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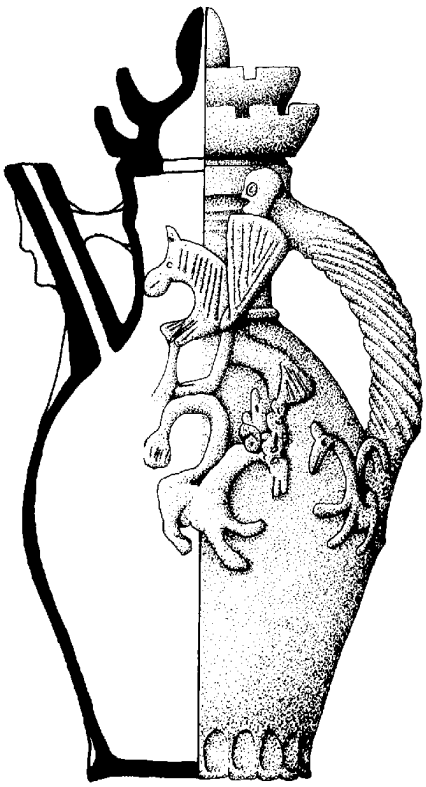

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Editorial

The articles in this volume of *Transactions* deal with a wide range of subjects ranging in time from the prehistoric to the modern and will, I am sure, repay careful study. There is a mixture of archaeology and history so there should be something for everyone!

I should be very happy to receive contributions for the next volume from both established and new writers. A great deal of research is being done by members of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society and it is highly desirable that the results of this hard work should be disseminated widely, in articles as well as in lectures. Anyone who has an article in mind but perhaps feels unsure about their ability to produce one of the required standard should not hesitate to discuss their ideas with me as I am able and willing to work with authors to help them get their articles written. I have already been doing this recently with a number of members of the society. Please contact me at keithjohnston@btinternet.com, on 01723 368224 or at 28 Weaponness Valley Road, Scarborough, North Yorkshire, YO11 2JF. If anyone wishes to discuss any articles on Scarborough and the First World War I should be particularly delighted! There is a real interest in this topic, as the success of the booklet of walks on the 1914 Bombardment shows.

Twentieth-century Britain witnessed a great deal of interest in historical pageants and there were many in Yorkshire, including the Scarborough Historical Pageant and Play in 1912. The society is working with a group of academics involved in the project 'The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain, 1905-2016' and I should be delighted to know of any documents or artefacts relating to Yorkshire pageants, especially the Scarborough one. Any committee papers would be of particular interest! Anyone wanting to know more about the project should have a look at its website – http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/

I should like to finish with a book recommendation. The work of Alan Sorrell is familiar to anyone with an interest in historical sites in Great Britain and has had a great influence on many people; I remember as a young man being fascinated by his historical reconstructions, as also later by those of Victor Ambrus. *Alan Sorrell: The Life and Works of an English Neo-Romantic Artist*, edited by Sacha Llewellyn and Richard Sorrell, is a fascinating study, revealing a great deal about the subject's life as well as about the range of his work. It is also profusely illustrated.

As usual I should like to thank all those who have helped in the preparation of this volume, especially Trevor Pearson who handled the final preparation of the volume for printing.

THE HULLEYS: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT SITE IN NORTH YORKSHIRE

By VAUGHAN J. WASTLING

This article stems from an undergraduate dissertation undertaken at the University of Bradford some years ago, a portion of which was to assess the settlement credentials of the Hulleys prehistoric site in North Yorkshire. The methodology adopted was to combine all previous documentary evidence with a substantial regime of field work in order to establish the settlement status and the chronology of this inadequately understood site. Combining those two elements has revealed that the Hulleys clearly was a settlement, and that it was in continuous use from the early Neolithic period through to at least the 3rd/4th century AD.

Introduction

The site known as the Hulleys is located five miles north of Scarborough, and is at the south eastern tip of the North York Moors National Park (Figure 1). Initial public knowledge of the site stemmed from the publication in 1820 of a map by Robert Knox.[1] Knox was employed as a surveyor by the East India Company and spent most of his working life travelling the globe on behalf of the Company. When he returned to the Hulleys many years later he was shocked at the damage that had been caused to the prehistoric remains, much of which he attributed to amateur excavators. He partially blamed himself for the destructions, which he knew were only possible because he had revealing the site location to the general public on his earlier map. But that guilt was turned to positive effect and caused him to include his youthful records of the Hulleys in his publication of 1855, *Eastern Yorkshire: Descriptions Geological, Topographical and Antiquarian in Eastern Yorkshire*.[2] That publication is the major source of information on the Hulleys without which our opportunity to interpret the site would be vastly reduced. In 1829 John Cole published a few details about the site,[3] but no further information was then published until 1930 when the notable archaeologist Frank Elgee, who had visited the site, made a few brief comments.[4] Members of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society provide the other substantial source of information. In the early 1920s members excavated the 'Druid stone circle', and as a result commissioned an iron slag report on a bowl furnace they had discovered.[5] Finally in 1958 F. C. Rimington published details of his excavations of the same stone circle, together with the Society's members 1920's findings in the very first Scarborough and District Archaeological Society *Transactions*.[6]

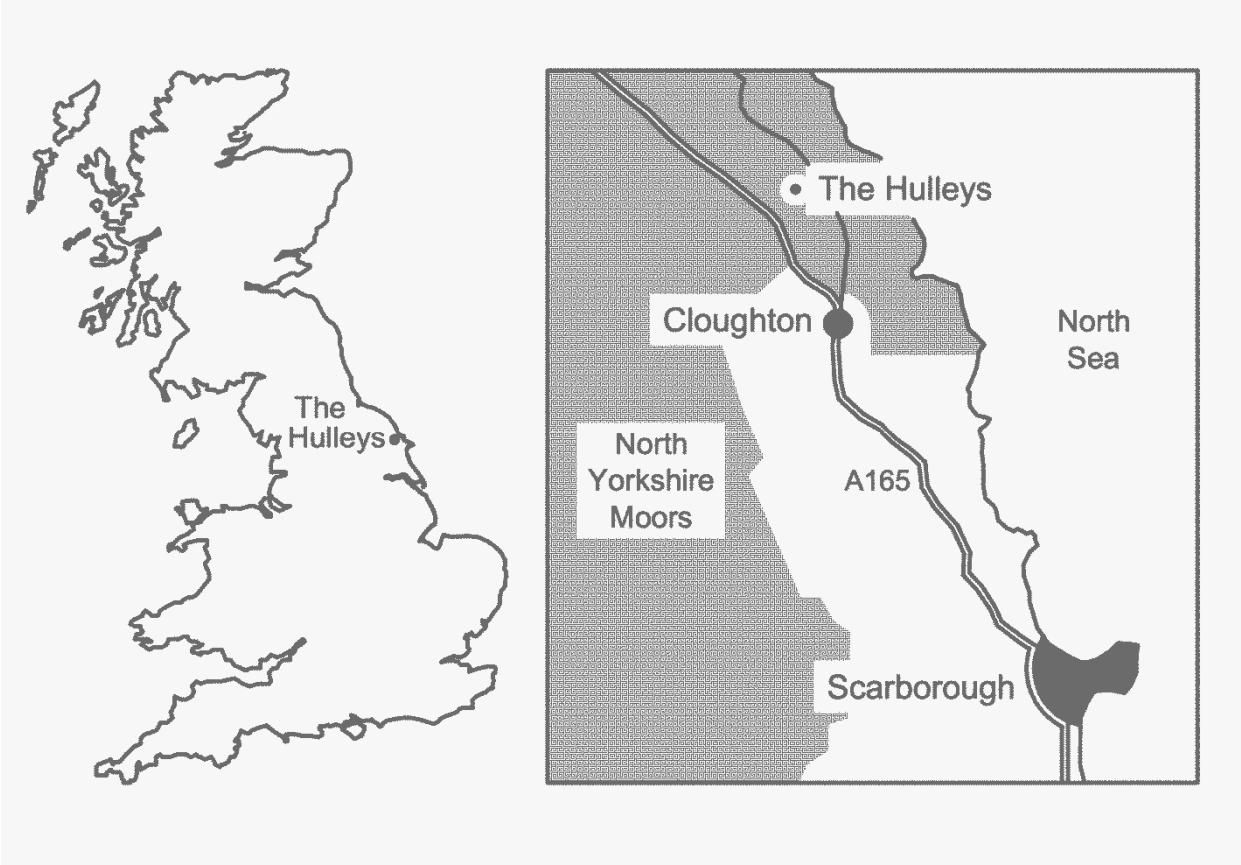


Figure 1: Site location

The location, in terms of prehistoric farming, could not be better. The site stands on a coastal strip of boulder clay that is found to the east of the glacial drift boundary of the higher moor land. Recorded as covering an area some half a mile in length and 400 yards wide, the land has a gentle slope southwards, falling from 500 to 400 feet over the length of the site and as a result it catches additional sunlight. The land is naturally demarcated by dales in all directions, all of which contain small streams and a number of springs. While water is readily available some areas can as a result become boggy, and the land to the north was a former 'swamp'.[7] Standing only half a mile west of the sea the site also has the benefit of a local microclimate as the sea temperature, which is higher than the land temperature during the winter period, protects it from severe frosts and creates a more benign farming environment than that found further inland.[8] The Hulleys site was clearly in a very advantageous location given the limitations imposed by prehistoric farming methods.

The elements of the site recorded by Robert Knox in 1855:

The field system

In the central area were fifteen low earthen mounds (M), drawn on the plan as a number of adjoining oblong shapes. Knox described them as forming 'square areas or paddocks' (Figure. 2).[9] These features were later to be labelled 'Celtic Fields' by Frank Elgee, and therefore of Iron Age/Romano-British date.[10] The term Celtic field is applied to a chequerboard system of fields, and was originally intended to draw a distinction between the Saxon system and earlier systems

of cultivation. However it became widely used as a definition of a system specifically attributed to the later prehistoric and Romano-British periods. In fact some Celtic field systems, e.g. on Dartmoor, have been dated back to the second millennium BC.[11] Celtic fields certainly began to be used in the middle Bronze Age and possibly even earlier, demonstrated by one or two early Bronze Age barrows being superimposed onto such systems, although no Neolithic examples are known to exist.[12] The term Celtic fields is a useful one, but it should not be considered or used as a specific chronological marker, nor as indicating any typological unity in chequerboard field systems.[13] The Hulleys field system could therefore easily have originated as early as the Bronze Age.

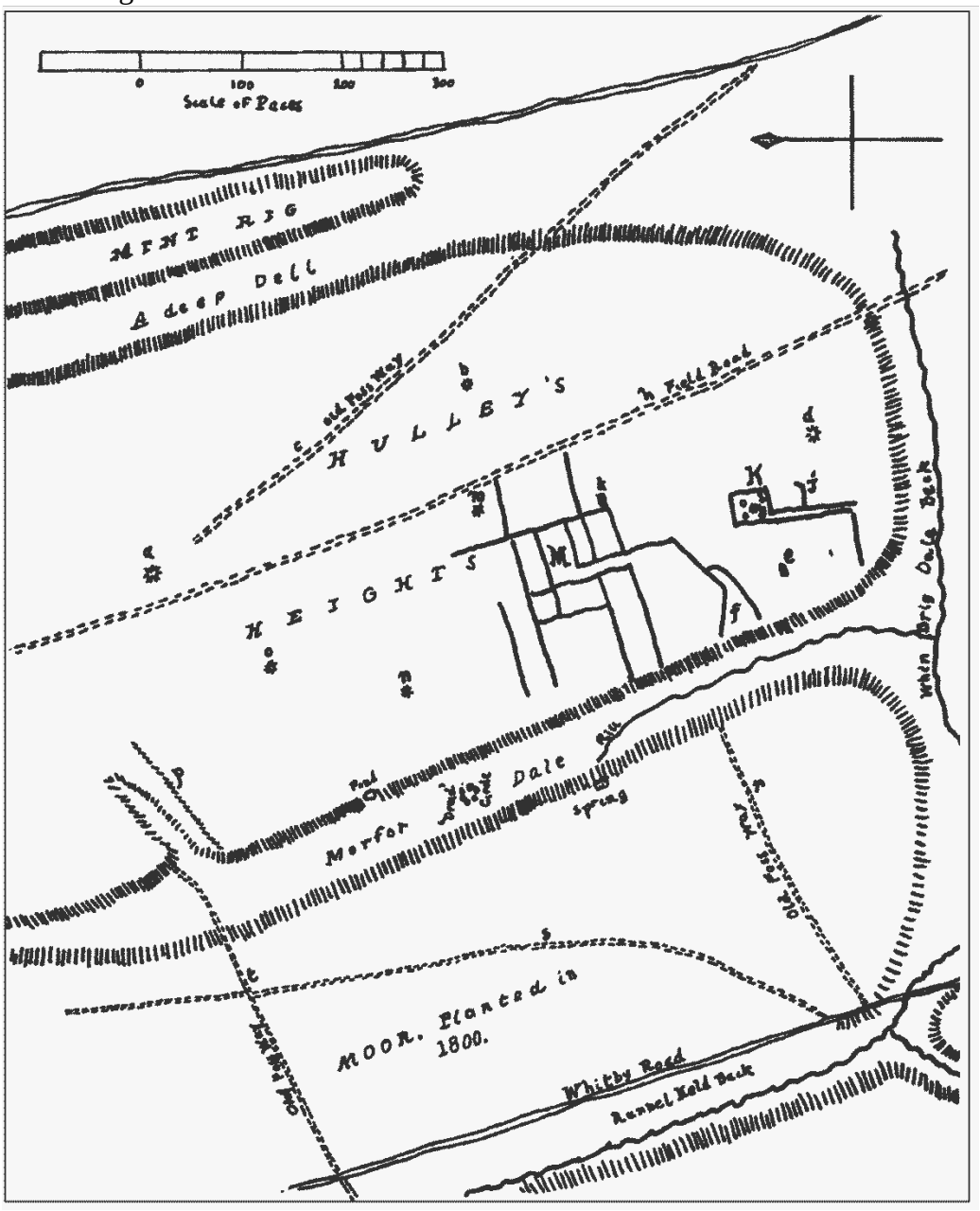


Figure 2: Plan of the Hulleys (after Knox, Eastern Yorkshire)

Standing stones

By one of the mounds (k) was a three foot ‘druid-stone’. A similar stone stood by a small cairn (e) down at the southern end of the site.[14]

Huts

To the north of the field system was a ‘large cluster of beehive-like stone huts’. In 1818 Knox demolished one of these structures, which had dry stone walls about 6 feet high, with a diameter of some six to eight feet, beneath which was a rough flagged floor embedded in the ground. The local farmer had cleared many of these ‘small round heaps of stone’ over the years and reported they were all the same, with flagged floors and consisting of two to three cartloads of stone. Knox concluded that from their clustering, flagged floors and domed shape that they were huts previously roofed with rushes or long grass.[15] While these structures appear small for hut circles, support for this interpretation is given by the magnetic susceptibility results, which have all the high readings indicative of occupation activity in exactly that position – just north of the former field systems position (Figure 4).

Square enclosure

To the south was what Knox labelled ‘the Citadel’, and described as the most conspicuous part of the ruins. It consisted of a square of loose stones about 2 feet high, the north and south sides being thirty four paces in length, the east and west thirty two paces. The square had ‘an avenue’ (K), formed by ridges of loose piled up stone 12 to 14 feet wide extending south for sixty paces, which he thought was a passageway to a defended ‘fortress’. Within the square a small cairn (g) 10 feet across was opened by Knox in 1818. It contained a stone 5 feet long, with a width going from 1½ to 2 feet, ‘laid like a gravestone’. The stone was covering ashes, charcoal and some burnt bone. In the same structure was a similar stone also covering ashes and charcoal. Knox records that he found no urn or stone formed graves. Four other small cairns were to be found around the site (e, m, n, o). He also found within the square four pits in the ground, his only comment being that these were what some writers call ‘ancient British houses’. A small earth bank (J) ran away at right angles from the avenue of the Citadel leading to a brook.[16]

The main square body of this feature, with the remains of at least one hut circle, still exists and is located at the very southern end of the modern pasture before the ground drops away into forestry (Plate 1). The banks leading to the brook appear to have been totally destroyed by that forest planting activity. These small squares or rectilinear enclosures have been recognised in northeast Yorkshire for many years. All initially thought to be Iron Age, they are now known to continue into the Romano-British period as well. Normally these enclosures, thought to be native farmsteads, contain one to three hut sites and also had a function of stock containment.[17] Spratt differentiates between those squares with sharp and rounded corners, which he dates as pre-Roman Iron Age, and the small square enclosures which he dates as Roman, but notes there is unlikely to be a definitive chronology based on shape. He records the Hulleys as pre-Roman Iron Age.[18]

The stone circle

A stone circle in Morfor Dale, just to the west of the main site area, Knox had originally thought to be a sheep fold (Plate 2). However following the publication of his 1820 map, the circle had been excavated by a number of local people and fragments of urns and bricks together with a 'flat alter stone' had been recovered. Knox saw some of these artefacts, including some on display in the local museum of a Mr Bean, which he described as, 'brick articles similar in shape to large vertebrae'. This museum has long since ceased to exist, and the various items have been widely scattered.[19] He added this information to his Citadel and druid-stones ideas, and concluded that the circle was a 'druid circle'. The circle had seven stone pillars of about three feet high, and was twenty one feet across.[20] The circle is as a result still known locally as the Druid circle. Sadly although scheduled as a protected ancient monument it was accidentally destroyed during forest thinning operations in 2001.[21] The stones currently visible were replaced by the farmer following this event.[22] An excavation between the years 1923-25 revealed a double concentric walled building with a bowl furnace containing slag, inside the southeast corner of the structure.[23] This certainly accounts for the above 'brick articles', which would have been part of the furnace itself. A slag report was commissioned which revealed the presence of calcium compounds, a sure indication of the use of bellows.[24] This fact was initially thought to date the furnace to the Medieval period, but later work on Levisham Moor[25] and Roxby, has demonstrated that bowl furnace were also in use in northeast Yorkshire in the Iron Age and early Romano-British periods. In addition while examining the circle in 1957, Rimington found some small shards of coarse pottery, as he tested the depth to which the stones were set into the ground. While they were too small for accurate dating purposes, he thought they were Iron Age in character.[26] This structure therefore gives every indication of being an Iron Age/early Romano-British hut, with an iron smelting kiln. There are suggestions that further hut circles may have stood nearby,[27] indeed a newspaper report of 1938 states 'lower courses of several huts could be discerned',[28] (Walker 1938), although none are visible today. Any further huts may also have been for 'industrial' purposes, and situated in this small valley for ready access to a water supply.

Plate1: The Hulleys looking north.
At the bottom of the pasture in the right hand corner the 'Citadel'
(Iron Age square enclosure) is still clearly visible.

Plate 2: The 'Druid' circle (Iron Age/Romano-British hut) in Morfar Dale, 1999

Large tumuli

A 'large sepulchral tumulus or houe' (a), twenty yards across at the base stood at the north-eastern corner of the site. Knox had seen this tumulus in his youth, but by 1818 only the base stones remained. The stones, hundreds of cartloads, had been removed for road building, including for the moor road to Whitby which runs nearby.[29] He examined the remnants in 1818 and found, 'an urn crushed to pieces' and mingled with its fragments was a black greasy substance, as hard as butter, in a layer about 2 inches thick; unburnt bones were with the urn. The material of the urn he described as 'clay interspersed with specks of lime and imperfectly baked or sun dried' and similar to the brick articles and pottery found by Mr Bean in the Morfor Dale Stone Circle. A similar tumulus (b) stood 'a furlong or more to the south'. That was also removed by 1818, but the dimensions were visible as convex ground with a few kerbstones. This tumulus Knox was informed had also contained 'a funereal urn'. A third large tumulus (d), again visible only by the convex site, stood near to the Square enclosure.[30] In 1828 one of the tumuli to the east of the ruins, removed for the road building, was described as standing fourteen to sixteen feet high, and having a diameter of seventy feet. The material used for construction is described thus

> The stones were all more or less rounded by attrition, as if they had been brought from the sea beach, or collected from the surface of the land, where they had long lain, exposed to atmospheric conditions. And almost every variety that Geologists describe on the coast may be found in these barrows.[31]

It appears therefore that beach stones or glacial deposits were the construction material. This is supported by the fact that local sandstone, which is abundant, is not suitable for road construction, which was the ultimate fate of the barrows. There was a local trade until as late as

the 1920's, bringing just such material from the beach for road construction.[32] The pottery fragments within the tumuli were described as, coarse and unbaked and as having ornamentation that 'appears to have been made with the nail of the thumb or finger'.[33] Elgee had no doubt that these large burial mounds were Bronze Age, and either Urn or Food vessel burials.[34] Indeed in his illustrations relating to other sites[35] Knox uses the term 'urn' to cover both what is clearly an urn, but also what appear to be food vessels. Certainly the tumuli are early Bronze Age, and as very few Beaker burials, which are a late Neolithic/early Bronze Age feature, are known from northeast Yorkshire – in 1982 twenty four in total[36] – it seems more than reasonable to take Knox's references to 'Urns' as urns or food vessels.

Ridges

At the north-west corner of the site a 'ridge' (p), made of large stones stood, whilst ridges (f) in the south-west of the site were described as 'strong ones of stone'.[37]

Roads

Five roads are noted and mapped, including a foss-way leading from the east at Newlands Road (c) and two hollow ways to the west of Morfor Dale (r and t), heading towards the modern Whitby Moor road. Road (t) is described as descending over the moor among many tombs and terminating in the middle of a cluster of small ones a mile from the Hulleys. This road is also pointing to a line of large tumuli heading off to Silpho Moor Brow, the site of numerous tumuli and some two miles from the Hulleys. Road (s) was a flat raised road between two ditches. Considerable remnants of these last three are still extant in the modern plantation. Finally a long earthen boundary (h) ran along the eastern side of the site, and Knox thought this to either be a raised road or a defensive bank.[38] This feature marked on his plan as a field road still exists as such but is no longer raised, probably through heavy use as it was for many years the farm road to Cloughton village.

Artefacts

In addition to the pottery fragments from the tumuli and stone circle Knox found little except a stone quern. The Hulleys farmer, Mr Hodgeson, informed Knox that he had removed many of these while clearing the site. Knox illustrated his quern, which is a rotary type.[39] Rotary querns were first introduced into the country in the La Tène period of the Iron Age, with the earlier ones from the La Tène villages being beehive shaped, which gradually became flatter over time. The Hulleys one illustrated by Knox, and a further two found by Elgee on his visit were all of a flatter style, and this enabled Elgee to date them as later Iron Age, possibly Roman or post-Roman;[40] that general dating is still valid today.[41]

The modern field work 1997-1999

There were two elements to the field work, firstly a major field walking exercise and secondly a major test pitting exercise.

Field walking

Under the present farming regime only three areas were under plough, with the remainder of the land given over to pasture and woodland. Using the 'Druid circle' and the 'field road' (h),

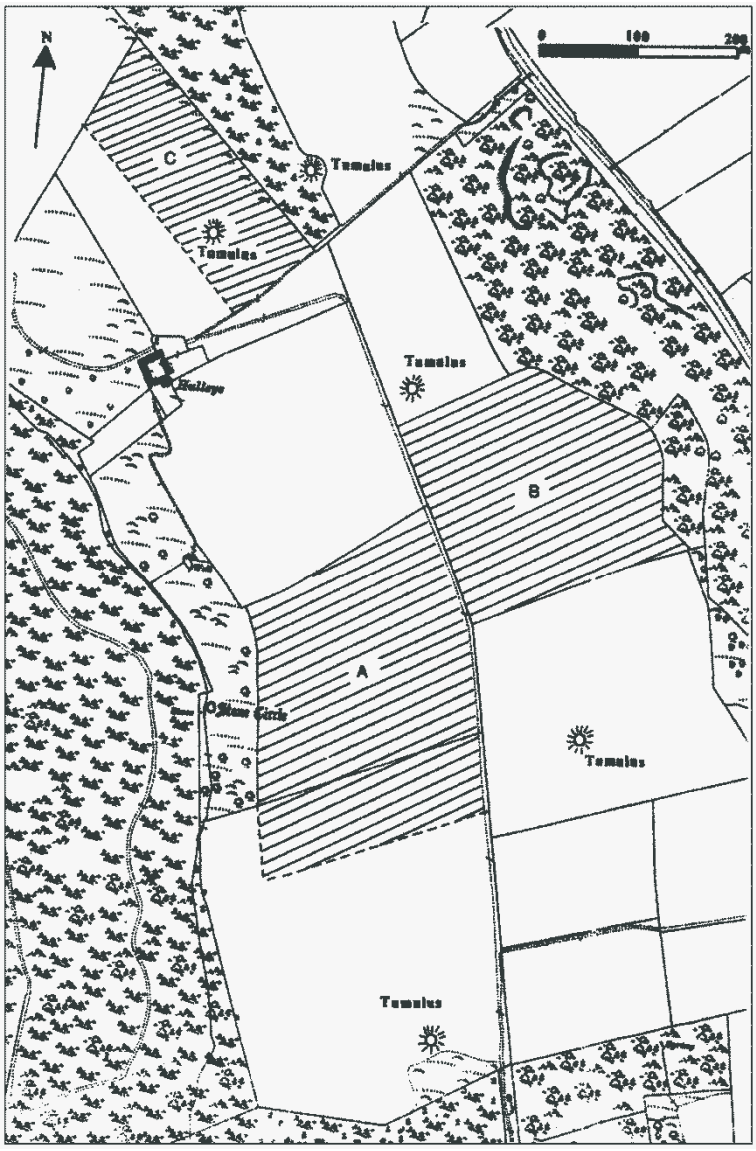


Figure 3
The three field walked areas together with the locations of all known former Early Bronze Age barrows (from Ordnance Survey with additions)

shown on Knox's plan which were still extant, the approximate location of the ancient field system and the large burial mounds was determined. The mounds, stone circle and field road are shown on a plan of the current field system (Figure 3). The three areas marked A, B, C, have been carefully field walked by the author once a year for three years. Optimum conditions were selected for the examinations, which were that after ploughing and harrowing had taken place time was allowed for wind and rain to remove the obscuring dust caused by those activities. Field walking then took place following a light period of rain, which enabled the flints, which constituted the majority of the finds, to be easily seen. Sessions were also restricted to two hours per day, as it was discovered that performance fell away if longer periods were attempted. This ensured that all the ground was thoroughly examined to the same standard and that a large enough collection of artefacts for reasonable interpretation was eventually recovered. The area sizes are approximately ten, nine and five acres respectively. Area (A) covers some of the former field system, and the location where Knox recorded his huts. Area (B) is located where no structures or burial mounds were noted. Area (C) is not on Knox's plan**,** but has a former tumulus recorded by the Ordnance Survey. There is no natural flint on this land; however flint would have been available only half a mile away at Hayburn Wyke in the form of coastal erratics. An alternative major source of flint for prehistoric cultures was Flamborough Head,

situated a few miles to the south and clearly visible from the Hulleys. This large chalk headland has survived virtually unchanged since prehistoric times and massive flint scatters of good quality flint from the glacial till that tops Flamborough Head, witness the exploitation of what must have been a major concentration of flint extraction activity in this area.[42] A little modern intrusive flint was present, carried from the chalk infill on two tracks, but this was easily identified as such by colour and texture. The topsoil, which is slightly acidic, is on average 20 cms deep and is ploughed to a depth of some 12 cms. Below the topsoil is boulder clay which contains considerable sandstone. It has been estimated that the amount of artefacts that come to the surface during ploughing is from 4% to 7% of the total material present in the plough soil.[43] While this figure cannot be universally applicable, because of the tendency of some artefacts to be over represented at the surface,[44] and variations in soil types, it does give some indication of the potential scale of recovery from field walking. It also shows that plough soil is to a great extent a renewable resource, which excavation clearly is not. That point was graphically confirmed by this study, as the total amount of material recovered each year was very similar.

Test pitting

Test pitting over the Hulleys was undertaken to explore two major issues. Firstly what level of anthropogenic activity might be detected in soil samples taken from the pits? This would potentially ascertain the limits of the site, which Knox had shown to be concentrated within the area now covered by Fields 1, 2 and 3[45] (*Figure 4*). A further five fields surrounding that area were included in the test pitting exercise to address that issue. Secondly pitting was also used to ascertain if the distribution of flint tools, notably small scrapers concentrated in one area of Field 6, was the result of soil erosion and greater exposure of material, or did it indicate an area of greater, perhaps specialist activity? The samples were taken from the top soil which averaged about 20 cms. These samples were later subjected to magnetic susceptibility procedures in the laboratory. This procedure detects enhanced topsoil magnetism which is believed to stem from two causes, firstly and most significantly burning, and secondly a fermentation effect produced by alternating dry and saturated conditions. A high level of magnetism is typical of intense human activity and is readily distinguishable from any background reading, which may contain enhancements due to events such as slash and burn or stubble burning.[46] Because of the number of pits needed to provide a reasonable spread over the area the pit size was restricted to half a metre. These were dug at the rate of nine for a large field and six for smaller fields, with a reasonable random physical spread within a field. Additional pits were dug when it was thought appropriate, e.g. in Field 6 to answer the erosion v activity area question. The pits were dug in this non-probabilistic way, which is not random in a statistical sense, because a physical spread of information in each field was thought more relevant to this research than any benefit obtainable from statistical purity. Additionally the gridding of such large areas to undertake simple random sampling, which is statistically pure, was too impractical and time consuming for any possible benefit that might be achieved. The final total of pits excavated was seventy-three (Figure 4).

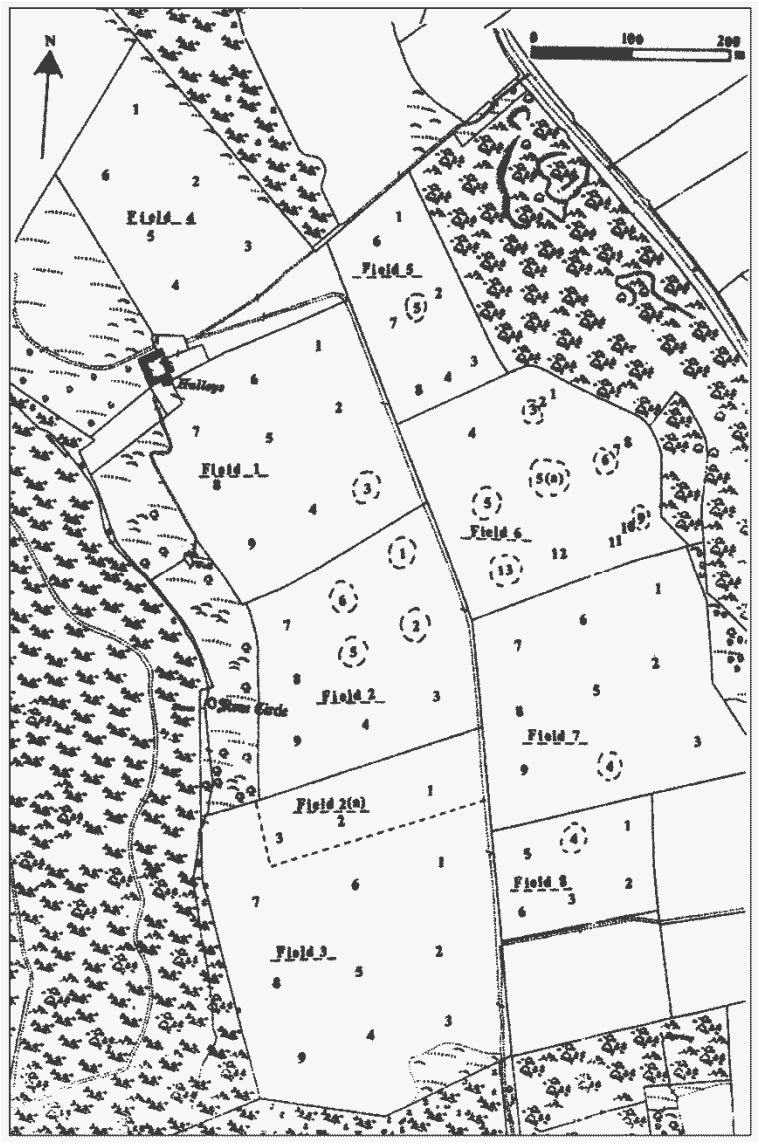


Figure 4:
The approximate location of all test pits with magnetic susceptibility readings over 100 circled (from Ordnance Survey with additions)

Results

The three years of field walking produced a total of 268 flint tools, together with some fifty cores. The three areas under plough, areas A, B & C, produced 199, fifty-eight, and eleven tools respectively. Waste flint from napping was not retained or counted, but was in the order of twenty to thirty pieces for every tool recovered. The assemblage consists of 140 scrapers, forty-four utilised blades including eleven serrated blades, forty-six utilised flakes, including three notched, one denticulate and five cutting flakes, eighteen points, one fabricator, one multiple tool, one microlith, one knife, one axe/adze fragment, one lanceolate point, twelve arrowheads, one possible arrowhead blank and one gunflint. Also recovered were three glass bangle fragments, three glass beads, nine pieces of jet, two shards of grey ware and two ard points[47] (Figure 5).

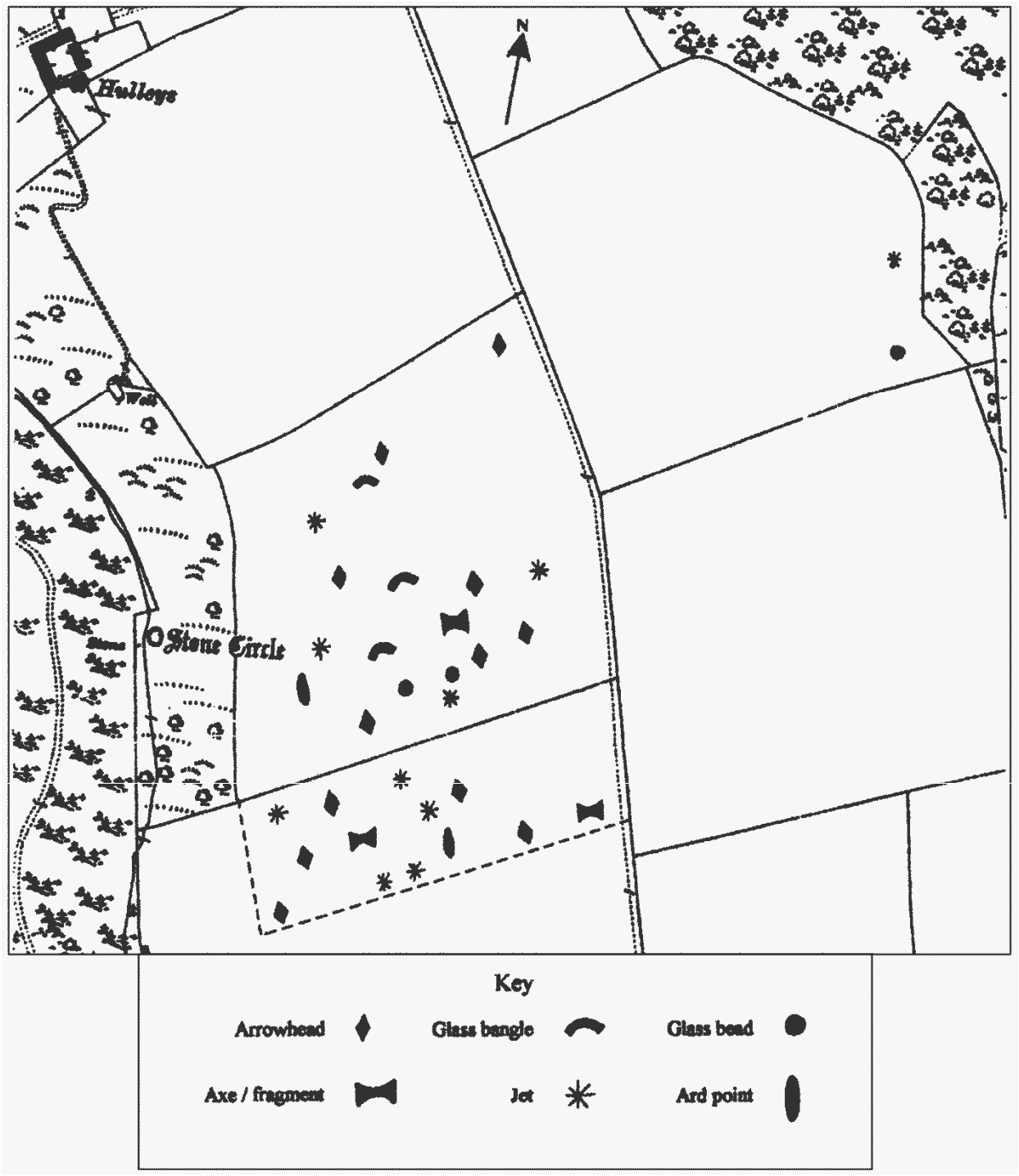


Figure 5: The distribution of significant finds from field walking (from Ordnance Survey with additions)

Area A produced the majority of the cores from the site, together with substantial debitage. 199 tools were recovered from this area and these included; a full range of the scrapers (all the larger ones), flakes and blades, serrated blades, all the arrowheads, a sandstone axe, axe fragments, a knife and a lanceolate point. There was no substantial concentration of finds in any particular area, but there appeared to be an overall distribution in favour of the lower end of the area where the field system was formerly located. Area B produced fifty seven tools, including a number of small thumbnail scrapers, a noted feature of Beaker associated assemblages.[48] There was a

concentration of finds to the east of this area, initially thought to possibly be due to erosion where the ground slopes away towards a small valley. This however did not prove to be the case, and the concentration appears to indicate an activity area. Area C produced only eleven tools, but these included two notched flakes, the multi-purpose tool and a finely worked bifacial blade. Unlike the other areas there was virtually no debitage, and what there was consisted of a few large good quality flakes. Only one core was found, which was very large indeed and of a type unique on the site. Area A had clearly been the most utilised and multifunctional area. Area B was also clearly part of the site at some period, perhaps a butchery or cleaning area at slight remove from the main site. Area C, although formerly containing a tumulus marked by the current Ordnance Survey, was not recorded by Knox. The paucity of tools or debitage appears to place this area effectively off site in terms of everyday activities.

Scrapers

The scrapers, which form the majority of the finds (52%) are ubiquitous tools and are often ill defined in reports. While collections of scrapers from stratified contexts can often be attributed to specific chronological periods, a mixing can result in misinterpretation, e.g. an earlier Neolithic assemblage mixed with a Bronze Age collection, results in an apparent late Bronze Age assemblage.[49] Individual scrapers are virtually impossible to date, but some general points are well worth making. Scrapers are very common on late Neolithic sites, where they demonstrate a gradual reduction in the number of scrapers made on narrow blades or flakes towards broader flakes with retouch down one or both sides.[50] These various types of scraper do however overlap from the late Neolithic period sites into the Bronze Age ones.[51] The potentially earliest material consists of the one microlith and some of the small scrapers, which would not look out of place in a Mesolithic tool assemblage.[52] Any link with this hunter gathering period must however be somewhat tenuous based only on this limited amount of evidence.

Blades and flakes

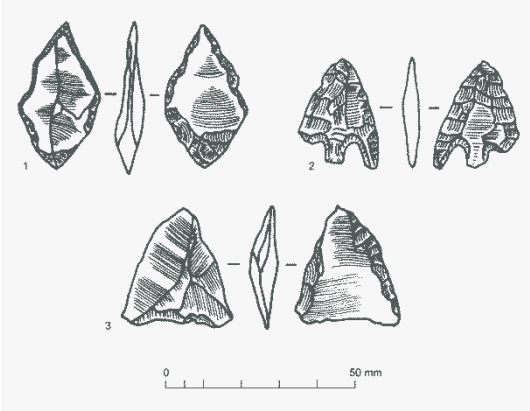
The utilised blades (16%) and flakes (17%) form the other substantial tool types. The majority show simple retouch down one or both sides, or clear evidence of usage wear. Clearly many of the flakes were the result of blades being broken, probably in use. There are a number of smaller utilised or retouched blades, in particular the serrated ones, which are a feature noted in early Neolithic assemblages.[53] A number of these serrated blades have a gloss that is clearly visible to the naked eye along the serrated edge. One of these has been examined under the microscope and found to have a gloss typical of that produced by cutting siliceous plant material such as cereals, using the tool as a sickle. These serrated blades are thought by some to have originated in the Mesolithic, but are usually classified as early Neolithic and certainly not later.[54] One theory for their not appearing in later Neolithic contexts is that there was a shift from cereals, to pastoralism.[55] To attempt to attribute this unstratified collection based solely on the scrapers, blades, flakes, to any specific period(s) of the Neolithic and/or Bronze Age is clearly problematic. However the serrated blades do provide a good early Neolithic marker, while many of the scrapers show the process of a gradual increase in size and retouch down one or more sides that is characteristic of late Neolithic/Bronze Age assemblages. More specific chronological information from the assemblage is however provided by the arrowheads.

Arrowheads

The oldest type recovered was the leaf arrowhead, of which there are three examples (Figure 6.1) Leaf arrowheads come in a variety of shapes, some with complete bi-facial working some with less working, including commonly as in all Hulleys examples only worked edges. Leaf arrowheads were in use from the early Neolithic period, continuing into the early Bronze Age.[56] The typology of the known variations of leaf arrowhead, places the Hulleys specimens as type 3c,[57] but this has no chronological significance. One further specimen of a leaf arrowhead is recorded as having been found at the Hulleys.[58]

The next oldest group of arrowheads recovered were the petit tranchet derivatives, also known as transverse arrowheads, a term that embraces the whole of the petit tranchets and their derivatives.[59] These are attributed to the period between the early domination of the leaf variety and the later domination of the barbed and tanged type, namely the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age transition. The petit tranchet arrowhead and its derivatives have a typology. This typology gives the petit tranchet as the parent type – type A – from which nine derivative forms of chisel and oblique, B to I, can be traced. The original petit tranchet is formed quite simply by taking a vaguely triangular section out of a flake or blade and using the sharp natural edge as a chisel fronted arrowhead. The only retouch required is the tidying of the sides to almost vertical, and sometimes a retouch to a third side (the rear); the leading edge of the arrowhead is never retouched.[60] Much comment has been made over the years regarding this complex typology, the direction of hafting and even the purpose of these tools – some of which are thought by some to be knives rather than arrowheads.[61] Setting aside those issues of use and hafting, Clark gave the primary value of the petit tranchet and the derivative forms as chronological markers, and it is for that purpose that they are valuable at the Hulleys. Clark dated all the varieties to the same period, namely the late Neolithic, continuing in use well into the Bronze Age, with the exception being the original Petit Tranchet which had preceded them. He dated the petit tranchet as common in the latter half of the Mesolithic, and also found in Neolithic and Bronze Age contexts.[62] However current knowledge shows no genuine sealed Mesolithic contexts, with almost every site also showing Neolithic and Bronze Age flint, so it is safer to view even the original petit tranchets as Neolithic rather than Mesolithic. Beaker evidence shows no chisel forms surviving later then 1850 BC. The oblique forms have a clear association with Rinyo-Clacton, Peterborough and Beaker ware and none of these contexts need be before 2000 BC. There is also no evidence supporting oblique dates later then 1500 BC. All the obliques therefore appear to be purely second millennium in date.[63]

The sequentially first example at the Hulleys is a chisel variety, type C1 (Figure 7.1), where the original vaguely triangular shape has become genuinely sub-triangular.[64] A putative type D example (Figure 7.2) is very similar to the idealised illustration in Clark, however it lacks the key feature of a surviving primary flake edge[65] and is not therefore strictly a type D. However while a key element of the original typology was that there should be a primary flake edge, it is apparent that many oblique types, including even some illustrated by Clark,[66] have some retouch to that primary flake usually to the tip and indeed some specimens have extensive retouch.[67] Two oblique type H specimens were also recovered (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). Both were found close to each other, are made from identical fine clear brown flint and both also have some slight retouch to the tips One (Figure 7.4) was unfinished with a bulb of percussion un-removed.



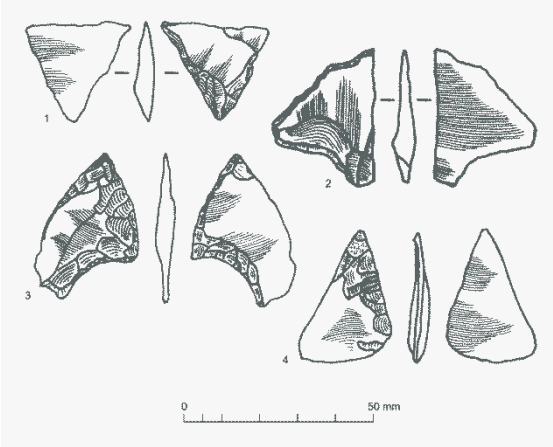


Figure 6 (left):
(1) Hulleys leaf arrowhead; (2) barbed and tanged arrowhead;(3) triangular arrowhead

Figure 7(right): Hulleys Petit tranchet derivative arrowheads
(1) type C1; (2) type D; (3) type H; (4) unfinished type H

Three barbed and tanged arrowheads were recovered (Figure 6.2), and a broken arrow tip probably also of this type. Two further barbed and tanged arrowheads are recorded as having been found at an earlier date at the Hulleys.[68] These are the classic Bronze Age arrowhead, appearing in the early part of that period when later Neolithic types were still in use but soon becoming the dominant variety.[69] All the Hulleys examples are classified as Sutton types, which are the everyday and most common forms of the barbed and tanged arrowhead. The numerous variations of the Sutton types are not of any particular significance, and all types occur in beaker, food vessel and urn burials of the early Bronze Age. The barbed and tanged arrowhead has strong associations with the Beaker period, a distinct material culture within the late Neolithic.[70] While Beaker settlements utilised the leaf, oblique and the barbed and tanged arrowhead, the barbed and tanged was by far the most predominant. Later in the Food Vessel period some leaf arrowheads are found, but again barbed and tanged types predominate, although the association is not as pure as in the Beaker period. That situation also applies to collared urns contexts. The well documented change in the early Bronze Age from inhumation and cremation burials to only cremation burials allows us to note that Sutton types are present in equal frequencies in all of those contexts, and were therefore present during the whole of the period when barbed and tanged arrowheads were in use.[71]

Only one triangular arrowhead was recovered (Figure 6.3). Triangular arrowheads are rare in Britain and many are thought to be blanks for barbed and tanged types.[72] Radiocarbon dates support that view and place triangular examples consistently in the early to mid second millennium BC.[73] This example is made of the same grey flecked flint as the largest barbed and tanged specimen (Figure 6.2) and is of similar proportions. It also has limited working and is probably therefore a blank for a barbed and tanged arrowhead.

Axes

In addition to the flint tools a number of other artefacts were recovered including one axe and two axe fragments; one fragment consisting of the rear portion of a flint axe or adze, with the other being a central section of a finely polished green stone axe, while the third specimen was a complete very crude local sandstone axe. In chronological terms these items provide information in only the broadest sense. Flint axes and some polished axes were already in use in the late Mesolithic. The polished axe flourished in the early Neolithic alongside the flint axe, and as the Neolithic entered its late phase both materials continued to be used with no clear sequence of forms.[74] Similarly the early Bronze Age saw flint and stone axes still in use, and they persisted right through to the middle Bronze Age period,[75] probably being replaced by metal axes in the late Bronze Age.[76] Fully polished stone axes are however an early Neolithic feature,[77] and the green stone fragment is clearly such an axe. Neolithic settlement pattern on the North York Moors is best studied by axe distribution patterns. There is a notable absence of any axes on the high moors (only one or two in hundreds of square kilometres), where temporary clearances were taking place throughout the Neolithic and it seems therefore that axes were not primarily for tree felling. They are believed to be items of prestige and high value exchange that would be kept in settlements where they would be ultimately abandoned when made obsolete by metal axes. Axe find numbers range from a peak of 1.7 per square kilometre on the densely occupied Yorkshire Wolds, to .30 on the Tabular Hills, .08 in the Vale of Pickering and .08 on the boulder clay areas on which the Hulleys stands.[78] The recovery of three specimens at the Hulleys is therefore high in terms of quantity, and also indicative of settlement. The polished fragment also provides some further indication of early Neolithic settlement on the site.

Bangles

Three fragments of Romano-British glass bangles were recovered (Figure 8 1-3). The key paper and a typology on the Romano-British bangle were published by Kilbride-Jones.[79] Some further finds and minor modifications were later published,[80] but the Kilbride-Jones typology is still the primary reference for these bangles. He examined most if not all the specimens then known, some 270, mainly fragments and placed them into three distinct groups that he called types 1, 2, and 3. Types 1 have cores of translucent glass covered in heavy enamel. Types 2 have cord mouldings applied horizontally to glass cores, which can be coloured or uncoloured but are not covered in enamel. Types 3 come in a wide variety of colours, with the trailing decoration marvered flush to the bangles.[81] The great value of these bangles is as chronological markers, dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and also as evidence of interaction between the Roman and British people.[82] The presence of three fragments of different bangles – one type 2 and two types 3 – at the Hulleys is therefore a very informative addition to the archaeological record of the site.

Kilbride-Jones believed that all these bangles were Scottish, native in origin and made at the Romano-Caledonian tribal capital of Traprain Law,[83] however they are now known to have a far wider distribution.[84] In a survey of the finds in East Yorkshire Jennifer Price lists nearly a hundred specimens of type 2 and 3 bangle fragments.[85] The types 1 are still only found in Scotland, however the types 2 are found in three main areas: a small southern group from mainly military sites, a civilian group in Wales, with the largest distribution on military and native sites in the north of England and lowland Scotland. Types 3 are mostly found north of a line between Chester and the Humber.[86]

The type 2s in East Yorkshire have been divided into sub-categories, A, B, and C, by Price, based on variations in the number and distribution of the applied cords.[87] The Hulleys type 2 specimen is a translucent blue green with cords of white and dark blue twisted and applied to the centre and both edges (Figure 8.3). This style is defined as a type 2Aii,[88] and similar specimens have been found at Fishbourne Palace in a circa AD 43-70/75 context,[89] together with examples from Traprain Law.[90] Currently the nearest finds of type 2s to the Hulleys are at Scarborough, Hutton Buscel and Stony Rigg[91]. Most of the East Yorkshire examples are of a natural bubbly blue-green glass, with the majority of the applied cords blue and white[92] similar to the Hulleys example.

The type 3 specimens have also been sub-divided 3A-3J.[93] The first Hulleys type 3 is dark cobalt blue with white trails marvered into the main body of the bangle (Figure 8.1). Categorised as a type 3I it was seen as rare by Kilbride-Jones with only three examples then known: Milking Gap, High Shields, Northumberland, dated to the 2nd century AD and probably the first half of that century, with the other specimens coming from the Roman forts at South Shields and Camelon, Stirlingshire.[94] Since that time a number of further examples have come to light and Price lists four examples from East Yorkshire together with a further fourteen find sites elsewhere.[95] This type is clearly not rare and has a considerable distribution. The nearest find spot to the Hulleys for any type 3 bangles is Hutton Buscel, a dark blue specimen with yellow bands.[96] The second Hulleys type 3 is apparently unique (Figure 8.2). It is mid-blue in colour and has no applied pattern whatever. Three other undecorated bangles are known: from Castleford (streaky dark blue and blue-green), Dalton Parlours and Aldborough (blue-green),[97] but no mid-blue examples are recorded. The scarcity of undecorated bangles is probably only a question of archaeological visibility, because while a piece of decorated glass is clearly *something* even to the uninitiated, the same cannot be said of a plain example which could easily be dismissed as a broken piece of mug or tea cup handle.

The original concept of a single point of production at Traprain Law is clearly outdated, although it may well be the only production centre for the type 1 bangles and also the centre for producing that regions' type 2s and 3s. The strong links with the finds in East Yorkshire and elsewhere with military sites indicates production at or in association with those sites, with a later distribution to civilian settlements.[98] The three Hulleys bangles can be seen as part of that pattern of distribution, with the Roman forts at York and Malton the nearest and therefore likely points of production or distribution.

Beads

Three glass beads were recovered, two hexagonal and one globular (Figure 8 4-6). The two hexagonal beads are opaque and bi-coloured, with dark blue on the outside and a slight inner surface of pale blue. They were made by a process which starts with the gathering of a melted piece of glass and working it to enclose an air bubble. The glass is then elongated by drawing it out, at which stage it can be shaped by pressing or using small moulds. The drawn tube can used as a single long bead, or pinched at regular intervals to be broken into smaller beads. The corners of the rough beads are then polished off.[99] One hexagonal bead is clearly intact as the polished corners are present at both ends. The other may be intact, but is less regular and does not show the polished ends and may therefore be a fragment of a longer bead. Beads of this type – long polygonal – come in a variety of shapes: hexagonal, pentagonal, octagonal, are usually light green in colour and mostly opaque. The green specimens are a feature of the whole Roman world, becoming common in the late period both in Britain and throughout the Empire. The blue examples are less common, appear to be confined to the late Roman period and are thought to

have come to Britain with non-Roman people.[100] The globular dark blue bead is translucent and a spiral at one end around the aperture clearly results from the manufacturing process. This bead is currently undated, but it is at least pre-Medieval and may also be Romano-British in origin.

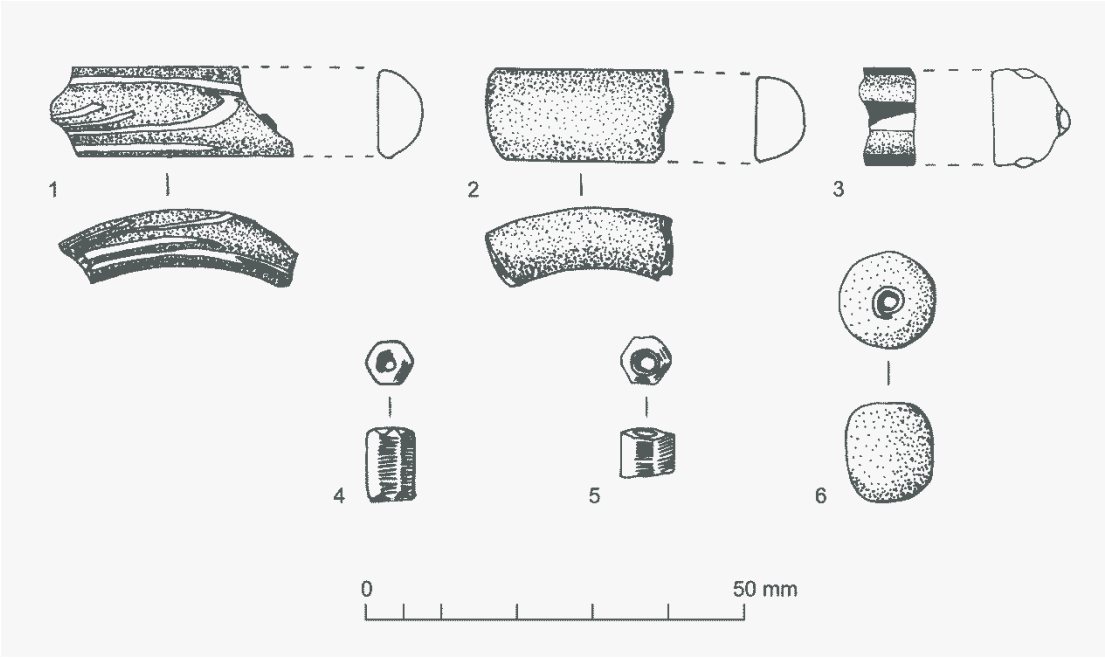


Figure 8: Glass finds from the Hulleys

Pottery

Only two significant shards of pottery were recovered, a rim and a base of similar fabric. Both are pieces of East Yorkshire Grey ware from the Roman period. The lack of any prehistoric pottery is unsurprising as it survives poorly in plough soil where it is subject to abrasion and disintegrates easily. The slightly acidic soil of the Hulleys would also add to that degradation process. East Yorkshire Grey ware was produced in kilns in the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor (HOSM) area, which is south west of Market Weighton and also at Norton, adjacent to the Roman fort at Malton. The fabric of the HOSM material seems softer than the Norton examples where the fabric is very brittle,[101] and based on that it seems likely that the Hulleys pottery came from HOSM, rather than Malton. The rim shard is from a dish with the groove immediately below the rim, with a diameter of 220mm, which are known unsurprisingly as grooved dishes.[102] This form is illustrated in Gillam,[103] comes in a number of fabrics, and is dated to the 3rd-4th century AD. The HOSM kilns were published by Halkon & Millet,[104] and such a large shallow dish with a plain rim is type D01a, produced both at Bursea House and Hasholme. At Bursea House this form is found in phase Di, which gives it a date of late 3rd to early 4th century AD.[105] The base shard is from a vessel with a basal diameter of 160mm, which is consistent with a dish or bowl, but as a base shard a precise dating cannot be achieved.

Jet

In Britain the association between Whitby and jet is well known, and that area of the Yorkshire coast contains the only substantial deposits in Britain.[106] Jet is the fossilised remains of a form of Araucaria or Monkey-puzzle tree, which flourished in the Jurassic period.[107] Discontinuous

outcrops of jet are to be found in the Jurassic shale from Whitby south to Ravenscar and to the north on the Runswick and Kettleness beaches.[108] The Hulleys is less than four miles south of Ravenscar, and it was therefore only to be expected that jet would be found on the site. Nine pieces of un-worked jet were recovered, the largest being a flat piece approx. 5cms x 5cms x 1cm. Only one piece of worked material was found, a circular button type object. The main source of jet in prehistoric times was probably by beachcombing for pieces that had washed out from the deposits in the cliffs. That would easily have supplied the demand up to the Roman period, when the use of jet for jewellery became more popular and mining may have become necessary. Jet was also used intermittently for jewellery in the Viking and Anglo-Saxons periods. While in the Middle Ages Whitby jet was only used for religious items, crucifixes, amulets and rosary beads. The final renaissance for jet took place in the Victorian period, when following the death of Prince Albert in 1861, Queen Victoria adopted it as mourning jewellery and its use as such became widespread.[109] The Hulleys 'button' while still essentially solid, has begun to disintegrate at one or two points around the edge. The actual age of this unstratified object can only be guessed at, but the crude nature of the working and the deterioration of the material would indicate that it is earlier rather then later. Victorian worked jet is very well made and can be immediately dismissed as the potential source. Equally the craftsmanship displayed by both Roman, and post-Roman objects go far beyond that of the Hulleys button; it seems therefore that it may be a prehistoric piece. The main source of our knowledge of prehistoric jet has been obtained from the tumulus finds in Yorkshire. These indicate that jet first came to be exploited during the Neolithic period. That exploitation continued into the Bronze Age where it was used for beads, spacer necklaces and V perforated buttons. The use of jet objects in the Iron Age is noticeably rare, and that scarcity continued until quite late into the Roman period when it became, for some unknown reason, very popular in the third century AD.[110] An examination of the work of the three most prolific tumulus excavators in Yorkshire – Mortimer (304 tumuli),[111] Greenwell (295 tumuli),[112] and also Bateman (187 tumuli)[113] who opened some barrows in Yorkshire[114] – reveals no object similar to the Hulleys piece.

Querns

There are four sources of information regarding querns at the Hulleys. The first source is Knox, who illustrated a rotary quern he found amongst the ruins. He also told us that the Hulleys farmer, Mr Hodgeson had removed many similar objects.[115] The second source is Elgee, who found two broken rotary querns in the dry-stone walls that now enclose all the fields.[116] The third source was provided by the current farmer Mr Ulliot, who pointed out two items which were still in those walls, which were the broken bases of rotary querns (Figure 9). Finally the author has since found a further two broken bases in the walls in the years since the initial study.

Attributing dates to rotary querns proved difficult when first undertaken, because many of the museum exhibits available were lacking good associations.[117] It is also worth noting in the dating context that a rotary quern might be in use for as long as seventy to eighty years![118] However despite these problems some general points became clear. While rotary querns display a whole host of variations what was established, and still holds true, is that there was a gradual reduction in height from the clumsy Iron Age examples and as this occurred they tended to become wider, neater and lighter.[119] The earliest examples from the Iron Age La Tène villages were tall beehive shaped objects, which gradually became a flatter bun shape.[120] Following the Roman conquest in AD 43 the flat types were introduced, and there was a further gradual slimming of the stones. However it is still not possible to assign date spreads to specific types.[121] These general features of rotary querns enabled Elgee to say that the bun shaped examples he

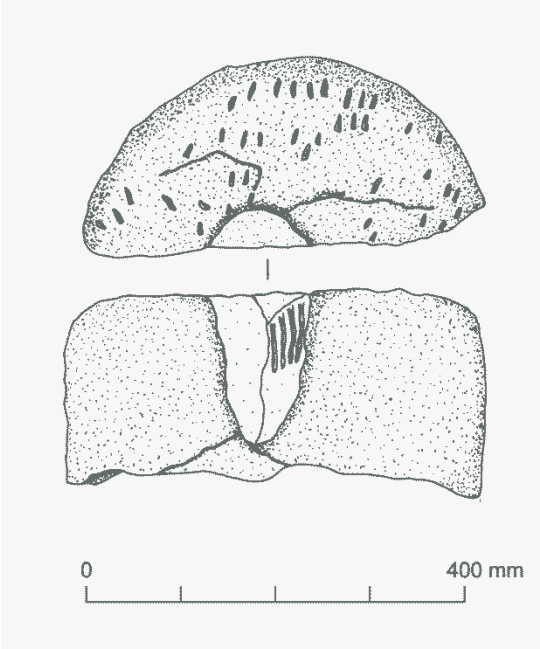


Figure 9:
A broken rotary quern base stone from the Hulleys

found at the Hulleys, were of a later type then the early beehive varieties first seen at the La Tène settlements like Glastonbury and Hunsbury.[122] Glastonbury lake village is now known by radiocarbon dating to have commenced around 300 BC.[123] It is still not clear when beehive querns first arrived in the northeast, but a very early thermo luminescent date of 5th century BC at Thorpe Thewlis, in County Durham is thought suspect. The beehive querns from late Iron Age sites in the northeast are predominantly hemispherical or bun shaped.[124] The most recent work on this subject concludes that although there are still difficulties in dating the introduction of the rotary quern they became common in Yorkshire in the 4th century BC and even a 5th century date is not impossible.[125]

Knox's illustration of his Hulleys quern is clearly some form of rotary type. The major clue to its type is in the dimensions at, '2ft' wide, with an 'edge 6 in. thick'. The upper diameter limit of a rotary quern is about 56-60 cms (2ft), and this applies to the Roman and post Roman flat types. The beehive varieties are much smaller in diameter and usually half that size at some 30cms (12").[126] Confusingly the Hulleys illustration has the comment 'edge 6 in thick' written on it, and this seems excessive for the type. It was the early pre-Roman beehive/bun types that were excessively thick at 6" to 8".[127] However the 2ft. width eliminates the possibility of it being such a type, and places it firmly as Roman or post-Roman. The two base stones found during the initial field work and the subsequent finds clearly belong to an earlier rather than a later type of rotary quern. All apparently made of local sandstone, they are crude, substantial and demonstrate the usual diameter of around 30cms of the beehive type. Combining all the quern information available, dates for the Hulleys examples can be seen to start in the late Iron Age, post 300 BC and continue on into the Roman and/or post Roman periods.

Ard points

Two stone ard points, with typical wear striations caused by being pulled through the soil were recovered[128] (Figure 10). The ard was the plough in use in the prehistoric period until finally the mould board plough superseded it some time in the late Roman period. The ard is just a simple

tillage implement, which probably had to be supplemented with further manual tillage with a hoe or mattock. By contrast the mould board plough actually turned the soil and therefore required no additional tillage. By far the largest collection of ard (stone share) points comes from Orkney and Shetland, where they are usually very large in size, although there is a wide range of shapes and sizes. The recovery of ard points elsewhere is very limited and it is therefore currently impossible to be dogmatic about how far they share common characteristics. The evidence from the Northern Isles shows that although they come from a wide range of dates, ards were mainly in use from the beginning of the second millennium to within the second half of the 1st millennium BC. In the Iron Age the capping of wooden ard points with iron commenced, until by the Roman period it had become commonplace.[129] Therefore in terms of chronology the Hulleys ard points can be seen as in use certainly before the late Roman period, and probably no later than the pre-Roman Iron Age. The earliest date possible appears on current information to be the Bronze Age.

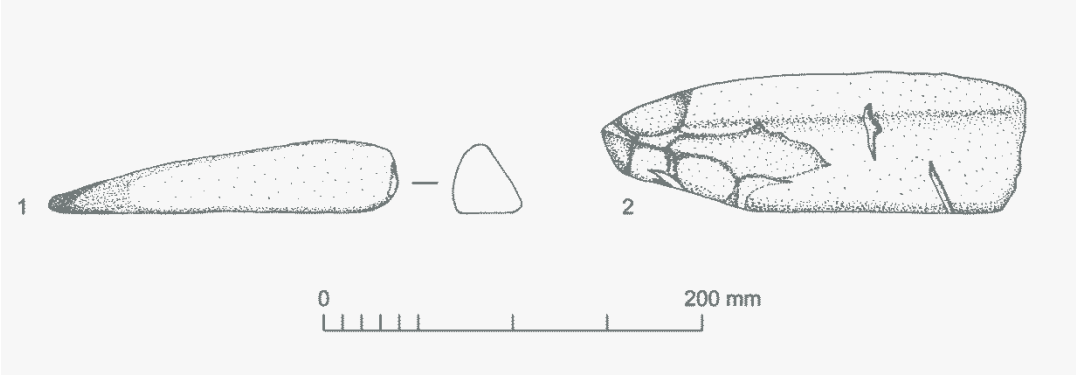


Figure 10: Hulleys stone ard points: (1) A greenish grit stone; (2) Local sandstone

Test pitting/magnetic susceptibility

The primary objective of the test pitting was to obtain soil samples for magnetic susceptibility testing. Those tests could potentially identify areas of concentrated human activity, and thereby answer questions of activity areas and site limits. This indeed proved to be the case with regard to identifying the area where a major grouping of huts had formerly existed. Knox had noted the area, immediately to the north of the field system, as containing what he regarded as the remains of stone huts. The magnetic susceptibility tests produced only one group of high readings, indicating concentrated activity in exactly that area of the site (Figure 4). In addition to a normal spread of pits some further pitting was undertaken in field 6. This was in an attempt to clarify if the concentration of small scrapers recovered along the eastern edge of the field, was a consequence of erosion, which does occur in that area where the ground falls away into a valley, or was a genuine activity area. Pitting established that the usual 20 cms of top soil was the norm across the majority of the field, so the general lack of flint tools and debitage over most of the field was genuine, and not a result of a deeper soil profile. A number of the magnetic susceptibility reading along the eroding edge were also high in strength adding further support that the concentration of small scrapers in this area was the result of increased activity. This field is best seen as part of the hut cluster along the western edge, while the eastern slope was possibly used for a task or tasks best undertaken away from the main site, with any waste material being dumped in the valley.

Artifactual recovery during test pitting was limited, with only four lithic tools and a small amount of debitage recovered, together with one small piece of un-worked jet; the location of these finds is uninformative.

Laboratory methodology

The AC Susceptibility Bridge was used to provide readings of total magnetic susceptibility, which required calibration. A calibration curve was constructed from two known samples (manganese sulphate & high alumina cement). From this it was possible to derive total susceptibility for each soil sample from the measured instrument reading. Mass susceptibility was then calculated by dividing the total susceptibility of each sample against their mass (Appendix I).

Discussion

The first obvious point but one well worth stating is that the Hulleys is quite clearly a settlement site. Knox's record shows a complex cluster of features that demonstrates an area used for more than just funery purposes. His record of course only shows us what remained visible at the final prehistoric stage and nothing of what may have preceded it. That truncation of evidence, the issue of archaeological visibility, can easily lead to an understandable misinterpretation of a sites history. Frank Elgee does exactly that when he offers only two possible interpretations for the Hulleys. It was either a settlement site of the Urn people, who acquired some knowledge of the Celtic field system, or Celts settled on land formerly occupied by Urn people, which was his preferred option.[130] Based strictly on the typological dating evidence, as understood when he made that assessment, he was correct. However the possibility of continuity of use was not considered, probably because of the apparent chronological disparity between the two artefact sets he observed. We know now that the Celtic field system could well have been in use far earlier than Elgee thought possible, and could have originated in the Bronze Age, which in itself would now typologically allow for a continuity of use from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. However it is always important, even if such connecting evidence is not readily available to explore the issue of continuity. At the Hulleys the question should not be where are the chronological gaps in site use? But why should there be any gaps? We know that during the Bronze Age there was extensive forest clearance across the whole of this region, the land of the high North York Moors suffered podsolisation with peat formation occurred on the flatter areas, resulting in the abandonment of much of the moor land. This was due to a combination of over exploitation and a deteriorating climate. The lower altitude and higher quality of the soils on the adjacent coastal strip of boulder clay, where the Hulleys is situated, meant that it was not subject to those dramatic outcomes. In addition it is believed that general population pressure occurred during that period and placed an even greater burden on available land.[131] The occurrence of early Bronze Age barrows used as territorial markers at the Hulleys and elsewhere testifies to that increased pressure.[132] The Hulleys must therefore be seen as a location that became even more valuable as the prehistoric period progressed.

The artifactual evidence now available to explore the chronology of this site, following the current field work and research is considerable. The potentially earliest material consists of one microlith and some of the small scrapers, which could be Mesolithic. However any link with this period must remain highly tenuous based on such slight evidence. For the next phase, the Neolithic, the evidence improves and consists of the four leaf arrowheads which were the

predominant form during that period. The axe fragments may also belong to this period, especially the fully polished specimen as such fully polished axes are an early Neolithic feature. The problem with these artefacts is that there was continuity of use into the Bronze Age of all this material culture. However the serrated flakes and blades, while possibly as early as the Mesolithic, are generally dated to the early Neolithic and no later. This material therefore certainly has a Neolithic component. The Neolithic/Bronze Age transition is indicated by the four petit tranchet derivative arrowheads, while for the early Bronze Age the massive Urn round barrows provide irrefutable evidence of that period. For the Bronze Age as a whole the six barbed and tanged arrowheads are examples of the classic Bronze Age type that dominate the assemblages of the period. The single triangular arrowhead also belongs to this time period where many are thought to be blanks for the barbed and tanged variety. Clearly the total quantity of arrowheads recovered from the site (fifteen), covering all prehistoric periods from the Neolithic onwards, places them beyond any suspicion of casual hunting losses and supplies clear evidence for settlement. The total quantity of nearly three hundred recovered lithic tools (and only flakes and blades with retouch or obvious wear were actually recorded as tools, many more were retained as debitage) and the large quantity of debitage noted across the site, also securely places the Hulleys in the prehistoric settlement category. The Iron Age evidence for settlement consists of the field system, which as noted could be as early as Bronze Age in origin. This field system also appears to be in use as late as the Romano-British period, attested to by the fact that it is not cleared and the glass and pottery finds from that period come mainly from the area covered by that field system. The stone hut circle in Morfor Dale, with its bowl kiln and pottery shards is also very probably Iron Age, with bowl kilns in conjunction with similar huts noted elsewhere in northeast Yorkshire, at Roxby and Levisham Moor and dating to the Iron Age. The ‘Citadel’ square enclosure is also a typical late Iron Age feature, usually enclosing a number of huts, with some evidence that this type of feature continued to be used into the early Romano-British period. The most recent period attested to is that of the Romano-British, seen in the form of glass beads, glass bangle fragments and pottery shards. These provide good dates for the late 1st early 2nd century AD (bangles), the 3rd to 4th century AD (pottery), with the beads belonging potentially to any time within this period. The rotary querns could also be from this period, or the late pre-Roman Iron Age.

The vast majority of the artefacts were recovered from the area that encompassed the field system and the area just to the north, where Knox recorded a cluster of huts. Magnetic susceptibility results were at their strongest in the area just north of the field system and this also tends to confirm that area as the central living space. While that area had a good spread of lithics, there appears to be more material in the field system area, perhaps indicating manuring. The other concentration of lithics was at the edge of Area B, where the ground falls away towards a valley. The majority of Area B, which is adjacent to the area of the huts, produced only a few tools and little debitage. The tool concentration was very noticeably mainly small scrapers, with additionally a few blades and flakes, but not many. The question arose as to whether this was some form of activity area, or just a question of better archaeological visibility, due to the eroding slope. Test pitting showed that the majority of this area had exactly the same depth of soil as the adjacent field/hut area, and there was therefore no reason why similar quantities of material should not be recovered had they been present. The erosion on the slope is therefore incidental and this was an activity area, perhaps for butchery of cleaning, or some other activity best undertaken a little away from the main habitation area. The third field walked area (C), situated just to the north of the site as recorded by Knox, produced only a handful of lithic tools (eleven), with a noticeable absence of debitage. The soil profile in this field was also similar to the rest of the site, and therefore this lack of lithics was also not due to low

archaeological visibility. One barrow not recorded by the current SMR was located in this field,[133] while a further possible barrow could be seen a short distance to the east.[134] These form the northern section of the semicircle of large Bronze Age round barrows, apparently delineating the site (Figure 3). This use of barrows to mark out ancestral land seems widespread on the North York Moors although some groups of barrows clearly did not have that function.[135] This area appears therefore to be effectively off site with regard to everyday activities, a conclusion supported by very low magnetic susceptibility results.

Given that there are no firmly proven settlements in the whole of northeast Yorkshire for the Neolithic, Bronze Age or early Iron Age and that what evidence there is consists of artefact scatters and a few hut circles, to fall even within that category establishes any site as an important one. That the Hulleys does fall into that scarce group of sites has been confirmed by this research project. But additionally the known potential prehistoric settlements tend to be in remote locations, where early abandonment due to harsh conditions allows preservation to occur but at the same time prevents a multi-period site developing. So the multi-period nature of the Hulleys and continuity of use as a settlement established here singles it out as rare, if not unique within the region and of particular importance.

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Appendix I: Magnetic Susceptibility Results

Sample No.	AC Reading	Total Susceptibility	Mass (kg)	Mass Susceptibility
Field 1				
1	42	2.69	58.08	46.28
2	54	3.48	57.49	60.11
3	129	8.26	57.06	144.69
4	46	2.94	58.22	50.577
5	28	1.79	55.42	32.3
6	43	2.75	58.94	46.69
7	21	1.34	55.57	24.19
8	27	1.73	52.45	32.95
9	25	1.6	55.47	28.84
Field 2				
1	116	7.42	65.22	112.11
2	125	8	64.3	124.42
3	61	3.9	64.63	60.4
4	51	3.26	66.27	49.25
5	104	6.66	63.91	104.15
6	159	10.18	57.29	177.62
7	61	3.9	62.65	62.31
8	74	4.74	59.31	79.85
9	74	4.74	64.12	73.86
Field(2a)				
1	49	3.14	64.26	48.8
2	46	2.94	58.89	49.99
3	88	5.63	59.24	95.07
Field3				
1	51	3.26	47.89	68.16
2	31	1.98	46.37	42.79
3	25	1.6	47.74	33.51
4	38	2.43	46.91	51.84
5	46	2.94	46.06	63.92
6	57	3.65	45.69	79.84
7	17	1.09	43.01	25.3
8	12	0.77	41.25	18.62
9	11	0.7	44.89	15.68
Field 4				
1	7	0.45	45.56	9.83
2	13	0.83	40.82	20.38
3	9	0.58	40.47	14.23
4	8	0.51	44.84	11.42
5	5	0.32	44.27	7.23
6	4	0.26	44.51	5.75
Field 5				
1	43	2.75	59.86	45.97

2	73	4.67	61.73	75.68
3	24	1.54	59.43	25.84
4	46	2.94	61.41	47.94
5	99	6.34	58.99	107.41
6	74	4.74	61.03	77.6
7	84	5.38	59.24	90.75
8	86	5.5	56.42	97.55
Field 6				
1	58	3.71	48.34	76.79
2	68	4.35	46.99	92.61
3	113	7.23	49.88	144.99
4	64	4.1	50.48	81.14
5	139	8.9	49.03	181.44
5(a)	92	5.89	53	111.09
6	118	7.55	53.51	141.13
7	80	5.12	56.42	90.75
8	74	4.74	56.57	83.72
9	79	5.06	46.97	109.01
10	64	4.1	50.97	80.36
11	73	4.67	48.68	95.97
12	90	5.76	48.12	119.7
13	89	5.7	50.17	113.53
Field 7				
1	42	2.69	40.91	65.7
2	60	3.64	40.4	95.05
3	50	3.2	48.38	66.14
4	78	4.99	46.5	107.35
5	38	2.43	44.6	54.53
6	40	2.56	46.01	55.64
7	36	2.3	41.93	54.95
8	66	4.22	45.81	92.21
9	58	3.71	46.27	80.22
Field8				
1	52	3.33	43.95	75.72
2	65	4.16	44.96	92.53
3	54	3.46	41.9	82.48
4	94	6.02	57.49	104.64
5	49	3.14	45.66	68.68
6	43	2.75	45.76	60.14

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FURTHER NOTES ON TRODS

By CHRIS EVANS

I wrote in the 2010-11 *Transactions* of eighteen trods which had come to our attention after the book on trods was published by the society. A further eleven trods have come to our attention since then and I list them here so that information about all the trods we know of is in the public domain.

Trods leading to farms: –

- SE 705 062: Leading to North End Farm in Danby Dale.
- SE 569 996: Leading to High Ellermire Farm in Bilsdale. This trod is significant inasmuch as High Ellermire was a grange of Rievaulx Abbey.
- SE 790 044: Leading to Butter Park Farm near Egton Bridge.
- SE 977 046: Leading to Grange Hall Farm near Egton Bridge.
- SE 870 061: Leading to Throstle Nest in Iburndale
- NZ 832 047 to 832 046: Between Low Fair Head Farm and Dake End Farm near Grosmont.

Trods leading to mills: –

- SE 621 977 and SE623 972: Leading to Bransdale Mill.

Scattered trods: –

- SE 684 928: In Farndale.
- NZ 908 083 to 908 086: A tributary to Long Trod 18 (Long Rigg) leading towards Stainsacre.
- NZ 732 032: An entry in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Volume 45, 1973, page 207, – 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register 1972' – reads 'GLAISDALE, N.R. (NZ 732032). A length of pannier paving stones c.1m wide running NE-SW towards the 1082 ft. O. datum on *Glaisdale Rigg* has been located by F. Hall and the late G. Harland.' We were unable to locate these.

THE VICTORIAN WORKING CLASS IN BROMPTON c.1881

By CHRIS EVANS

A great deal has been recorded about Queen Victoria's life and very little about the lives of individual subjects at the other end of the social scale. This article is about Brompton in the late nineteenth century because Brompton was a farming village and in those years farming was deep into a depression and particularly because in 1881 many changes were brought to the working class of Brompton by the building of the Scarborough-Pickering railway.

Information about individual working-class people is not easy to come by. They rarely kept diaries, or wrote letters and if they appeared in the newspapers it was usually in the magistrates court reports. What information there is comes largely from the census returns.

Most Victorian working-class men and women's lives were circumscribed and tended to follow a standard pattern. Nevertheless it seems to be worthwhile to investigate typical workers' lives and the occasional atypical life. One of the factors influencing workers' lives was the kind of village they lived in. Villages could be divided into open villages, closed villages or something in between. Typically open villages tended to have multiple landlords and a social structure skewed towards the lower end; in closed villages the social structure was skewed towards the upper end and would have one landlord who did not encourage the working classes to live in their village and so obtain a "settlement". A "settlement" was the right to be supported by the village in old age or hard times and so be a burden on the rates. There were of course villages with one landlord who took paternalistic care of their tenants. We have local examples – Wykeham had one landlord; Snainton had multiple landlords; Brompton was in between both geographically and socially. In Brompton the Cayley family owned a majority of the village but other families had substantial landholdings. Brompton had households of gentry, professionals, farmers, craftsmen and widows but the largest group of households in 1881 was headed by working-class people.

In Brompton in 1881 the working class consisted essentially of labourers, farm servants, domestic servants and the navvies who were working in the Scarborough – Pickering railway and lodging in Brompton. Of the servants the ratio of male farm servants to female farm servants was about 4:1 and this was reversed for domestic servants in the "big houses" – High Hall, Low Hall and The Green. For this reason what follows will exclude female farm servants and male domestic servants as being too small a statistical sample.

For working-class people the usual sequence of events was children were born into families which were either large or became large. By the time the children had left school their parents wanted them 'to get their feet under somebody else's table', so they went either to farm service or domestic service. In the case of men, sooner or later they fell in love, left farm service, got married, worked as farm labourers and produced a large family and the sequence of events began again.

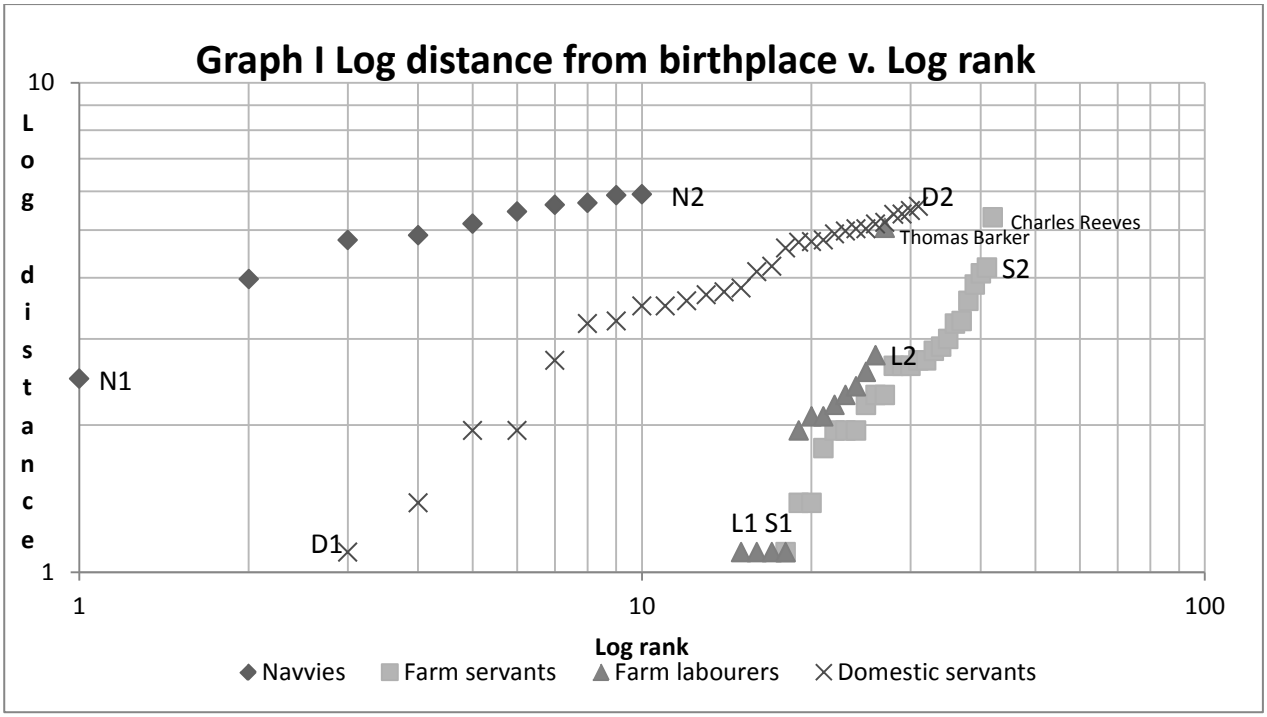
The lives of individual farm servants has been well described in personal narratives by Stephen Caunce in his *Amongst Farm Horses*[1]; country life more generally by Charles Kightly in *Country Voices*[2] and farm service and after by Harry Reffold in *Pie for Breakfast*[3]. Here we start by looking at a more general picture using statistics taken from the census returns which tell us of the occupation, age, marital status and birthplace of working-class people.

We start by looking at the distance from their birthplace to Brompton of the people who worked in Brompton. The distances have been calculated using Google Maps.

The statistics will be tabulated in a somewhat unusual form that is perhaps best explained by giving an example. The navvies have been chosen as the example being not too many in number. A table follows: –

Name	Town	County	Rank R	Distance d/miles	Log r	Log d
Thomas Rodgers	Octon	Yorkshire	1	12	0	2.5
William Atkinson	Hull	Yorkshire	2	53	0.7	4.0
George Brown		Lincolnshire	3	118	1.1	4.8
John Graham	Dalston	Cumberland	4	132	1.4	4.9
John Butler	Huntingdon	Huntingdonshire	5	153	1.6	5.0
George Rose	Harrow	Middlesex	6	235	1.8	5.5
George Burns		Hampshire	7	280	1.9	5.6
George Wilson		Somerset	8	294	2.1	5.7
Joseph Pinnings	Norton	Devonshire	9	361	2.2	5.9
Angus Munro		Rosshire	10	371	2.3	5.9

The obvious and simple way to deal with this data and the data for the other groups (farm servants, farm labourers and domestic servants) is to plot the distance against the rank. This technique has the advantage that the actual distance of the most distant birthplace of a worker can be read directly off the graph as can the number of workers actually born in Brompton. It has the disadvantage that the lines on the graph tend to obscure each other at the bottom of the graph and so does not discriminate clearly between the different experiences of the different groups; and it fails to bring out an interesting feature of the data, i.e. that the data more or less obey a power law. This will be discussed in the next paragraph. I am aware that many people are reluctant to engage with mathematics but nevertheless hope they may see some virtue in its application here. What is plotted below is the logarithm of the distance against the logarithm of the rank.



The preeminent feature of these graphs is that much of them approximates to straight lines. This implies that the distance of a workers birthplace from Brompton approximates to a power law, i.e. if the distance of a person's birthplace is d and this distance is r^{th} in rank the power law is $d = r^n$.

Occupation	N
Farm servant	1.5
Farm labourer	1.5
Domestic servant	1.9
Navvy	0.9

As the graphs only approximate to straight lines too much significance should not be put on these numbers which are derived from the gradient of lines drawn subjectively on the log:log graph. They could be described as educated guesses. They do, however, discriminate between farm workers, domestic servants and navvies. Intuition suggests that the smaller the value of n the more well-travelled the workers.

What is important is that there is some law which governs the behaviour of people and that deviations from it as expressed by deviations from the straight line are significant. What is been discussed here is a rank-size rule/law/distribution; one of a group of laws/rules/distributions that can be applied (with varying accuracy) to the size of cities, sand particles, lengths of rivers. Some of these laws/rules have names including Zipf's law, Yule distribution and the Parento distribution.[4] They are also linked to series like the Lucas numbers or the better known Fibonacci series. I find that I made use of such laws in a contribution to the *Transactions* in 1996 when discussing the concept of "pays". I did this in ignorance of the considerable literature on their use. So far as I have been able to find, the literature does not give any rationales for any of these laws/rules/distributions. They seem to be empirical rather than rigorously deduced.

Looking first at the points entered on the graph for the navvies (N1-N2). This is a plot of the distance the navvies have travelled from their birthplace to Brompton and approximately follows a power law. It also reiterates that which can be read from the table in that none of them were born in Brompton; the nearest birthplace being 12 miles away at Octon and the most distant 371 miles away in Ross-shire. This is not quite correct as omitted from the table and the graph is James O'Relaney from Dublin.

Looking next at domestic servants (D1-D2). Two of them were born in Brompton and with increasing distance and rank form a continuum to Sarah Wither, a nurse, born furthest away (268 miles) in Berkshire, almost as far away as the furthest navvy.

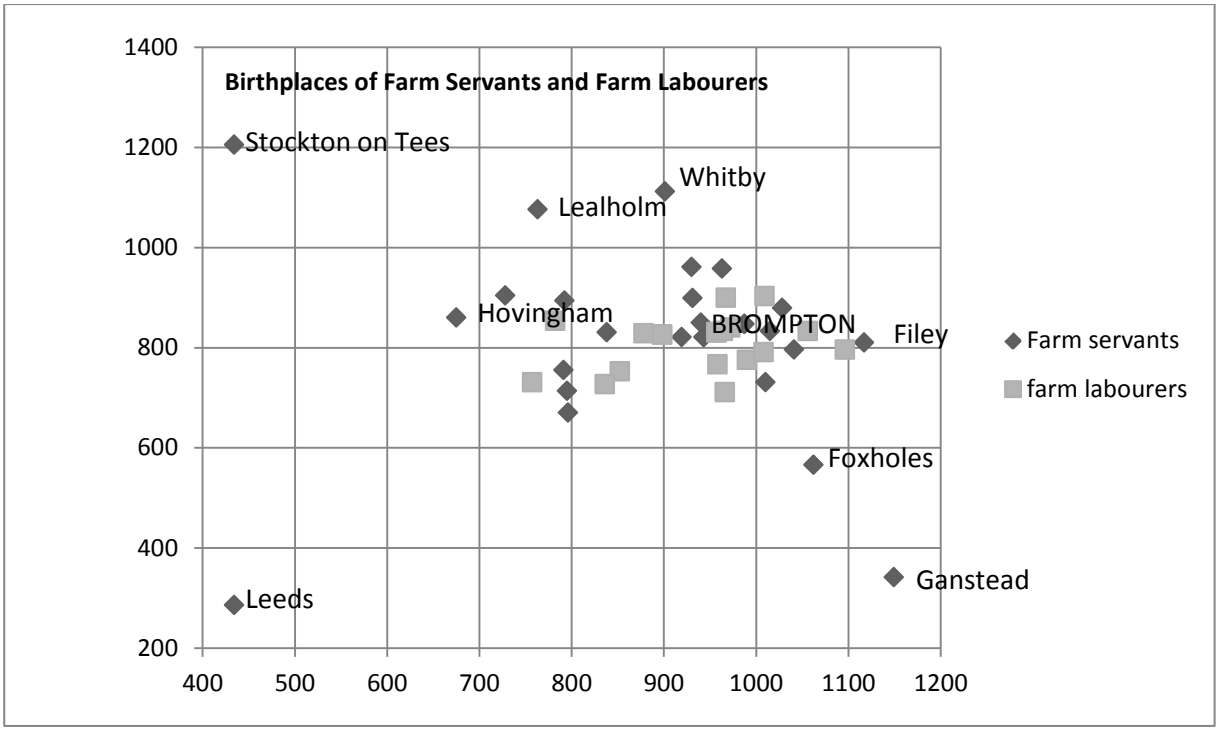
In the case of farm workers the situation is very different. The start of their distribution at L1 and S1 on the horizontal axis tells us that many of them were born in Brompton (36% in the case of farm servants and 40% in the case of farm labourers). From these L1 and S1 the points are more or less coincident as far as L2. This is a distance of about 15 miles (Swinton on the far side of Malton). One farm labourer remains who comes from further away and not fitting into the trend of the points. This is Thomas Barker from Gedney in Lincolnshire, 41 years old and unmarried lodging with the widowed Mary Whitfield in Hungate. Thomas Barker must have been peripatetic for he does not appear in either earlier or later censuses.

Farm servants were more venturesome. Those farm servants who fit with the power law come from as far away as Stockton on Tees (66 miles). But not fitting the power law is Charles Reeves. He had come all the way from Suffolk to be a farm servant on Vasey Dickinson's Low Fields Farm. Once again we know nothing of his earlier or later history. Although these two men were exceptional they were not unique and we will discuss other instances of well-travelled farm workers in other census years. The main part of the graph tells us that the farm workers were more adventurous when they were young farm servants and less so as farm labourers after marriage. They then felt the need to be nearer to their birthplace. One factor may have been the need to obtain a "settlement". However in both cases there were more adventurous men who came from further afield.

The following table summarises the situation with regard to distance to birthplaces: –

Occupation	Nearest	Furthest	Outlier	% in Brompton
Farm labourers	0 miles	15 miles	110 miles	40
Farm servants	0 miles	66 miles	203 miles	36
Domestic Servants	0 miles	268 miles	n/a	5
Navvies	12 miles	371 miles	n/a	0

Confining the discussion to farm workers and to Yorkshire a map of their birthplaces reinforces the point.

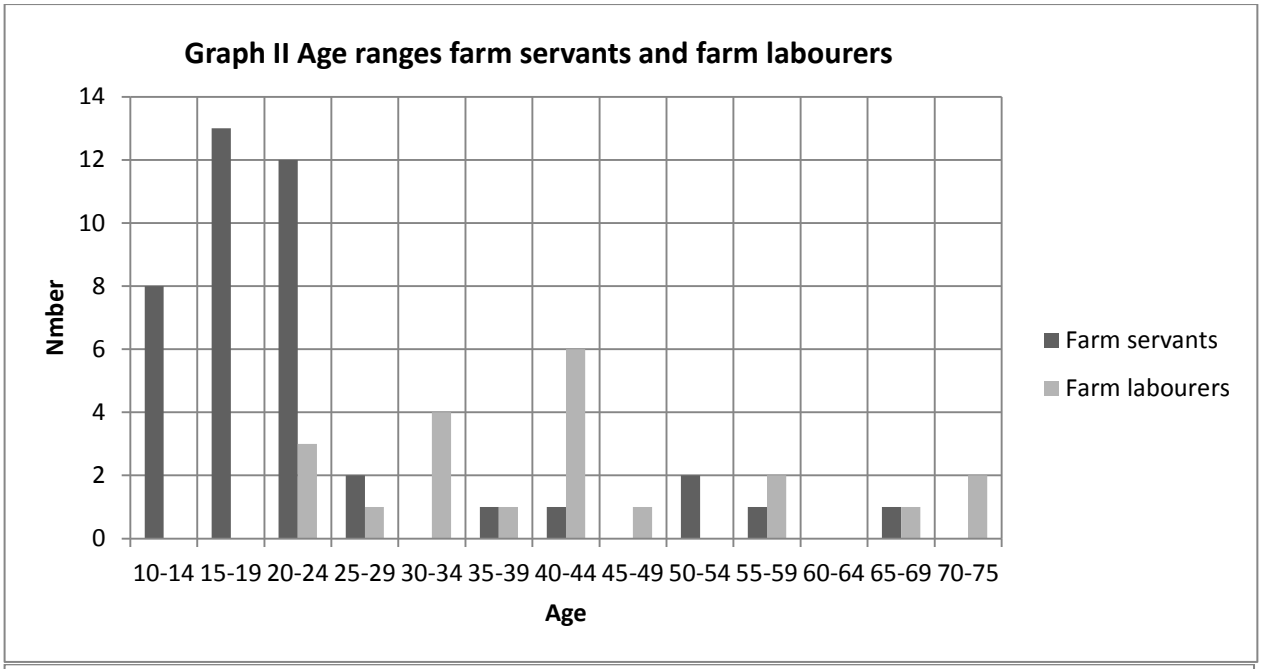


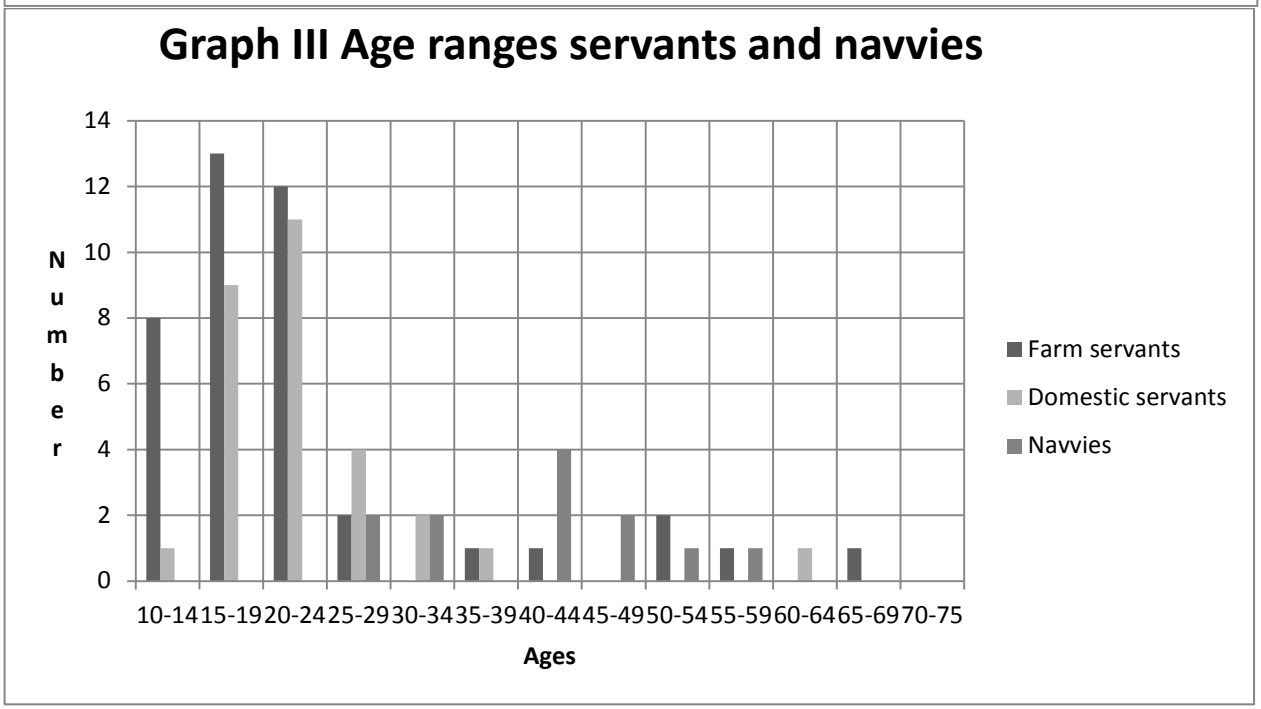
Most farm labourers came from within a limited area bounded by the Great Wold Valley on the south; the Howardian Hills on the west; the Esk Valley on the north. Farm servants have a wider range than farm labourers their area is bounded by the Humber on the south; the Pennines on the west; the Tees on the north and for both groups, unsurprisingly, the North Sea on the east. For both groups the range from east to west is greater that from north to south, along what is now the A170.

The two other pieces of information about people that can be found in the census returns are their marital status and age. No farm servants were married. An apparent exception is William Walker who was living in at Rye Topping but was married to Ellis who was living in Hungate with the rest of the family. The explanation for this is that William was a shepherd so would have to live in during the lambing season which was coincident with the census.

Most but not all farm labourers were married. No female domestic servants in the “big houses” and no navvies were married.

The ranges of ages for the four groups in 1881 are shown in the following bar charts: –





From graph II we see that the youngest farm servants were in their early teens and that only a few of them continued in farm service after their early twenties. In their early twenties most farm workers had married and were starting to produce the next generation of farm servants. There does however seem to be a missing generation in the 30-39 range. We will discuss possible reasons for this later.

Graph III shows that the age range of domestic servants has a similar pattern to that of farm servants but shifted with domestic servants starting and ending their careers in service when older. The subsequent careers of domestic servants are difficult to elucidate as they rarely appear in two census returns. The same applies to navvies whose age range is from the late twenties to

the late fifties and most of whom are in their forties. We shall return to two domestic servants and one farm servant who probably ended their working lives in service.
The next question is did these situations change over time? They did. Taking the half century from 1851-1901 and taking first the distance from birthplace, the changes are illustrated by the following table: –

Year	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Labourers % born Brompton	52	38	45	43	68	70
Median distance/miles	0	2	2	1	0	0
% born outside Yorkshire	0	5	8	15	5	0
Farm servants % born Brompton	43	32	26	35	30	16
Median distance	1	2	2	6	6	8
% born outside Yorkshire	0	3	2	2	3	0
Domestic servants % born Brompton	5	20	6	6	0	0
Median distance	15	25	33	42	145	94
% born outside Yorkshire	25	40	100	45	81	67

These statistics have to be viewed with some caution. Some of the series of numbers are within the expected margin of experimental error. Despite these caveats there seem to be some significant changes. There seems to be two decades in which there was a big increase in the distance workers were willing to travel – 1851-1861 and 1871-1881. This fits quite well with the increase in passengers journeys by rail over the same period.[5]

Year	Number of passenger journeys by railway Millions	% Increase
1850	67	-
1860	153	128
1870	316	106
1880	587	86
1890	796	36
1900	1114	40
1910	1276	15

This is the national picture locally the two big events were the building of the York-Scarborough line in 1845 and the Scarborough-Pickering line in 1881 (opening in 1882). In the case of farm servants and labourers the percentage born outside Yorkshire may well be the result of the exceptional ambitions of a few individuals and dependent on the depth of the depression and the ease of transport around the country. The situation with domestic servants is very different. It may be dependent on where their employers had estates and again on ease of transport. The number of "big houses" with a full complement of staff varies over the period in question. Some domestic servants, particularly governesses, came from the continent. They were: –

- in 1871 Veronique Thorabel aged 45, from France at High Hall;
- in 1901 Jeanne M Brocas, aged 27, a nurse from Rochefort in France at The Green;
- in 1901 Florence Payun, aged 37, a governess from France at The Green;
- also in 1901 Helen E Hunadine, aged 31, a governess from Germany at the High Hall.

Turning now to the ages of labourers and servants as shown in the following table.

Year	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Labourers Youngest	19	19	21	16	19	18
Median age	55	55	38	38	39	40
Oldest	77	76	86	72	78	64
Farm servants Youngest	12	10	10	14	12	13
Median age	17	18	16	18	17	18
Oldest	42	50	48	67	30	66
Domestic servants Youngest	18	19	14	13	18	14
Median age	25	24	21	22	28	22
Oldest	90	35	69	69	44	45

In contrast to the changes in the distances workers were willing to travel the ages of farm labourers and farm servants remained constant. The only oddity is the drop in median age between 1861 and 1871. In the case of domestic servants the anomalous year is 1891 when median age is 28 and the range shorter. I have no explanation for this.

Returning to farm labourers. If the nomenclature used by the census is to be trusted the last quarter of the nineteenth century brought major changes to the lives of labourers.

The following table show this.

Census description	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Farm labourer	42	39	37	30	6	11
Common/General labourer	0	0	0	20	6	7
Labourer	0	0	0	0	10	0
Other	0	0	1	0	0	0

Between 1871 and 1881 there was a big increase in those described as general labourers and between 1881 and 1891 there was a big decrease in those described as farm labourers. This can be largely linked to the agricultural depression that began in 1875. Bad season followed bad season for arable crops combined with cattle and sheep disease. On top of this the development of railways which allowed domestic servants to move about more freely also allowed the transport of foodstuffs from the other side of the world to undercut British farmers. These factors may account for the dearth of farm workers in the 30-39 years age range. There being a lack of work on farms, farm workers left the countryside to work in towns.

The railways may have been to the disadvantage of farm labourers but two technological advances that were to the advantage of farm labourers were the wellington boot and the bicycle. The rubber wellington boot, invented in 1856, enabled and enables farm workers to keep their feet dry. The safety bicycle, invented in 1876, extended the range within which a labourer could work and return home at night and so increased his chances and choices of employment.

This study could be extended to cover a longer time scale and to deal with villages which were fully open and fully closed but I intend to leave it at this point and look at three generations of one branch of a more or less typical working class family who had a continuous presence in Brompton from the seventeenth to the twentieth century – the Stephensons.
We start with Thomas Stephenson who was born in 1794. Thomas was a wheelwright not a farm worker. He married Zillah Maw of Barugh in 1816 and in 14 years they produced 9 children. Zillah must have died in the 1860s. In 1871 Thomas was sleeping rough in what is now Acres Lane and was then Ratten Row, the site of the village poor houses. He must have died in the 1870s. Zillah and Thomas' children and an outline of their careers, in Brompton, as far as can be discovered is tabulated below.

Name	Born	Died	Married	Occupation 1851	Occupation 1861
Charles	1818	?	?	Cartwright	Labourer
James	1820	1860s	Ruth	Labourer	Labourer
Adah	1822	1823			
Adah	1824	?	1846		
William	1827	1860s	Hannah 1848	Cartwright	Joiner
Rachel	1830	?	?		
Elizabeth	1832	?	?		
Hannah	1836	?	?		
Christopher Thomas	1842	?	?	Labourer	

James Stephenson, the second son of Thomas and Zillah was born in 1820 and married Ruth Berriman in the 1840s. They produced 8 children in 16 years.

Name	Born	Died	Married	Occupation 1881	Occupation 1891
Berriman	1845	?	?	Farm servant	?
Tranmer	1847	?	1871	Farm servant	Farm labourer Rillington
Hannah	1849	?	1871	?	?
Thomas	1851	?	?	?	Farm servant Rillington
David	1855	?	1875	?	?
Ruth	1855	?	1877	Farm servant	?
Ellis (Alice)	1859	?	Thomas Riby 1880	Farm servant	Labourer's wife
Zillah	1861	?	?	?	?

William Stephenson, the third son of Thomas and Zillah, was born in 1827 and married Hannah Walker in 1848. In 15 years they had 8 children.

Name	Born	Died	Married	Occupation 1881	Occupation 1891	1901
Ann	1849	?	?	?	?	
Mary Elizabeth	1852	?	?	?	?	
George Walker	1853	?	?	Farm servant	?	Plate Layer Ryton Co. Durham

Hannah	1854	?	?	?	?	
Hannah	1858	?	?	Housekeeper	?	
Elizabeth	1863	?	?	?	Nurse	
William Walker	1864	?	?	?	?	General labourer
Zillah Maw	1866	?	?	Nurse	Domestic servant	

A feature of these tables is the amount of information that is missing and possibly inaccurate. An example of the latter is Tranmer Stephenson, he is recorded as being in Rillington in 1881, in 1891 and 1911 but not in 1901. This in itself is informative, people had to move away from their native village to find work and so vanish from the local census returns. This is illustrated by the following table which shows the number of people in particular households over time.

Year	Household	Household	Household
	Thomas/Zillah	James/Ruth	William/Hannah
Total size	11	10	9
1841	6	0	0
1851	4	6	2
1861	3	8	5
1871	1	3	6
1881	0	2	1
1891	0	0	3
1901	0	0	1

These three generations of this branch of the Stephenson family illustrates the life cycle of a typical farm worker in the late nineteenth century. Grow up in a large family, getting a new brother or sister every two years, leave home to be a farm servant in your early teens, marry, work as a farm labourer and produce a large family which then repeats the cycle.

The Stephensons were typical working class people in Brompton, some local and some from a distance.

We start with a local family, the Stelling family. We know rather more about the Stelling family than usual because they figure in the Sawdon Poor book, which survives.[6] In 1812 George Stelling married Jane Rawbottom. In the following year Jane Stelling died and George Stelling was taken to York Asylum at the behest of the Sawdon Overseers of the Poor. He must have returned and re-married because by his new wife Elizabeth, from Kingthorpe above Pickering, he had: –

Jane	1815-
Elizabeth	1816-1832
Ellen	1819-1842
George	1821-
Sarah	1822—1831
Mary	1823-
Hannah	1824-
Harriett	1827-
Margaret	1829-
John	1831-1833

Maria	1833-1838
Martha	1838-1838
Maria	1840-

Fourteen children in twenty five years. Things cannot have been good with the Stelling family because in January 1819 the Sawdon Overseers had disbursed to John Stelling £2 10s. This was probably enough to keep him and his family for most of the winter. In March 1822 they had disbursed 10s and bought him some coals at a cost of 13s 6d.

Worse was to follow. A glance at the list of children shows that three of his children died between 1831 and 1832. This coincides with the Overseers paying doctors Mr. George Smart and Mr. Thomas Pratt £1 10s each in 1832 to attend the Stelling family.

George Stelling ceased to produce a family around 1840 presumably because he had died. His widow Elizabeth then married John Clark born in Crayke in 1787 who was keeping the Toll House on the Sherburn road below Brompton in 1861. Living with them was Maria, the last daughter of George Stelling, now aged 20.

Apart from Maria it seems almost certain that another member of the family continued the connection with the Toll Bar Brompton. In 1866 John Stelling married Margaret Vasey of Sherburn[7] and in 1871 John was living at the Toll Bar at which time he gave his ages as 34 and his birthplace Sawdon; in 1881 he gave his age as 43 and his birthplace as Brompton and in 1891 his age as 51 and his birthplace as Sawdon. This puts his birth between 1837 and 1840.

John Stelling continued the philoprogenitive propensity of his father. His children were: –

George Abraham	1867-
Elizabeth	1873-
Jack	1875-
Bulmer	1878-
Dick	1879-
Eva	1882-
Stubbs	1885-
Arthur	1886-

In 1891 George Abraham Stelling was a farm servant at Green Farm in Brompton and his brother Bulmer also a farm servant at Low Fields Farm.

The building ceased to be a toll house in 1882 but John Stelling was still at the site of the toll house in 1901 and had 7 years old grandson. He was still paying rent for it in 1906 but it seems to have been sublet to someone called Barnard who used it as a base from which to poach on Lord Downe's estate. As a result of this Lord Downe obtained a 999 year lease on the property and evicted Barnard.

After this point the Stellings family disappear from the record.

John Gaffney came from away. He first appears in Brompton's census in 1851, according to which census he was born in 1824 in Brompton. He had married Mary Hudson in 1844. He was working as a labourer in the local brickyard and living with his parents-in-law, John and

Elizabeth Hudson. By 1851 he had produced three children and interestingly is recorded as being born in Brompton. In 1861 he was a farm labourer, living in Ratten Row and had sired three more children, and is now recorded has having been born in Stockport, Cheshire. His eldest son Thomas aged 13 was working as a cowherd. In 1871 his sons having moved on and he was living with his wife, two daughters and his mother-in-law. In 1881 one daughter was left at home but the family was now accommodating his grand-daughter (born in 1875, and probably the daughter of his son Hudson who had married Hannah Cockerill in 1874). Also lodging with the family were five navvies. In 1891 only John and Mary remained with their grand-daughter Mary Elizabeth. John died in 1896 leaving Mary living with her daughter Sarah until she died in 1905. The main point of interest is that searching for a John Gaffney in the 1841 census the only name to turn up is a John Gaffney born in 1824, who was working as a sweep and was in the House of Correction in Warwick. It may be that John Gaffney wanted to leave his troubles behind him in Warwick and ended up in Brompton. This may also apply to the other labourers who came from more distant places.

They include the following general labourers: –

Name	Census year	Town	County
Edward Smith	1881	Tilney All Saints	Norfolk
William Leeds	1881	Brandon?	Norfolk
Samuel Clarke	1881	Newmarket	Suffolk
John Clarke	1881	Bury St. Edmonds	Suffolk
John Holderness	1851	Salisbury	Wiltshire

It may well be that some of these men were also anxious to leave behind youthful indiscretions or poor working conditions. That many of them appear in Brompton in 1881 in the middle of the agricultural depression may be significant.

Turning now to female domestic servants in the “big houses”. Most domestic appear in only one census return making it difficult to follow their careers. Two women are exceptions to this.

Near the north-west corner of Brompton churchyard are two gravestones, the first one inscribed: –

In memory of
JUDITH DORMER
who departed this life
February 8th 1835

Judith Dormer was born on the morning of Thursday 3rd June 1756, the daughter of Ann and Matthew Todd and was christened Elizabeth Todd at St. Margaret’s Westminster, London. Sadly we know nothing more of her parents or of her brothers and sisters but we do know that her parents did not feel they could bring her up and she was taken to the Foundling Hospital.

The Foundling Hospital was the child of Captain Thomas Coram (1668-1751) who was distressed by the number of infants he saw abandoned in the streets of London. As a result of his efforts the Foundling Hospital began the work of looking after abandoned children in 1741, first using rented premises in Hatton Garden and later purpose built buildings in Bloomsbury.

It was here that Elizabeth Todd was taken on 28 July 1756, given the number 2032 and re-baptised Judith Dormer. The accommodation in London was insufficient and consequently hospitals were built at Shrewsbury, Chester, Aylesbury, Barnet and Ackworth. It was to Ackworth that Judith Dormer was sent; arriving there on 30 September 1762, aged 6. The big change in her life came in 1768 when she was nearly 6 years later. Judith was apprenticed to be employed in household business until the age of 21 by Rev. Mr. John Cayley of Brompton; or as the Brompton Parish Registers puts it when recording her death "1835 Feb 10 Judith Dormer, Snainton, late of Brompton, 78, who was a foundling taken into the family of Cayley at Low Hall Brompton from the Branda establishment of Ackworth in the year 1769." The vicar got the date of her coming to Brompton wrong and the meaning of "Branda" defeats me. As the gravestone indicates Judith Dormer died in 1835 and that she spent the whole of her working life as a highly regarded servant of the household at Low Hall.

The second stone reads: –

To the memory of
ANN WATERHOUSE
WHO DIED 21ST. June 1855
In her ninety ninth year
After 81 years of faithful
service in the family of
Revd. JOHN CAYLEY
Contexted to his daughter who
Raises this memorial in grateful remembrance
of her attachment and honest worth.

Ann Waterhouse must have joined Judith Dormer at Low Hall in 1874 and most probably stayed there until Rev. John Cayley died in 1823. In 1841 she was with Frances Philadelphia Cayley at Hill Cottage between the Cayley Arms and what is now the Forge Restaurant. She was another highly regarded servant.

As we have noticed it is not easy to follow the lives of domestic servants as they tended to spend less than 10 years in one position. They must have seen very much more of the country than farm labourers and presumably mostly married. There were exceptions as evidenced by Judith Dormer and Ann Waterhouse.

The careers of farm labourers are easier to follow. They tended to follow a pattern. For most men this was leave a crowded family home to become a farm servant; marry and work as a farm labourer and produce another generation who became farm servants.

Farm labourers tended and tend to be under appreciated. Swede basher is but one derogatory term used to describe them. But as Charles Kightly writes in his book *Country Voices*, '… I found them to be … the friendliest, wittiest and most interesting people I met on my travels. Admirable, too, for three special qualities: the endurance that carried them through the sheer drudgery of much of their lives; the pride in their hard earned skills; and the versatility which enabled them to not only "to plough and sow, and reap and mow", but to master hedging and thatching, milking and lambing, and a hundred other tasks required of the general labourer.' This too has been my experience of the people of Brompton.

Note on sources:

As noticed much of the information has been taken from the census returns for Brompton.

Another source of information is the notes taken from the Brompton Parish Registers in the past.

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[1] Caunce, Stephen, *Amongst Farm Horses: the Horselads of East Yorkshire* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991)
[2] Kightly, Charles, *Country Voices* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984)
[3] Reffold, Harry, *Pie for Breakfast: Reminiscences of a Farmhand* (Beverley: Hutton Press, 1984)
[4] wikipedia.enorg/wiki/Rank-size distribution
[5] Simmons, Jack, *The Victorian Railway* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991)
[6] Sawdon Overseers of the Poor Account Book 1779-1837, NYCRO Z.939 [MIC 3199]
[7] Collier, Ann, *Sherburn – Pre-1900 Parish and Census Records* (privately published, 2003)

DEAN ROAD CEMETERY CHAPEL

By JAN CLEARY

The Friends of Dean Road and Manor Road Cemetery came together in 2008 and have accessed funding and recruited volunteers to improve the appearance of the cemetery. Successes so far include a significant reduction in the amount of litter, the restoration of the Secret Garden in Manor Road and the mortuary in Dean Road, the establishment of a wildlife friendly flower bed, the resurfacing of the terraced paths in Manor Road, the development of educational materials for local schools and the involvement of local children and young people in all our projects.

We were pleased to be awarded Voice Your Choice funding for our Bombardment project and commissioned a memorial cairn to remember the eighteen victims of the bombardment, seventeen of whom are buried in the cemetery. The cairn was dedicated at a ceremony on the centenary of the bombardment of 16 December 1914 which was attended by many family members of the victims. Scarborough Borough Council agreed to fund metal plaques which have now been placed on all the bombardment graves, many of which were previously unmarked, and a volunteer is putting together a bombardment self-directed tour phone app. This will link with the other bombardment materials currently being worked on by other organisations.

We are currently working with other interested parties to develop a plan for the restoration of Dean Road chapel, which was last used for funeral services in 1964. The chapel was designed in 1856 by Pritchett and Sons of Darlington and York, who were also responsible for the design of the layout and buildings at Fulford Cemetery in York, and Weaste Cemetery in Salford.

The eighty three feet high spire of the chapel was taken down in 1972, and over the years the roof has fallen into disrepair, allowing pigeons to take up residence. Scarborough Borough Council flushed out the pigeons and cleared their mess in 2012, and are now using the chapel as a base for the work being done in partnership with Community Payback to raise and make safe headstones. There are many intact internal original features, including a beautiful vaulted ceiling, patterned tiled floors and the arched window frames with tracery design.

The chapel working group submitted an expression of interest in asset transfer to the Borough Council, and our draft business plan now has in principle agreement. In order to be successful the plan needs to be sustainable, with an income stream sufficient to cover overheads such as insurance, utility bills, rates etc. We are fortunate to have a commercial partner who could act as anchor tenant for part of the building, with the other part being used as a community space, with meeting rooms to let and bookable drop in sessions for local schools, building on the education work we have already begun. Dean Road Chapel Ltd is now set up as a not for profit company and was successful in an application to Heritage Lottery Fund for a Start-Up Grant of £10,000. An architect is currently working on an options appraisal which will be shared with local people with a view to seeking their views before further applications are made to bring in the funding needed to complete the project.

The chapel project is not solely about bricks and mortar. Supporting people to learn more about the history of Scarborough and the wider world is an important element of the plan. We already know some of the stories of people buried in the cemetery, and are planning a programme of further research and the development of an interactive database to enable people to pursue

particular interests, with topics such as war, infant mortality, artists, entrepreneurs, social reform, and all things relating to Scarborough's maritime history.

We are working in partnership with a number of different local groups, such as the Civic Society, East Yorkshire Family History Society, Scarborough Museums Trust and the Maritime Heritage Centre, so that we can engage with people who have the knowledge to take the wider heritage element of the project forward. We are very pleased that Scarborough Museums Trust has agreed to support us in the development of educational materials linked to the National Curriculum, and to provide linked follow up sessions for schools in local museums.

We are actively seeking volunteers who are interested in researching the stories of individuals with memorials in the cemetery. You can contact us via the Friends website www.scarboroughcemeteries.co.uk or by phone on 01723 381867.

[Jan Cleary is the Chairman of the Friends of Dean Road and Manor Road Cemetery.]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS BY THE SOCIETY
2009 to 2013

By CHRISTOPHER HALL

The last report on the fieldwork carried out by the Society appeared in *Transactions* number 42, in 2009. Since then the Society has maintained its high level of activity in fieldwork and this report gives brief details of the work which has been carried out since *Transactions* 42. In some cases more detailed reports have been prepared.

Seamer Moor

Pre-historic square enclosure Trench 2, 2009 and 2010
NGR TA 01900 86700 Site Code SM08 and SM09

Linear earthwork
NGR TA 01400 86900 Site Code SM12

Seamer Moor is an area of complex multi-period archaeology and two sites have been the subject of recent investigations by the Society.

The pre-historic square enclosure near to Racecourse Road was the subject of a detailed report in *Transactions* 42.[1] Since then Trench 2 has provided more information.

It was reported previously that an environmental sample from the decayed vegetation surface encountered in Trench 2 had been submitted to Paleoecological Research Services for analysis but at the time the results were not available. The results of this environmental analysis can now be reported and the following are the conclusions of the specialist report[2] –

> The biological and artefactual remains recovered were few and much of the former comprised clearly modern intrusive or contaminant material (e.g. rootlets). Probable ancient organic remains were restricted to a small amount of charcoal, most of which was poorly preserved and indeterminate to species but which included a small number of roundwood twig fragments, with occasional charred 'seeds'. These remains were too few for any detailed interpretation of past human activities or natural habitats at the site. Artefactual material consisted of a small quantity of hammerscale and possible slag, which suggested some metal-working in the vicinity but was too little to imply any large-scale smithing or smelting activity, and a single fragment of modern glass. No microfossil remains were present.

During 2010 the opportunity was taken to revisit Trench 2 and to enlarge it. This work revealed more of the base of the rampart and showed that the high level of preservation of this feature was due to a thickening out as the corner of the square enclosure was turned. Disappointingly, no occupation evidence was found.

In March 2012 the opportunity was given to the Society to investigate a linear earthwork about 400 metres to the west of the square enclosure. The earthwork was found to consist of a series of pits three of which three were excavated and sectioned. The pits were irregular ovals on average 2.4m long by 2.25m wide with an average depth of 810mm below the natural. The sides sloped

at angles of between 41^{o} to 47^{o} from the horizontal and the pit bottoms were relatively flat. The bottom layer of fill in each pit consisted of a wet, fine grey-brown silt
(contexts 17, 22 and 27) with few stones. This was interpreted as the result of the initial weathering down of the pit sides fairly soon after their construction. Context 17 contained one fragment of charcoal which was subject to carbon14 dating and gave a date of 1023BC (plus or minus 28)
There are no sources in the current document.[3] i.e. late Bronze Age. Whilst this does not give a date when the pits were dug, since the dating relates to a weathering layer, their creation must have been not very long before the C14 date.

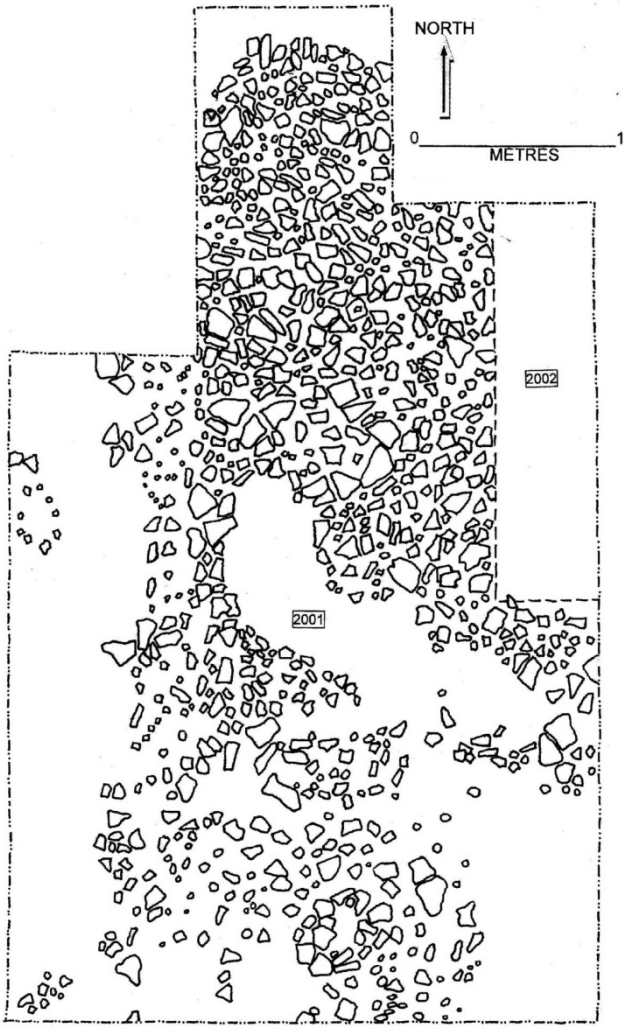

Figure 1(above):
Trench 2 in 2009 showing the area from where the environmental sample was taken on the right

Figure 2 (below):
Completed plan of Trench 2

Figure 3: Pits 1 (foreground), 2 and 3 during excavation

The discovery that the feature is formed by an alignment of pits rather than a continuous ditch is not unexpected as there are a number of examples recorded in the wider area, of which some of the best preserved are about seven miles further to the west along the Tabular Hills on Ebberston Moor.[4] A survey in 1999 of the pit alignments on Ebberston Moor found evidence that they could date back to the Neolithic[5] but pit alignments in this area are more usually thought to date to the Bronze Age (as in this case) or Iron Age.

It is hoped to develop a wider project to further investigate the complex archaeology of Seamer and Irton Moors.

3 Westbourne Park

NGR TA 0327 8774 Site Code 3WP10

In 2001 the Society started a test pitting project in Falsgrave to try to locate remains of the medieval village which, at the time of the Domesday survey of 1086, was the most important settlement in the district. A total of 13 sites were test pitted in 2001[6] and a further seven test pits were excavated by the Society and members of the public as part of the 'Falsgrave big dig' in 2005.[7]

In September 2010 the opportunity arose to carry out another test pit in the back garden of 3 Westbourne Park, Scarborough which is covered by this brief report.

A single trench measuring 5 metres long by 2 metres wide was excavated alongside the boundary wall between 3 Westbourne Park and 6 and 8 Seamer Road, aligned north-south.

Undisturbed natural clay was encountered at a depth of 0.95 metres, though it became apparent that this represented the bottom of a shallow ditch, the cut of which was exactly under the western edge of the trench. Widening of the excavation trench to 2.2 metres at each end revealed that beyond the edge of the cut, natural clay lay at a depth of only 0.45 metres below the present ground surface. The ditch feature was flat bottomed and neither the eastern, northern nor southern edges of it were found.

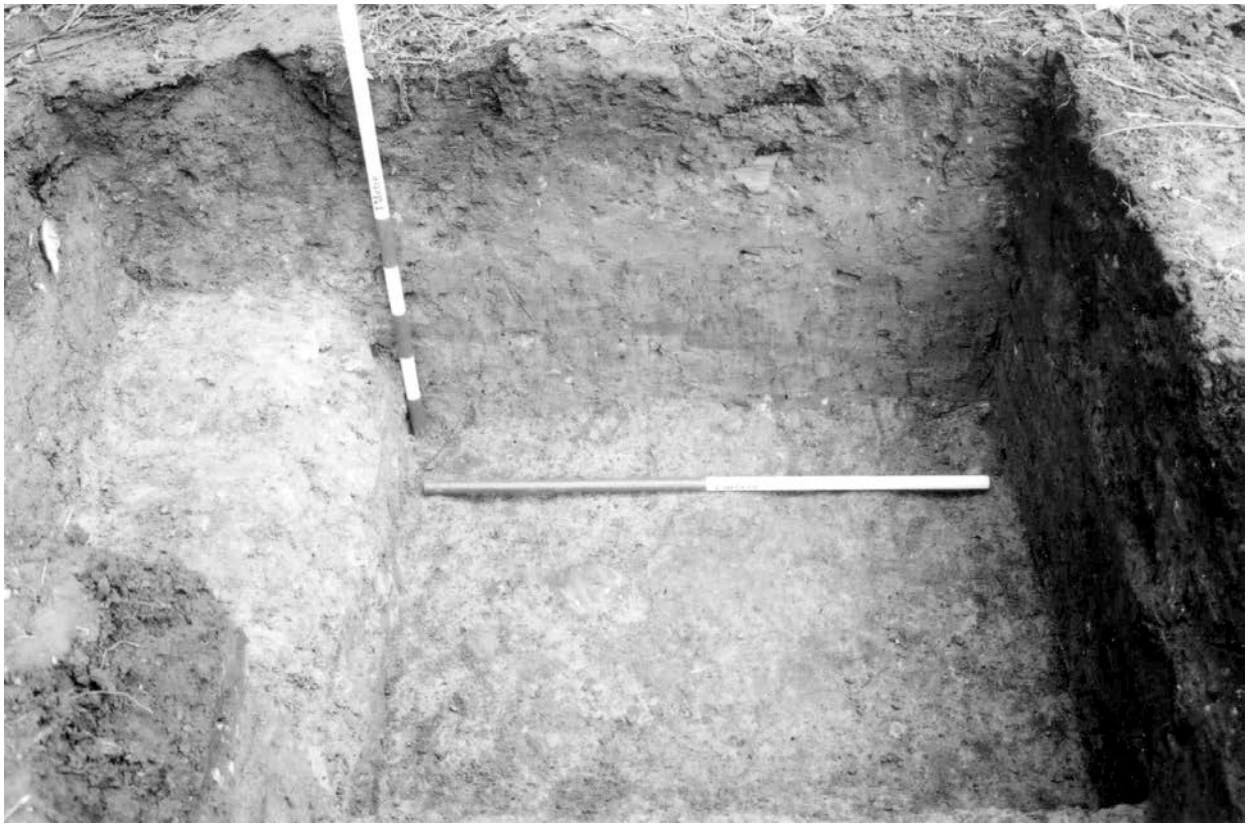

Figure 4: Northern end of the trench showing the cut into the natural alongside the vertical scale and the fill of the ditch

This feature was filled by a fine to silty stiff clay/loam which was grey with dark brown streaking and which had apparently filled the ditch in two phases, the first phase having a smaller amount of brown streaking. This fill material, contexts 12, 14 and 18, had clearly been deposited over some time and was water borne. It contained fragments of pottery of the Roman, medieval, post medieval and modern (post 1700) periods, the latter confined to context 12. Some of this pottery was highly abraded, particularly in the higher context 12, indicating that it had been turned over within the plough soil over many years.

Both the natural clay to the west of the ditch and the fill material 12/14/18 were topped by layers of stiffer orange to mid brown clay containing mortar and charcoal inclusions (contexts 10 and 11). These layers contained post medieval and 19th century pottery and were interpreted as spread and trample layers from the building of the nearby houses in the third quarter of the 19th century. No relict field surface was found between the spread and trample layers 10 and 11 and

the lower fill layers, and it is assumed that the top soil had been cleared before the erection of the houses.

No positive conclusions were drawn as to the use of the ditch, however the fact that it is relatively shallow (500mm), flat bottomed and at least 2.0 metres wide seems to indicate that it was a clay pit or quarry. There is no evidence of it having contained a robbed out wall.

Whilst the other test pit excavations in the Falsgrave area have revealed the presence of medieval pottery, this is the only test pit to have revealed a structure of any sort. Since the Roman pottery was mixed with medieval, post medieval and modern pottery, no particular significance can be ascribed to it other than that it has been brought into the site as a result of the infilling of the ditch. The Roman pottery had also been abraded due to being in the plough soil.

Land at the rear of 34 Queen Street, Scarborough – 2011
NGR TA 04326 88826 Site Code FW11

Over the period 25-28 March and 1-4 April 2011 a research excavation was carried out on a piece of land forming the rear curtilage of 34 Queen Street. The work was carried out in advance of a planning application for possible development on the site.

34 Queen Street is a late 18th century building on the east side of Queen Street, about half way along. This site was of particular interest as it was thought to be within the precinct of the Dominican friary. Scarborough had three friaries; the Franciscans were where Friarage school now is; the Carmelites were on the east side of Queen Street about where Boyes' store now is; and the Dominicans were also on the east side of Queen Street immediately north of the Carmelites. The exact boundaries of these sites are unknown at present.
The evidence for the Dominicans and the location of their site in Scarborough has already been examined in depth by Jack Binns in *Transactions* 40 and it is not proposed to rehearse that evidence here.[8]

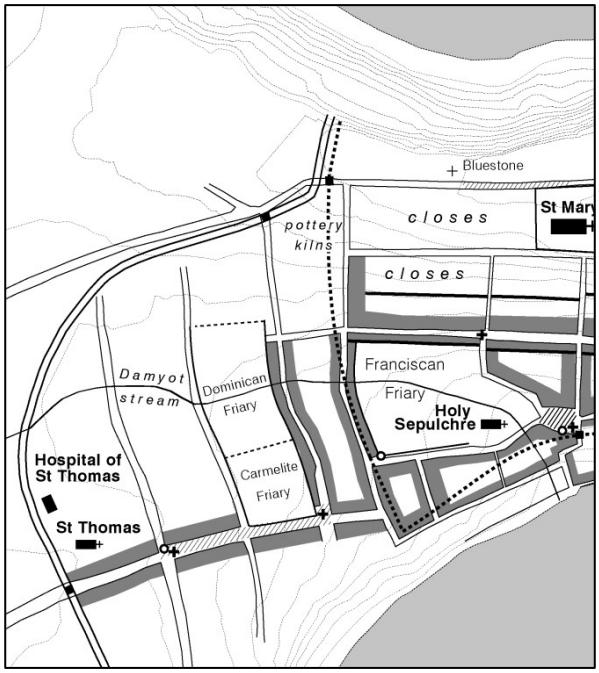

Figure 5: Extract from the map in The Archaeology of Medieval Scarborough showing the location of the friaries in Scarborough

Very little archaeological investigation has been carried out on the sites of any these Friaries. In the case of the presumed site of the Dominican Friary, there has been only one previous archaeological investigation. In 1997, the cellars of the former Castle Hotel were examined during redevelopment of that site. In that case the cellars had destroyed all archaeological remains, but one fragment of window tracery was found which was thought to be a remnant of the Dominican friary.[9, 10] The opportunity to carry out investigations on the land at the back of 34 Queen Street was therefore fortuitous.

It was hoped to find some physical remains on the Dominican friary. Two trenches were put down, one measuring 5 metres long was adjacent to the east boundary wall whilst the other was close to the present building and was 3.8 metres long. Both trenches revealed that the any in-situ medieval deposits which may have existed had been removed in the 18th century down to a depth of between 1.8 and 2.2 metres where natural clay was encountered. It seems that as on other sites which were vacant in the post medieval period, the ground had been stripped and the clay quarried away, possibly for brick making – see, for example, the report on work at Auborough Street.[11]

Some circumstantial evidence was found of the Dominican Friary in the form of architectural fragments in the re-deposited fill. These fragments included medieval glazed floor tiles, stone roof tiles, window tracery and cylindrical stone fragments. The latter are thought to be colonnettes, small, relatively thin columns, often used for decoration or to support an arcade, for example around a cloister. The stone used for the colonnettes is interesting as it is a pisolitic limestone; a sedimentary rock made of pisoids, which are concretionary grains, approximately spherical and which would give the polished surface of the colonnettes an interesting appearance. This stone does not occur locally; it is in fact a Purbeck 'marble' (not a true marble) from the quarries in Dorset.[12] This stone was used quite widely in religious buildings so is a further indicator of the presence of a religious building on or near the site.

Figure 6 (above):
Photograph of one of the fragments of tracery

Figure 7(below):
Photograph of one of the fragments of colonette

Tracery and other worked stone comprises the local fine grained sandstone such as were worked at the Cloughton and Hayburn Wyke quarries to the north of the town. The fragments found are relatively small so cannot be ascribed to a particular style of architecture or design of building, nevertheless they also represent relatively high quality work. Thus while no direct evidence of the ecclesiastical buildings was found, the investigations confirmed that a high status building, in all probability religious, had been on the site. The investigations also showed that the stone wall on the eastern boundary is relatively modern (19th century) and not associated with the friary.

60-62 Quay Street Scarborough – 2012
NGR TA 0508 8882 Site Code 60QS11 and 60QS12

Investigations were carried out at this site in two phases: 16 September to 25 September 2011 and 1 June to 4 June 2012. The site is a group of buildings on the north (landward) side of Quay Street, towards the eastern end of the street. Trenching was done within the buildings.

Number 60 Quay Street was erected in the early part of the 20th century replacing a pair of small cottages of which little or no trace was found during the excavation although the Building bye-law drawings show a two storey cottage with a very steeply pitched roof suggesting an 18th century date. Number 62, which forms part of the site but was not excavated, is a little earlier.

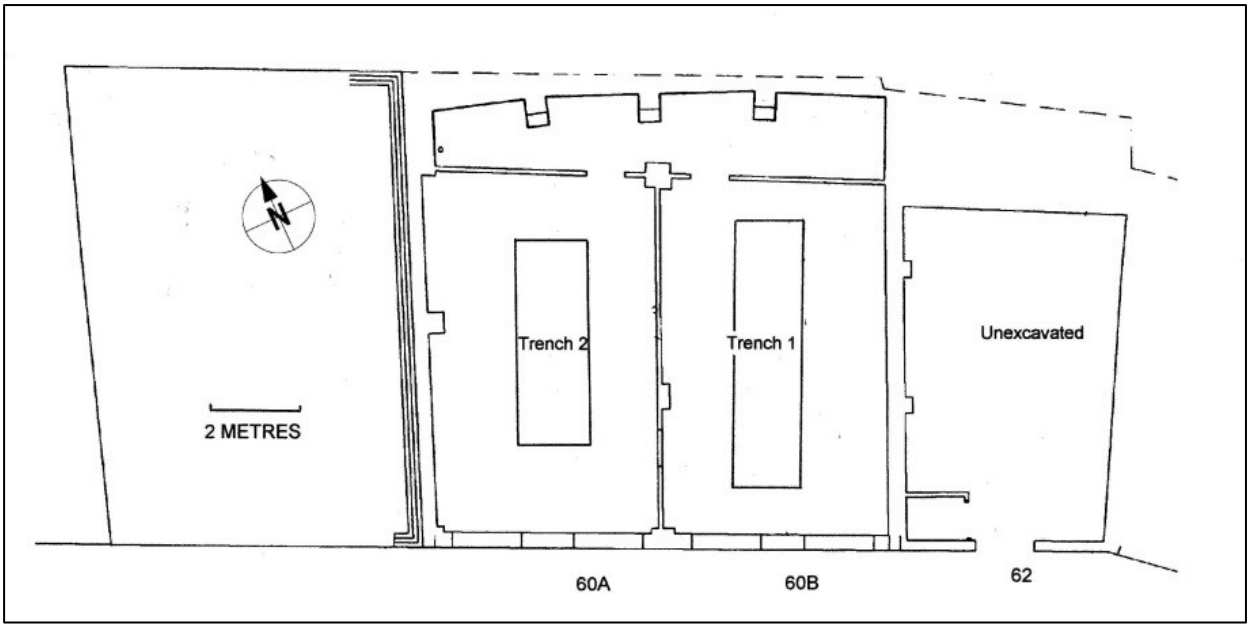

Figure 8: Trench plan

At the back of the site is a huge retaining wall below Burr Bank and whilst number 62 butts up to it, number 60A/60B stops short with a small yard separating the wall from the building thus allowing the construction of the wall to be seen.

The archaeological investigation was carried out in advance of the possible re-development of the site.
Trench 1 was carried out in September 2011 in 60B Quay Street and measured 1.5 by 5.8 metres – see the trench plan.

The very northern end of this Trench, i.e. the first 1.4 metres from the northern edge, almost immediately came down on to natural clay, some of which showed signs of natural re-deposition during the process of cliff slumping. This clay had been levelled off to form a platform for building, probably during the early 18th century, and at this time the stone retaining wall which forms the northern boundary of the site seems to have been underpinned.

The upper parts of this trench revealed some brick structures which were interpreted as 19th century cisterns surrounded by a fill of a similar date. Below this down to a depth of between 1.5 and 2 metres were layers of sand which had clearly been tipped and which contained a mixture of medieval pottery (some of it water abraded) and post medieval pottery. There were substantial quantities of furnace slag although no evidence of a furnace or forge was found. This sandy stratigraphy was interpreted as deliberate dumping in order to make up the land in the post medieval period and is confirmation that in the medieval period there was no road along this part of what is now Quay Street. In other words the quay frontage was not continuous between the main part of the harbour and the landward end of the pier.

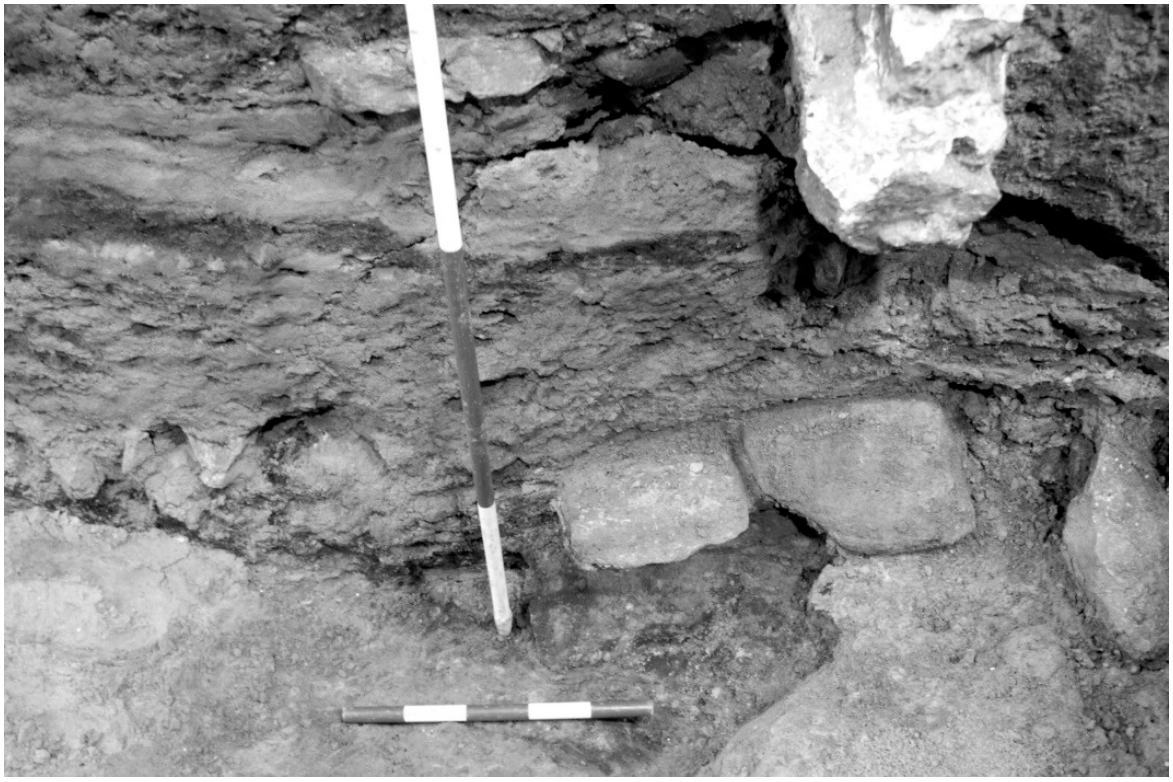

Figure 9: The barrel feature in Trench 1

At the north end of the trench below the sand was a brick lined saucer shaped feature shown in the photograph above, containing a thin layer of organic material. This was interpreted as being associated with a spring or well in the cliff face and the brick layer may be a 'hard-standing' to aid the filling of barrels to supply ships with water

Trench 2 was carried out in June 2012 in 60A Quay Street. This trench measured 1.6 by 4.5 metres. As with Trench 1 the northernmost 1.3 metres consisted of levelled off natural clay. In this case however the clay was retained by a large stone wall. No such feature had been found in trench 1 nearby. The south end of Trench 2 revealed a cellar which had been in-filled by pushing the previous cottage into it. The bricks recovered from this cellar confirm an early 18th century date for the cottages. This infilled cellar was 2.2 metres deep, with a floor of stone slabs built off naturally deposited beach sand. Thus trench 2 revealed a completely different response to land reclamation in this area from that in both Trench 1 and investigations some years earlier at 58 Quay Street.[13]

Figure 10: The stone retaining wall in Trench 2 showing the excavation down to the tiled floor in front of it

Field to the East of Raven Hall Road, Ravenscar
NGR NZ 980 014 Site Code RS12

In March 2012 the Staintondale and Ravenscar Local History Group commissioned a geophysical survey of several areas at Ravenscar as part of their Ravenscar Barrow Project. The survey was carried out by James Lyall of the Landscape Research Centre and was funded by the North York Moors National Park through the Coast and Hills LEADER programme.[14]

Figure 11: The excavation in progress

Five areas were surveyed. Four of these areas were sites of known burial mounds and are Scheduled Monuments. The fifth and most northerly site is the field behind the toilet block on Raven Hall Road which contained no previously known archaeological sites. However Knox, writing in 1855,[15] refers to a barrow about 2 furlongs south of Raven Hall so there was a reference to the possibility of a barrow in this field.

The geophysics in this fifth site actually proved to be the most interesting of all the sites surveyed. In particular the survey suggested the presence of two apparently superimposed features. One feature consisted of two conjoined semi-circular anomalies about 13 metres in diameter whilst the second was a possible rectangular enclosure about 25 metres across west-to-east – no northern limit was detected. A further circular anomaly about 80 metres to the south east was also of interest.

The rectangular anomaly was particularly intriguing in the light of the discovery at Ravenscar in 1774 of a stone block with a Latin inscription recording the construction of a “tower and fort”. This is generally accepted as evidence of the presence at Ravenscar of a Roman “signal-station”, part of a coastal defence system constructed c.AD 370 which includes sites at Huntcliff, Goldsborough, Scarborough and Filey. The stone was found by workman digging for the foundations of Ravenhill Hall – now the Raven Hall Hotel, some 200m north of the present site.

The Staintondale and Ravenscar Local History Group asked the Society to help them with our expertise by carrying out trial excavations to test the geophysics in this field. In mid November 2012 three trenches (later expanded to four) were excavated; Trench 1 tested the circular feature,

Trenches 2 and 4 tested the rectangular enclosure and Trench 3 the circular anomaly. Other than a 19th/early 20th century drain or similar feature crossing Trench 2, no archaeology was found.

In all three trenches the plough soil came straight down to the natural surface. The natural surface was complex. In trenches 1, 2 and 4 it consisted of angular broken sandstone pitched at varying angles which was interpreted as an area of decay and natural disturbance at the interface with the solid geology which would have occurred as a result of periglacial activity. The natural in Trench 3 was more sandy but also thought to be periglacial. The features shown in the geophysical survey are therefore geological rather than archaeological. Although it is disappointing that no archaeological features were found, the results are nevertheless of interest.

Further examination of air photographs has shown the presence of a further circular feature near the southern boundary of the field. It is therefore proposed to excavate a further trench to test this feature

Falsgrave Upper Well House – further investigations
NGR TA 0290 8761 Site Code: FP13

Archaeological investigations into the Upper Well house in Falsgrave Park were carried out in 2001 and reported in *Transactions* 37[16] and on a further well house lower down in 2005[17]. Falsgrave Park is in what was originally conduit House Close, discussed in an article in *Transactions* 32[18]. What was not investigated in 2001 was how the water was directed to the cistern within the well house. It was assumed, however, that a series of channels would gather the water from the various springs and direct it towards the well house where it would collect in the cistern and then be piped away to the town. There was no obvious evidence on the ground for these channels, however in summer 2013 a shallow linear depression was located by the author which was thought to be one of these channels since it aligned both with some existing springs and the back of the well house. As a small joint project with The Friends of Falsgrave Park, a trench was put across this line. This proved negative due to excessive ground disturbance by tree roots and ground slippage. However it was then decided to put down a trench immediately behind the well house itself.

Figure 12: Looking down on the exposed inlet channel from the west showing its construction

This trench revealed the channel which directs water into the well house. Its construction is interesting. Removal of three of the capping bricks close to the well house revealed that the channel consists of a carved stone channel with a brick capping.

Further away the channel has a stone floor, brick sides and the brick capping. There is a slight dog leg in the alignment. This suggests that the channel had been subject to later modifications after initial construction in the 18th century. The capping bricks furthest from the well house are 19th century. Removal of one of the side bricks revealed that the stone 'floor' consists of thin limestone slabs similar to medieval and late medieval stone roof tiles – probably quarried in Forge Valley.

Figure 13 (above): Exposed inlet channel following the removal of some of the capping bricks – carved stone channel on the right, closest to the well house; flat stone 'floor' to the left

Figure 14 (below): Exposed inlet channel following the removal of one of the side bricks showing more of the flat stone 'floor'

This brick channel is clearly not the medieval supply (though medieval pottery was found); it probably dates from the 18th century improvements to the Falsgrave water supply, with later 19th century modifications.

The way the Falsgrave well houses and wells operated still remains a puzzle. Given the build quality of the upper well house (the stone work is really good using a stone not found in the immediate vicinity, probably from Cloughton) it is surprising that there was only one inlet channel. Possibly there were more channels in the medieval period. It is also a puzzle as to why the well house was built on a spur of land rather than closer to the springs. More research needs to be carried out to give us a better understanding of the water management system for this early town water supply.

32 Sandside – cellar investigations
NGR: TA 0494 8879 Site Code: SND13

32 Sandside is part of a large brick built block containing numbers 32, 33, 34 and 34 Sandside dating from the early part of the 18th century. During restoration of the building in 2000 the Society carried out investigations in the cellar of number 33, reported in *Transactions* 36[19]. We revisited the site in October 2013 to record the cellar of number 32. It was found that the spine wall, which is shared with number 33, at this point consisted stone masonry, unlike the situation found in 2000 where 18th century brick was built off stone masonry. However both this spine wall and the brick cross wall at right angles to it appeared to be built off clean sand though one piece of medieval pottery was found. It may be the case that as at number 33 this is a late medieval build-up of sand.

However in the south east corner a substantial stone structure of large coursed and well-dressed stones was seen, Feature F12.

Figure 15: Feature F12 in the south-east corner

This is clearly a much earlier structure since the sand was butting against it and it may have been built off an earlier beach level. The exact function is at present is unknown but it may relate to the development of the Quay as this building may be one of those which had its own pier.

The brick cross wall joined the stone spine wall with a straight joint so it is still thought likely that the masonry predated the 18th century brick building.

A survey of the beams supporting the floor above the cellar was made. Many beams showed evidence of re-use from either an earlier building or a ship.

Figure 16: View looking east of beams 8 (the short one) and 2 and 3 showing evidence of re-use. The eastern ends of the beams sit on the masonry spine wall. The cross wall of 18th century brick is on the left.

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[11] Hall, C., *An archaeological excavation at Auborough Street, Scarborough*, SAHS Interim Report 39 (2010)
[12] Swann, S. personal communication
[13] Hall, C., *An archaeological excavation and watching brief at 58 Quay Street, Scarborough*, SAHS Interim Report 35 (2003)
[14] Lyall, J., *Report on a fluxgate gradiometer survey carried out at Ravenscar, North Yorkshir*e, Landscape Research Centre report 127 (2012), Site 554
[15] Knox, R., *Descriptions Geological, Topographical and Antiquarian in Eastern Yorkshire* (London, 1855), 183
[16] Hall, C., 'Archaeological Excavation and fieldwork', *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society* 37 (2001-2002), 104
[17] Hall, C., 'Archaeological investigations into the water supply – Falsgrave Park 2005', *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society* 39 (2005-2006), 21-264
[18] Hall, C., 'Conduit House Close', *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society* 32 (1996), 35-37
[19] Hall, C., 'Archaeological Fieldwork in Scarborough 2000', *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society* 36 (2000), 59

JOHN RUSHTON MBE (21/6/1929 – 11/6/2013)

By MARK VESEY

It is with great sadness that members of Scarborough's local history societies learned of the death of John Rushton MBE.

John was born in Luton in 1929 to Robin Rushton, then clerk, later accountant and champion chess player, and Annie Howlett, then forewoman. Following a scholarship from Luton Grammar School, John joined the navy aged 16. He was part of a programme for trainee engineers and out of 3,000 applicants to sit the entrance exam, John claimed the 33rd and final place. The Germans surrendered shortly after John joined but he believed this was just a coincidence. His older brother Alan served as a tank driver in Germany and brought home a German wife.

Quickly realising the navy was not the career for him, John left and was able to gain work as a health and safety overseer in factories in Luton. He was also keen to expand his horizons and applied to a board in London for unemployment benefit to allow him time to take his 'A' levels for entrance to University. He studied and gained those necessary 'A' levels during that time and continued his studies at University College and the London School of Economics. On arrival in London he boarded for a short time in a homeless men's hostel, where despite tying his shoes to the bed head found them missing in the morning. To see him through his university years his part-time work included barrel organ singing, time and motion study, carrying a sandwich board dressed as Davy Crocket, waiter at a hotel and dresser at the Old Vic, waiting on, amongst others, Laurence Olivier. As he often said, jobs were abundant then, especially for those studying for academic qualifications. He met his wife of 47 years, Eileen, at the BBC, where she worked as a cleaner whilst studying Fine Art at the Slade. They were married in Newbiggin in 1954.

A daughter, Geraldine, was born in 1959 and they continued to live in London. He graduated from the LSE with a degree in sociology after which he became a tutor organiser for the Workers' Educational Association for the Ryedale area. John and Eileen moved to Pickering and took up residence in a flat in Beck Isle (later to become the Beck Isle Museum) where they had their second daughter, Erika, in 1960. In addition to his organising duties he also took adult education classes himself, developing an interest in history. John took to lecturing in local history and went on to develop annual local history exhibitions at Pickering, leading to the formation in partnership with Gordon Clitheroe of a museum of local history at Beck Isle. The building was bought with the generous gift of an unnamed local benefactor.

Moving house as Beck Isle's transition from flats to museum began, he had a further two children, Tom in 1964 and Emma in 1965. After some years as a local councillor John set up a yearly Pickering carnival along with Don Chapman. For many years he was well known for his appearance in flamboyant home-crafted outfits. In later years he wrote the yearly Middleton pantomime, helped organise a beacon and street party for the Queen's jubilee and historical Pickering pageants.

For many years John wrote a newspaper column on local history and daily events in the *Pickering Gazette and Herald*. Information was gathered from nightly visits to local pubs and clubs where a keen favourite pastime was to talk, drink and collect stories.

Following his redundancy as a result of educational cuts in 1992 and divorce from his wife Eileen, John moved to Scarborough aged 71 to start a new life with his new partner Sheila McGeown. He became president of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, a post he held for several years, and was a founding member and archivist of the new Scarborough Maritime Heritage Centre.

During his time in Scarborough he wrote local history books including *The History of Ryedale*; *Early Tudor Yorkshire*; *Yorkshire in the Reign of Elizabeth 1*; *The Story of Pickering*; and, with Brian Walker, *Dalby: Valley of Change*. John also wrote many articles for the *Transactions* of the SAHS. In 2005 he was awarded the MBE for 'services to the community'.

Having kept prostrate cancer at bay for over ten years he died shortly before his 84th birthday after his cancer finally spread. He leaves behind three daughters, eight grandchildren and a first great-grandchild born in Australia the week before he died. John's unique lifetime collection of historical books and writings was donated to the Ryedale Folk Museum and the Scarborough Maritime Heritage Centre. He stated, 'It is every scholar's dream that his work is later useful to others'.

Chris Hall, previous secretary and chairman of the SAHS, said of John 'I first got to know him in the early 1970s when I joined the committee of the Archaeological and Historical Society. John seemed then, as he still does now, a larger than life figure. His lectures to the Society were crammed full of information but delivered with a vigour and panache that really made them stand out. They were usually delivered by him in his trade mark attire of jacket over woolly jumper with his tie out over the jumper, though I recall at least one occasion when he turned up in a suit and white trainers – to John it was the content that mattered.

I got to know him very much better when he moved to Scarborough. His move into the town coincided with the Society obtaining funding to publicise the excavations Trevor Pearson and I had been doing over many years. We called this the Community Heritage Initiative and he contributed in many ways – to the *Guide to Historic Scarborough* and to the web site – but to John it was the community aspect that was most important. It was he who suggested that the story of Scarborough could be told through us re-enacting the beating of the bounds, with us dressed in medieval costume – this was a quantum leap for many of us but John's enthusiasm took us along. I seemed to get the role of jester to John's King Henry II; he wore his 'red frock' as he called it, improvised crown and borrowed leggings.

John and I enjoyed many discussions about the development of the harbour area, I from the archaeological and buildings point of view and John from the documentary and social evidence. I was impressed by how he retained his interest in these matters despite his illness. I will never forget how just a couple of weeks before his death we got talking about a suggested motte and bailey in Burniston which was now interesting him again after many years. I said I would do some investigations on the ground and through air photographs if he could provide more information. A telephone call came from him at 10 pm the same evening! He produced a grid reference for me to check and to report on my next visit. The evidence was negative, but a note went into his little book to check again.'

Vanessa Milner, vice chairman of the SAHS, commented that 'John was flamboyant, in fact, let's face it, he was downright noisy at times! I must admit that I did encourage him – as others often did too. The last time I saw him in the Valley pub, I presented him with an Arthur Askey song book of the 1930's, with the Busy Bee song on the cover. He started to hum some of the bits and I joined in. Then within seconds, as was usually the case, his "choir" of associates that always surrounded him all joined in and nearly raised the roof. This was followed by the usual "Hey, keep the noise down, John" from the bar staff. There was another side to John though, too. He was a gentleman, very kind and generous with his time but he was also a confidante and a father figure. He is sorely missed and nights at the Valley will not be the same.'

Colin Langford, ex vice president of the SAHS, said 'He was a kindly man who had a great love of associating with all kinds of people and would count every one of us as his personal friend. He gave me much comfort after the death of my wife and eased the pain by taking me places and giving me his time. John was a great historian and possibly the foremost of Yorkshire historians. Coupled with his fun-loving personality, he would excel in gathering people to join him in discussions and sometimes arguments. His eccentricity was ingrained in his personality and many admired that. He paraded the town in outrageous costumes to re-enact historical moments, he would sit in the pub with a song sheet or pull your leg and make everyone laugh. His memory will live on and never be forgotten.'

Mark Vesey, chairman of the Scarborough Maritime Heritage Centre, said 'I came to Scarborough 10 years ago and John was one of the first people to make me feel welcome and get me involved in local history and social events. I learnt very quickly that he was always interested in meeting new people, finding out what made them tick and getting them involved in the community around them. He was never one to turn somebody away or look down on them. If a fellow was sitting alone in a pub, John would strike up a conversation and by the end of the evening they would both be singing along to some classic old tunes.

John was one of life's great characters, with big hands and a big heart. I think of him now as an old oak tree with many years of experience and he would gather under his branches the younger generation and encourage them to grow. John came from a generation that held doors open for people and not just in the physical sense. His enthusiasm for history was infectious and he was always keen to share information and celebrate the past in a fun way. He rightly deserved his MBE for services to the community. He was never one to be put off by hurdles or setbacks and was the living embodiment of the keep calm and carry on generation.

Even in the last few months of his life he was busy transcribing historical texts, sorting and sharing information. The Scarborough Maritime Heritage Centre owes him an awful lot as he helped get us off the ground and build our archives into a valuable resource for the community. One of our volunteers recently read John's book on Elizabethan Yorkshire and said "One can almost feel the mud and smell the people and walk in those narrow lanes. A little bare bones history comes alive".

One of the first events he got me involved in was the Ramshill Festival to mark 150 years of the South Cliff area. He had me dressing up and acting, something I never thought I was capable of doing. John also put a lot of effort into organizing the Archaeological and Historical Society's summer social programme and believed that an organisation runs as much on its good humour and companionship as on its intellectual merit. We have all been very fortunate to share some

time with John and I would like to think that we will take a leaf out of his book and try to be welcoming and sharing with others. He was definitely one of a kind and we will all miss him.'

Bill Pyemont, one of John's oldest friends, recollected 'It must have been in 1959 when I first met him. He joined us at the London Electricity Board situated in the now famous Carnaby Street but in those days things were just kicking off with just one or two trendy clothing shops. Close by was the London Palladium and just down the road behind the offices was Berwick market, a favourite lunch-time haunt of John's. On one occasion I remember when John was browsing through one of the many book stalls and the book he was looking at was suddenly snapped shut and he made his purchase. On returning to the office his book was examined and the ancient coins set into hollowed –out pages turned out to be made of plastic. John's great interest at that time was the cinema and he introduced me to the National Film Theatre on the south bank of the Thames. Our section of the LEB was the meter reading department, a section of the accounts that was referred to as "sleepy hollow" where many topics were debated at length. John fitted in very well and enjoyed the arguments.

The time came for John to leave us and move up to Pickering to set up the museum and we corresponded for a time but with our family commitments and changing careers, we lost contact. Then about 12 years ago we started taking holiday cottages in Yorkshire, and in Pickering I spotted a book "The Evolution of an English Town – Pickering". The photograph of John on the flap was a lot different to the tall, thin graduate I remembered. On returning to London, I searched the phone book for Rushtons, and with some help, I was given John's number. I rang it with some trepidation but after introducing myself I recognised that old humour from times past "Do I owe you money?" he said. In conversation our mutual interest in history was apparent. From then onward I used to glean bits and pieces for him from my many visits to the National Archives and he would reciprocate with bits of interest to me on Scarborough. An annual visit each October became the norm when we took the opportunity to visit one of the many excellent hostelries for a meal in the company of Sheila and my wife, Joan.

I used to enjoy the many emails that passed between us – sadly curtailed during his stay at the Rambla when the mobile phone came into play. Joan and I will miss him greatly and my one regret is that we lost contact during those middle years. We are dedicating a tree to John at Stray Head Banks, Littlebeck and in doing so we send our condolences to all his family.'