

ULNABY,
DARLINGTON
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
AND INVESTIGATION OF THE
DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

Catherine Grindey, Marcus Jecock and Al Oswald



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NGR: NZ 2273 1719

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ISSN 1749-8775

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SUMMARY

In 2007, English Heritage undertook historical and archaeological research into the deserted medieval village of Ulnaby in the parish of High Coniscliffe, part of the historic area of County Durham. Detailed analytical field survey of the well-preserved earthwork remains showed that the majority relate to the tofts (peasant house plots and their accompanying yards and gardens) of a planned two-row village with a green. This had replaced an earlier village without a green. Alongside the planned village was a manorial enclosure containing a fishpond and dovecote; the manor house itself is thought to have been lost beneath modern farm buildings. The village was surrounded by open fields of broad ridge and furrow, some of which were ploughed again in the post-medieval period, but thereafter used as pasture up to the present day. After its initial planned phase, the village experienced piecemeal expansion and contraction. Possibly in 1573, but certainly by the early 17th century, the present Ulnaby Hall was built on a new site in an area formerly occupied by peasant tofts. The size of the village diminished gradually: three cottages (whose earthworks can be identified with some confidence) are documented in 1629 and the last medieval building disappeared between 1855 and 1896. A row of three farm labourers' houses, built in the late 19th century and replaced in the 20th, arguably represent the latest incarnation of the village. Ulnaby Hall and these houses are now the only occupied buildings.

CONTRIBUTORS

The field survey was carried out by Catherine Grindey, as a key element of a one-year English Heritage Professional Placement in Conservation (EPPIC) training programme, with support from Marcus Jecock, Al Oswald and Abby Hunt of English Heritage's Archaeological Survey and Investigation Team. Adam Menuge, of the Architectural Survey and Investigation Team, contributed to the analysis of the standing buildings and Yvonne Boutwood of the Aerial Survey Team supervised the rectification of an aerial photograph (Figure 3). The text, plans, photographs and other illustrations were produced by Catherine Grindey and the text was edited by Marcus Jecock and Al Oswald. The report was brought to publication by Abby Hunt.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

George Clarkson, studying archaeology at Durham University, assisted as a volunteer during most of the fieldwork: English Heritage is very grateful for his commitment. Thanks are due to the Thornton and Croft Trustees for giving permission to undertake the survey and above all to Mr Ian Dods for his enthusiastic support throughout the project

ARCHIVE LOCATION

The archive has been deposited in the NMR Swindon, ref: NZ 21 NW 25

DATE OF SURVEY

June - November 2007

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I. INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 2007, English Heritage carried out a detailed investigation and survey of the earthwork remains of a deserted medieval village at Ulnaby, located 2km to the north-east of Piercebridge, in the parish of High Coniscliffe, Darlington (but historically within County Durham) (Figure 1). Deserted medieval villages are not rare, with an estimated 3000 in the country as a whole, but the remains of Ulnaby, which represent the full former extent of the settlement and are relatively well preserved, are regarded as being of national importance and are consequently protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument (RSM 20961). In parallel with the English Heritage investigation, the Northumberland and Durham Vernacular Architecture Group carried out a survey of the adjacent Ulnaby Hall, a Grade II Listed Building dating to the late 16th or early 17th century. Neither the earthworks nor the building had been the subject of any intensive research prior to 2007. Both the investigations were initiated by English Heritage's Historic Environment Adviser in order to allow improved management and presentation of the site by the tenant farmer, Mr Ian Dods, as a contribution to a Higher Level Stewardship scheme, and in order to raise awareness of the site's importance among local people. In the course of the projects, Mr Dods contacted Channel 4's 'Time Team'

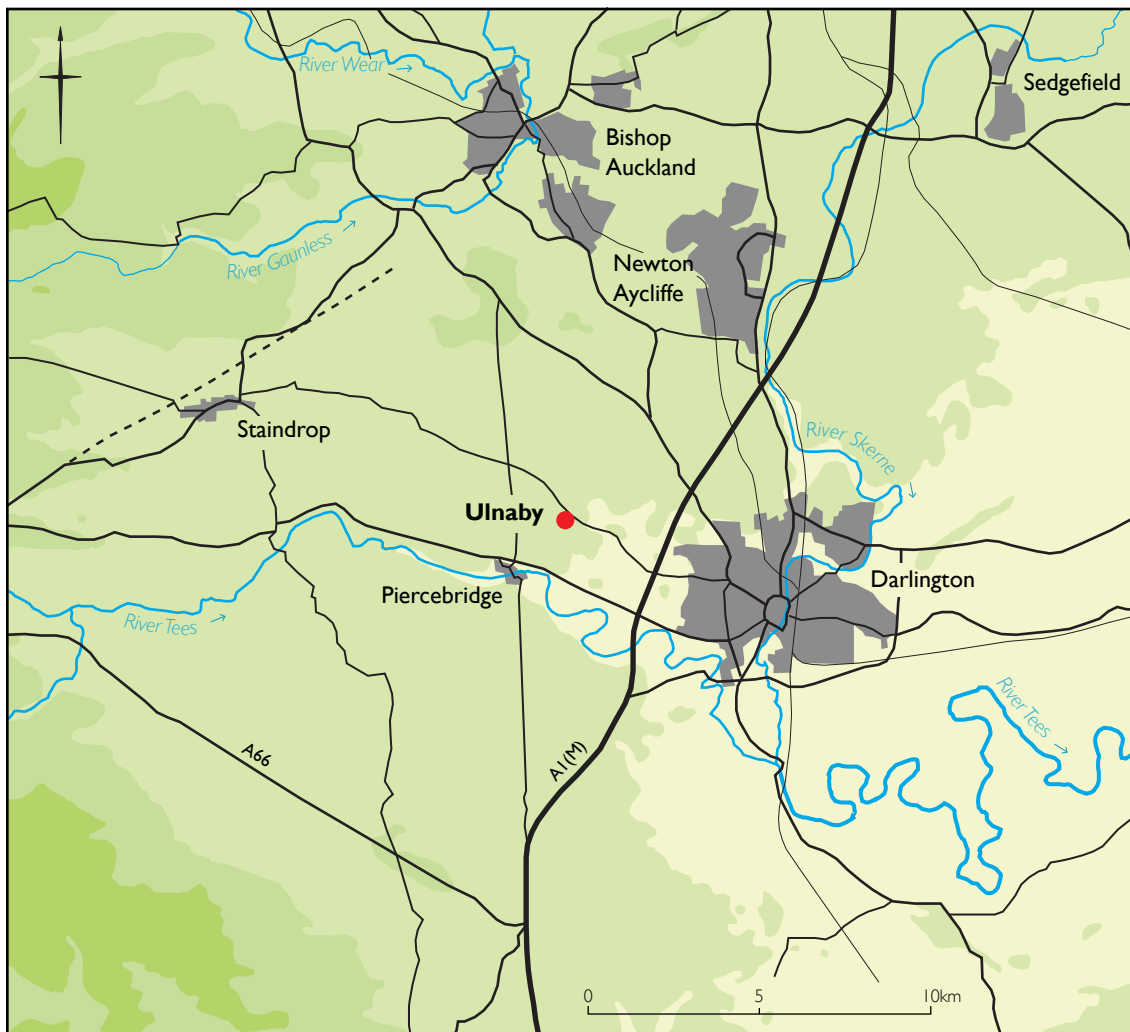


Figure 1: Location map



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to invite them to investigate the site further; their involvement was eventually timetabled for Spring 2008. Detailed earthwork survey is not usually possible within the television programme's three-day format, so the English Heritage research contributed indirectly to the demonstration of best practice in archaeological fieldwork and research.

The English Heritage survey covered an area of 18.5 hectares (45.7 acres) at 1:1000 scale and at Level 3 standard (as defined in Ainsworth, Bowden and McOmish 2007, 24-9). It showed that the majority of the earthworks belong to the tofts (rectangular plots containing peasant houses or small farmsteads and their accompanying yards and gardens) of a planned village comprising two rows of tofts looking onto a central green. This village had replaced an earlier settlement without a green, which may have originated before the Norman Conquest. Alongside the planned two-row village with green, an associated manorial complex is marked by a larger rectangular enclosure with fishpond and probable dovecote. After the planned phase, the village underwent piecemeal expansion and contraction. By the early 17th century the medieval manor house had been replaced by the surviving Ulnaby Hall, presumably with an associated farm, though none of the extant farm buildings predates the 18th century. The village survived in a shrunken form into the

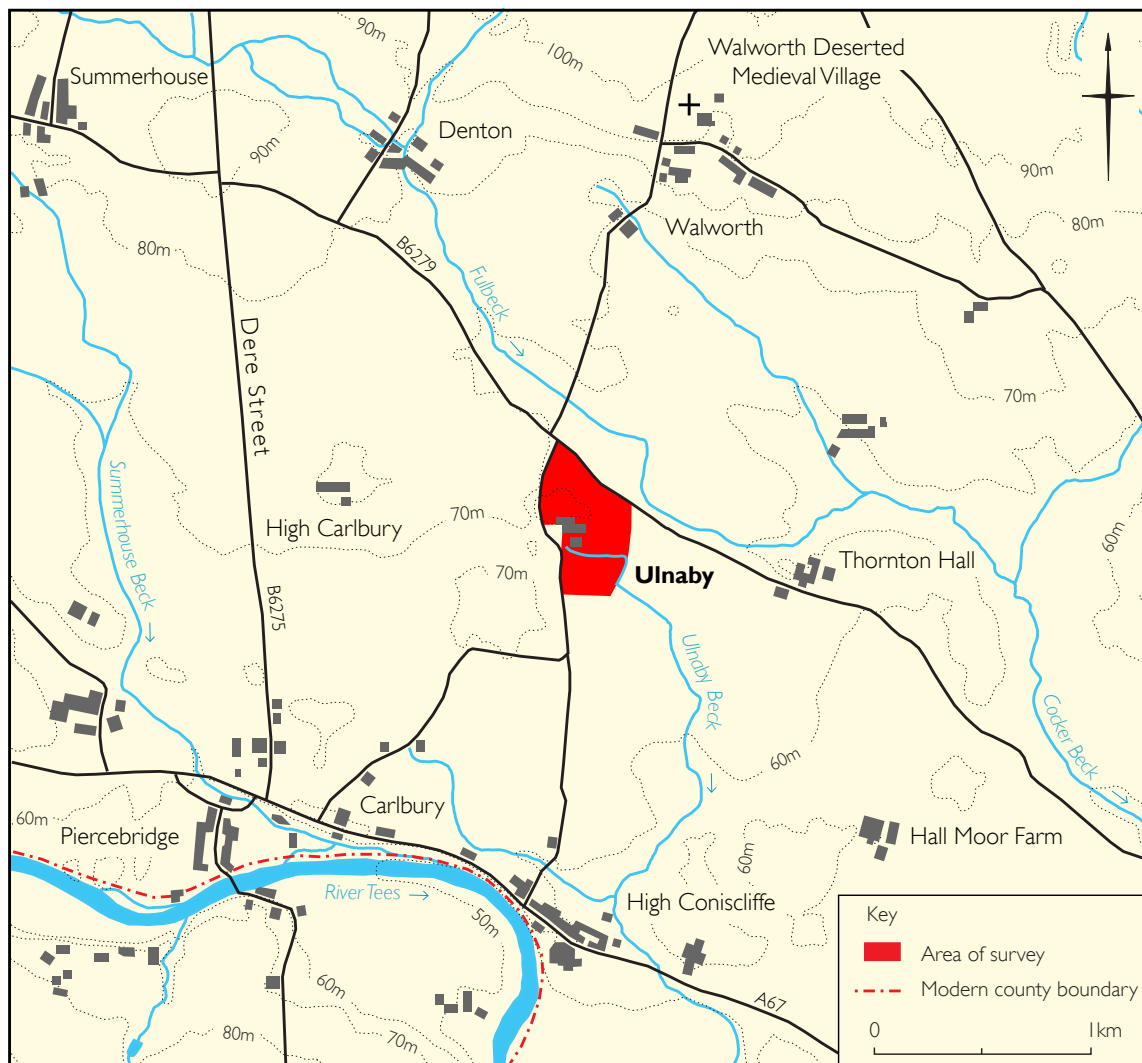


Figure 2: Map of the environs of Ulnaby

mid-17th century, but was eventually subsumed into this larger farm. Historic Ordnance Survey maps show that the last surviving building of probable medieval origin on the village site was still standing in 1855, but had disappeared prior to 1896 (Ordnance Survey 1855; 1897), by which date a row of three labourers' cottages had been built. Ulnaby Hall and three 20th-century replacements of the 19th-century cottages remain the only occupied buildings on the site. The rest of the village site has evidently been used for pasture since its abandonment, which accounts for the excellent preservation of the earthworks visible today.

There has been little previous archaeological research undertaken at Ulnaby. The antiquarian W H D Longstaffe discussed the remains in his letters with M A Denham in 1852 and suggested that they might be medieval (Longstaffe 1852a & b). However, no intensive investigation took place until 1953, when J H Ostridge, a field investigator from the Ordnance Survey's Archaeology Division, surveyed the site at 1:2500 scale, recording most of the extant major earthworks and standing buildings and also some earthworks that have since been destroyed. Ostridge commented that there were smaller enclosures inside the main ones and that these were "probably the remains of cottages, with a large number of stones visible in their banks". This survey was included on the 1976 Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 scale map where the earthworks were annotated as 'medieval village of Ulnaby (site of)' (OS 1976). A return visit by an Ordnance Survey field investigator in 1981 confirmed that the published 1:2500 depiction was correct. The remains were examined and succinctly described by English Heritage prior to their designation as a Scheduled Ancient Monument in 1994.

2. GEOLOGY, TOPOGRAPHY AND LAND-USE

The Tees lowlands straddle the sinuous course of the River Tees as it meanders from the Pennines towards the east coast. On the northern side of the Tees, where Ulnaby is located, the land gradually rises to 70m above sea level, from alluvial deposits onto boulder clay left behind by glacial activity, which overlies Magnesian Limestone (IGS 1969). Outcrops of this limestone have been quarried from at least the medieval period in order to provide building stone for the nearby villages; the cobbles contained within the boulder clay are also widely used in the local architecture.



Figure 3: Rectified aerial photograph of Ulnaby. (©English Heritage 2001. NMR 17539/05)

Ulnaby occupies the crest and southern slope of a low ridge running from east to west between two streams, Fulbeck to the north and Ulnaby Beck to the south, both of which flow south-east, ventually into the River Tees. To the south, the land falls gently to below 65m to form the head of a shallow valley. Along the foot of the slope, one or more springs once fed the former course of the Ulnaby Beck, turning the whole head of the shallow valley into a fen or 'carr'. Carr derives from the Middle English kerr (from Old Norse kjarr), denoting marshland (Gelling 1984, 52), and features in some of the field names recorded on the 1841 rent apportionment map (Pilkington 1841). New Acridge Carr is the field directly to the south of the springs that encompasses the head of the valley and Far Acridge Carr is the field to the south-east through which Ulnaby Beck flows. There have been several attempts to drain the waterlogged ground, culminating, probably in the late 18th century, in the excavation of a deep channel parallel to and just above the foot of the slope. This effectively captured the water that had formerly drained into the more sinuous natural watercourse on the valley floor and several springs along the foot of the south-facing slope.

The fields surrounding the survey area are currently used for arable farming and consequently no earthworks now survive there, but aerial photographs show that ridge and furrow was once more extensive (RAF 1945). The fields within the survey area are currently under pasture and have been used as animal grazing for more than 150 years; it is this that has allowed the earthworks to survive.

3. DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE SITE

The name Ulnaby is generally agreed to mean Ulfhethin's farm, from which a Norse origin for the village has been inferred (Watts 2002, 128). While place name evidence must be treated with caution, the 2007 survey throws little new light on the earliest occupation of the site and does not contradict the suggestion that the village may have originated before the Norman Conquest.

The Domesday Book did not extend as far north as County Durham, because this area of England was not strictly under William the Conqueror's control at that time. The Bolden book, a similar but slightly later document covering the holdings of the Bishops of Durham, includes only those manors held by the Church and, again, Ulnaby is not mentioned. The earliest reference to Ulnaby comes in the marriage settlement of Alice, daughter of Ivo and Agnes. Ivo was the son of Forne, a man who appears to have been one of the King's thegns in 1086, and is understood to have been one of the founders the Greystoke family (Farrer 1909, 81). Alice, on her marriage to Edgar, son of Earl Gospatric, was granted ten manors, including Ulnaby and neighbouring Thornton, by her parents as her dowry (Farrer 1909, 81). This reference is undated, but is probably mid-12th century, and shows there was a manor (in the sense of an estate) at Ulnaby, but makes no mention of the size or nature of any manor house.

The first securely dated reference is from 1198, with the renewal of an earlier grant of 1195 of Richard I to Hugh of Le Puiset, Bishop of Durham, of the service of William, son of Ranulf, son of Walter from one knight's fee for Coniscliffe and Ulnaby (Durham Cathedral Muniments GB-0033-DCD Regalia [No. not known] 1198). This indicates William's obligation to produce one knight, or the equivalent amount of money, for service to the Bishop of Durham for a certain amount of time in return for the land held. William, Ranulph and Walter were probably all members of the Greystoke family, as Walter appears to be Ivo's eldest son.

At some point in the following 100 or so years Ulnaby must have passed out of the Greystoke family's hands, as by the early 13th century the manor is recorded as belonging to a William de Somerville who exchanged all the land of Ulwineby in the Bishopric of Durham for all the lands of Marmaduke in the Kingdom of Scotland (Nottinghamshire Archives DDFJ/1/118/2). The de Somervilles held most of their land in Scotland and had their family seat at Linton, Roxburghshire. The document records the manor of Ulnaby passing from this William de Somerville to Marmaduke Fitz Geoffrey. Presumably William de Somerville was trying to consolidate all his holdings in one area. The grant is undated, but there seems to have only ever been one man called Marmaduke Fitz Geoffrey (born c.1200-10) and the grant therefore appears to be from the first half of the 13th century.

Ulnaby then appears to have passed down from Marmaduke Fitz Geoffrey to his son John Fitz Marmaduke. By 17 August 1320 both John and his heir Richard were dead and the land was in the hands of John's widow Ida. On this date she gave the manor of Ulnaby (spelt Ulneby), along with its neighbour Carlbury, to Sir Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester; until his death, whereupon it was to revert back to the grantor and her heirs (Oliver 1929, 287). Sir Thomas was the richest and most powerful of all Edward II's barons and this

acquisition reflects his deliberate creation of a powerbase in northern England, away from his traditional land-holdings in the Midlands, at a time when he is generally agreed to have been in collusion with the Scots against the English King. However, it appears from a 1343 letter from Richard, Bishop of Durham that this charter was not followed and the lands had not been returned to Ida's heirs upon Sir Thomas' execution for treason in 1322. The Bishop of Durham had to appoint Justices to take the 'assize of novel disseisin' between Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and Sir Ralph de Neville, Lord of Raby, one of Ida's descendants from a previous marriage to Robert de Neville, concerning tenements in Carlbury and Ulnaby (Duchy of Lancaster Deeds DL25/246). 'Novel disseisin' was a law that provided a speedy remedy for a man who was unjustly dispossessed of his land (McGurk 1970, 28), suggesting that the Nevilles felt that these two manors should have been returned to Ida's family. The Judges seem to have agreed, as later documents record Ulnaby as being held by the Neville family.

It is uncertain how important a holding Ulnaby was to the Nevilles. The family had much larger estates at Raby Castle and Brancepeth in Durham, and Middleham and Sheriff Hutton Castles in Yorkshire and it is improbable that Ulnaby manor ever ranked with those residences. However in 1353/4 Sir Ralph de Neville, Lord of Raby settled the manors of Ulnaby, Carlbury and Ingleton in County Durham on his fourth son, also Sir Ralph de Neville (Richardson 2005, 818). This granting of manors to a younger son was a common act to enable him to support himself and a family. If Ulnaby was now the residence for the younger Sir Ralph de Neville, a manor house and associated trappings appropriate to his status might be expected by this time, if one did not exist already.

Sir Ralph de Neville married Elizabeth de Leeds before 1359 (Richardson 2005, 818). It has been suggested the wedding took place at Ulnaby (www.rootsweb.com), from which it could be inferred that that a chapel of some kind existed, but the evidence underpinning this suggestion is less secure. The status and locations of this chapel are unknown: it could have been a separate, free-standing building or merely a consecrated room in the manor house.

Ralph and Elizabeth's son Sir Alexander de Neville inherited in 1362 (Richardson 2005, 818) and in 1391 granted a yearly rent to Sir Ralph de Neville, Lord of Raby of £20 for his lands in Carlbury and Ulnaby (Maxwell Lyte 1894, B.3606). Ulnaby remained in his direct line until 1522, when Ralph Neville Esquire died with no sons to inherit. At this point Ulnaby and neighbouring Carlbury once again became part of the main Neville holdings as the estate of the Earls of Westmorland.

By the late 16th century, Ulnaby no longer belonged to the Neville family. In 1573 Queen Elizabeth I ordered that Charles, Earl of Westmorland, the then patriarch of the Neville family, be attainted of High Treason for his part during the failed "Rising of the North". The Rising was an attempt to replace Elizabeth with her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. All of his possessions were confiscated including Ulnaby along with his larger estates at Raby, Barnard Castle and Brancepeth. On 20 June in the same year the Queen granted the manors of Ulnaby and Carlbury to the Tailboys of Thornton Hall; the family owned Ulnaby for 25 years (Surtees 1823, 384).

By 1598 Robert Tailboys, Esquire, had passed the estate to Miles Staveley and Henry Withes, Gentlemen (Surtees 1823, 384), while 10 years later in 1608 Edward Withes, Esquire, of Copgrove in Yorkshire granted Ulnaby to Roger Tockets, Esquire, of Tockets, also in Yorkshire. In 1629 Roger and his wife Jane granted the manor (spelt Ulnabie) to Francis and Stephen Thompson, Gentlemen. The licence to alienation, dated 15 of July of that year, listed the manor as containing five messuages, three cottages, five barns, three gardens and orchards, a water mill and a dovecote. The manor also included 100 acres of arable, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture and 5 acres of wood (Surtees 1823, 384). A messuage is a portion of land occupied by a dwelling; one of the five would have been the capital messuage, that is the land directly associated with the manor house, but the other four may refer to surviving tofts in the village, since there are no indications that the manor included any other houses outside the village. This strongly suggests that elements of the village survived up until 1629.

A marriage settlement of 24 April 1654 from the then owner Francis Thompson of Humbleton to Henry Barnard of Hull gives the manor, capital messuage and the water corn mill of Ulnaby to his grandson, William Thompson, on his marriage to Frances, the daughter of Henry Barnard (Papers of the Hotham Family DDHO/71/38). The reference to a capital messuage implies that there were other lesser messuages in existence, suggesting that the village was still occupied in some form at this time. This water-powered corn mill is presumably the same as the one referred to in 1629, but its precise location (though presumably on either Ulnaby Beck or on Fulbeck) is unknown.

The 1666 Lady Day Hearth tax assessment for High Coniscliffe showed that for the whole of the parish there were 57 households, 34 of them tax payers and 23 of them non-paying (Green, et al 2006, 3 & table 7). It is difficult to use this information to assess the state of the village at Ulnaby, as it is impossible to determine where many of the hearths were located.

Two 17th-century documents mention rentals of land at Ulnaby. One dates from 1677 and describes a 7-year lease at £150 rent from William Thompson of Scarborough to Mathew Dent of Ulnaby, yeoman (Papers of the Hotham Family DDHO/61/2). This could mean that the main farm was being leased out, as William Thompson does not appear to have been residing at Ulnaby, but in Scarborough, or it could refer to an existing tenement from the village that had survived up to that date. The other document, which dates from 1673-9 is badly damaged and merely mentions rentals at Ulnaby among a number of other listed places.

Surtees writes that by 1823 the estate had been reunited with the neighbouring Thornton Hall, and was then held by the Reverend Robert Croft and Thomas Thoroton, Esquire, in right of their wives, the co-heiresses of Bowes (Surtees 1823, 384). The Thoroton and Croft Trust remain the owners of Ulnaby to the present day, though the land is rented out.

In 1841, Assistant Tithe Commissioner Henry Pilkington went around the parish of High Coniscliffe to draw up a plan and Apportionment of the Rent-charge in lieu of tithes (Figure 4). As it was no longer the custom for tenants to tithe to their landlord, but

instead to pay a rent for the land, it became necessary to survey the land to determine the amount of rent to be paid. These maps and apportionments provide information on the field boundaries and names, the landowners and tenants' names and how the land was being utilised at that time. The Reverend Robert Croft was still the landowner in 1841, but the land was mainly split between two tenants. Robert Addison rented the land around the modern Hall and farm, broadly corresponding with the land currently tenanted by Mr Dods. John Greenwell was the tenant for much of the land between Robert Addison's land and Thornton Hall.

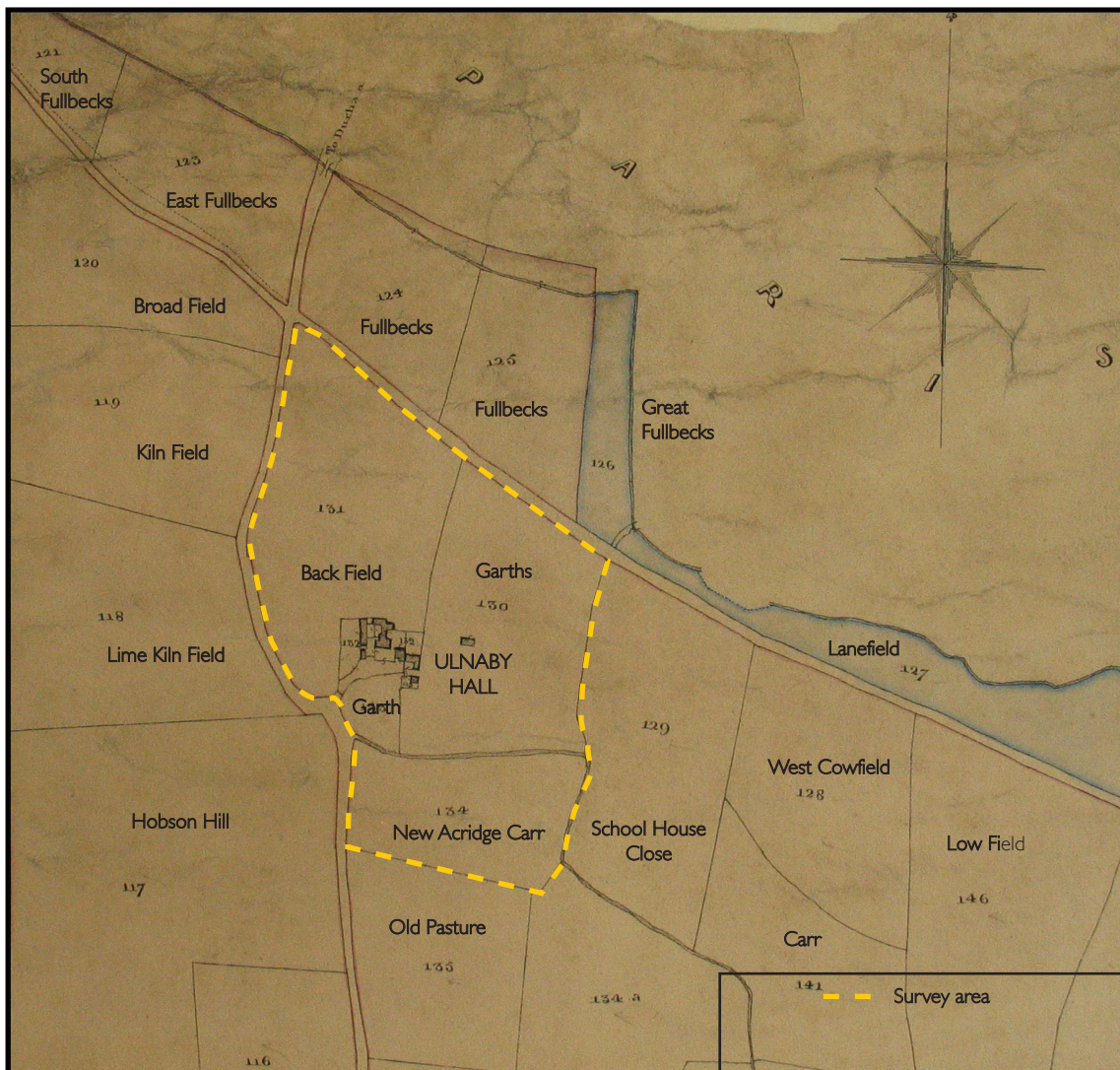


Figure 4: 1841 Rent Apportionment map with field names (Pilkington 1841)

Some of the field names mentioned on the Apportionment of the Rent indicate a previous use for those fields. Lime Kiln Field and Kiln Field lay to the west of the study area where there is earthwork, cropmark and cartographic evidence that quarrying, presumably for limestone, has occurred in the past. To the east of the farm, the field called Garths (meaning an enclosed garden, yard or paddock) was appropriately named, as this was the field in which most of the earthwork remains of the village survive. Building B, marked in the area of the North Row, may represent a small medieval building that

was still in use at this time. West Mill Hill and Mill Hill fields may have had a windmill, but all other evidence for such a structure appears to have disappeared.

The information on land-use during this period is interesting as it corroborates the effect of the steadily rising grain prices during the second half of the 19th century (Williamson 2003, 154). Though the rent apportionment is earlier than this, the data supplied suggests that arable farming was already on the increase. In 1841, most of the fields around Ulnaby were listed as arable, excluding those fields along the courses of Ulnaby Beck and Fulbeck that were marshy and therefore best used as meadow. It also excludes the large field to the south-west of the farm and the fields directly associated with the Hall/farm complex. This continued use of these fields as pasture accounts for the preservation of the earthworks of the village and manorial enclosure.

No major changes in land-use at Ulnaby have occurred between the production of the 1841 rent apportionment map and the present day.

4. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SITE

The main village earthworks at Ulnaby cover an area of 6.6ha (16.3 acres), surrounded by extensive tracts of ridge and furrow (Figure 12). In order to aid the understanding of this complex site, the following description has been divided up into sections. The principal components of the village, which are indicated on Figure 5, comprise a possible early building platform, a probable medieval manorial enclosure with fishpond and dovecote, the extant post-medieval Hall and farm complex, and the two-row medieval village itself, which underwent various extensions and alterations to its plan, but in its most clearly planned form incorporated a central rectangular green. There are also elements of arable field systems and later drainage schemes which likewise represent several phases of agricultural activity.

4.1 Early features

Stratigraphically, the earliest surviving earthwork is a possible large, degraded platform (labelled as such on Figure 6), which appears to be overlain on the north by tofts 6 and 7 of the North Row. The platform, if it is indeed artificially raised rather than the product of surrounding diggings, is approximately rectangular, 45m long and at least 18m wide, with 'wings' projecting southwards at either end. It could represent the site of a large and relatively early building, as discussed in Section 5.

A series of low banks running east to west through toft 14 may also pre-date the medieval village. These run along the contours and may be the remains of lynchets from an earlier arable field system. A wide, low bank forming the frontage of toft 14 may represent a plough headland for these possible lynchets. This bank is partially overlain by the earthworks of later buildings that belong to the medieval village.

4.2 The manorial earthworks

A probable medieval manorial enclosure containing a fishpond, dovecote and possible garden or orchard lies immediately south of, and is partially overlain by, the modern farm buildings south-east of Ulnaby Hall (Figure 8). The sub-rectangular enclosure measures some 90m east-west and was originally approximately 120m north-south with a minimum internal area of 1.28ha (3.17 acres). A broad, low bank stretching across the width of the enclosure immediately to the south of the fishpond may be the original southern boundary, but a strip of ground to the south of this appears to have been added onto the southern end of the enclosure at some stage, extending it by some 30m and making the eventual plan less perfectly rectangular. The enclosure is defined on its east, south and west sides by a bank up to 0.5m high, apparently representing a tumbled wall. Assuming the enclosure would have fronted onto the village street, whose course can be securely established, a fragment of a smaller bank extending from underneath building D may represent all that survives of the northern boundary. The surface remains of the majority of this boundary would have been destroyed by the expansion of the modern farm complex. This recent construction work may also have erased traces of the main entrance into the enclosure and any earthworks within this part of its interior, possibly including those marking the site of the manor house itself.

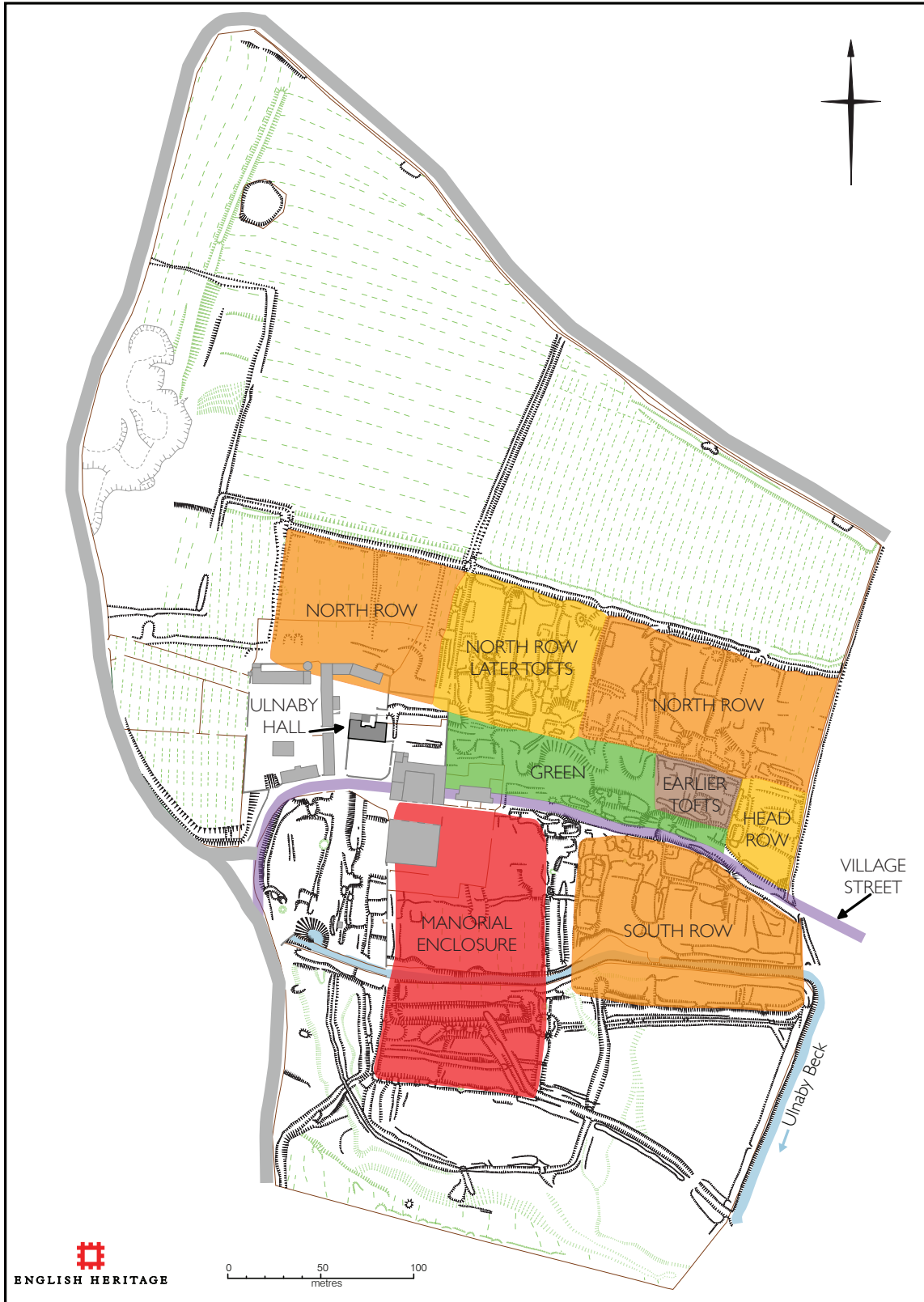


Figure 5: English Heritage plan showing the principal components of Ulnaby

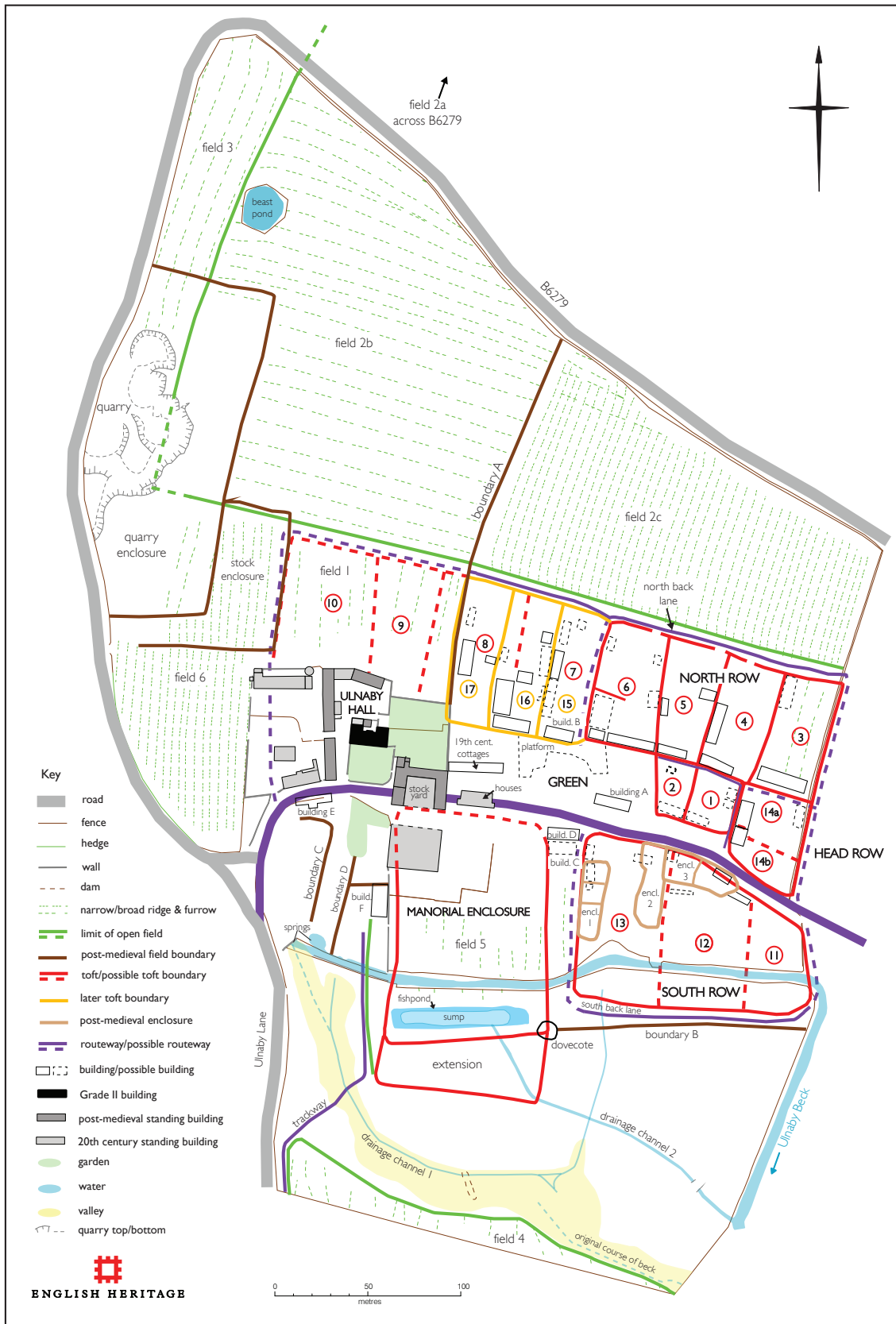


Figure 6: English Heritage interpretative plan of the earthworks at Ulnaby



Figure 7: The visible section of the manorial enclosure wall

The wall of the enclosure is visible in section where a post-medieval drainage channel cuts through the bank at the south-east corner of the enclosure (Figure 7). Here, several large ashlar limestone blocks are exposed, though the height and overall extent to which these were used is unknown. The bank overlying this wall, though substantial, is not large enough to represent the entirety of the collapsed material, suggesting that stone has probably been robbed to build other structures at some point. It would be logical to assume that stone may have been removed for the

construction of the present Ulnaby Hall, which was built around AD 1600, but it must be noted that the visible stone blocks of the enclosure wall are substantially larger than most of those used to build the Hall. There is also circumstantial evidence, described below, that the medieval manorial enclosure may have remained in use as a garden compartment for some time after the construction of the extant Hall.

Faint traces of broad ridge and furrow are identifiable within the central part of the manorial enclosure, suggesting that it was laid out over former agricultural land (see Section 4.7). It is also possible that this part of the manorial enclosure could have been used as an orchard, since fruit trees were often planted in rows along ridges either deliberately created for the purpose or left by earlier ploughing. A document of 1629 mentions orchards belonging to the manor (Surtees 1823, 384).

The most prominent earthwork within the enclosure is a rectangular fishpond, 74m long by 11m wide and originally 0.4m deep. The depth of the pond has been increased to 0.9m by a sump that has been dug into its base, presumably in order to help drain the valley floor. Spoil from this sump has been dumped in an amorphous mound on the southern side of the pond. The pond is positioned at the foot of the natural slope and aligned parallel to the contours, so that ground water seeping from the spring line would naturally have filled it. A short channel runs from the current canalised course of Ulnaby Beck, near what is now the largest of the springs, into the western end of the pond. Some of the flow from the spring may have been diverted along this channel into the pond in order to keep the water fresh, but if so, it is difficult to tell where the necessary outflow may have been, since the only channel appears to be a product of later drainage works. The depth of the pond is amplified by a low embankment (possibly made of spoil from the excavation), which extends along the southern side of the pond and around its lower eastern end. The top of the embankment is relatively broad and level, suggesting that it may have served as a walkway around the pond; it may also have carried a wall defining the original southern end of the manorial enclosure, as mentioned above. Ponds at high status medieval residences usually appear to have served as fishponds, but many may also have had an ornamental function (Currie 1990, 22). The keeping of fish was popular throughout medieval England's elite, in part because of the importance of eating fish in religious observance (Williamson 1997, 94).

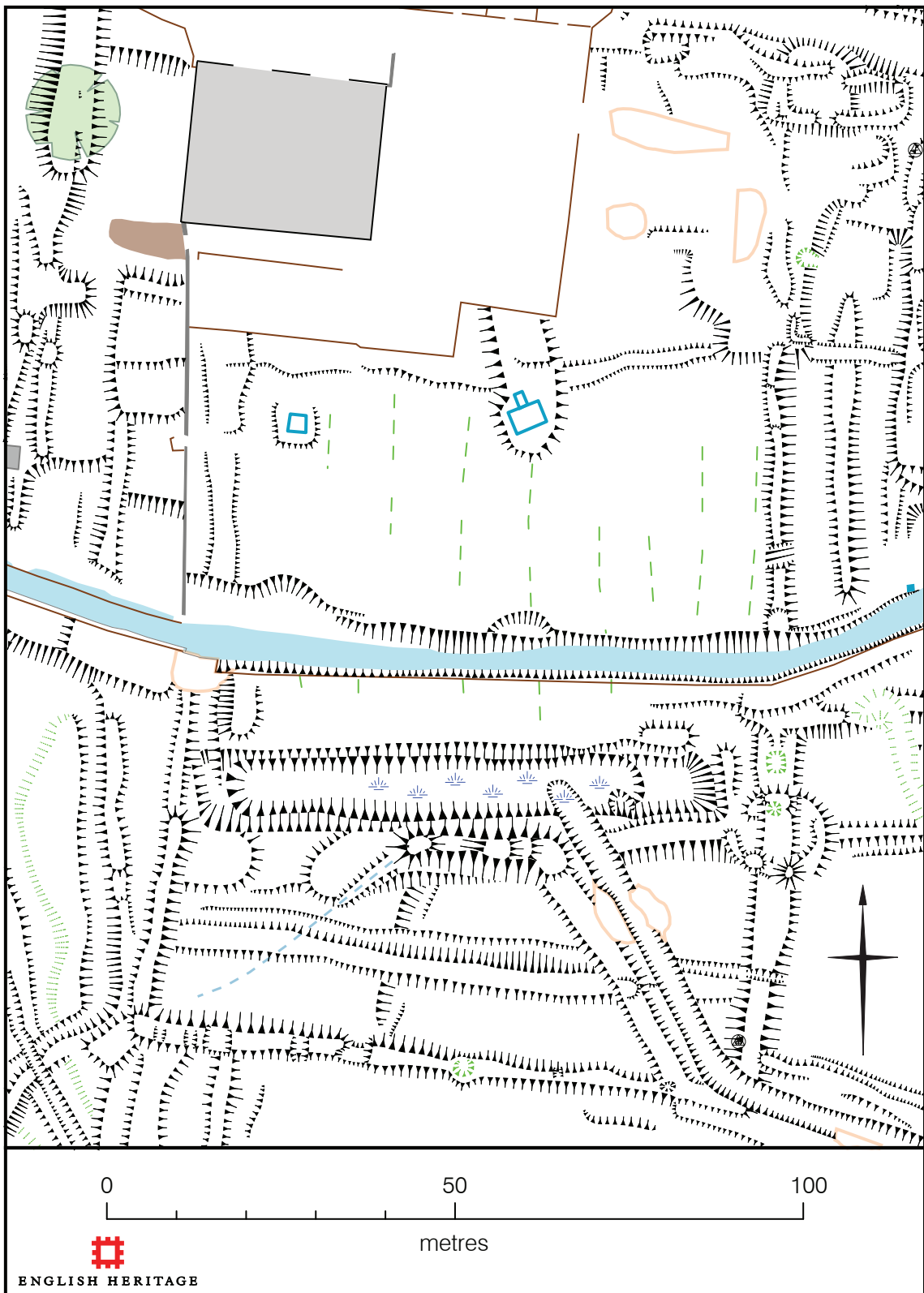


Figure 8: English Heritage earthwork plan of the manorial enclosure

The ridge and furrow within the manorial enclosure abruptly terminates at the pond's northern edge, suggesting that the ploughing pre-dates the pond's construction. There is no clear trace of ridge and furrow to the south of the pond and, at face value, it seems unlikely that ploughing would have extended much beyond the foot of the natural slope, since this marked the edge of the marshy ground. Indeed, it is possible that the low embankment along the pond's southern side represents a pre-existing plough headland, though one presumably augmented by spoil from the creation of the fishpond and later overlain by spoil from the digging of the sump.

South of the fishpond, a broad, low bank with an adjacent gully of minimal depth runs parallel to the southern enclosure wall, stretching from one side of the enclosure to the other, and therefore probably contemporary with the extension of the enclosure. Though the function of the bank is uncertain, it may represent another raised walkway, since the ground here would presumably have remained marshy prior to the canalisation of Ulnaby Beck and the other post-medieval drainage works on the valley floor. Given this likelihood, the use to which the land on either side of the supposed walkway was put remains uncertain.

An almost circular bank at the eastern end of the fishpond, on the line of the manorial enclosure's eastern boundary, probably marks the site of a stone dovecote. Like fishponds, dovecotes were simultaneously sources of food, ornamental features and conventional symbols of high status. The bank, which comprises a series of irregular low mounds, may represent spoil thrown outwards during the robbing of the structure's stonework, rather than the wall-line of the building itself, which may equate to a very slight concentric depression within the bank. If so, the building was approximately 7m in diameter. A gap in the bank on the western side may indicate the orientation of the entrance. The building superficially appears to overlie the extended wall of the manorial enclosure and may therefore have been built after the enclosure had gone out of use, but it is also possible that the wall was removed at this point to allow the insertion of the building, while the rest of the boundary continued in use. On balance, given that the building appears to have been sited in relation to the original corner of the manorial enclosure and to the eastern end of the fishpond, it seems more likely that the dovecote was a later addition to the enclosure, but that the various features remained in contemporary use for some time.

Documentary evidence shows that by 1629 there was a dovecote of some kind at Ulnaby (Surtees 1823, 384), but it is possible that this was of earlier origin. The majority of medieval stone dovecotes in County Durham can be found in and around the Tees valley between Barnard Castle and Darlington. The surviving examples are mainly circular with domed roofs and simple square-headed doorways and little decoration (Whitworth 1993, 75). However, post-medieval examples differed little in size and plan, so the example at Ulnaby is difficult to date on the available evidence. If the earthworks are indeed the remains of the documented dovecote, then it, and by implication the fishpond and the medieval manorial enclosure, would seem to have been retained in some kind of use well into the 17th century, that is, after the construction of the current Hall. It seems plausible that the enclosure may have been retained as a walled garden compartment for the new hall.

4.3 Ulnaby Hall and associated farm buildings

English Heritage's analysis of the architectural evidence suggests that Ulnaby Hall was built in the late 16th or early 17th century. In plan, it consists of a central south-facing range with wings at either end projecting towards the rear. The original timbers in the attic indicate that the main building was constructed essentially in a single phase as a two-storey hall with gables, in keeping with the late 16th-/early 17th-century revolution in architectural design that eliminated the earlier open hall and introduced a storied design with new emphasis on the first floor. This new style of house had distinct front, back and sides arranged so that the front was as symmetrical as practicality would allow (Brunskill 1997, 40). Externally, the Hall appears little altered from the original design apart from changes to the fenestration and the construction of a short extension to the western rear wing. A date scratched into render in the attic shows that this extension was erected in 1901. The main entrance to the Hall was the west doorway in the southern front façade, which lies in an alcove just within the western wing, rather than within the central range (Figure 9). This unusual position explains the offset positions of the windows in the hall. The now blocked window above the main doorway would have opened onto the first floor hall in an alcove set into the dividing wall between the hall and the west wing. This meant that at this point the dividing wall between the outer wall and the west chimney stack was thin compared with elsewhere. The hall would originally have had a single open room on the ground floor, with another on the first floor, each heated by a fireplace on the rear wall, while the other two chimney stacks were originally used to heat the rooms in each of the wings. The west wing, which was almost certainly the service end of the building, was a little wider than the higher status east wing. This greater width has meant that the west chimney stack and the windows of the wing in the south façade are also wider.



Figure 9: The south façade of Ulnaby Hall

In the late 18th or early 19th century, the open room on the first floor was divided into two and a corridor inserted with a staircase leading to it from the west wing. These alterations meant that the rear fireplace could no longer be used to heat the first floor hall. This was blocked up on the first floor and the backs of the chimney stacks serving the wings were broken through allowing two small fireplaces to be inserted to heat the two new rooms. Other internal alterations have also taken place in recent times, including the blocking of doorways and the creation of new ones.

A series of related outbuildings, including a smithy, and walled garden compartments, all built using cobbles obtained locally, were built after the Hall. The stone used in their construction possibly obtained from a nearby quarry to the north-west. A document of 1629 mentions five barns and three gardens and orchards (Surtees 1823, 384). Two of these gardens were probably located immediately to the south and east of the Hall, where walled gardens still exist today. The paddock to the south of the present farm track, where a small portion of what appears to be a garden terrace survives, may be the site of the third garden compartment. It may be significant that this field was called Garth (meaning an enclosed garden, yard or paddock) on the Tithe Map of 1841. Near the centre of the field, a veteran sycamore tree (*Acer pseudoplatanus*) shown on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map, but possibly almost as old as the Hall itself, may be ornamental in origin. It stands upon a broad embankment projecting at right angles downslope from the terrace; this is aligned precisely on the centre of the Hall's southern frontage and perhaps carried an axial walkway into the garden compartment.

Two buildings (E and F) are shown on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map, but not on either the 1841 or 1896 maps, indicating that they were short lived. Building E survives as a platform along the north wall of the field called Garth. The Second Edition map shows that by 1896, the route through the farm had been moved slightly southwards so that the current wall now runs straight through the platform (Ordnance Survey 1897). Building F survives as a low broad earthwork positioned up against the east boundary wall.

The Second Edition map also shows that by 1896, a row of three terraced cottages had been built immediately to the north of the extant 20th-century farm workers' houses (Ordnance Survey 1897). Yards or gardens lay to their north and the creation of these, or activity within them, accounts for the levelling of the frontage of toft 17. The cottages probably replaced building B and other homes in the village, which had disappeared by this time. By 1939, the 19th-century cottages had been effectively replaced by the extant row of three houses. However, the 19th-century cottages were not demolished immediately, but served as outbuildings for the 20th-century ones until the late 1970s (information from Mr Dods). Only slight earthworks and fragments of wall are now visible on the surface, while the eastern wall of the walled garden immediately to the west also bears scars where the cottage walls once joined it.

4.4 Roads and tracks

The village street was a relatively early and long-lived feature, since the other village earthworks, both early and late, are arranged around it. It survives as a hollow-way running approximately eastwards from where the 20th-century farm cottages now stand

to a gateway in the eastern field boundary, defining the southern edge of the village green and the northern edge of the southern row of tofts. Beyond the eastern field boundary, the track no longer survives as an earthwork, though crop marks visible on aerial photographs of 1945 and 1995 reveal that it once continued towards Thornton Hall (RAF 1945; NMR 1995).

To the west, the projected line of the village street is picked up by the present drive into the farm, which bends southwards to join the route, now known as Ulnaby Lane, which in turn leads south to the village of High Coniscliffe and the parish church. The two separate stretches of the route identified within the survey area strongly suggest that the road would have led across the frontage of the manorial enclosure, passing under the front of the extant 19th-century stockyard and the 20th-century farm workers' houses. The drive into the farm seems to represent a 1.5m deep hollow-way, whose sides have been reveted by stone walls. The remains of a curvilinear bank alongside the western wall of the small field called Garth on the 1841 Tithing Map appear to define one side of the medieval lane but it may once have been broader and must have taken a slightly sharper turn. While the route southwards may have evolved to avoid the spring line and the marshland of New Acridge Carr, it is also possible that the sharp turn coincided with a junction with a back lane returning along the western end of the north row of tofts, whose course has been lost beneath the farmyard and buildings west of Ulnaby Hall.

A shallow hollow-way (marked as trackway on figure 6) runs alongside the western boundary of field 5, which it respects, indicating that they were in use at the same time. At the south-western corner of the manorial enclosure, the trackway turns south-west across the valley bottom; here, there may have been an attempt to construct a low causeway across the marshy ground. The hollow-way continues to the plough headland of field 4 and turns south again to run along the ridge and furrow, suggesting that it formed as a short-cut to the common fields.

Ulnaby Lane, in its present form, was probably laid out in the late 18th or early 19th centuries, replacing an earlier and more sinuous route that ran between furlongs of ridge and furrow. By 1841, the route of the present B6279 had replaced the original road that ran through Ulnaby, cutting through the broad ridge and furrow of field 1 and dividing it up into smaller parcels (Pilkington 1841).

4.5 The early village (tofts 1 and 2)

The earthwork remains of the southern ends of two tofts (1 and 2) make up the earliest surviving part of the village, apparently representing a phase of the village before it was reorganized into a two-row plan with a green. These tofts, on the eastern half what later became the green, both fronted directly onto the northern side of the village street. They seem to underlie tofts 4 and 5 of the north row of the planned village and may therefore originally have extended further north. Toft 1 contains better defined remains than toft 2; it is possible to identify the house platform at the front of the toft and the yard behind it. There are two further building platforms running up the eastern edge, the northernmost of which has an attached yard. The eastern boundary of toft 1 has not survived due to the wearing of a path serving tofts 4, 5 and 14 of the later planned

village. Toft 2 has only slight internal earthworks that form two platforms for probable buildings, one of which is at the front. Traces of its west boundary survive, as does the bank dividing tofts 1 and 2 from one another. There is no evidence of a toft to the west of toft 2 and it seems unlikely that there was one to the east.

It is not certain whether this early phase of the village was planned or whether it initially developed organically and was reorganised at a later date. The north-south boundaries of the two tenements are not parallel suggesting that the early village had developed organically, but is lacking other supporting evidence. The later planned elements of the village have obscured any possible earlier earthworks to the south of the village street.

4.6 The planned village

The north row (tofts 3-10)

The majority of the village earthworks belong to a planned stage in the settlement's development, when a two-row settlement was laid out either side of a green (Figure 10). The existing tofts (1 and 2) were apparently abandoned, leaving their earthworks fossilised within the space of the green. The boundaries of tofts 4 and 5 follow or project those of tofts 1 and 2, suggesting that the earlier tofts were in use during the period immediately preceding the implementation of the new planned layout. The new north row seems to have comprised four occupied tofts (3-6), all of a similar character, size and layout, all with obvious evidence of occupation, fronting southwards onto the green. A further four tofts (7-10) may have existed at this stage and, while they cannot be securely interpreted as such, may represent a portion of the row that was laid out but never actually occupied. Each of tofts 3-6 is approximately rectangular, 60m long and ranging from 30m to 36m wide, with at least one building along the frontage facing the green. Behind are yards, paths and outbuildings, often predominantly positioned along one side. In some cases, there is evidence for a rear entrance leading out onto the back lane. By contrast, Tofts 7-10 are more variable in size, ranging from 32m to around 50m in width and contain no obvious evidence for occupation. It is unlikely that there was an eastward extension to the north row beyond what is visible in the earthworks, not least because the later insertion of toft 14 would appear to have made this impractical.

What appears to be a back lane surviving as a hollow way runs along the rear of the north row, providing access to the back of the tofts and to the fields. Presumably, at one or both ends of the north row the back lane would originally have turned to run alongside the length of the outermost tofts to rejoin the village green, thereby allowing access front to back. There is no earthwork evidence of any eastern return, but the modern field boundary and ploughing in the adjoining field may have destroyed all trace. At the western end, the back lane seems to curve in sharply at the boundary of tofts 6 and 7 and the eastern edge of Toft 7 is noticeably lower, suggesting that at some stage, presumably prior to the superimposition of toft 15, the lane turned southwards towards the green at this point.

Toft 3 contains few distinct earthworks relating to settlement, primarily due to later damage by broad ridge and furrow ploughing, which also destroyed the rear boundary



Figure 10: English Heritage earthwork plan of the village

of the toft and reduced the clarity of the earthworks of the north back lane. However, the probable wall-lines of a house are visible along the southern boundary and there is another probable building platform close to the northern boundary. The original eastern boundary probably took a similar line to the existing later field boundary. The later insertion of toft 14, as part of a head row closing off the eastern end of the village green, would have blocked direct access from the green to toft 3. If toft 3 were still occupied at this point then access must have been via a spur of path running off the eastern return of the north back lane. The ploughing in toft 3 suggests that it and toft 4 were amalgamated at some point to form a single holding; this may also help to explain the slightness of the intervening boundary.

Toft 4 is better preserved than toft 3. The clearest of the building earthworks represent stone foundations, probably belonging to the latest of a series of buildings in approximately the same location. This building may have been sub-divided into three rooms, though what appear to be internal earthworks may instead be the remains of earlier buildings on the same site. A rear entrance leading into the toft from the back lane is still visible as a ramp worn into the north boundary, but this has been blocked at some later time by a deliberately placed dump of soil. Within toft 4, the earthworks in the eastern portion are less distinct and the boundary between tofts 3 and 4 is slight, suggesting that the ploughing seen in toft 3 may have extended over at least part of toft 4, though there are no clear traces of ridge and furrow. A possible building platform facing into toft 3 apparently lies in both tofts 3 and 4 and may date from a phase where the two tofts were amalgamated, as proposed above.

The earthworks in toft 5 seem better preserved than those in either toft 3 or 4. It has a comparable layout to toft 4 with well preserved building remains fronting onto the green with a series of yards and buildings behind. Adjacent to the western boundary, the remains of a small single-roomed building with an entrance on its eastern side faces into a yard. To the rear of the east boundary of the tenement is a building platform with another yard. This toft has no discernible rear entrance of its own onto the back lane, but there is a gap in the boundary with toft 6 allowing passage between the two.

Toft 6 also contains well-preserved earthworks. Along the frontage there is a large building with internal divisions, and at the west end there is a separate smaller building. Approximately half-way along the west boundary, a later east-west bank and ditch may have served to divide areas of different activity within the toft, perhaps separating a domestic area at the front from a livestock or farming area at the back. Along the east boundary, a series of earthworks represent building platforms and yards with a path running along their length. At the rear of the toft is a small building platform with an adjoining yard and on the western side is another small building platform. An exit to the back lane is provided by a break in the rear bank, with a ramp that is well worn, possibly as a result of plough teams crossing into the fields. It must be noted that the buildings at the front of tofts 5 and 6 appear to run into one another. This, taken along with the presence of the gap in the boundary between tofts 5 and 6, may be evidence that the two tofts were once occupied by the same family. The western boundary of toft 6 is substantial, probably because it was amplified by the eastern boundary of toft 15, when tofts 15-17 were superimposed upon the north row, as described below.

The evidence for tofts 7-10 is far from indisputable, for the boundaries consist mostly of very degraded banks and slightly enhanced plough furrows - indeed, the boundary between tofts 7 and 8 is entirely speculative based on the spacing visible elsewhere - and there are no clear occupation earthworks visible within them. With these caveats, the tofts appear to be of a generally similar size to tofts 3-6 and are on the same alignment, but with less distinct boundaries and with. The southern boundary of tofts 9 and 10 has probably been lost beneath the modern farm buildings, although it is worth noting that what appears to be a sunken path within the walled garden east of Ulnaby Hall approximately corresponds to the projected line of the frontage of the row further east. To the east, tofts 7 and 8 are overlain by the short row formed by tofts 15-17. The north

back lane appears to have continued as a well-defined hollow way along the rear of the tofts, suggesting that they may have been laid out as part of the same episode of planning that created tofts 3-6. The western boundary of toft 10 has been reused by a later stock enclosure, but there is still a hint that the north back lane formerly turned to run south. The lane appears to cut through the ridge and furrow of field 1, which may originally have continued as far as the southernmost ridge of field 2b, which is sufficiently large to be interpreted as a modified headland. If so, this would suggest that the tofts were laid out over what had been arable land, but the slight size of most of the toft boundary earthworks hints that there may have been a later episode of ploughing in this area.

The south row (tofts 11-13)

Fragmentary traces of toft boundaries and the presence of what appears to be a south back lane south of the post-medieval canalised course of Ulnaby Beck suggest that a row was laid out on the sloping ground south of the village street. This may have occurred at about the same time that the row north of the green was laid out, but could conceivably represent a different episode of planning. The earthworks of the tofts are more subtle and are consequently more difficult to interpret in detail than the north row. It is difficult to be certain how many tofts there may have been, though there appear to have been three (11-13). These were apparently not in use for as long as the north row tofts seem to have been, although overlying later earthworks have also contributed to the difficulty in identifying features belonging to the planned phase of the south row. Unlike the very regular north row, the south row tofts vary in size and shape from one another, because the lateral boundaries were laid out on the same alignment as the north row rather than perpendicular to the village street, which takes a more south-easterly direction towards its eastern end. Toft 11 is particularly small and far from rectangular.

The post-medieval canalisation of Ulnaby Beck has been cut through the southern end of tofts 11-13, so that the south back lane now lies in a separate field. At the eastern end of the back lane, both the hollow way and the rear boundary of toft 11 start to curve around to the north-east, suggesting that the back lane turned northwards to run along the eastern edge of toft 11 to join the village street as it departs the settlement. All other surface signs of this return have been destroyed by the canalisation and by modern ploughing in the field to the east of the survey area. The most probable line of the western return of the south back lane runs between toft 13 and the manorial enclosure. Although the point at which the toft boundary and back lane turn has been severely disturbed by the canalisation and associated spoil deposits, this line is marked by a lowering of the ground surface. This line would bring the lane out onto the village green opposite a possible early return of the north back lane.

Within the tofts of the south row, it is difficult to separate many of the earthworks into those belonging to the planned phase and those that may be earlier or later. There are no internal earthworks visible on the lower slopes near the back lane and spring line, though the spoil cast up from the canalisation may have obscured things to some degree. Toft 11 contains slight earthworks that may represent a central yard and a building platform in the north-west corner, but these are not well defined. Toft 12 has a well-formed building platform and a possible platform in the northern half of the toft though

the frontage has been overlain and obscured by later earthworks, as has toft 13. The lack of visible occupation of these tofts in the planned South Row compared with those of the North Row suggests that their occupation was short-lived.

The head row (toft 14)

A short eastern head row consisting of a single toft (14) seems to have been added after the original two-row village had been laid out. This sequence is suggested by the fact that toft 14 blocks access from the green to toft 3. There is evidence that access to toft 3 was altered at this point, from leading directly from the green to running a spur off the eastern return of the north back lane. This would have allowed access to all the tofts while using the available land to the maximum. Alternatively, the creation of toft 14 may coincide with the disuse of toft 3 and its amalgamation with toft 4.

The head row appears to have been laid out over the remains of earlier lynchets on an east to west alignment. After toft 14 was originally laid out and occupied, it appears to have been sub-divided, with the southernmost lynchet re-used as the boundary. Toft 14 has two buildings that run along the frontage facing towards the green overlying a wide low bank that may be an earlier plough headland associated with the lynchets. These buildings appear to be single-room structures that may have co-existed, as the more southerly building is more likely to belong to the smaller sub-division 14b, which has its own entrance facing south onto the village street. Another possible building platform lies alongside the modern field boundary in 14a. This indicates that the original rear boundary of toft 14 would have taken a similar line to the modern boundary.

A path or shallow ditch runs around the edge of the green in front of tofts 4, 5 and 14. This cuts through the earlier tofts 1 and 2 and provides additional evidence that these tofts belong to an earlier phase of the village, rather than later encroachment onto the green.

A single large building platform (building A), almost 30m long and 7m wide, is situated on the green. This building is of relatively late origin, as it overlies some of the village earthworks and, while it could be contemporary with the planned phase, it most probably represents a later stage of encroachment onto the village green. The unusually large size of the building hints that it was not domestic in purpose and its position on the green could imply that it had a communal function, such as a barn, chapel or smithy.

4.7 The later development of the village

The north row (tofts 15-17)

After the main planned phase was completed, the north row was extended by the superimposition of three tofts (15-17) onto the central part of the north row, partially overlying tofts 7 and 8. It is clear that these were laid out at the same time as each other, since they are even more uniform in size and plan than tofts 3-6, though they are slightly narrower, at 27m wide on average. The north-south boundaries of toft 17 are slightly curved, recalling the 'reverse-S' typical of broad ridge and furrow ploughing. This may

indicate that the boundaries were laid out following pre-existing furrows, but whether this supposed episode of ploughing equates to that surviving as actual ridges in tofts 8-10 is uncertain. The absence of more obvious evidence for ridge and furrow within the tofts could readily be explained by the later intense occupation activity, which could have erased any earlier earthworks.

Tofts 15-17 have the most clearly defined traces of buildings of all of the settlement remains at Ulnaby. This is partly because these tofts are more recent in origin than the others, but it is also highly likely that they survived in use the longest, building B apparently into the mid-19th century, as described below. A document of 1629 mentions that there were still five messuages (a portion of land occupied by a house) and three cottages in existence at that date (Surtees 1823, 384). It seems likely from the condition of the earthworks that tofts 15-17 can be equated with the three cottages mentioned, and with three of the five messuages.

At the front of toft 15 are traces of a single-roomed building (B), which is depicted on the 1841 rent apportionment map (Pilkington 1841) and again as a roofed building on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map. The building had disappeared by 1896 (Ordnance survey 1897), but there were still distinct traces of rough cement or plaster flooring visible at this location as late as 1953 when J H Ostridge visited Ulnaby (OS 1953). A low bank and slight depression which run south-westwards from building B across the early platform probably represent a path shown on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map. The path took the shortest route from the main farm complex, suggesting that building B was still in use as an agricultural outbuilding, or perhaps as a labourer's cottage. The northern boundary of toft 15 has been deliberately flattened and the spoil pushed out into the north back lane, suggesting that the latter route was disused by that stage and therefore that most of the village had been abandoned. It is therefore possible that the toft enclosure, as well as building B, continued in use until relatively recent times, possibly as a garden if building B continued in use as a cottage. Behind building B, a hollowed area represents a yard and a series of building platforms, some of which have defined wall lines, extending along the western boundary with toft 16. In the north-east corner, a sloping entrance leads to the back lane and provides access out into the fields to the rear. Toft 15 is significantly lower than the tenements on either side, possibly because the north back lane returned towards the green through here at some stage, as mentioned above. There is no well-defined hollow-way, but the strip along the eastern boundary with toft 6 is lower than the rest of the interior.

Toft 16 has a similar layout to toft 15 with a single-roomed building on the frontage, a yard behind it and a path leading into the centre of the toft providing access to a series of building platforms stretching along the east boundary, almost mirroring the earthworks in toft 15. Along the western boundary with toft 17, another series of building earthworks and platforms continues right up to the rear boundary. The building lying directly behind, and at right angles to, the front building is substantial and may represent a house rather than an outbuilding. In the centre of the toft, a slight linear depression may indicate a second path running along the western range of buildings and leading in the direction of the rear entrance.

The frontage of toft 17 has been heavily disturbed by later activity that seems to relate to

the construction of the late 19th century farm cottages that once stood to the south and their gardens. The rear part of the toft had already been disturbed by the insertion of the later field boundary A along its western side. This left the western boundary of the toft almost intact, but may have destroyed some building remains alongside. Even so, the remains of a two-roomed building are visible, as are the earthworks of a small building on the eastern boundary and a path running between the two. There is a rear entrance leading out onto the back lane in the north-east corner of the toft, and another possible entrance through the west boundary.

The south row (enclosures 1-3, buildings C and D)

The south row of the planned village appears to have given way to piecemeal, unplanned occupation soon after it was laid out, while the north row continued to be occupied. The earthworks of this area are consequently particularly complex and difficult to interpret. There seem to be at least three individual enclosures that overlie the earthworks of tofts 11-13, though it is clear that they were not all in use at the same time. The enclosures all have traces of buildings and yards, but their purpose is uncertain: they may relate to livestock management rather than occupation. If so they may have originated late in the medieval period or in the post-medieval period, when there was evidently an increase in the extent of the land used as pasture (see Section 4.8).

Enclosure 1 is orientated north-south with well defined boundaries and is sub-divided into a series of three terraces with a probable entrance in the north boundary overlying the western boundary of the earlier toft 13. There is little earthwork evidence of internal structures, though there are two possible building platforms. Enclosure 2 is a raised area with banks on its long sides that overlie the earlier boundary between tofts 12 and 13, but is less obvious than enclosure 1. There are no clear traces of buildings within this enclosure, though some irregular earthworks may represent the robbed out walls of a stone structure. Enclosure 3 is partly superimposed over enclosure 2, indicating that the two were not occupied simultaneously. It is oriented east-west along the village street and is split into two areas containing several building platforms and a yard. The presence of the building platforms and yards indicate that these later enclosures were used as dwellings, though the placement of these enclosures bears little relationship to the earlier planned layout of the south row. The reason for this piecemeal re-occupation remains unclear especially as the planned layout of the north row continued in use.

Two later buildings (C and D) lie just outside of the putative western limit of the south row and slightly encroach onto the eastern boundary of the manorial enclosure, which they clearly post-date. If, as suggested above, the manorial enclosure remained in use, perhaps as an orchard or garden compartment, until 1629, the buildings must be of even later origin. The buildings also block the supposed line of the western return of the south back lane indicating that it could no longer have been in use when they were built. Building D, whose wall-lines are clearly visible and suggest a single-roomed structure with a possible cross-passage, lies directly to the south of the village street on a raised platform. Building C is partially overlain by the remains of Building D and is not as clearly defined, but appears to be of a similar size and shape.

4.8 Fields 1-6 and boundaries A and B

During its earliest recognisable phase and its planned phase, the village was surrounded by open fields that would have been used in common by the villagers. Within these fields individuals would have been granted strips of land by the lord of the manor in return for rent, services, or a share of the crops. The remains of these fields are visible around the village in various areas currently under pasture as broad ridge and furrow. Broad ridge and furrow with a sinuous 'reverse-S' pattern is typical of the medieval period, when oxen were used to pull the plough, since oxen needed a wide turning circle, whereas horse drawn ploughs were able to turn more tightly, creating straighter, narrower ridges. The use of horses to pull ploughs occurred during the post-medieval period, but the date of their introduction was dependent upon regional and local factors. It is impossible at present to determine how early the ridge and furrow at Ulnaby is, since ploughing is a continuous process and only the end result is visible. Blocks of strip fields, known as furlongs, can be identified by changes in the orientation of the ridge and furrow. As there have been multiple changes at Ulnaby, it is difficult to determine how the field systems would have looked at any one particular time.

Field 1 contains short stretches of broad ridge and furrow aligned north-south, which is perhaps the earliest evidence of medieval arable farming at Ulnaby. These have only a slight curve and may originally have continued northward as far as a headland formed by the southernmost ridge of field 2b, which is unusually large. The field may have extended both to the east and to the west: the curving boundaries of toft 17 have already been mentioned as a possible indication that they were laid out over ridges, while the sizeable headland along the eastern side of Ulnaby Lane in field 6 seems likely to be primarily the product of earlier ploughing.

Field 2 originally appears to have comprised a single open field that extended north up to the Fulbeck, but has undergone a sequence of modifications that have left it in three or four distinct parcels. Fields 2b and 2c both respect the rear of the north row, indicating that the ridges were laid out during or after the time when the village was replanned. Indeed, the southernmost ridge of field 2b is so pronounced that it may have originated as a headland both for field 1 and for an episode of ploughing within field 2, with ridges aligned north-south. Field 3 might therefore represent an unmodified remnant of the earliest ploughing in field 2. The context for this major change, which evidently occurred within the medieval period, is unclear. With the creation of what is now the B6279 road, the field was split into two (2a and 2b/c). In field 2a, north of the road, the ridge and furrow which was still visible on 1945 aerial photographs (RAF 1945) has subsequently been destroyed by ploughing. The northernmost ridges in field 2a were apparently realigned in an attempt to conform to the line of the road, making a fragment of one ridge redundant as arable land.

With the imposition of boundary A, the eastern end of Field 2b was truncated, so that only very faint traces of the earlier furrows survive in the north-west of field 2c and none of the surviving ridges show any signs of curving in a typical reverse-S pattern. The new parcels were referred to as Back Field (2b) and Garths (2c) on the 1841 rent apportionment map (Pilkington 1841). The division probably occurred at some point in the 18th or early 19th centuries, as part of parliamentary enclosure, since the boundary was

in existence by 1841 and was depicted as a relict hedgeline (whose stumps still survive) by 1855 (Ordnance Survey 1855). After the division, field 2b was evidently used as pasture, thus preserving the broad ridge and furrow there, while field 2c was cross-ploughed using horses, which produced narrower, straighter ridges, with relatively sharp turns close to their terminals. A headland along the southern side of the B6279 shows that the horse-drawn ploughing respected the line of the road. The change to pasture in field 2b is also demonstrated by the introduction of a roughly circular livestock pond up to 24m in diameter which cuts through the medieval ridge and furrow. Boundary A was no longer in use by 1939 (Ordnance Survey 1939), but survives as a prominent earthwork.

Field 4, lying on the very southern edge of the survey area, survives only as the well preserved terminals of broad ridge and furrow. The land to the south, called Old Pasture on the 1841 rent apportionment map, has been heavily ploughed since that time.

Field 5 is represented by vestigial ridge and furrow on a north-south alignment underlying the manorial enclosure and possibly extending beyond it to the east. A bank to the west of the manorial enclosure may represent the edge of the furlong, as it is on a similar alignment and underlies the manorial enclosure extension.

Field 6 consists of an area of narrow ridge and furrow that overlies the earlier broad ridge and furrow of field 1. The narrow ridge and furrow pre-dates an enclosure surrounding the quarry, defined by a slight bank and ditch. This in turn predates an L-shaped enclosure whose bank seems to have carried a relict hedgeline by the mid-19th century (Ordnance Survey).

Boundary B, which consists of a slight bank and ditch, appears to post-date the medieval south back lane, but may have been aligned on the dovecote. It appears to predate the canalisation of Ulnaby Beck. Boundary C appears to have defined the eastern side of a subdivision of the small field called Garth on the 1841 rent apportionment. Boundary D, in the same field, is too fragmentary to interpret.

4.9 Drainage

New Acridge Carr, the low-lying field that forms the southern part of the survey area, appears to have been marshy in the medieval period. Though unsuitable for arable cultivation, the land would have provided valuable natural resources such as reeds, waterfowl and turf for fuel and could also have been used for seasonal grazing. However, there have been repeated attempts in the post-medieval period to drain and improve the waterlogged ground, culminating in the canalisation of Ulnaby Beck along its present course. The exact sequence of drainage channels in the south-eastern area of New Acridge Carr field is unclear due to the repeated re-cutting of channels. Drainage channel 1 is a narrow spade-dug channel that deepens the natural stream course, and may therefore represent the earliest attempt at improvement. A low earthen dam that blocks the channel appears to have been used to create a shallow pond, presumably for watering livestock.

A sump has been dug into the pre-existing fishpond to feed drainage channel 2, and the spoil heaped up on the southern edge of the pond to form an amorphous mound. The

Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1896 shows that the greater extent of the pond still contained water at that date (Ordnance Survey 1897).

The deep artificial channel along which Ulnaby Beck currently flows bisects the survey area into two main fields, north and south. It starts at the two springs that once fed the natural watercourse in the valley bottom and, by following the foot of the northern side of the valley, would effectively have gathered all the ground water along the spring-line before it entered the valley.

Several veteran ash trees (*Fraxinus excelsior*) on the southern bank of the artificial channel appear to be of approximately the same age. These are trees that thrive in moist soils, but are intolerant of marshy ground and were commonly planted at intervals along hedge lines to grow as standards. Without management such as pollarding (of which these trees show no signs) ash trees do not live for much more than 200 years (Brimble 1946, 325). Assuming they were planted shortly after the canalisation of the Beck, then it is unlikely that the construction of the diversion took place much more before the late 18th century. The canalisation had certainly taken place by 1841 as it appears on the rent apportionment map (Pilkington 1841). This gives a late 18th- or early 19th-century date for the canalisation of Ulnaby Beck, which puts it contemporary with the probable enclosure of the land.

4.10 Quarry

In the north-western area of the survey area, an area of quarrying is marked by a series of steep-sided cuttings into the northern side of the ridge. Similar earthworks and related crop marks can be found in the fields opposite that once formed a single larger area of quarrying. These fields are called Lime Kiln Field and Kiln Field in the 1841 Rent Apportionment (Pilkington 1841), almost certainly indicating that lime was burnt there for use as an agricultural fertiliser at some point in the post-medieval period. The earthworks in Lime Kiln Field are referred to as a limestone quarry on several of the Ordnance Survey maps (Ordnance Survey 1855; 1897; 1916), but the material could not be ascertained from this investigation. The stone from this quarry was almost certainly used in the construction of some of the nearby buildings and walls. The area of quarrying within the survey area is enclosed by a bank on the north, east and south sides, which overlies the earlier medieval ridge and furrow and continues up to the edge of Ulnaby Lane. This boundary may have been intended to prevent animals straying out of their pasture and into a dangerous area.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Prior to English Heritage's 2007 investigation, neither the listed Hall nor the adjacent scheduled deserted medieval village had been the subject of any intensive research. The analytical survey of the earthworks and the research into the documentary evidence have, together, significantly improved the understanding of the development of the village and manor. In common with many deserted villages, the earthworks are complex and at the end of the investigation several issues inevitably remain unresolved, especially regarding the reasons for the creation, re-planning and decline of the village earthworks. The medieval development of Ulnaby, as far as it can be determined from surface survey, can be summarised in the following broad phases:

- Settlement on the crest of the ridge overlooking the spring line, comprising tofts to the north of the village street and possibly to the south, but no green. The settlement is presumably surrounded by common fields.
- Re-planning of the settlement as a two-row village with green. The Phase I tofts north of the village street are shifted further north in order to create the green, while the south row lies directly adjacent to the village street. However, the fact that the boundaries of the south row are not aligned perpendicular to the street suggests that there may have been some reorganisation here too, either when the north row was created or at some other time. The north row consists of four occupied tenements and possibly four more that were laid out, but never occupied. The manorial enclosure with a fishpond is laid out west of the south row.
- Piecemeal expansion and abandonment. A head row is inserted and access to the front of toft 3 is altered. The south row is abandoned, though it is reoccupied later, but in an unplanned manner. Tofts 15-17 are laid out, evidently at a time when the medieval property boundaries are still recognised, though not all in use. The manorial enclosure is extended to the south and a dovecote inserted into the manorial enclosure wall. Toft 3 in north row is abandoned and incorporated into toft 4. Three new tenements are added onto the north row as a block.
- The medieval manorial complex is replaced by Ulnaby Hall, complete with gardens and farm buildings, possibly soon after 1573, when Ulnaby was confiscated from the Neville family and granted to the Tailboys family. A small amount of encroachment takes place on the green and onto the edges of the old manorial enclosure. The road system is diverted to by-pass Ulnaby.
- The village still survives in 1629, according to documentary evidence, though in a reduced form with only three cottages, which can probably be equated with tofts 15-17.
- One building of probable medieval origin is still standing in 1855 and is probably replaced by three 19th-century farm cottages, which are in turn replaced by three 20th-century farm workers' houses.

Early occupation?

If the possible degraded platform partially underlying the north row indeed represents the site of a large building, then it may have consisted of a main range running east to west with wings at each end. This plan, the degraded condition of the earthwork and its relatively early date make it tempting to speculate that it could have Roman origins. The proximity to Dere Street, the nearby spring line and the quality of the land all make Ulnaby a viable and highly plausible location for Roman settlement; a small villa was excavated on the outskirts of nearby Piercebridge at Holme House (Harding 1984). An alternative interpretation may be that the building could have been an early medieval manor house, perhaps a double-ended hall, a form that appears to have become popular between around 1300 and 1550 (Brunskill 1997, 22). Based on the current evidence, all such speculation remains unfounded.

The manorial complex

The date of the creation of the manorial enclosure is uncertain, but the documentary evidence indicates that the manor of Ulnaby existed by the mid-12th century, when it was granted as part of a dowry for Alice, daughter of Ivo. Ivo was the son of Forne, a man who appears to have been one of the King's thegns in 1086 (Farrer 1909, 81). During the 8th and 9th centuries substantial territories were often broken up into small blocks as grants to nobles. These nobles owed military allegiance to the king and so they required the support of a group of thegns or knights (Bailey 2002, 11-12). If Forne was such a thegn to the King then it would be reasonable for him to have been given lands in return for his services. The Greystoke family, of whom Forne and Ivo are understood to have been the founders, traditionally held lands in Cumbria and the North Pennines and the manor of Ulnaby was included as a part of this. This whole area of northern England was unruly disputed territory, so it would have been prudent to give the land to individuals who had the power to defend it. The thegns soon acquired rights to inherit and alienate the land (Bailey 2002, 12). Ivo certainly had these rights by the time his daughter Alice was married, as he was able to give her the 10 manors as her dowry. The term manor essentially refers to a territorial unit of lordship which also served as the basic unit of estate administration (Bailey 2002, 3) and would have occupied an area far larger than that of the village itself. The capital messuage of a manor usually comprised an enclosed area containing the manorial residence, gardens, stables and the various agricultural outbuildings necessary to run the demesne as a working farm and was unlikely to be more than a few acres (Bailey 2002, 3). There is no direct reference to a manor house in the documentary evidence and the present study concludes that the manor house has been lost beneath modern farm buildings. However, the earthworks point to the former existence of a residence of some significance within the manorial enclosure at Ulnaby. Since the exposed portion of the enclosure wall is substantial and contains large ashlar limestone blocks, this could indicate that any related manor house would have been constructed in a similar fashion, suggesting that it may have been of greater architectural pretension than the current Hall. Productive features such as fishponds, dovecotes, enclosed gardens and orchards had an aesthetic appeal and symbolic value because they proclaimed to visitors that the owner ate varied and exotic food (Williamson 1997, 106). Both fishponds and dovecotes were a good source of year-round meat and the size of the manorial enclosure's wall and the location of the fishpond and possible orchards

within its limits suggest that part of the wall's function was to provide visible security in order to prevent poaching and theft. The dovecote was relatively large for this type of building. Dovecotes were a prerogative of the manorial gentry by law throughout the medieval period; even as late as 1649 Hamon Le Strange of Hunstanton Hall in Norfolk wrote that "to erect a dove house or dovecote is the ... badge of a lordship" (Norfolk Record Office, Le Strange ND 22.34, quoted in Williamson 1997, 95). As dovecotes were conventionally regarded as trappings of the elite, it is likely that they were deliberately used to show the status of the owner (Williamson 1997, 96), both in the provision of fresh meat and the style of architecture. If the dovecote was constructed prior to 1573 when the manor was held by the Neville family then this might explain its large size.

The origins of the village

The origins of the village remain barely understood. The earlier planned phase, of which only the earthworks on the green survive, may be part of the original settlement, or there could be earlier remains, possibly Norse as the name Ulnaby suggests, surviving beneath the ground. Looking at the resources around the site, it is easy to understand why people settled in this part of the manor of Ulnaby. The presence of the nearby spring line ensured that fresh water was always available, while the marsh land would have provided reeds, waterfowl, peat for fuel and possibly seasonal grazing. The farmland on the higher ground was good for arable, while the land next to the Fulbeck appears to have been good as pasture. The local limestone outcrops would have provided building stone and the boulder clay would have been another useful natural resource. Ulnaby is located within a good transport network, close to the River Tees and within a mile of Dere Street. The location of the village and manorial enclosure would have allowed all these resources to be exploited in order to create a viable community.

The planned village

Little is known about the earliest visible phase of the village, though the remains of the two tofts on the green have a structured appearance, with frontages aligned along the northern side of the village street. The settlement on the north of the street may have been more extensive and there could have been further tofts south of the street, but it is uncertain whether all this represents formal planning, in the way that the form of the later village clearly implies.

The reasons behind the planning of the village and the creation of the open field system at Ulnaby are not clear, but wider research indicates that such reorganisation generally appears to have been a product of various issues and regional factors, some of which are still not clearly understood. It is most probable that it is a result of long-term social and economic processes that produced different results at different times and in different regions. For example, the nucleation of settlements in the North-East seems to have had a different impetus from that of the East Midlands. In the North, nucleation appears to be a phenomenon of the 12th and 13th centuries, while in the South, 8th- and 9th-century dates seem more appropriate (Austin 1989, 164). Brian Roberts suggests that the more regular two-row villages, which occur throughout the south and east of County Durham, might represent settlements that were re-established after William the Conqueror's 'Harrying of

the North' in 1069-70 (Roberts 1972, 37; 52). However, all these theories are based on a small sample of excavated sites and individual villages like Ulnaby may have differed from the norm. It is possible that there may be remains of an earlier settlement at Ulnaby that is not visible above ground, but this lies beyond the scope of the present investigation.

The majority of Ulnaby's village earthworks belong to the next phase when the settlement was re-organised to create a planned two-row village with green. The regularity in the layout of the toft boundaries, the approximate conformity in size and the consistent width from front to rear of the tenements and the presence of features such as the green and back lanes are all evidence of this re-planning. The earthwork evidence suggests that most houses seem to have been located on the frontage of each plot. Excavation might reveal evidence that this was not always the case, though at Thrislington, Co. Durham the excavations there demonstrated that the locations of houses did not shift within the tenements (Austin 1989, 179).

Though the tofts at Ulnaby are relatively large, for example by comparison with those at Wharham Percy in North Yorkshire, there appears to be no evidence that they had associated crofts for use as private arable land or paddocks for over-wintering animals. There may have been crofts during the earlier pre-green phase, but when the north row was pushed northwards the presence of the surrounding common fields may have discouraged the provision of associated crofts. The south row could not have continued much further south than the south back lane because of the marshy nature of the valley bottom. The lack of crofts may have restricted the economy of the village, especially when the economic climate changed in favour of wool and the keeping of sheep. However other villages with the same problems, such as Barton Blount, Derbyshire, and Goltho, Lincolnshire, engineered alterations to their plots in order to respond (Astill 1988, 50). At Ulnaby, it may not have been such a severe problem due to the presence of the seasonal grazing in the valley to the south and the meadowland to the north around Fulbeck. It is also possible that the area of the unoccupied tofts (7-10) was used as grazing. These opportunities to pasture animals outside of their tenements would have allowed the villagers to keep gardens in their own tofts while still having opportunities to keep stock.

The reasons behind the re-planning of the village are still unknown, though it is most likely to have been achieved through the compulsion of the peasants to lay out the boundaries of the tofts, presumably by the lord of the manor. Perhaps the lord wished to maximize the use of space and therefore the number of families that could be housed. This is supported by the possible presence of four tofts in the north row (7-10) that seem to have been laid out, but never occupied. The laying out of more tofts than could readily be used by the existing population indicates a desire to encourage other families to the manor of Ulnaby and therefore increase the rents due to the lord. The creation of a green at the heart of the village provided an area that could be used for communal activities and as a place where animals could be gathered together prior to moving them on to market or pasture. Building A encroaches onto the green, but may represent a structure that has a communal function such as a tithe barn, smithy or chapel. Maximising the efficient use of the space available would have allowed the village to become as economically successful as possible.

It is possible that Ulnaby may have had a chapel, but there is no firm evidence for one and the Parish Church at High Coniscliffe was less than 2.5 km away – a short walk. There may well have been a private chapel in the manor house. A mention in Wooler's *Historic Darlington* (1913) of 'an old Norman chapel now used as a barn' seems to be a confused reference to the chapel now used as a barn at Walworth deserted medieval village, 2 km north of Ulnaby, which Wooler discusses within the same paragraph. A visit to Walworth confirmed the presence of a much altered building, now used as a barn, containing pieces of stone moulding in the east gable.

Ulnaby Hall

The demise of the medieval manorial complex and its replacement by the present Hall indicates a change in the status of the landlord. Ulnaby Hall is typical of a house belonging to the gentry or minor aristocracy of the area whereas the earlier manorial complex, with substantial wall, fishpond, and dovecote suggests an owner of somewhat higher status. This corresponds with the documentary evidence, which tells us that prior to 1573 the manor of Ulnaby had been held by the important Neville family (*Publications of the Surtees Society* 1860, 3). In this year Charles, Earl of Westmorland, was attainted of high treason and all his lands forfeited to the crown. Queen Elizabeth then re-granted Ulnaby to Ralph Tailboys, Esquire, of neighbouring Thornton Hall (*Surtees* 1823, 384). Over the next fifty years the manor was held by four separate families, the named heads of which all had the title of esquire or gentleman. It is not certain which of these families was responsible for the building of the Hall, but this reduction of the status of the owners of the manor seems to match the physical evidence recorded by the 2007 survey.

The construction of what is now the B6279 meant that the village street through Ulnaby did not need to be used as a general thoroughfare. This change must reflect the decay of the village, but perhaps also the desire of the owners of Ulnaby Hall to make their property more private. During the 18th century, settlements and roads were often diverted away from private land, reflecting the withdrawal of the landowners away from the local community (*Williamson* 1997, 109). The change may also reflect an act of enclosure of the former open fields of the manor.

The decline and desertion of the village

While the village retained planned elements, its later development was organic, with growth and contraction occurring in different areas. The planned south row appears to have been abandoned after a much shorter occupation than the north, for reasons that remain unclear. The north row retained an organised nature, while the south row was abandoned and later reoccupied in a less ordered manner. A head row (toft 14) was inserted between the north row and the village street in order to provide room for an extra family though this must have occurred after the unoccupied possible tofts of the north row had been forgotten. This single head row toft was later sub-divided probably as part of the inheritance of the land since it was not uncommon for a father to split his land in order to provide for more than one son. The insertion of the new toft would have blocked access to toft 3 and a new access route could have been laid out from the eastern return of the north back lane. This blockage may have been a factor in the

eventual abandonment of toft 3 and its amalgamation with toft 4, although, conversely, the amalgamation of tofts 3 and 4 could be the reason behind the establishment of a new toft (14). It was not uncommon during the medieval and post-medieval periods for more prosperous families to expand their occupation into an abandoned neighbouring plot. The land could then be used for cultivation while the families still lived in the buildings on their original plot. At Thrislington, County Durham, some tofts were abandoned while others were extended and even encroached on other abandoned holdings (Austin 1989, 181). It is difficult to determine how much the desertion and amalgamation of individual tofts affected the village as a whole. Sometimes, this resulted in the shifting of a village (Astill 1988, 38), but here at Ulnaby it appears that fewer, more successful families held more land until they too abandoned their tofts.

Research suggests that the wholesale desertion of complete villages rarely happened, but that they instead shrunk or shifted position (Astill 1988, 39). Despite occasional periods of expansion, Ulnaby continued to shrink until eventually the remaining tofts were abandoned or subsumed into the farm associated with the Hall. By 1629 Ulnaby is recorded as having only three cottages and five messuages (Surtees 1823, 384) showing that while the settlement was still populated it was almost certainly in decline by this time. One of these messuages would have been the capital messuage mentioned in 1654 (Papers of the Hotham Family DDHO/71/38) that was associated with the Hall. By the end of the 19th century, the final standing medieval building on the site of the village had disappeared to be replaced by a series of three terraced cottages nearer to the farm complex (OS 1897). The building of these farm cottages, while of little importance within their own right, completed the nucleation of the agricultural buildings around the Hall. Indeed, it could be argued that the 20th-century farm workers' houses, which remain occupied, represent the latest incarnation of the village.

As the village declined, it seems that the larger farm controlled from the Hall successfully adapted to the economic changes of the times. The list of the acreage mentioned in 1629 shows that at this time Ulnaby was principally used as grazing and for the upkeep of livestock as almost 75% of the land was used as either pasture or as meadow. This was probably in response to the relatively low cereal prices of the 17th century, which, throughout England, resulted fields and even entire parishes being laid down to pasture (Williamson 2003, 153).

As the desire to improve yields and the income from farming increased, landowners began to target marginal land as potential agricultural land. This 'waste' land may have provided resources that had once been considered valuable, but in the climate of agricultural reform much marginal land was subjected to improvement schemes. At Ulnaby the marshy area of the valley into which the springs drained was the focus of a number of drainage programmes including spade-cut drains, channels and a large sump, but culminated in the canalisation of Ulnaby Beck. This collected the water from the spring lines and channelled it away resulting in much drier land within the valley that was more suited to use as pasture.

As the economic climate throughout the country continued to change to the advantage of those who held larger tracts of land, the open field tenurial system that had been

in place during the medieval period was abandoned in favour of Enclosure. The majority of Enclosure in England appears to have occurred in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and had certainly occurred at Ulnaby by 1841, when the rent apportionment and accompanying map were drawn up (Pilkington 1841). By this time, it is most likely that Ulnaby no longer functioned as a village and that the few surviving tofts and their former occupants had already been incorporated into the farm structure. The absence of a Parliamentary Act authorising enclosure is not unusual and suggests that the land was probably enclosed by mutual agreement between the landowner and his tenants, perhaps as early as the 17th century. The enclosure period field boundaries form the fabric of the modern field system, though some boundaries, like A and B, became disused. The use of the village site exclusively for pasture has led to the excellent preservation of the earthworks remains visible today.

6. METHODOLOGY

The earthwork plan was produced within Ordnance Survey National Grid coordinates using a combination of total-station theodolite, Global Positioning System (GPS) equipment, and traditional graphical survey techniques of taped baseline and offset/radiation.

Initially, a Trimble R8/5800 GPS was used to observe three permanent stations (see Appendix 1) and a network of temporary control points, marked on the ground by red plastic pegs and chalk marks on fixed features such as fence posts. A 5600-series theodolite was used to observe a seven-station ring traverse from which the standing buildings were recorded. Station 1 was permanently marked by a ground anchor and stations 2 and 3 were by brass rivets drilled into earth-fast stone to allow any future archaeological or conservation activity to be correlated to the earthwork plan precisely.

The three permanent stations were each observed using the GPS to enable transformation of the local divorced site grid to National Grid coordinates. To do this, a Trimble 5800-series base station was set up over station 1 and programmed to log satellite data over a two-day period. The data were then computed using Trimble Geomatics Office v1.63 software against synchronous data downloaded from the OS network of active GPS stations via the website www.gps.gov.uk, enabling a high-precision National Grid solution for the position of station 1 to be calculated. The standard Chi-Square test was passed after a single iteration of the adjustment routine using an alternative scalar weighting strategy, and broadcast rather than precise ephemerides. A Trimble 5800-series rover unit was used concurrently to log the positions of stations 2 and 3 as observed control points via real-time differential GPS. Coordinates for, and guides to relocating, all three permanent stations can be found in the present report in the Appendix.

Traverse observations and control points were all computed via Trimble GeoSite V software, transferred into AutoCAD 2007 and a plot produced on polyester film at the elected survey scale of 1:1000 for graphical completion in the field. The resulting field drawing was then scanned into the AutoCAD file, and the new detail and scarps traced off and hachured with the help of Key-Terra Firma v6.7 software.

The Ulnaby earthworks are protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument (RSM 20961) under the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act. The placement of survey markers and permanent stations was authorised under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments (Class Consents) Order 1994.

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APPENDIX I: PERMANENTLY-MARKED SURVEY STATIONS

Permanent markers were placed in three locations within the survey area to serve as local GPS base stations. These markers are described below, and their positions are shown on the accompanying figures. The key for these figures is at the end of this appendix.

Station 1

A ground anchor was placed into the ground in the northern field on the top of the bank of boundary A in the northern section of enclosure 3.

OS National Grid:

Easting: 422697.70m
Northing: 517279.93m
Elevation: 70.77m

ETRS89:

Latitude: 54° 33' 00.99133" North
Longitude: 1° 39' 02.26738" West
Height: 120.46m

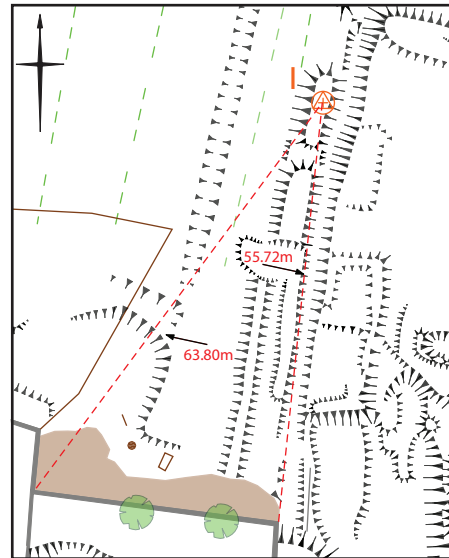


Figure 11a: The location of permanent marker 1

Station 2

A brass rivet drilled into an earth-fast stone located in the northern field in a bank in the north-west of toft 12.

OS National Grid:

Easting: 422762.38m
Northing: 517147.02m
Elevation: 67.15m

ETRS89:

Latitude: 54° 32' 56.68102" North
Longitude: 1° 38' 58.66930" West
Height: 116.83m

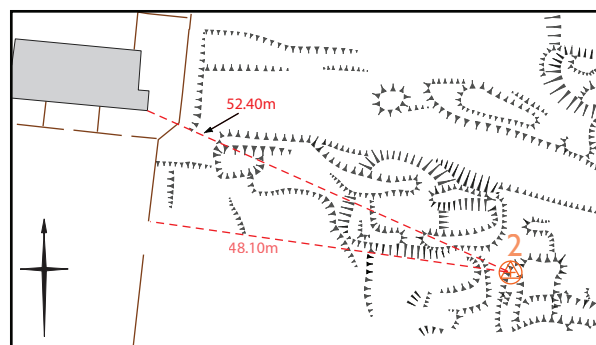


Figure 11b: The location of permanent marker 2

Station 3

A brass rivet drilled into an earth-fast stone located in the southern field in the east bank of the manorial enclosure.

OS National Grid:

Easting: 422737.43m
 Northing: 517020.80m
 Elevation: 63.78m

ETRS89:

Latitude: 54° 32' 52.60153" North
 Longitude: 1° 39' 00.09310" West
 Height: 113.46m

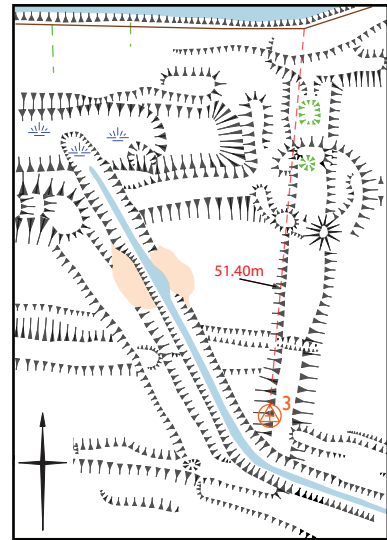


Figure 11c: The location of permanent marker 3

Key & scale relating to permanent marker location diagrams

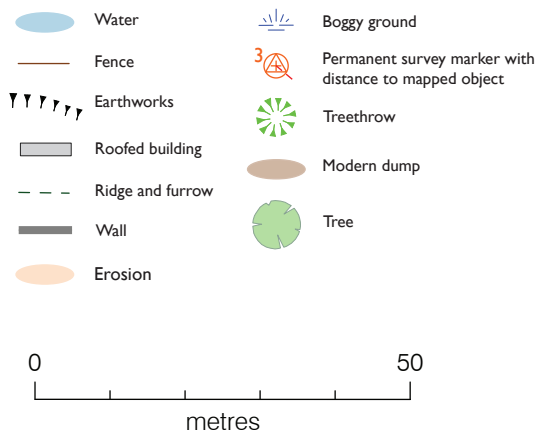




Figure 12: English Heritage plan of the earthwork remains at Ulnaby, surveyed at 1:1000 (not to scale)