoke presumably escaping through a hole in the roof at some distance from the hearth. Glass sealed below Period III structures on site 9 indicates that by the end of Period II some houses had glazed windows. It is likely that some of the latch and door keys belong to this phase, though none was stratified.

The cross-passages were heavily paved and up to 2 m wide with a door at either end. Pivots survived in several houses. As in phases I and III the byre sumps were axial and usually paved; but in 1 West, 7, 15/3 and possibly 17 West they consisted only of a rock-cut trough with stone kerbs on either side. In the byre of 26/3 low stone flags set on edge formed stall divisions.

Period II houses seem to have been more substantial and rather larger than their precursors. Excluding site 20 (which is largely inferred) the average floor area was 50.5 sq. m, with many in the range 40-50 sq. m. The new living rooms averaged 19.9 sq. m and the byres 25.3 sq. m. If our sample of Period I houses is typical the size of the new byres suggests that more cattle were being overwintered in Period II.

| | Total floor area | Living room | Byre |
|----------|------------------|-------------|---------|
| 1 east | 48·87 | 17 | 23.37 |
| 1 west | 40.37 | 17 | 17 |
| 2 east | 46 | 16 | 23 |
| 2 west | 48 | 16 | 26 |
| 3 | 57.37 | 21.25 | 25.5 |
| 6/1 | 70.12 | 31.87 | 32.93 |
| 7 | 63 | 27 | 29.25 |
| 8/1 | 56.25 | 24.75 | 24.75 |
| 9/1 | 49.50 | 13.50 | 31.5 |
| 9/2 | 59.50 | 27.62 | 25.5 |
| 15/3 | 34.5 | 12 | 16.5 |
| 16c west | 46.75 | | |
| 16c east | 54-38 | | |
| 16a west | 44.62 | 17 | 21.25 |
| 16a east | 54 | 20.25 | 27 |
| 17 west | 41.25 | | ? 24.37 |
| 17 east | 60 | 24 | 29 |
| 20 | ? 107.25 | ? 46.75 | ? 46.75 |
| 26/2 | 48.37 | | |
| 26/3 | 67.5 | | 40 |
| 26/4 | 30 | 14 | 14 |

Comparative dimensions of Period II houses (sq. m)

Period III

The longhouses were replaced by a series of new steadings in which byre and living room were separated by stone partition walls. Some of the new units had separate access to each room (e.g. 6/2, 9/3), but in others access may only have been through the byre (8/2). Several of the new units had an outhouse attached to one end.

Except where earlier walling was incorporated building was almost exclusively of whinstone. Some of the walls were clay-bonded (e.g. 1 East, 6/2 and 17), substantiating the observation that "such cottages as have been erected a number of years are built with stone and clay, and covered with thatch" (Bailey and Culley 1805, 27). Clay floors or levelling were recorded in 1 East, 1 West, 16c, 17 and 20. In some steadings the byre now lay uphill from the living room (e.g. 6/2, 9/3); some had an internal doorway between the two rooms, though this was lacking in 6/2. As in the earlier phase the evidence of roofing, such as it is, is consistent with the use of crucks; in house 9/3 seating for the uprights survived *in situ*, as did the base of one post.

Stone hearths were now set against the partition wall; only in houses 1 East and 6/2 do hearth-stones not survive. Several had gritstone slabs set on edge at the back and sides (1 West, 6/2, 8/2, 9/3). One had vertical grooves for fire-bars (9/3) and another had a swinging arm for a pot-hanger (20). A bread-oven was built into house 8/2, and a raised hob was placed next to the hearth in house 20. There was no evidence for permanent chimneys, but the position of the hearths suggests that fire-hoods (probably of wicker lined with clay and horse-hair) were usual. Part of a grate was found in 9/3.

The new thresholds were usually more permanent, though 9/3 had a wooden sill. The most elaborate was the internal freestone threshold of 9/3 with cut sockets and pivots. In the byres only the rock-cut sump in 16c was not paved. Some stall divisions are suggested in 1 West (site 1b in the *Second Report*). All the new dwellings had glazed windows. The main roof covering would have been thatch, though slates found on sites 6/2, 8/2 and in croft M may have been used for roofing a small area over the fire-hood. Candle lighting is indicated by candlesticks (1 West) and candle-holders (20).

Period III farms were better built than their precursors, and also represent an increase in size of about 32%. Excluding site 20, which is uncertain, the average size of the new steadings was 76.64 sq. m. Both byres and living rooms were larger, averaging 34.68 and 25.93 sq. m respectively. As in Period II the increase in the size of the byres probably indicates that each farmer now kept more animals during the winter; but the reduced number of holdings makes it impossible to guess whether total numbers were increased, and whether animal husbandry had become a more important element in the village economy.

Comparative dimensions of Period III houses (sq. m)

| | Total floor area | Living room | Byre | Outhouse |
|--------|------------------|-------------|-------|----------|
| 1 west | 76.5 | 30.37 | 30.87 | 8.75 |
| 2 | 64 | 26 | 23 | ? 8.33 |
| 6/2 | 88 | 27 | 37.18 | 13.5 |
| 8/2 | 70.72 | 23.62 | 39.31 | |

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| | Total floor area | Living room | Byre | Outhouse |
|-----|------------------|-------------|--------|----------|
| 9/3 | 68.25 | 15 | 40 | 11.37 |
| 16c | 72.18 | 28 | 28.12 | 13 |
| 16a | 85.5 | 33.75 | 45 | ? |
| 17 | 72 | 23.75 | 34 | . 11.37 |
| 20 | ? 107-25 | 38-5 | ? 70.5 | |

Period IV

The only obvious change in Period IV was the addition of a stone platform to one end of house 9/3, presumably as the base for a hayrick.

The usual roofing material in all phases was probably thatch, perhaps with an underthatch of sods. Until recently straw was probably too valuable as winter feed for it to be used as the sole roofing material; bracken, roots, ferns or heather—all available within the township—might be used as alternatives. Of these heather was the most durable, and there is evidence for its use at the successor farms in the eighteenth century; but a covering of fern roots could last for seven years, and one of rushes for two (Fenton 1979, 16). Turf could also have been used. Arthur Young records that many farmhouses in Northumberland were thatched (Young 1770, 49, 74 and 110); this is borne out by a description of Rothbury at the same period: "a poor town of two streets, which are not paved, and the houses are mostly thatched; they cover them with sods, for warmth, and thatch with heather, which will last thirty years". Thatched roofs persisted into the 19th century; houses thatched with heather were still to be seen in Rothbury until the 1890s (Dixon 1903, 372–3).

The majority of the houses at West Whelpington have produced no evidence for permanent floors, though some byres may have been paved throughout and occasional fragments of clay floors survive in living rooms; but the uneven surface of the bedrock implies that some floor surface existed which has not been detected. Almost certainly this was beaten earth, which was common in vernacular buildings in Wales and Ireland until recent times. Earth was mixed with dung, lime, water and occasionally bull's blood to an even consistency, then laid, levelled, beaten and trampled. This gave a surface which could easily be swept clean; it was very durable, and could be patched or levelled when worn. Such floors deteriorate rapidly when they lose the protection of a roof.

Glazed windows first occur before the end of Period II. The panes were probably small, and either rectangular or lozenge-shaped. The lead cames were apparently removed when the site was abandoned. Earlier buildings, on analogy with other areas, probably had window apertures covered with a translucent organic material: possibilities are sheepskin (Gailey et al., 1974B); thin sheets of horn; linen dipped in oil (sometimes straked to simulate lozenge panes); cloth or canvas fenestral, or even oiled paper (Innocent 1916). Window frames would have been of wood.

Cottages (fig. 72)

A second class of residential building—six of them have a hearth—is interpreted as a cottage. Only site 6a does not lie on or close to the village green. Of the 13 cottages found, 9 have the remains of a low rectangular or semi-circular paved platform

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Fig. 72 Comparative cottage plans.

attached to one end of the building. "A group of large whinstone blocks, apparently *in situ*" south of site 2 (*Second Report*, 220) may mark another example. At least three of the cottages were subdivided into two rooms. The favoured alignment is north-south at the ends of the green, east-west elsewhere.

Some of the cottages published in the earlier reports have been reinterpreted. The suggested internal partition in site 7a is now accepted (*Second Report*, 230). An area of burnt bedrock on site 1a indicates an early hearth; this is now taken as evidence for an earlier phase of the building, which is presumably associated with the abundant freestone and medieval pottery (ibid., 212–14); the two phases are designed 1a/1 and 1a/2.

The earliest cottages had timber walls set on narrow stone sills (26a/1 to 3), as had the Period I houses. The transition to stone building is not dated. Some of the second

period cottages were clay-bonded (1a, 7); the walls were a mixture of freestone and whinstone, though the platforms were invariably of whin. They were less well-built than the Period II houses. The gable wall was usually situated on the inner edge of the platform. Only site 6a produced evidence, in the shape of a pivot-stone, for a permanent door. No evidence for roofing survives; it was presumably similar to that of the houses. Hearths were placed near the partition walls or against a gable end; hearth stones survived only in 26a/2, 16b and 1a/2. Small fragments of glass from sites 1a and 6a suggest that Period III cottages had glazed windows. Since most of the interiors were unpaved we assume that earth floors were normal.

The attached stone platforms were clearly bases for hayricks, and can be paralleled in Scotland and Ireland, though usually as freestanding structures. The average area of the platforms was 8.5 sq. m, which was substantially greater than that of the handful of freestanding stack bases at West Whelpington.

Comparative areas of cottage (sq. m)

| | Floor area | Platform area |
|-------------|------------|---------------|
| Period I: | | |
| 26a/1 | 21.6 | |
| 26a/2 | 39·6 max. | |
| 9d | | 7·5 min. |
| Period II: | | |
| 26a/3 | | 9·5 min. |
| 1a/1 | | 4·3 min. |
| 7a | 15 | 8-4 |
| 16b | 15 | 9.6 |
| 19/1 | 18.02 | 17·5 max. |
| 19/2 | 24.14 | 9.5 |
| 9a/1 | 18 | 6.9 |
| Period III: | | |
| 9a/2 | 18 | 8-4 |
| 6a | 28.7 | |
| 1a/2 | 24.09 | |

Outbuildings (fig. 73)

We have now considered all those buildings which have produced evidence of residential function, or whose plans suggests such a function. "Outbuildings" includes all other buildings. Their plan rarely indicates a specific function; most will have been barns, stables, cart sheds or threshing floors. Walling may have been of timber or stone. Certain plan forms recur in both materials.

The earliest structures had timber walls, often resting on stone sills in which much freestone was used; they varied from well-laid walls (e.g. 15b/2, 15c/2) to slots or folds in the bedrock filled with rubble (15g, 15h). Some walls were marked by drainage gullies (15c/1, 15c/3). No evidence survives for wall infill, or for permanent doors. Some of these outbuildings were later reconstructed in stone to the eaves; the rounded corners of some (e.g. 14, 15d, 16/6) suggest hipped roofs.

The outbuildings of Periods II and III were all of stone, and fall into two categories:



Fig. 73 Comparative plans of outbuildings.

small buildings with single entrances and larger barns with opposed doorways. The small buildings are mostly of 20 to 30 sq. m. They are unlikely to have been byres, since none contained a sump, but they may have provided stabling: there is good evidence for horses at West Whelpington, and it is unlikely that they were housed with the cattle (Brunskill 1978, 156).

The barns varied in area between 35 and 56 sq. m, and are probably the stone equivalent of buildings like 15c/1 and 15c/3. The opposed entrances would have given the through draught which is essential for hand threshing; unthreshed corn would be stored on one side of the threshing floor, threshed straw on the other. Houses or outbuildings may have had lofts for the storage of threshed grain to protect it from rats. The wide double entrances would make it possible to drive a cart into the barn for off-loading. Ruts in enclosure D/1 show that carts were in use; they may have been stored in the threshing floors. The ruts, at 0.8 m apart, suggest vehicles comparable

with the heavy two-horse carts of the late 18th century, which were still much commoner than waggons (Young 1770; Bailey and Culley 1805, 38). Measuring $1.67 \text{ m} \log_2 1 \text{ m} \text{ wide and } 0.50 \text{ m} \text{ deep}$, they could carry 864 kg (17 cwt) in winter and 1.016 kg (1 ton) in summer.

Site 14 had a raised platform at one end; a barrel padlock might suggest that the building had contained a chest or cupboard. Areas of paving or levelling were noted in 10/2, 15b/2, 15c/2, 15d, 15g and 24: in the last instance it suggests a cross-passage which was presumably the threshing floor. Several buildings had paved thresholds, in the case of 8b incorporating a drain; pivot-stones *in situ* on 8b and 14 show that some outbuildings had permanent doors. Entrances were generally in one or both of the longer sides; only 17a seems to have had an entrance in one end.

Comparative floor areas of outbuildings (sq. m):

| Timber buildings: | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 15b/2 | 13·8 (min.) |
| 15c/2 | 16·3 (min.) |
| 1 5h | 22.5 |
| 15c/1 | 42 (max.) |
| 15c/3 | 40.5 (max.) |
| 15g | 39-4 |
| Small stone buildings: | |
| 8b - | 27.2 |
| 8c | 21 (min.) |
| 14 | 31 |
| 15d | 18 (min.) |
| 16/1 | 30-4 |
| 17a | 26.3 |
| Stone barns: | |
| 5a/1 | 53.8 (+room to the east, 26.3) |
| 10/2 | 45.6 |
| 10/3 | 36.8 |
| 24 | 56.3 |

The forge (fig. 57)

The arrangement of this building and its analogies were discussed in section 2 (building 15/4). Its floor area was some 30 sq. m, and it was presumably roofed in the same way as other structures. It was the only building of specialized function recognized at West Whelpington. In contrast to other Period III buildings its walls contained large quantities of roughly dressed freestone.

Crofts, enclosures, folds and pens (fig. 74)

The excavated early medieval crofts (L to O) vary between 480 and 680 sq. m in area, and are broadly rectangular in shape. Smaller enclosures, often D-shaped, were either appended to the croft close to the house site (e.g. H/6) or formed sub-divisions within the croft (e.g. I/1 and I/2); they form two groups, averaging roughly 75 and 250 sq. m, respectively. Croft and enclosure boundaries show the same constructional methods.



Fig. 74 Comparative plans of enclosures, folds and hay-stack bases.

In Period I two methods of construction were in use. The first had a rubble core faced on either side with large freestone slabs set on edge; it is found in crofts M and L, and all of the croft walls along the south cliff, in enclosure H/6 and possibly in L/3. The other favoured construction was a bank and ditch (figs. 47 and 48, S 32 and S 42). These seem similar to those of the late 18th century which were planted with quicks at the base of the bank; these would form an impenetrable hedge which would need cutting only once in a decade (Bailey and Culley 1805, 61). This form of boundary occurs in croft D, enclosures M/1 and M/2, and in the boundary bank across the west end of the Period II village.

During Period II these methods of construction were replaced by drystone walls, mainly of whin boulders. Analogy with late 18th century examples suggests that they would have been capped with sods or with stone set on edge, and would not have exceeded 1.35 m in height (Bailey and Culley 1805, 62).

It is assumed that there was a croft for each house, normally lying behind the toft, though in some cases (e.g. site 26) the croft must have been at a little distance from its toft: in this case the croft was probably L. The croft probably had several functions, and may have been sub-divided by fencing. Part may have been a kitchen garden; other parts may have been used for grazing horses, poultry or pigs. On occasion the whole area might be cultivated: crofts L to O show plough-marks on the bedrock, and considerable quantities of pottery introduced by manuring; crofts A to D have a substantial depth of topsoil.

Presumably the village green, of 1.32 ha., was available for grazing, though this cannot be proved. The pound in its centre is a reminder of the importance of livestock, and can be paralleled in many northern villages, such as Elsdon, Northumberland; but we should note that in Scotland communal kailyards (walled kitchen gardens) may be found in a similar position (Fenton 1979).

Late in the life of the village, mostly in Period III, new folds and enclosures appeared. Some are rectilinear enclosures enroaching on to the green, most of the others are subdivisions of crofts. They have no obvious precursors, and may reflect changes in the extent or character of animal husbandry; but they might equally well be stone boundaries replacing fences which left no recognizable trace. If the distinction between large enclosures in front of the tofts and smaller folds and pens behind reflects the management of different types of animal, we might note the model Northumberland farm of the early 19th century in which an inner yard was used for young poultry, pigs, coals etc. while the outer fold-yards were reserved for cattle of various ages.

It may be worth examining some of the reasons why such enclosures may have been necessary. The commons of West Whelpington, Ray and Hawick were undivided and bordered upon each other. Marking of stock will therefore have been essential, and would have necessitated at least temporary enclosures to separate marked and unmarked animals. Permanent enclosures may have been necessary to separate stud animals from the main flock or herd in order to control the period of conception. The only evidence for tethering stock in the village is a perforated stone from site 10, and a swivel which might derive from a set of traces from site 9. At a later date it was customary to separate animals of different ages, in order to observe their development, and to control their feeding, weaning and breeding (Bailey and Culley 1805, 147, 148 and 151). In the early 18th century sheep in Northumberland were universally salved with a mixture of sheep's milk butter and tar, a precursor of sheep-dip (ibid. 153-4). "They reckon this method keeps them free from the scab, warm in bad weather, and also makes the wool grow" (Young 1770, 66). This, like the milking it implies would make enclosures a necessity; circular stone enclosures (*fanks*) were customary in Scotland for folding and milking ewes (Fenton 1976, 150). Milking and cheese production were usual throughout the county, despite the weakening of the ewes which resulted (Bailey and Culley 1805, 154). Enclosures would also be necessary at shearing time.

Most of these activities, and similar ones for cattle, will have continued throughout the life of the village; they do not therefore explain the sudden appearance of new enclosures in Period III. Nor are other explanations readily found. The Period III byres were some 30% larger than those of Period II, but it is not likely that enough cattle were over-wintered to necessitate a system of folds for animals of different ages, especially as it was still customary fifty years after the desertion of the village to send the majority of calves to market (Young 1770). Some documentary evidence does suggest an increase in the importance of sheep in the late 17th century, but this does not solve our problem, since Northumbrian sheep were not folded during the winter but kept on the commons.

Comparative sizes of enclosures (sq. m):

| Crofts: | |
|---------------------------------|------|
| L | 527 |
| М | 486 |
| Ν | 681 |
| 0 | 651 |
| | 0.51 |
| Medieval enclosures: | |
| H/6 | 210 |
| L/2 | 92 |
| L/3 | 57 |
| M/1 | 290 |
| M/2 | 290 |
| | 70 |
| Period III enclosures on green: | |
| Site 2 | 143 |
| Site 7 | 192 |
| Site 8 | 168 |
| | 100 |
| Later folds: | |
| 8a | 81 |
| H/4 | 35 |
| Pound | 57 |
| | • |
| Pens: | |
| 5a/2 | 10 |
| H/3 | Ŕ |
| 15a | 6 |
| | 0 |
Hay-stacks (fig. 74)

We have already noted that the stone platforms against the gable ends of cottages were probably bases for hay-stacks. A similar function should be assigned to the four circular platforms near sites 15f, 16d, 20 and 26 west; their areas vary from 3.14 square metres to 1.76.

Fenton (1976, 73–6) discusses similar bases in Scotland, ranging from 1.75 to 24 square metres in area. In all cases we should expect that the platform was covered with brushwood or bracken before stacking with hay. The only other possible explanation for these platforms is as bases for structures such as water-butts; this might explain the rectangular stone setting 15f.

Other structures might have occurred in the village, but have not been identified. By the 19th century it was usual to house pigs in a covered sty opening on to a walled yard; a loft over the sty was devoted to hens (Bailey and Culley 1805, 26–7), presumably with access by a plank or other ramp (Brunkskill 1978, 162). No such structures were found at West Whelpington, though they might have been placed in the Period III yards on the green. Timber hen houses would not have been identified as such. Nor was there any evidence of kilns in the village. The absence of lime-kilns is explained by the solid geology. Malting or drying kilns are common enough in the area, but the known examples are associated either with mills (Philipson 1977; Harbottle and Newman 1977, 134) or with quite late farmsteads in Redesdale (Charlton and Day 1982). The nearest mill was at Ray and the only evidence which could suggest a mill in West Whelpington township is the broken stone from site 15/3.

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