NOTES

1. *Further investigations into the astronomical alignments at Cumbrian prehistoric sites.*
    BY STEVEN HOOD B.SC.(HONS) AND DOUGLAS WILSON

Following our recent investigations into the shadow paths at Long Meg stone circle[1] (NY 571 373) and being aware that aerial photos CCC 2517,5 and CCC 2517,7 show, through cropmarks, the in-filled ditches of a cursus stretching in a westerly direction from the Long Meg site, we believe that at Equinox sunrise the shadow path of the Long Meg stone would have been cast along the middle of the cursus. (See Figure 1) The cursus and its relative age have been discussed by Soffe and Clare.[2] It is about 40-50 m wide and is not visible at ground level, but what is evident on the aerial photographs runs for approximately 600 m from the south-western portal area of the circle to the cliffs of the River Eden.

Later that day at sunset, we find that the shadow of Long Meg would be in an easterly direction where we see there are the remains of Peat Moor Tarn. Mrs Todd, who used to own the Long Meg farm, said that in the days of her husband's late grandfather, the tarn was regularly visited by people from far and wide in order to ice skate in winter. The tarn must have been of some size.

A similar feature occurs at Castlerigg (NY 291 236) when the Mid-Summer setting sun causes the large SE stone of the circle to cast a shadow down the valley in the direction of where it has been proved there was once also a tarn (Plate 1). The tarn in Naddle valley probably dried up around the Middle Ages.[3]

At Samhain/Imbolc sunset the shadow of the Long Meg stone will cross the two standing portal stones and their combined shadow will reach across the circle to the large east stone, number 2 (See Figure 1). This would mean that through the winter months the shadow of the Long Meg stone will move across the portal from one set of portal stones to the other. This is certainly one of the reasons why the Long Meg stone does not sit "in line" with the portal from the centre of the circle. It would suggest that the sloping ground at Long Meg must have also been taken into account by it's builders in order best to utilise the shadow at these specific times of the year.

The positioning of the shadow paths of the Long Meg stone at Midwinter and Samhain/Imbolc sunsets, and their interaction with stones of the circle, prove that the Long Meg stone must have been in place before the circle was built in order that the stones of the circle and its portal could so accurately facilitate the shadow paths. This answers the long asked question and demonstrates that Long Meg was standing before the circle stones were put into place, but how long before is something we may never know.

We had noticed similarities between the Long Meg site and Swinside (SD 172 883) and the fact that the portals on the circles were actually functioning, indicating the beginning, middle and end of winter. Whereas Long Meg uses shadows in the evening, at Swinside it is a light-path at dawn.

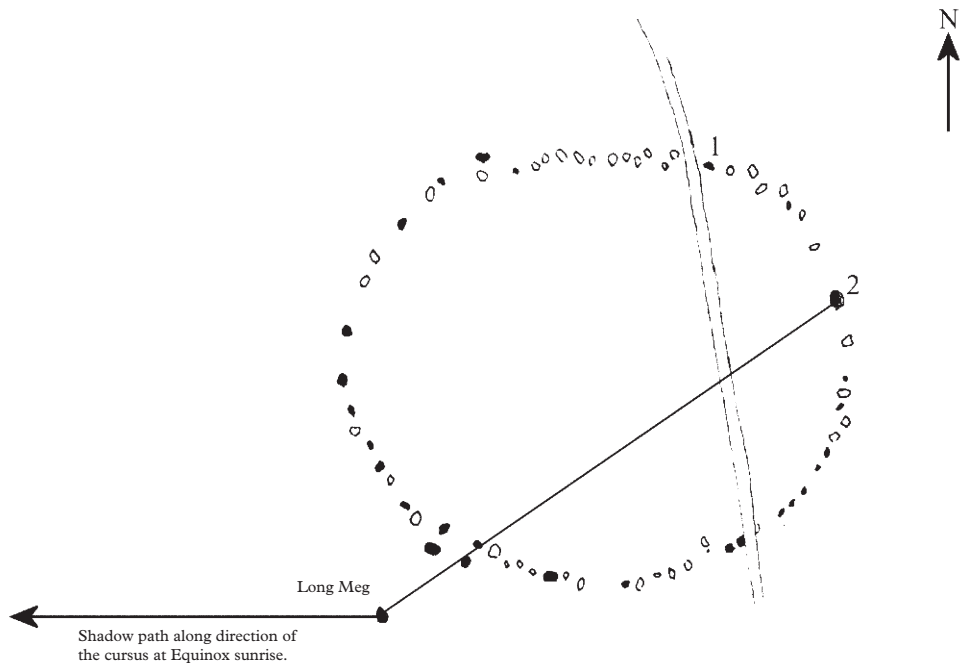We visited Swinside during Mid-Winter 2001 and witnessed the sunrise creating

FIG. 1. Long Meg stone circle.

the light-path through the portal and right across the circle highlighting stone 7 on Figure 2 (see Plate 2). The portal at Swinside also incorporates the Samhain/Imbolc sunrise position, where the light-path crosses the circle to stone 6 this happens at around 07:36 hours. The darkest time of the year therefore sees the dawn light-path at Swinside move from stone 6 at Samhain, across to stone 7 for Mid-Winter, then return to stone 6 for Imbolc. The portal is again utilised at Mid-Summer sunset when the sun can be viewed across the circle to stone 5 setting behind Swinside Fell at approximately 20.00 hours.

Also at Swinside we watched the Mid-Winter sunset at around 14:52 hours. At this time of year, the sinking movement of the sun has decelerated so strongly that it takes around thirty-two days for it to cover the last 3.5° declination. On Figure 2 the stones involved in the alignment are numbers 1 and 4, with the sun setting at an azimuth of around 216° in the direction of Windy Knott and White Combe.

Stone 4 at the circle is also used for the Mid-Summer sunrise alignment when the sun rises at an azimuth of around 49° from the southern tip of The Old Man of Coniston range and there is alignment through the edge of stone 2 and fallen stone 3. It is an interesting fact that stones 4 and 7 at Swinside are of very similar shape, however, stone 4, which indicates the longest day, is much larger than stone 7 representing the shortest day (See Plates 3 and 4).

Our experience of Castlerigg has led us to make all of our observations from positions standing outside the circles and looking across from one stone to another. We watched the Equinox sunrise which is indicated by the aligned stones 10, 16 and 3 on Figure 3. Although there are a couple of very small pin-pricks of sun along the
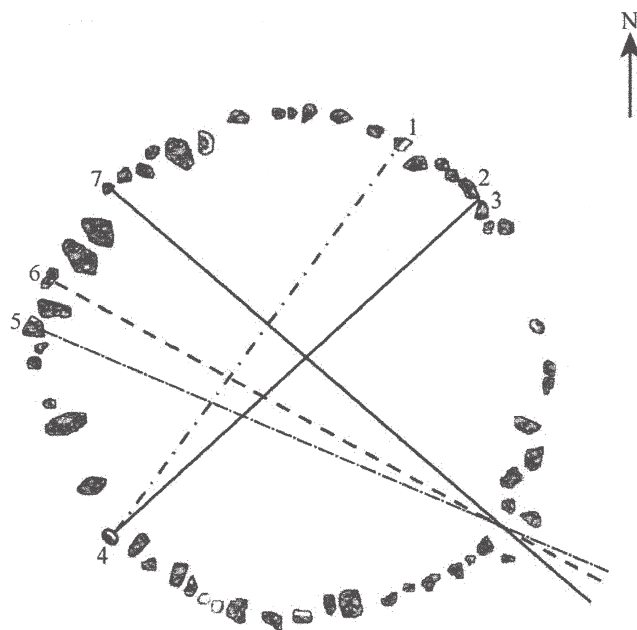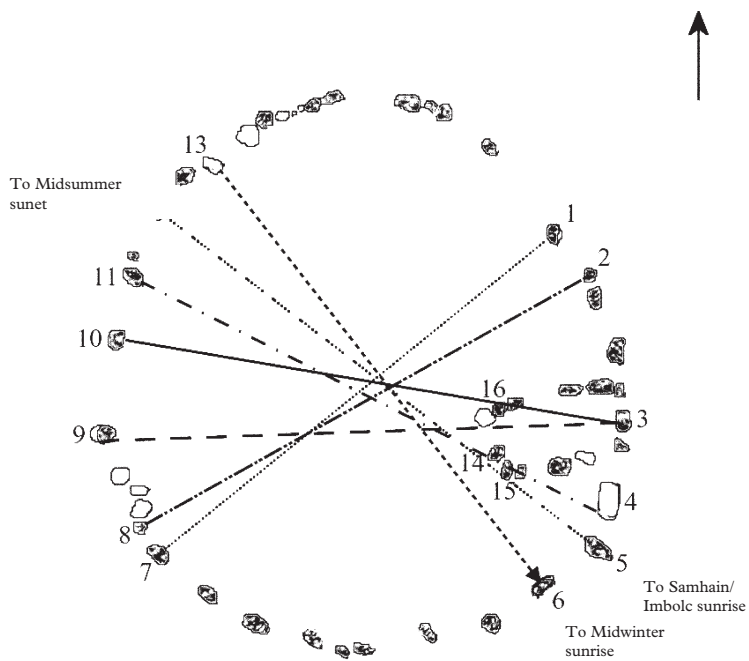
FIG. 2. Swinside stone circle.

FIG. 3. Castlerigg stone circle.

PLATE 2. Swinside Mid-Winter sunrise light path.

PLATE 1. Castlerigg Mid-Summer sunset shadow path.

PLATE 4. Swinside Mid-Summer sunrise stone.

PLATE 3. Swinside Mid-Winter sunrise stone.

upper side of the fell, the full disc of the Equinox sun actually ascends above Clough Head at approximately 07:52 hours (See Plate 5). The Equinox sunset at Castlerigg takes place at roughly 18:49 hours and is an alignment involving stones 3 and 9. Unfortunately, stone 9 has fallen slightly from its original position.

It is already known that stone 3 bears a large rock-art spiral which was discovered in winter 1995.[4] An interesting point here is the involvement of this stone in both of the Equinox sunrise and sunset alignments, at the time of equal light and dark in the day.

We also visited Castlerigg in order to see the Beltane sunrise. The trees at the bottom of the field to the east of the circle do interfere with the event, but we were able just to see the sunrise through them as it lined up from stone 8 across the circle to stone 2. Beltane sunset across the circle was also noted. This involved stone 11, the tops of stones 14 and 15 in the "cove" from a position at stone 4.

We believe the Equinox and Beltane solar events are to be found at Swinside and Long Meg and that all three circles also incorporate lunar alignments.

Continuing our study of portals, it has long been known that the portal at Mayburgh Henge (NY 519 284) is on the eastern side of the structure.[5] From a position standing within the henge on the west bank, looking east across the henge and out of the portal, one can witness the Equinox sunrise which occurs at around
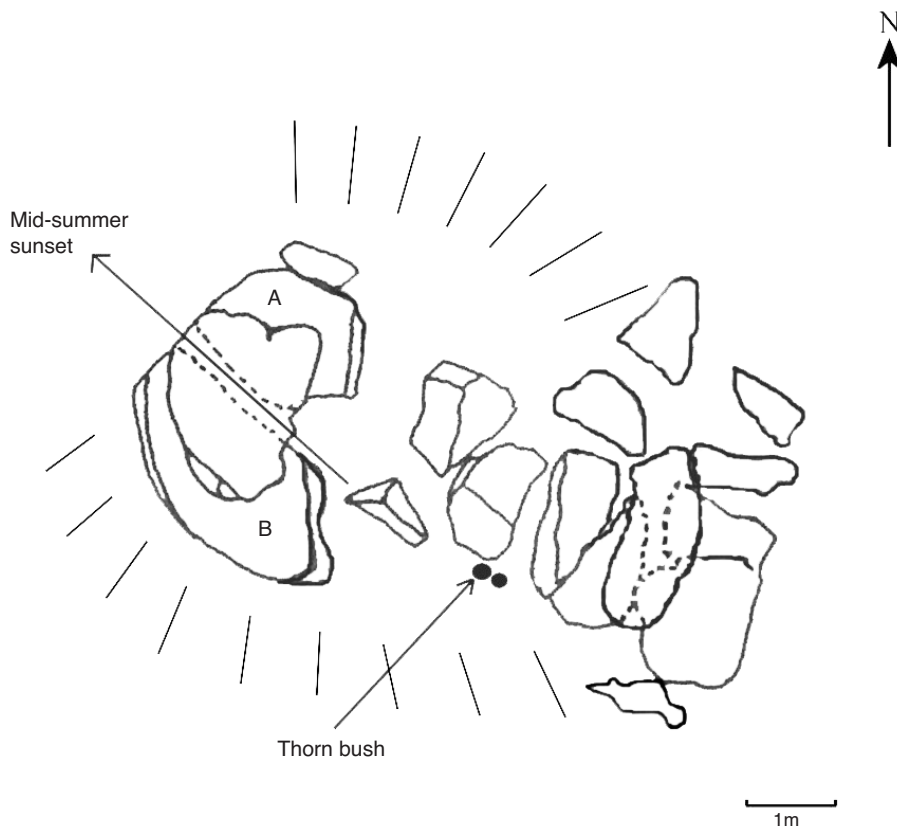

Fig. 3. Remains of proposed Urswick burial chamber from above.

PLATE 5. Castlerigg Equinox sunrise.

07:15 at an azimuth of approximately 92°. In the evening, when standing in the portal looking west through and across the henge, the Equinox sun sets at about 18:48 with an azimuth in the region of 267° behind Blencathra, a factor that we believe could be intrinsic to the design of the henge. (Plates 6 and 7).

We made a visit to the supposed burial chamber at Urswick, Furness (SD 263 745) (Plate 8) in order to investigate any possible alignment. Figure 4 is a plan of the site and demonstrates the positions of the remaining stones along with the thorn bush which now grows profusely over the collapsed remnants. Around the area there are limestone scars and the "chamber" itself appears to be seated upon such at ground level, with what could be packing stones around the bottom of the large stones labelled A and B on the plan. We discovered that the proposed portal is actually aligned with the Mid-Summer sunset and that the dying Mid-Summer

PLATE 6. Maybrugh Henge Equinox sunrise.

sunlight does enter through the portal to what might have been the chamber. At 21:13 hours the setting sun began to disappear below the horizon at an azimuth of around 307°. (Plate 9 was taken from behind the doorway stones in what would have been the inside of the chamber). From our observations we know that this alignment does occur at other sites and feel the alignment, along with what perhaps might be packing stones beneath stones A and B, strengthen the possibility that these are the remains of a burial chamber.

Notes and References

[1] Hood, S. and Wilson, D., "Long Meg Mid-Winter shadow path," *CW3*, ii, 301-302.
[2] Soffe, G. and Clare, T., "New evidence of ritual monuments at Long Meg and her Daughters, Cumbria." *Antiquity* **62** (1988), 552-7.
[3] Clare, T., "The environs of the Castlerigg stone circle: an analysis of the landscape of the Naddle Valley near Keswick," *CW2*, xciv, 67- 87: Clare, T., Wilkinson, D. M. and Pile, S. R., "Environmental change and Castlerigg stone circle," *CW3*, ii, 302-305.
[4] Beckensall, Stan., *Prehistoric rock art in Cumbria* (Tempus, 2002), 70-75.
[5] Nicolson, J. and Burn, R., *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London 1777), i, 414.

PLATE 7. Mayburgh Henge Equinox sunset.

PLATE 8. Proposed Urswick burial chamber form North-West.

PLATE 9. Proposed Urswick burial chamber portal to Mid-Summer sunset.

2.   *A case of one or two stone axes?*
      BY TOM CLARE

A number of stone axes have been found in the vicinity of Keswick. These are listed in Table 1 which is based on the Sites and Monuments Record which drew upon the old Ordnance Survey Record Cards which in turn were based on entries in Journals and in particular on *Transactions*. However, during work at Portinscale[1] it became apparent there were problems with the provenance and character of site/find 1119.

The SMR follows "The Report of the Committee for Prehistoric Studies" published in *Transactions* in 1935[2] in stating that this is "a grooved axe found in 1868 in the Girls High School gardens at Keswick and presented by Mr W. H. Wilson to the Kendal Museum". The Kendal Museum then was at Abbot Hall but there are no such objects at Abbot Hall now, any it did possess were transferred to the Kendal Borough Museum which it currently helps administer. Enquiries at the latter revealed that they do have the tip of a polished stone axe (no grooves) found near Thorny Hills in Kendal where the Girls High School was located. This is the same axe as that listed in *Transactions*[3] as having been found in the gardens of the High School in 1868. At the Museum, also, is a separate find from Thorny Hills of an "ovoid macehead with core-drilled perforation", both objects being donated by W. Wilson.

In an effort to resolve the situation nineteenth and early twentieth century Trade Directories were consulted. *Kelly's Directory* of 1921 does list a William Henry Wilson as living at 11 Southey St. in Keswick but none list a Girls High School. There was a school for girls and infants at High Hill and the present Keswick School was often regarded as the High School.[4] In contrast, the equivalent trade directories for Kendal list no W. H. Wilson but do refer to the school on Thorny Hills as being the Kendal High School for Girls.

TABLE 1: Stone axes found in and around Keswick but excluding Portinscale and two axes found "in a sand pit near Keswick".[5]

SMR No.	Location/context	Assigned grid ref.	Character of find
1100	In buried ditch		end of polished axe
1112	Nr Castlerigg stone circle		unpolished
1114	Building extension to Blencathra St.	3271552349	unpolished
1115	Eskin St.	3269952324	partly polished
1116	Back of St. Herbert St	3270652333	partly polished
1118	Demolition of old Skiddaw Hotel		partly polished
1119	in garden	3264252371	grooved axe
1135	5ft below the surface, Naddle valley(?)		polished
1137	on High Rigg	330521	polished
1138	at Reckow	331522	polished
4236	crevice in Wanthwaite Crags	33245222	polished

Whilst the above case remains to be resolved and is a specific one it does raise a wider issue which has important implications for stone axe studies: it is possible that individual artefacts have been counted twice because their curatorship has been

altered. If this is the case then distribution maps of stone axes may not be totally accurate. Of course the problem only occurs in relation to a relatively small number of finds and at a local scale. Nevertheless, in the case of the Furness peninsula where there is a very great concentration of artefacts the problem may be relatively significant because of the original and subsequent reporting of objects in somewhat ephemeral collections. There is, therefore, an urgent need to undertake an audit of axes found within the County. It is worth entering a note of caution also with regard to the reliability of the SMR, compiled from data which may be suspect.

Notes and References

[1] Clare, T., Clapham, A. J., Wilkinson, D. M. and Taylor, J. J., "The context of the stone axes found at Portinscale and in the vicinity of the Castlerigg stone circle. Neolithic settlement sites or a case of votive offerings?", *Archaeological Journal* **159** (2002), 242-248.
[2] *CW2*, xxxv, 176.
[3] Clare Fell, "Committee for Prehistoric Studies – Unpublished records for Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands," *CW2*, lxxi, 5.
[4] George Bott, *pers. comm.*
[5] Manby, T. G., "The distribution of rough-out, 'Cumbrian' and related stone axes of Lake District origin in Northern England", *CW2*, lxv, 5.

3.   *An Early Bronze Age dagger from the Kendal area*
       BY ANDREW WHITE, M.A., PH.D., F.M.A., F.S.A.

One of the results of the recent antiquities legislation (the Treasure Act 1996 and the Portable Antiquities Scheme) has been the thawing of relations between archaeologists and metal-detector users. A practical outcome has been the opening-up to scrutiny of the many finds made by metal-detector clubs, in a manner ranging from guarded to enthusiastic. In early 2002 Lancaster City Museums held a small exhibition of finds made by members of the Lune Valley Metal-Detecting Club. These finds covered a fairly wide area but included many items from Lancashire and Cumbria and among them many previously unrecorded items of Bronze Age metalwork.

   One of these items was a small bronze riveted dagger of an unusual type, found near Kendal at SD 495927, just to the west of the Kendal By-pass. The finder, and current owner, is John Ferguson. The dagger is of bronze, with a rapidly tapering blade somewhat thicker towards the wider butt and with a slight midrib. At the butt end are two rivet holes or rivet cut-outs. There may have been a third, central, rivet-hole in an area of damage at the extreme butt, although there is no evidence for it. Such a dagger would have had no actual tang, a point of design weakness, and the damage to the butt could have been caused in the breaking off of its hilt, held in place by the rivets. In use the hilt, perhaps of bone or wood, would have dwarfed the very short blade.

   The interest of this piece is that it implies an owner of high status. The practical use of such a dagger was limited, because of its weakness at the point of junction with the hilt but its use of bronze at a time when bronze was excessively rare may have given it an almost magical aura. A very few of these daggers have been found in
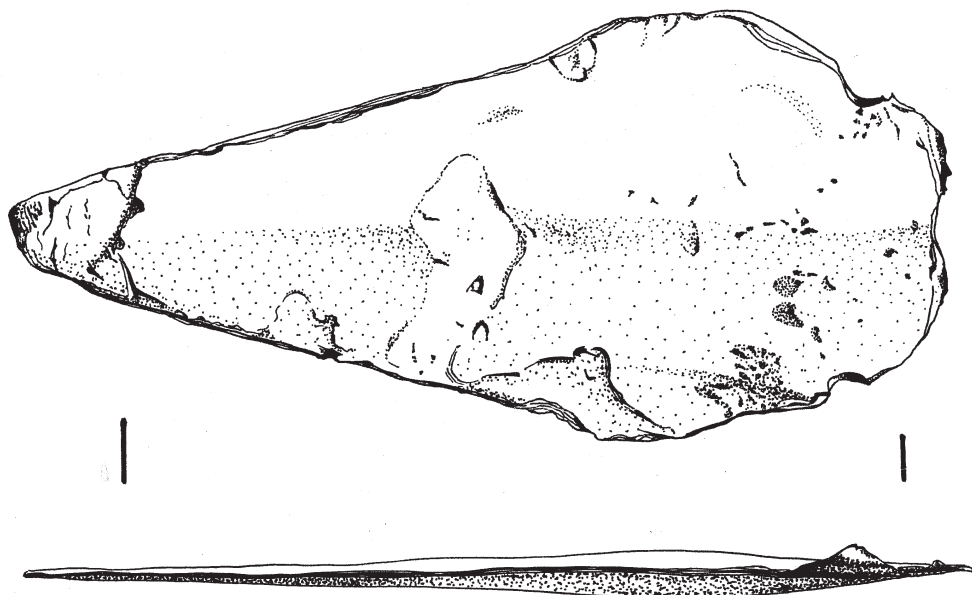
FIG. 1. Bronze Age dagger from Kendal. Scale 2:1. Drawn by Wendy Moore.

the North-west. Examples are known from Wilmslow and Bolton,[1] while a more recent find came from Beetham and is now in Kendal Museum,[2] where can also be found a somewhat atypical decorated example from Helsington Moss.[3] The range of size and shape among these is quite considerable, and some of them should perhaps be referred to as dirks, and ascribed to the early Middle Bronze Age. The Kendal example, however, seems to relate closely to the more damaged of the two daggers found with a flat axe as grave goods in a cairn at Manor Farm, Borwick, Lancashire.[4] As such it probably belongs to the second quarter of the second millennium B.C.

Notes and References

[1] P. J. Davey and E. Forster, *Bronze Age Metalwork from Lancashire and Cheshire* (1975), nos. 17 and 22.

[2] C. I. Fell, "Two Bronze implements from South Lakeland District", *CW2*, xcv, 272-4.

[3] T. H. McK. Clough, "Bronze Age metalwork from Cumbria", *CW2*, lxix, 16, Fig. 5, 74.

[4] A. C. H. Olivier, "Excavation of a Bronze Age Funerary Cairn at Manor Farm, near Borwick, North Lancashire", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1987) **53**, 149-53 and Plate 8.

4.   *Two Bronze Age axes by the same founder?*
     By ANDREW WHITE, M.A., PH.D., F.M.A., F.S.A.

It is usually assumed that Bronze Age metalwork was made by itinerant founders who collected up scrap metal and recast it into new weapons and tools. Hoards of metalwork often contain multiple items such as socketed axes which have plainly come from the same moulds, while others contain scrap, broken or part-melted articles which have obviously been cached for later return. Evidence of this kind is

rare in the Early Bronze Age, partly because there are fewer surviving items and because the material itself was in much shorter supply than was later the case.

The two axes illustrated here were both found in the last few years and represent a considerable coincidence, given that they were probably deposited some three and a half thousand years ago.

In March 2002 a hammer-flanged axe (Figure 1, 1) was found by Mr D. Knight near Whoop Hall in the parish of Burrow-with-Burrow, Lancashire, at SD 623772, only a few hundred metres from the border with Cumbria. He brought it to the City Museum in Lancaster as a donation. The distinctive feature of the axe, diagonally ribbed hammer-flanging, triggered my memory of having seen something similar. Looking back through the records in the Museum, I found that I had seen and drawn an axe with almost identical patterning found in about 1999 by a Mr Harrison at New Barns, Arnside, SD 447782 (Figure 1, 2 [See also these *Transactions*, page 234]). The size, shape and patterning were too close to be a coincidence. Although the Arnside axe was marginally thicker and its blade edge more crescentic in shape they both appear to have been worked from a similar blank, the hammering-up of the low flanges being developed into the same series of parallel ridges, resembling a cable. No similar axes have been recorded in the area, so it must be assumed that these two, found some ten or twelve miles apart, were made at about the same time by the same founder, and supplied to two separate customers.

These axes seem to have best parallels quite late in the Early Bronze Age, round about 1500 B.C. They show quite a sophisticated shape, considering that they were cast in a unifacial mould. In addition to the hammered flange, to retain the haft they have an incipient stop-ridge at about the mid-point and another change of profile at the back of the blade, all these details being achieved by hammering and grinding. It is tempting to ascribe decorated axes to Irish sources at this date, but it is mostly the faces, rather than the edges, which are so decorated in axes of Irish origin. Another example of the "cable" ridging, this time combined with engraving on the face, can be seen in an axe from Liss, Hants, in the British Museum.[1] Nearer to home is the example provenanced "Temple Sowerby", which has a few incipient ridges on its flanges.[2]
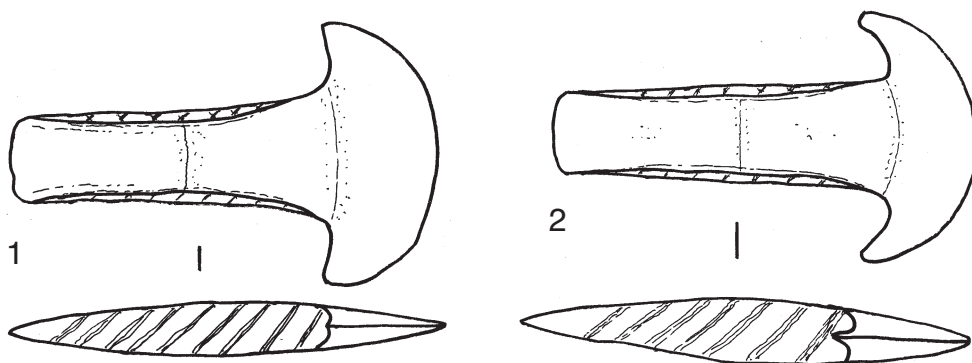

Fig. 1. Bronze Age hammer-flanged axes from (1) Burrow, Lancashire and (2) Arnside, Cumbria.
Scale 1:2

Notes and References

[1] British Museum: *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities* (1920), 59, Fig. 52.
[2] T. H. Mck. Clough, "Bronze Age metalwork from Cumbria", *CW2*, lxix, 2 and Fig. 1, 9.

5.   *Two surveys of structural remains in West Cumberland*
        By James Cherry F.S.A. and Joyce Cherry

In 1964, at the Annual General Meeting of this Society, the then President, Clare Fell sought to encourage ordinary members to make a contribution to our knowledge of the two counties. Over the years ploughing has destroyed many sites and many finds have gone unrecorded. She emphasised that the recording of sites and finds was important if vital information was not to be lost. Many members felt they would like to do more, but were unable by reason of age, infirmity or inclination to become involved in site excavation. One way they could contribute was by surveying and recording structures that they might find while out walking. Simple surveying methods would be satisfactory for this purpose, and very often the survey would not require a vast expenditure of time or energy. Clare illustrated this by drawing attention to her paper to be published in *Transactions* later in the year entitled, "Some cairns in High Furness". This describes a small group of cairns which she noticed while walking on the Blawith Fells above Beacon Tarn in September 1962, and includes a simple sketch map.[1]

In 1964 the South-west Regional Group of the Society had only been in existence for a few years and the members were looking for a suitable useful project to stimulate interest. The committee decided to select a parish within our area and try to carry out a complete survey from prehistoric times to the present. The parish chosen was Ponsonby, as it was reasonably small and stretched from the coast right up to the fells. We had already gained experience in the surveying and mapping of the cairnfields on the Birker and Ulpha Fells, and decided to walk over the upland area lying to the east of the village of Ponsonby, as our contribution to the project. On one of our outings, as we looked down towards Thornholme from the high ground of Swainson Knott, we could see a vague outline of structures in a field where the rough fellside ended. On investigation these appeared to be the remains of a small group of hut circles within an enclosure. These lie on a shelf of more level ground on the fairly steep hillside above and to the east of Thornholme farm.

In the late 1950s we had been surveying structural remains on Birker and Ulpha Fells[2] and while endeavouring to determine the extent of these, had discovered a deserted farmstead and associated field system, a short distance below the fell on the Eskdale side. However, we had decided to end our survey of the cairns at the edge of Birker Moor near Devoke Water as we were afraid the project was in danger of getting too large for us to handle, but we made a note of the field system for future investigation.

We were approached by our member Mr R. McIlven who wished to help with the Ponsonby project and, as we were by this time fully occupied by our efforts to identify the extent of the prehistoric flint knapping sites along the West Cumberland

coast, we suggested that he took over the survey of the Thornholme enclosure. After he had completed this, with the help of his wife, he expressed their willingness to work on any other site which required surveying, so we took him to the deserted farmstead site which lies just to the east of the road from Eskdale to Ulpha. This was convenient for him as he lived at Christcliffe in Eskdale, and he agreed that they would survey this also.

By the time Mr McIlven handed in his surveys some months later, as is often the case with well-intentioned ideas, the Ponsonby survey had fallen by the wayside due to lack of support and was largely forgotten. Mr McIlven had, unfortunately, done the drawings on large sheets of blue-squared paper using a blue ballpoint pen, and at the time they were not considered to be suitable for publication. Sadly, nothing further was done about them.

The surveys were carried out, using simple lines of poles with triangulation, and although they would not be quite as accurate as a professional survey carried out nowadays, using sophisticated modem techniques, they are accurate enough for most purposes and would serve as a base for any future work. I have therefore reproduced the drawings so that the efforts of one of our enthusiastic members should not go unrecognised. Unfortunately Mr McIlven left no notes to complement his drawings or his own interpretation of the sites.

Thornholme NY 073 087 Height O.D. 230 metres (Figure 1).

This is a sub-circular stone-walled enclosure within which are seven clearly defined hut circles, possibly a total of eight altogether, lying about 400 metres above and to the east of Thornholme farm. The settlement remains are situated on a strip of level ground on the steep hillside. No attempt at excavation was made, but a survey of hut A by magnetometer and metal detector was unrewarding except for a small, badly rusted, horse-shoe lying almost completely buried. This was accounted for by the farmer who explained that it had been the custom in the past to graze ponies in the field. The equipment at our disposal in 1964 was rather basic and more modern equipment would probably give a better insight into the structures, even without excavation.

The enclosure was approximately 80 metres at its widest point, and the hut circles varied in diameter between about 12 metres and six metres. Most of the structures are grass covered with stone showing through the turf, and the original entrance to the enclosure appears to be in its western side, although there was a footpath trodden through the wall remains roughly from north to south. The southern end has a subsidiary enclosure built inside, against the main enclosing wall, presumably for use as a cattle pen. There are traces of other shorter walls within the subsidiary enclosure.

Sixty metres north of the enclosure are the vestigial remains of another man-made structure, possibly a destroyed burial cairn, with half a dozen stones showing through the turf in a rough circle about eight metres in diameter.

The site was re-surveyed in 1982 by two students who were employed on a temporary basis by the county planning officer to carry out an archaeological survey of the whole of Copeland.[3] Although their survey agrees in general with the earlier survey by McIlven, their plan of the subsidiary enclosure differs slightly from

McIlven's and the line of the outer wall is somewhat more circular. Our own recollection is that although the walling line was more complicated and not so complete as shown by McIlven, there was sufficient walling still showing through the turf to suggest that there was a secondary enclosure within the main enclosure and that this abutted onto the outer wall. Excavation of this feature would be necessary for a proper interpretation of the use of this end of the settlement.

The main enclosure wall disappears almost entirely in the boggy ground to the east, which is a natural drainage channel, and the line of the wall is somewhat conjectural. When the enclosure was built the line of the wall was probably straightened to avoid the wet ground, which has subsequently spread towards the enclosure causing the wall to collapse. Most of the loose stones would probably have
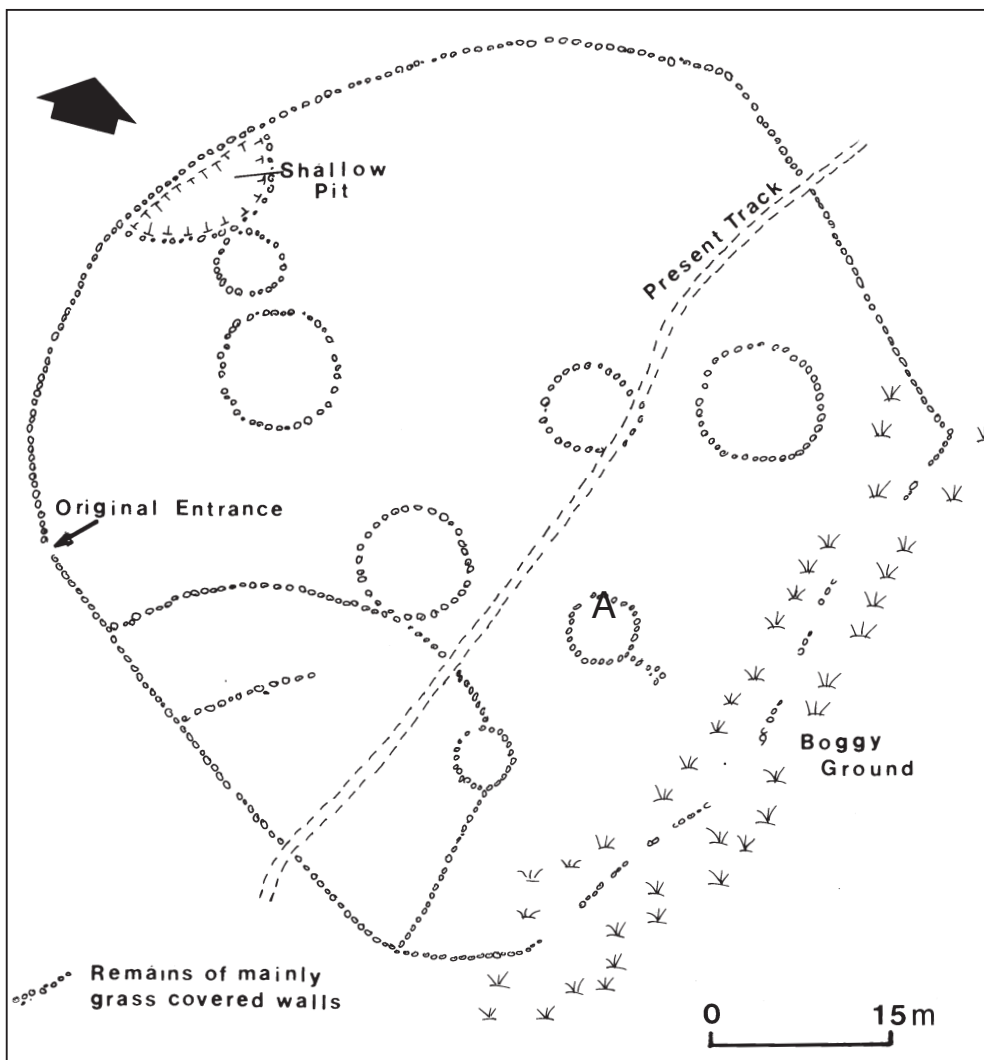

FIG. 1. Hut circles and enclosures near Thornholme (based on a survey by R. McIlven).

been carted away for building purposes and to remove the danger to the horses which we were assured were allowed to graze in the field in more recent times.

The inner enclosure abutting onto the southern wall suggests that sheep or cattle were reared, but evidence of early cultivation of the adjoining land may well have been destroyed by agriculture here as it seems to have been on the coastal strip. Fifteen hundred metres to the north of the site, and in clear view, lies Tongue Howe with its cairnfields, while there are cairns on the lower ground away to the south towards Priorscales. No evidence of cultivation, in the form of field clearance heaps, was found in the immediate vicinity of the enclosure. It is tempting to speculate that the people who lived in the huts might have been responsible for some, at least, of the stone heaps across Worm Gill, on Tongue Howe.

In the absence of dating evidence this type of site is usually described as being a native settlement, and could belong to a Late Bronze Age or Iron Age culture. It is hoped that further work will be carried out at some time to fit this site into the general pattern of settlement of this upland area.

Deserted Farmstead NY168 986 Height O.D. 150 metres (Figure 2).

About the time of our discovery of this site, Mr Nicholas Stanley of Dalegarth had been kind enough to show us structural remains and evidence of charcoal burning and other woodland industries in the Dalegarth woods and he visited the site of the deserted farmstead with us. He told us that he understood the farmer who occupied the farm had been hung for stealing sheep and that the farm had been deserted since the Napoleonic War, very early in the nineteenth century. The land had been enclosed later and subsequently only been used for grazing.

The farmhouse lies outside the present boundary wall to the north, and appears to have been a two-roomed building with a small semi-circular annexe at its north-eastern end. A similar annexe is described from Ennerdale.[4] The purpose of the annexe is not clear: it has been suggested that it might have housed animals. It might possibly have been used as a pigsty, or to hold a few sheep but it seems too small to have housed larger animals. Other possibilities are that it was an oven or a small kiln for drying corn or making potash, although the latter are usually to be found away from the farm near the bracken line.

There is a sub-rectangular enclosure or "farmyard" abutting the north-west wall of the farmhouse, with an opening in one corner near the annexe. A few yards to the north west of this are the remains of a hook-shaped structure which was probably used for penning sheep. There are several similar shaped remains on the open moor above. Presumably the sheep are driven towards the longer wall and are funnelled into the "hook" and trapped there.

It seems likely that the structural remains within the modern enclosing wall reflect the activities of the ruined farmstead. That the land has been cultivated in the past is evidenced by the riggs and clearance heaps. The former lie down the slope of the land and would assist the drainage, although a canny Yorkshire farmer, tongue in cheek, once pointed out to me that they served another purpose, since the undulations would also increase the area of land available for cultivation.

The walls of the original field system would almost certainly have been used to build the present field enclosure, but the traces of walling that are still visible suggest

that the pattern of farming was originally very different from the present use of the land. As with the riggs, the wall remains follow the downward slope and appear to have enclosed the cultivated area in the past.
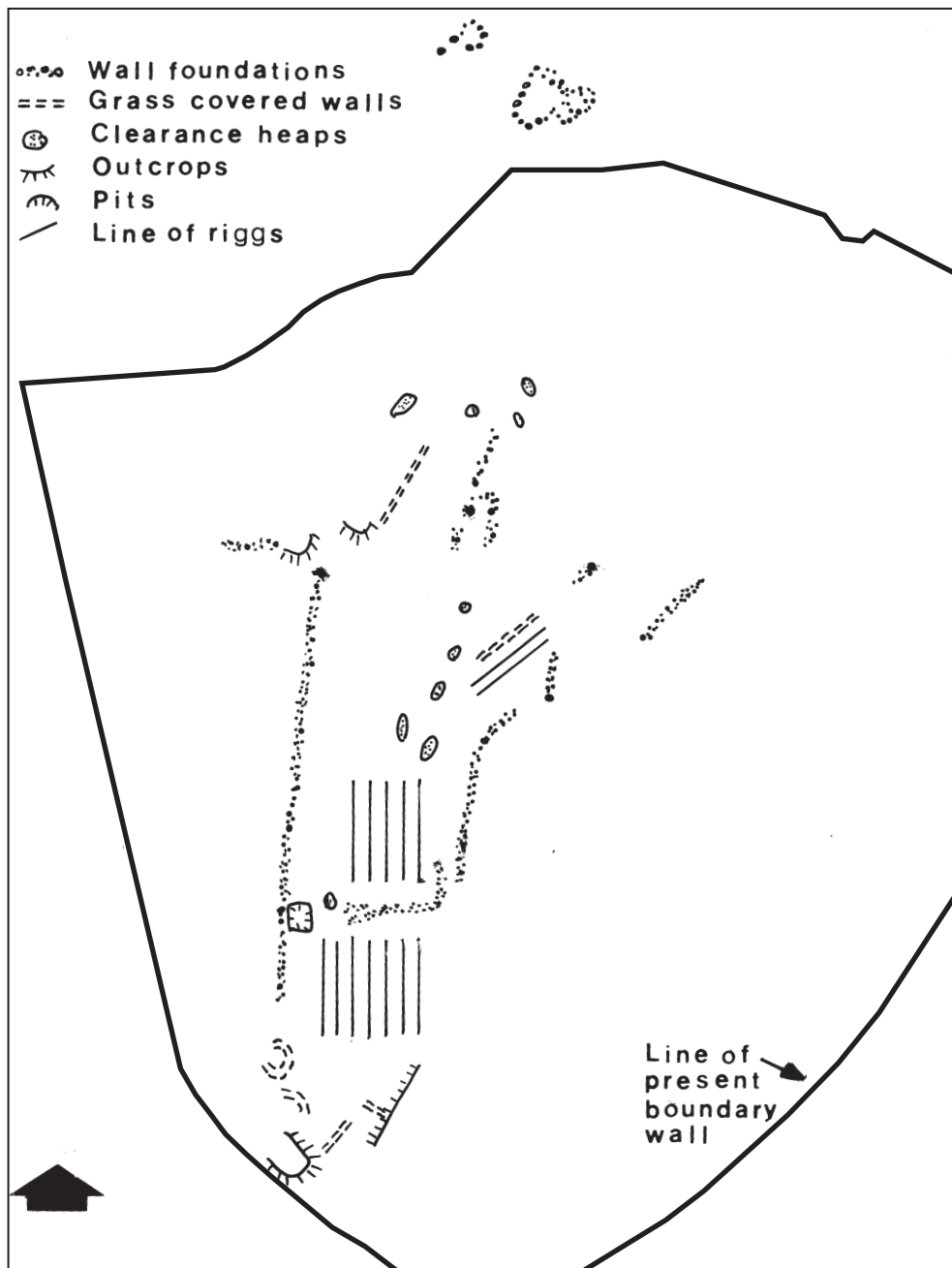
FIG. 2. Deserted farmstead and field system below Birker Moor, above Eskdale (based on a survey by R. McIlven). Scale 1 cm to 15.2 metres approx.

References

[1] Fell, Clare I., "Some cairns in High Furness", *CW2*, lxiv, 1-5.
[2] Cherry, J., "Cairns in the Birker Fell and Ulpha Fell area", *CW2*, lxi, 7-15.
[3] Crawford G. and George C., *An Archaeological Survey of Copeland* (1983), 27.
[4] Fletcher, W. and Fell, Clare I., "Stone-based huts and other structures at Smithy Beck, Ennerdale", *CW2*, lxxxvii, 28-36.

6.   *Roman coins from Low Borrow Bridge*
      BY DAVID SHOTTER

In 2001, Penrith Museum received a donation which included 22 Roman and Greco-Roman imperial coins; the donor is the great-granddaughter of the original finder, a Mr James Day. It is of interest that the collection derives directly from one of the great developments of the Industrial Revolution in north-west England, namely the construction of the railway-line from Lancaster to Carlisle; the line opened in 1846, as is graphically recorded in *The Illustrated London News* of 19 and 26 December 1846.

The construction of the line, which was sanctioned in 1839, had a number of separate starting-points; James Day was evidently the Engineer who oversaw the work on what must have been the most testing section of the whole project – that part which ran through the Upper Lune Gorge (Tebay) and on over Shap Fell. In the course of this, construction-work will have been carried on in the near vicinity of the Roman fort at Low Borrow Bridge (Birley, 1947; Lambert, 1996). Day was well-equipped for his task, having in 1839 published the second edition of *A Practical Treatise on the Construction and Formation of Railways, showing the Practical Application and Expense of Excavating, Haulage, Embanking and Permanent Waylaying* (John Weale, London); this reached a third edition in 1848, by which time Day will have undoubtedly learned much from his experiences through Tebay and Shap.

Normally, Roman coins discovered during the course of construction-work in the nineteenth century rapidly disappeared (usually before any record had been made), as the workmen who found them exchanged them for food and drink in local public houses. In the case of the work in the Upper Lune Gorge, however, James Day is reported to have purchased as many as he could from the navvies and thus to have kept the material intact, although it is now, of course, unclear how many Roman coins he managed to save in this way.

James Day's son and grandson – both named George – entered the Ministry; the former became Rector at Cliburn. James Day's grandson, the father of the present donor, became the Vicar of Bampton, and was evidently an avid collector in a wide range of fields. Included in this were coins, old and new, some of them local finds given to him by parishioners. James Day gave his coin-collection to his grandson, presumably the starting-point of the latter's interest. It is therefore likely that the original "Tebay-collection" may have become "contaminated" by some later finds.

The Coins

It can be said that of the present twenty-two coins only one may easily be excluded – a very strange piece which purports to be an *aes*-issue of Augustus Caesar, but which is probably a relatively recent eighteenth or nineteenth century forgery. The remaining coins are perfectly plausible as finds from North-west England, although some are less common than others and are made up of:

a) Fourteen Constantinian *aes*-issues
b) Four Roman Imperial *aes*-issues
c) Three Greco-Roman Imperial *aes*-issues

First, the fourteen Constantinian coins: these are all issues of the period, A.D. 330-340; the wear and corrosion exhibited by these coins are slight and uniform. It is a reasonable conclusion that all were found in the same location and that they constitute the whole or part of a hoard. The coins are mostly from the mints at Arles, Trier and Lyons:

Arles Mint (5 coins)

1. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   ⋆ / PCONST   *LRBC* I.352   A.D. 330-5
2. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   ⋆ / PCONST
                                                   I.352   330-5
3. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   ⋆ / PCONST   I.354   330-5
4. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   SCONST ⌣   I.359   330-5
5. FL DELMATIVS NOB CAES
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   ☧ / PCONST   I.388   335

Trier Mint (4 coins)

6. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   TR.S   I.60   332
7. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   TRP⋆   I. 67   333
8. CONSTANTINOPOLIS
   Victory on prow   TRP (local copy)   I.52   330-5
9. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS AVG
   GLORIA EXERCITVS (1 standard)   TRP   I.100   337-41

Lyons Mint (3 coins)

10. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
    GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   SLG   I.181   330-5
11. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
    GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)   ⌣ PLG   I.198   333
12. CONSTANTINOPOLIS
    Victory on prow   PLG   I.185   330-5

Aquileia Mint (1 coin)

13. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG			
GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards)	AQP	I.650	330-5

Heraclea Mint (1 coin)

14. CONSTANTINOPOLIS			
Victory on prow	SMHA	I.903	330-5

Although these coins may represent a part only of a hoard, their uniformly fresh condition suggests that the hoard-termination should not be placed much later than *c.*A.D. 340. Despite the fact that hoard-terminations of this date are few in number in north-west England (Shotter, 1990, 208), we should bear in mind that this was a disturbed period in the Empire: the death of Constantine I in A.D. 337 was followed by a murderous jockeying for position amongst his sons and nephews and their supporters. Britain was in the sphere that had fallen to Constantine II, though in A.D. 340 he was killed by forces supporting his brother, Constans. Further, we learn that, in the winter of A.D. 342-3, Constans himself came to Britain; the time of the year points to an emergency of some kind. It could have been connected with internal tensions related to the aftermath of the death of Constantine II; it should be noted that this group of coins, although few in number, contains no issues of the hated Constans. Alternatively, there may have been external threats to Britain; it is generally recognised now that the traumatic so-called "Conspiracy of the Barbarians" of A.D. 367 was a culmination of difficulties rather than a sudden, totally-unexpected, manifestation.

Secondly, the Roman Imperial coins: these are issues which are found commonly on sites in north-west England: all are *aes*-issues:

1. *As* Claudius I
   TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP
   Minerva S C   *RIC* I².100   41-54

Copies of *aes*-issues of Claudius are relatively common as site-finds in Roman Britain, although they become more rare as one proceeds northwards. Indeed, in north-west England, they may be taken as diagnostic of Roman military activity from the 50s, when Roman troops appear to have penetrated the area in order to keep the peace between Cartimandua and Venutius and their supporters (Shotter, 1994; 2000). Losses of such coins probably continued into the very early 70s, after which time more abundant Flavian issues appear to have overtaken them (Shotter, 2001). The discovery of such a coin at Low Borrow Bridge indicates that in all probability the Roman army utilised the Lune valley route of penetration into the north of England (and beyond) in the years prior to Agricola's governorship.

The coin in the present group is a copy of relatively high quality (Sutherland, 1937).

2. *Sestertius,* Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar under Antoninus). Legends have
   been lost on this worn coin, although on the reverse a figure can be
   made out holding a *victoriola.*   AD 145-61

3. *Sestertius*, Severus Alexander
   IMP ALEX[ANDER PIVS AVG]
   MARS VLTOR [S C]   *RIC* IV (Alexander), 635   231-5

4. A very worn coin, evidently of Maximian, is of a size suggestive of an issue-date
   very early in the fourth century (*c*.A.D. 294-306); it is probably of the GENIO
   POPVLI ROMANI type.

Thirdly, the three Greco-Roman Imperial coins: these are consistent with loss in
north-west England, although it would probably be wise to be cautious regarding 1
and 2:

1. AE *Drachma*, Hadrian   117-38

2. AE *Drachma*, Hadrian (Alexandria city-mint)
   The legends have been lost, although the reverse shows the personification of
   "the river Nile", holding a reed and cornucopiae and accompanied by a
   crocodile.   *Milne* 891   118

3. Billon *Tetradrachm* (Alexandria)
This is probably a coin of Diocletian, issued before the coinage-reforms of A.D. 294;
it is very corroded, and the legends cannot be made out.

Acknowledgements

References

LRBC:	Hill P. V., Carson R. A. G. and Kent J. P. C., *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (London, 1960).
Milne:	Milne J. G., *A Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* (London, 1971).
RIC:	Mattingly H. *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1923-1984).
Birley, 1947:	Birley E. B., "The Roman Fort at Low Borrow Bridge", *CW2*, xlvii, 1-19.
Lambert,1996:	Lambert J. *et al.*, *Transect Through Time* (Lancaster).
Shotter, 1990:	Shotter D. C. A., *Roman Coins from North-west England* (Lancaster).
Shotter, 1994:	Shotter D. C. A., 'Rome and the Brigantes: Early Hostilities', *CW2*, xciv, 21-34.
Shotter, 2000:	Shotter D. C. A., 'The Roman Conquest of the North-west', *CW2*, c, 33-53.
Shotter, 2001:	Shotter D. C. A., 'Petillius Cerialis in Carlisle: A numismatic contribution', *CW3*, i, 21-29.
Sutherland, 1937:	Sutherland C. H. V., *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (Oxford).

7.   *Red Rock Fault: lime and Hadrian's Wall*
      BY B. J. N. EDWARDS

West of the Irthing, there was a Turf Wall 20 feet thick at its base and built of turves laid in courses. The reason for this change in material is to be found in local geology. West of the Irthing limestone ceases at the Red Rock Fault, near milecastle 54. Lime for the grouting of the Wall could therefore no longer be procured at hand and the change in material was made for convenience of organisation at the Irthing itself [1]

Generations of students of Roman Britain have grown up with this concept more or less firmly in their minds as an explanation for the building of the Turf Wall. Here slightly modified by Charles Daniels's editorial pen, it initially appeared in Sir Ian Richmond's first edition of Bruce's *Handbook*.[2] The assumption which underlies the quotation, to the effect that lime was not readily available west of the Irthing, is that it was indeed readily available to the east of the Irthing. This, however, is open to question.

Johnson makes it clear that, for the eastern sector of the Wall, the "Magnesian limestone of the Durham coast is the only source of limestone" and suggests that this "was used to make mortar in the eastern sector of the Wall over the Coal Measures where limestone is absent".[3] West of Heddon-on-the-Wall, Johnson notes the presence of "thin limestones" north of Corbridge, "thick limestone bands" between the North Tyne and Greenhead, and "thinner bands" as far as Banks and Lanercost. Further west than that, not only limestone but building stone was in short supply near the Wall, and Johnson writes, "In the western sector . . . bedrock sandstone only crops out in deep river valleys and is absent near the Wall. Perhaps because of the lack of building stone . . . the Wall was initially built of turf in the western sector".[4] This point is reiterated later: "Building materials for the Wall change significantly at the line of unconformity [near Banks and Lanercost]; there is no limestone for mortar and no quartzitic sandstone for building-stone to the west".[5]

Perhaps the geological factors do indeed explain the dramatic change in the Wall at the Irthing. However, it has always seemed improbable to the writer that a military authority which was capable of organising the logistics of building a wall eighty Roman miles long, to say nothing of the Wall's subsidiary structures, would have been defeated by the transport of building stone or the necessary lime. The amount of lime would have been huge: that is beyond doubt. The reference merely to "grouting" in our opening quotation betrays a lack of appreciation of the fundamental importance of lime for the construction of anything which we would recognise as architecture in western Europe. Lime was required for far more than "grouting" in the construction of the Wall (even if we ignore the construction of all the associated buildings). The facing stones of the stone Wall were everywhere mortared,[6] and in that portion of the Wall where the core was set in mortar rather than in clay even larger quantities of lime would have been required. Besides, recent work has raised the possibility that the face of the Wall was lime-washed, and this, if true, would have increased the demand for lime even more. Clearly, then, transportation of very considerable quantities of lime would have been essential for the building of every section of the Wall; it could surely have continued beyond the Irthing.

Of great interest also is the question of where the lime for the Wall was prepared; and here we are confronted with a mystery. Lime required for use in mortar ("slaked lime" – Calcium Hydroxide, $Ca(OH)_2$) has to be prepared by burning limestone,

which is a more or less impure form of Calcium Carbonate ($CaCO_3$). The resulting lime is known as "quicklime" (CaO), which, when treated with water, becomes the slaked lime basic to the production of mortar. The remains of installations in which lime-burning was carried out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are common enough in northern England, but little or nothing is known of the Roman lime industry in relation to Hadrian's Wall. Research on the lime industry in the Roman Empire, including Britain, has shown that most Roman limekilns, in Britain at least, were distinctly ephemeral.[7] No example has been linked with the Wall, and it seems unlikely that such kilns would have been capable of producing lime on the scale needed for the Wall. Much more substantial and suitable for large-scale production are the limekilns at Iversheim in the Rhineland[8] which were under legionary control and in the charge of a *magister calcariarum* or *calcariorum* of Leg. XXX.[9] Unfortunately, however, nothing similar has so far been uncovered in Britain.[10]

In his (purely theoretical) assessment of the logistics of building the Wall, Kendal calculates that the requirement of lime would have been around 8,000 tons.[11] Assuming the output figures described by Sölter from experiments, use of the kilns for seven months in a year, and a total building time for the Wall of two and a half years, he considers that twelve limekilns such as those found at Iversheim would have been necessary, with "fifteen to allow for contingencies".[12] This assessment also depends on the statement, "Mortar was used to bind together the facing stones in the walls of the stone curtain and structures, but not in the core of the Wall".[13] This is at variance with the views of Richmond, who produced a famous diagram showing the Broad Wall with its core set in clay and the Narrow Wall with the core set in mortar.[14] Birley disputed this,[15] and considered that the use of mortar in the core "was surely the standard usage in the construction of the Broad Wall; clay was . . . only exceptionally . . . substituted for mortar in the superstructure".[16] Kendal's estimates also depend on his belief that although there are "no limestone outcrops to the west of Red Rock Fault", "there are frequent seams throughout the eastern and central sectors of the Wall",[17] a view which we have already seen reason to question.

Where would one expect to find the kilns which produced the lime for the Wall? Almost certainly, they would have been located at a distance, perhaps even a considerable distance, from the Wall. Such a location would make economic sense. Where materials are going to have to be transported, the users of the materials are prepared to transport the most valuable materials over the longest distances. In the context of the building of the Wall, the lime would be invaluable, and it would make sense to prepare it near the source of the main ingredient, even if that were far away from the point of use. Just as pottery kilns are usually located near the supplies of clay (heavy to transport) rather than fuel (lighter and more widely distributed), so limekilns would be near the supply of limestone, the fuel being a secondary factor. Given these considerations, it seems highly unlikely that evidence of lime-burning will be found near the Wall even though its construction demanded huge quantities of the commodity which the kilns produced.

Notes and References

[1] J. C. Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (13th edition, 1978), 18-19. (Editions specified in text;- HB_{10}-1947; HB_{11}-1957; HB_{12}-1966; HB_{13}-1978) (Newcastle upon Tyne).

[2] *Ibid.*, HB_{10} 15.

[3] G. A. L. Johnson, (ed. J. Greensmith), *Geology of Hadrian's Wall* Geologists' Association Guides, No. 59 (1997), 14-15.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, 36.

[6] Dr David Breeze, F.S.A. has commented to me that "grouting is the wrong term to use for either the bedding of the facing stones or the core work [sc. of Hadrian's Wall]". Grout is defined as "thin fluid mortar for filling interstices", and its use is thus largely cosmetic in intention. Dr Breeze adds that "the original builders appear to have used a 'brown mortar', a relatively soft mortar, to bed the facing stones, while the 'Severan' rebuilders . . . used a 'hard white mortar' in the core as well as to bed the facing stones". I am very grateful to Dr. Breeze for these observations.

[7] B. Dix, "Roman lime-burning", *Britannia* **10**, 261-262; B. Dix, "The Manufacture of Lime and its uses in the Western Roman Empire", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **1(3)**, 331-345.

[8] W. Sölter, *Römische Kalkbrenner im Rheinland* (Düsseldorf, 1970).

[9] *Ibid.*, 24-25: D. J. Breeze, "A note on the use of the titles *Optio* and *Magister* below the Centurionate during the Principate", *Britannia* **7**, 126.

[10] The kiln found by F. G. Simpson near the Knag Burn, east of Housesteads, was only 3.1 m in diameter and apparently third century in date (F. G. Simpson, *Watermills and Military Works on Hadrian's Wall: Excavations in Northumberland, 1907-1913* (Kendal, 1976), 152-157.

[11] R. Kendal, "Transport Logistics Associated with the Building of Hadrian's Wall", *Britannia* **27**, 129-152.

[12] *Ibid.*, 136.

[13] *Ibid.*, 135.

[14] HB$_{11}$ 17; HB$_{12}$ 16, repeated in Daniel's HB$_{13}$ 17.

[15] E. B. Birley, "Hadrian's Wall: some Structural Problems", AA$_4$ **38**, 52-58; E. B. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal, 1961), 189.

[16] E. B. Birley, "Hadrian's Wall: some structural problems", 56.

[17] R. Kendal, *op. cit.*, 137.

8.   *The murder of Flavius Romanus at Ambleside: a possible context*
     BY D. C. A. SHOTTER

In a recent paper,[1] John Thorley has provided a very valuable (and long-overdue) detailed commentary on the tombstone of Flavius Romanus, a Roman military clerk, which was found at Waterhead in 1962.[2] As Thorley says, although the tombstone may be dated to the late-second or early-third century, it could conceivably be later. Further, whilst admittedly it is not easy to pinpoint the circumstances of Romanus' death, the present note, which is by way of providing a supplement to Thorley's paper, seeks to develop a suggestion made by him in his final footnote (note 23 on p. 58).

The inscription offers a glimpse of a violent event at Ambleside, as Flavius Romanus was "killed by an enemy inside his fort". The admission appears to be unusually explicit, particularly since references to damage to buildings *may* be "fudged" by formulae, such as "collapsed through old age".[3]

It is not usually held that, in the north-west, the third century saw much trouble between the occupying forces and the subject-population. Indeed, in the north in general, the emperor, Septimius Severus, presumably as part of his reforming "offensive" in Britain, encouraged coherence by his development of the cult of the tutelary deity, *Dea Brigantia.*[4] Another part of this "programme", this time directed specifically towards the north-west, was an extension of Roman reliance on local co-

operation with the establishment of the *civitas Carvetiorum* and its administrative centre at Carlisle.[5] The territory of the *civitas* is not known precisely, but appears to have comprised principally Solway and the Eden valley, although the milestone from Middleton-in-Lonsdale,[6] which gives a distance of fifty-three miles (presumably from Carlisle), may indicate that the *territorium* of the *civitas* was more extensive than this. In any case, however, such a development presupposes amongst the local population loyalty to Rome and stability, as well as prosperity and a reasonable certainty of its continuation.

In such circumstances, it would seem unlikely that Ambleside would have found itself the subject of an enemy-attack, particularly if, as seems probable, the fort lay at the heart of a prosperous commercial area situated at the head of Windermere;[7] such a location would have made the site an ideal "candidate" for the Romano-British name, CLANOVENTA (Market by the Shore)[8] which figures in both the *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Notitia Dignitatum.*

Hostis, the Latin word employed on the inscription for "enemy", can be used in various contexts; further, in a language which lacks both a definite and an indefinite article, it is not immediately obvious whether the reference is to "*the* enemy" (that is, one or more recalcitrant Britons), or "an enemy" of a rather different kind. Whilst the word can certainly refer to an opponent in warfare, it is also used to signify a political enemy or an enemy of the state, or even a personal enemy.

The third century[9] provides more than one context in which the use of the word in a political context might have been appropriate – for example, the rebellion of Carausius in the 280s and 290s. However, a particularly bitter dispute was that which, in A.D. 259/260, saw Postumus establish himself as emperor at the head of a breakaway movement of the western provinces (including Britain), known as the *Imperium Galliarum* (Independent Empire of the Gauls), which severed its institutional connections with the legitimate government of Gallienus in Rome. From then, until A.D. 273 when Aurelian regained control of the western territories from the Tetrici, these provinces not only had their own emperors, but also other officials and functionaries, duplicating or replacing those of the legitimate government in Rome.

This was the kind of dispute which will have set people – even friends and families – against each other:[10] the battle to "win hearts and minds" not only involved a programme of propaganda on the coinage (see, for example, Plates 1 and 2), but also so much bribery that irreparable damage was done to the Empire's economy. Further, the diverting of the attention of troops from their "proper" duties will have contributed to a weakening of the Empire's territorial integrity. In all, the Roman Empire was by the 270s in a parlous state, and it was to take a great effort of will in the later years of the third century to construct a "rescue-package". In the immediate aftermath of the Gallic rebellion, however, the names of rebel-emperors were physically removed from public inscriptions,[11] indicating the strength of feeling that led to the passage against them of decrees of *Damnatio Memoriae.*

Such would indicate that tensions ran high between supporters of the rebel-emperors and those who wished to maintain their loyalty to the Empire's legitimate authorities. Further, a study of the composition of coin-hoards of the period suggests that people's political sympathies were carried even into the matter of the make-up of their savings; the preponderance in some hoards of coins of legitimate emperors

PLATE 1. *Antoninianus* of Postumus, showing a reclining female personification of "The Good-Health and Safety of the Provinces" (SALVS PROVINCIARVM).

PLATE. 2. *Antoninianus* of Postumus, showing clasped hands, which were symbolic of military unity (CONCORDIA MILITVM). In such cases, the "Concord of the Soldiers" was usually more of a wish (lie) than a reality.

(PLATES 1 AND 2: Photographs by D. C. A. Shotter;
published by courtesy of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum)

and in others of rebels, shows that feelings indeed ran deep.[12] It may well be, too, that physical damage was done in the course of skirmishing between the two sides: as noted above, an inscription from nearby Lancaster[13] records the rebuilding "from ground-level" of the bath-house and *basilica* (*equestris exercitatoria*) which had "collapsed through old age".[14]

Many years ago, the late Professor Eric Birley[15] established beyond reasonable doubt that this damage had been repaired early in the life of the *Imperium Galliarum*. It seems unlikely that such important buildings would simply have been allowed to fall into the state of disrepair suggested by the inscription; the formula might, therefore, in this case be a euphemism for something less palatable – that is, destruction in the course of civil strife.[16]

In these circumstances, we may wonder whether Flavius Romanus' murderer may after all have been not a Brigantian malcontent, but perhaps rather a former colleague who was now a *hostis* in a civil war. It is finally worth bearing in mind that, as a clerk, Flavius Romanus may have guarded something that would have been of especial value in a civil war – the keys to the fort's strongroom, a feature which is still visible in the consolidated remains of the fort's *principia* at Ambleside.

Notes and References

[1] John Thorley, "The Ambleside Roman Gravestone", *CW3*, ii, 51-58.
[2] See *Journal of Roman Studies* **53** (1963), 160-164; M. E. Burkett, "Recent discoveries at Ambleside", *CW2*, lxv, 86-87.
[3] For example, see *RIB* 605 (Lancaster); for other examples and the conclusion that we should be sceptical regarding the interpretation involving "enemy-destruction", see D. A. Welsby, "Roman building inscriptions, recording buildings collapsed through age or destroyed by the enemy?", *AA⁵* **8** (1980), 89-94. In the case of the Lancaster bath-house (*RIB* 605), repairs dated to the 260s have been

noted on site; the overall burden of dating-evidence would *not* readily support a period of abandonment preceding these repairs.

[4] N. Joliffe, "Dea Brigantia", *Arch. Journal* **98** (1941), 36-61.

[5] N. J. Higham and G. D. B. Jones, *The Carvetii* (Stroud, 1985), 15ff; M. R. McCarthy, *Roman Carlisle and the Lands of the Solway* (Stroud, 2002), 51ff.

[6] *RIB* 2283; see E. Birley, "The Roman milestone at Middleton in Lonsdale, *CW*2, liii, 52-62.

[7] D. C. A. Shotter, "Romans in South Cumbria", *CW*2, xcv, 73-77; "Three Roman Forts in the Lake District", *Arch. Journal* **155** (1998), 338-351 (esp. 339-343).

[8] A. L. F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), 367; D. C. A. Shotter, *Romans and Britons in North-West England* (Second Edition Lancaster, 1997), 111.

[9] Compare the tombstone with very similar characteristics which was excavated at Maryport in 1966; see *Journal of Roman Studies* **57** (1967), 204-205 and Plate 18, 1 and M. G. Jarrett, *Maryport, Cumbria: A Roman Fort and its Garrison* (Kendal, 1976), 42-45. Although not decisive in itself, we may also note the use of the abbreviation FLA for *Flavius*, instead of the more usual FL; this appears to be more common in third-century than in other contexts (See *PIR* F 261 of *c*.A.D. 211; 333 of A.D. 266-267; 337 of *c* A.D. 120; 402 of A.D. 202; and, of course, *RIB* 605 of *c*.A.D. 262).

[10] For comparison, we need look no further than the anguished letters on this topic which flowed from the pen of Marcus Cicero, following the outbreak of hostilities between Caesar and Pompey in 49 B.C.

[11] For example, *RIB* 605 (Lancaster) and 949 (Carlisle).

[12] D. C. A. Shotter, *Roman Coins from North-West England* (Lancaster, 1990), 148-149 and 156-158.

[13] *RIB* 605; see D. C. A. Shotter, "*RIB* 605 and the Lancaster Bath-houses", pp. 208-211 in G. D. B. Jones and D. C. A. Shotter (eds.), *Roman Lancaster* (Manchester, 1988).

[14] See above in note 3.

[15] E. Birley, "A Roman Altar from Bankshead: *CIL* VII 802", *CW*2, xxxvi, 1-7.

[16] D. C. A. Shotter, "Roman Lancaster: Site and Settlement", pp. 3-31 in A. J. White (ed.), *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh, 2001), esp. 11.

9.   *An Anglo-Saxon strap-end from Shap*
       By B. J. N. Edwards

In the course of discussing some strap-ends from Asby (Edwards, 2002, 127), I referred to strap-ends from Shap which had not been properly recorded. Details of one of these have now come to hand. It was found by a metal detectorist a number of years ago (perhaps as many as ten) and no more precise location than Shap is known. The strap-end itself, however, is of some interest, particularly in view of the discovery of those already mentioned at Asby, only 6.5 miles (10.5 km.) away.

The strap-end is of silver, and 4.1 cm. in overall length. The width of the strap or band for which it was designed was probably just under 1 cm. Its decoration is, as usual, in three parts. The distal end has the "eyes, nose and eyebrows" appearance produced by the vestigial remains of what was, in better made, and presumably earlier, examples, a fully-formed zoomorphic termination. At the proximal end, where there is often a palmette or trefoil, there is only an X-shaped incision within a roughly U-shaped frame.

It is in the central panel of the three that the greatest interest lies. It is entirely filled with a dog-like quadruped which is certainly a relative of the "Trewhiddle-style" animal with which a considerable number of strap-ends, particularly from northern English sites, are decorated (Bailey, 1993; Thomas, 2001, fig. 4.1(b)). Despite the resemblance, the identity is not total, and this is due to a fundamental difference in manufacturing technique, or, more precisely, decorating technique.
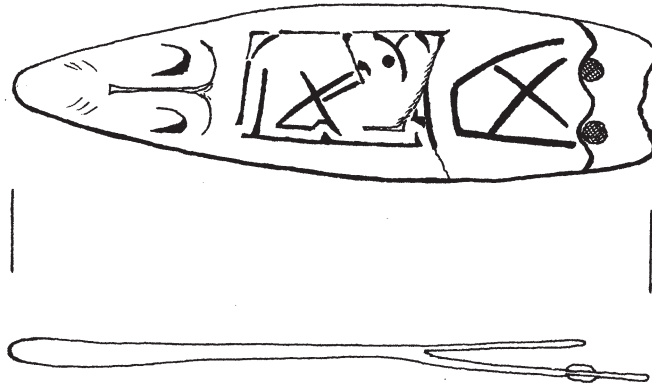
FIG. 1. Anglo-Saxon strap-end from Shap. Scale x2. Drawing: author.

Strap-ends such as those discussed by Bailey (1993) and illustrated by Thomas (2001, fig. 4.2) were cast (cf. the Carlisle mould-fragments (Taylor and Webster, 1984)). Thereafter, a certain amount of working-up, including maybe spotting or speckling of the animal's body, possibly as keying for enamel, would take place. Thomas's (2001) figs. 4.2 (a) and (b), from Goldsborough and York respectively, may well have been cast in the same mould, but among minor differences the York strap-end has dots on the body of both animals while the Goldsborough example does not. Bailey draws attention to the identical length of the five strap-ends which he discusses (including the last-mentioned two) and considers that the differences exhibited by at least one of them (from Whitby) are sufficient to suggest that they did not all come from moulds "impressed with the same model". He goes on to say that "until all five examples can be brought together for simultaneous examination, it will not be possible to achieve complete certainty on this issue". Since he adds a post-script to the effect that even at the date at which he was writing, ten years ago, four more similar strap-ends had been found in Yorkshire, the material clearly exists for this issue to be settled, if the logistics of the process could be arranged.

The Shap strap-end, however, and other examples without decoration (e.g. Asby (Edwards 2002, Nos. 106 & 107)) show that these objects could have been cast in a plain mould and subsequently decorated or not as the owner's whim, or purse, dictated. Such strap-ends fit in the lower end of the range referred to by Taylor and Webster (1984, 179) in the sentence "The central decorative field of the plate [sc. of 'the best-known and most widespread group of late Saxon bronze or silver strap-ends'] carries a wider range of designs, ranging from high-class Trewhiddle-style ornament to lightly incised geometric designs".

The animal which forms the central decoration of the Shap strap-end, and its frame, were both carried out by the use of a sharp engraving tool, and the whole panel was created with only about two dozen strokes of this tool. It is indeed an astonishingly assured piece of work, which argues that its creator was either an extremely accomplished engraver or had produced this particular design many times before (or both). That it was an oft-repeated motif is suggested by the economical way in which the animal's feet are defined by small triangular notches below the

linear outline of the upper surface of leg and foot, and the three differently-shaped incisions which define the eye, nose and mouth. The impression is reinforced by the lack of any suggestion that small strap-ends of the type under discussion were luxury items – or any more so than what is implied by their being made in silver rather than copper alloy.

The brilliant way in which a single X-shaped incision is made to define the shape of the animal's rear leg, and the space between it and the body, is again a triumph of small-scale engraving, bearing in mind that the whole animal is 1.2 cm. (less than half an inch) long.

A strap-end such as this is very much a footnote to history, but this example joins a growing body of material which is beginning to illustrate something of the life of people in Cumbria at a period of which, until recently, much of the evidence, slight as it was, came from place-names, burials or stone sculpture.

Bibliography

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10. *Recent acquisitions and reported finds to Kendal Museum*
     BY MORAG CLEMENT

1. A hoard of 13th century silver pennies found at Arnside (Accession No. KMA2002.4)

A hoard of five silver coins was discovered by Mr J. Harrison of Carnforth on 31 August 2000, while metal detecting near New Barns, Arnside, Cumbria (SD 444778).

The hoard consists of two English short cross coins (the type issued 1180-1247) and three of the equivalent Scottish short cross and stars coinage (1195-*c*.1230). In this period English and Scottish coins were made to the same standards of weight and fineness, had similar designs, and circulated together without a problem. The fineness of the silver was about 92.5% fine metal. Details of the coins are as follows:[1]

English short cross coinage
Class 4c (*c*.1194-1204/5)   moneyer Hue, mint Canterbury
Class 5bi (1294/5-*c*.1209)   moneyer Willelm, mint Chichester

Scottish short cross coinage
All three are Phase B (*c*.1205-1230) moneyers Hue and Walter

The hoard was declared treasure-trove, and the coins are now on permanent display in Kendal Museum.

2. A gold sword and sceptre coin found in Kendal (Accession No. KMS2002.3)

A Scottish sword and sceptre piece was found in the grounds of Sandgate School (SD 524932). The gold coin, which was worth 120 shillings, was issued in 1602 and was one of the last gold coins to be issued by James VI of Scotland before he also became King of England in 1603. The name comes from the reverse design of a sword and sceptre within a saltire cross. The inscription translates as "The safety of the people is the supreme law".

The coin was kindly donated to Kendal Museum and is now on permanent display.

3. A Bronze Age axe from Arnside (Accession No. KMA2002.3) (Plate 1)

This axe was found by Mr J. Harrison while metal detecting near Arnside on 24 August 2000 (SD 447782) (See also these *Transactions*, page 216). It is an Early Bronze Age flanged axe and has a squared butt with almost parallel sides which extend down and splay out to form a wide blade. There is a ridge across the body of the blade, about half way down, and the sides of the flanges have diagonal ridged decoration. There is no decoration on the blade faces.

PLATE 1. Bronze Age axe found at Arnside.

Dimensions: length 120 mm, max. width across cutting edge 70 mm, max. width across butt end 20 mm.

With regard to the decoration, the axe has parallels with several axes found in the North and West of Scotland, and over 300 examples have been found in Ireland. Several moulds for this type of axe with ribbed decoration have also been found in Ireland[2] suggesting an Irish origin or influence.

A very similar axe is also on display at Tullie House Museum,[3] which is recorded as being purchased by the donor at a sale in Temple Sowerby, but the provenance is unknown.

The object was kindly donated to the museum and is now on permanent display.

4. **A bronze bowl mount found at Arnside** (Accession No. KMA2002.5) (Plate 2)

A bronze bowl mount was found by David James, a metal detectorist near Arnside, Cumbria, at SD 444775. It was found in June 2001 and was reported to Nick Herepath of Liverpool Museum before being sent to the British Museum for identification, and reported to Kendal Museum. Susan Youngs of the department of Medieval and Modern Europe examined it and gave the following details:

PLATE 2. Bronze bowl mount found at Arnside.

The bronze is dominated by a grim human face with large oval eyes, down-turned mouth and ears sticking out at brow level. The back of the head is hollow cast. Below the face is a damaged rectangular panel of enamel flanked by two raised circular settings of enamel. The angular cells of the plate originally held bright yellow opaque enamel against a background of red. The central cell is empty and could have been inlaid with enamel or a piece of millefiori glass. The present height is 31 mm but when complete, it would have had a matching mask facing up in mirror image from the bottom of the decorative panel.

The mount was made as one of a set of three to be mounted on a thin bronze bowl to hold rings from which the bowl could hang. The back is recessed behind the enamel panel presumably to hold such a ring although none has been recorded in association with complete bowls of this type. Hanging bowls with suspension mounts of various types have principally been found as grave furnishings in Viking graves of the ninth and tenth centuries in Western Norway. The basic evidence for dating is given by a pair of related bucket mounts which were part of the furnishings of the ship-burial at Oseberg in Norway, a deposit dated precisely by dendrochronology to A.D. 834. This confirms an eighth, or possibly, early ninth century date for the manufacture of these vessels and their enamelled mounts based on a comparison with other fine metalwork using multi-coloured enamels and cell work of this angular type.

Like many decorative pieces found in Viking graves, these bowls, buckets and their mounts were not made locally but were exotic imports, brought back from the lands invaded by Scandinavian Vikings from the late eighth century onwards. The early medieval kingdoms of Ireland were the source of these elaborate pieces. The enlarged and stylised, staring face and the lavish use of enamel are features peculiar to eighth century Irish decorative metalwork.

Irish vessels, mounts and fittings travelled with the Viking raiders and settlers as loot, traded goods, or possibly gifts. While often of no value as bullion they were appreciated for their decoration, bright gilding and coloured glass. This piece has three holes drilled through it, including a large one through the mouth, showing mechanical re-attachment or reuse. Recycling and adaptation of mounts was common in the Scandinavian dominated areas of Britain as well as in the homelands.

Cumbria and Lancashire were extensively settled by people of mixed Irish and Scandinavian roots in the tenth century, all of which provides a background to the circulation and loss of this Irish piece. One other Irish bucket mount with a face at each end but without enamel was found in England some years ago, reportedly near York.

The mount was purchased by Kendal Museum and is now on permanent display.

5. Copper alloy object with gilded interlaced decoration found at Arnside
(Fig. 1)

The above object was also found by David James, in July 2001, and only a few metres from the location of the bowl mount. The find-spot was SD 444775. The object was brought into Kendal Museum, then again sent to the British Museum for identification. Susan Youngs, of the department of Medieval and Modern Europe, who had examined the bowl mount, examined the object and gave the following details:

The object is a parabolic, cast copper alloy plate with cast ornament on one face, riveted to a second smaller cast copper alloy plate of darker metal. Maximum dimensions are 32 mm long by 19.6 mm wide. The main plate originally ended with a rectangular projection which is now replaced by another piece. It is pierced twice for rivets at the apex and has another neat hole by the edge mid-way down one side, this hole has a neat internal ledge as though counter sunk from the back. The plate carries cast ornament in chip-carved style with a broader border of oblique lines around a sub-triangular panel of neat looped interlace. This is adapted to accommodate a raised plain semi-circle at the base. The front and one long vertical edge are gilded, the corresponding edge is more abraded but traces of gold remain. The back of the piece has been scraped or scored and then deeply grooved across the outer corners to make decorative ears. It has a shelf-like recess at the apex which accommodates the additional element.
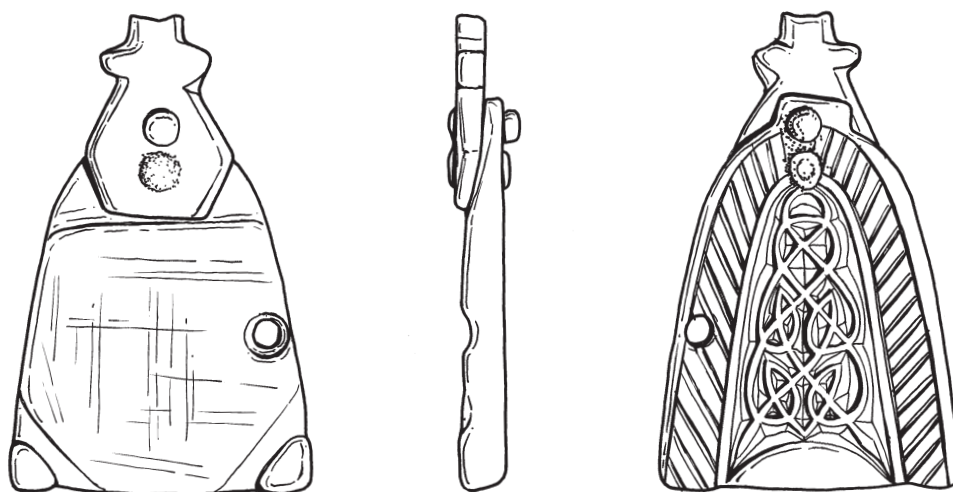
Fig. 1. Copper alloy object found at Arnside. Scale 2:1.

The second piece is held together by two rivets and has a spatulate end tapering to a rectangular collar and then reduces again to a narrower shaft which is broken off. The shaft is rectangular in section and has moulding on both main faces. In side view the small upper plate tapers to the upper edge and is neatly accommodated in the recess of the decorated plate.

This composite piece was manufactured in antiquity. It appears to be a decorative plate reused as an improvised head for a dress pin or stylus. The original projecting strip suggests that it was originally a box fitting. The main plate may well be just under half of a larger piece cut up in antiquity, but the present upper edge is so smooth this is not certain. It seems to have been later modified by drilling very close to one edge before the final mounting onto the second piece and decorative modification of the back corners.

The date of the decorated plate is established broadly as eighth century by its style and it is Anglo-Saxon rather than Irish.

Kendal Museum is currently in the process of trying to acquire the object.

Notes and References

[1] Acknowledgements to Dr B. J. Cook, Curator of Medieval and Early Modern Coinage, British Museum who prepared a report on the coin hoard.

[2] J. M. Coles, "Scottish Early Bronze Age metalwork", *PSAS* **101**, 1-110.

[3] A.III.220 (1903 catalogue); see T. H. McK. Clough, "Bronze Age metalwork from Cumbria", *CW2*, lxix, 3.

11. *A Medieval coin hoard from Waverton*
     By Angus J. L. Winchester

Papers of the Hall family who farmed at Milestone House, Waverton, in the nineteenth century document the finding in 1864 of an otherwise unrecorded hoard of medieval coins. The diary of Joseph Hall (1839-1899) includes an entry dated 29 June 1864 reading:

> We have been building a new smith's shop & lecture room in front of our house & in leading some soil & clay away from the front of it have found a number of gold & silver coins of the reign of Edward 3rd which no doubt will have been laid there more than 500 years. They are in excellent preservation & the impressions on them are very clear. I believe 64 is the number that have been now discovered viz. 4 of gold & the remainder silver.[1]

His sister Jane Hall (1843-1902), writing retrospectively in 1875 also recorded the find but put the number of coins at "about nin[e]ty".[2] The location of the find was on the south side of the road, opposite Milestone House Farm (NY 222 474). The smithy and lecture room were demolished in the 1960s.[3]

Two of the coins from the hoard are in the possession of Christopher N. Hall of Camberley, Surrey, but the whereabouts of the remainder of the hoard is unknown. Barrie Cook, curator of medieval and early modern coinage at the British Museum, has identified the two surviving coins as pennies of Edward III's Fourth Coinage (1351-77) from the London mint. One, comparatively unworn, is a Series G penny (Class Gb), issued 1356-61 (Plate 1); the other, considerably more worn, is a later issue from the post-Treaty period (1369-77) (Plate 2).

The date of deposit is difficult to judge on the evidence of only two of a hoard of

PLATE 1. Edward III Series G penny dated to 1356-61.

PLATE 2. Edward III penny of 1369-77.

at least 64 coins, particularly since the earlier of the two surviving pennies shows considerably less wear than the later one. A date in the later fourteenth century is possible, but the fact that both coins weigh 0.97g suggests that they had been clipped down to the new weight standard (0.97g) introduced in 1412. Deposit during the early fifteenth century is therefore tentatively suggested.

I am most grateful to Barrie Cook (British Museum) and Edward Besly (National Museums & Galleries of Wales) for help in identifying the surviving coins, to my uncle, Christopher N. Hall, for access to the coins and to family papers in his possession, and to my cousin, Timothy J. Hall, for photographing and weighing the coins.

Notes and References

[1] Memorandum book of Joseph Hall, commencing 1860, in the possession of Christopher N. Hall of Camberley, Surrey.

[2] Diary of Jane Hall, in possession of Christopher N. Hall of Camberley.

[3] Family papers shed no more light on the character or purpose of the "reading Room". It may have been an act of local philanthropy by Richard Hall (1815-1881), the head of the family, who was a strict Quaker and active in the temperance movement (*Annual Monitor* (1883), 56-66). In 1876 he bought the White Horse public house in Waverton in order to convert it into a private house and prevent its continuing use for the sale of alcohol.

12. *A Note on Cappleside Hall, Beetham*
     By Dr R. Newman

On Jeffery's county map of Westmorland published in 1770,[1] is marked the site of the "Remains of Cabblethwaite Hall". These are shown to the north-east of Beetham church and just south of the road known as Paradise Lane, at National Grid Reference SD 5007 8022. Today the remains consist of a substantial masonry wall up to 1.5 m in height and more than l m thick, which have been the subject of a recent brief survey undertaken by the Holme and District Local History Society.[2] The remains occupy the sheltered eastern flank of Cappleside Hill. In addition to the masonry remains, visual inspection of the site and consultation of aerial photographs reveals substantial earthworks surrounding the wall remnants and extending to the south and east. These impressive archaeological remains belong to the former capital messuage of the manor of Cappleside, which was known as Cappleside Hall.

The place-name Cappleside appears to be derived from the common Cumbrian prefix *Kappel,* an Old Norse word for a horse, and the Old English *heaved,* meaning hillside.[3] There is no reason to assume any link between the place-name and a putative former chapel as suggested in many publications.[4] Cappleside was known as *Capplesheved* in the fourteenth century,[5] just as nearby Arnside was known as *Arnsheved.* Whether or not Cappleside was also known as Capplethwaite is unclear and it is possible that Jeffery's use of the name was an error. There are references to a fold at Capplethwaite in Docker in 1214-20,[6] which, though unlikely, could conceivably relate to the site at Cappleside. More definite, however, are the references from 1336 to a place in Beetham known as *Capplesheved* and people

described as being from *Cappleshoved*.[7] In 1348 a Richard son of Henry de Capleseheved was sergeant to the knight and lord of the manor of Beetham, Ralph de Beetham.[8] This suggests that Cappleside may already have been an important holding within the manor of Beetham by the mid-fourteenth century. The earliest reference to Cappleside as a manor, however, does not occur until 1523 when the manor of *Capilsyd,* along with tenements in Crackenthorpe, was held of Beetham by fealty and a rent of 12d.[9]

In 1523 the manor of Cappleside was held by Edward Middleton,[10] and the Middleton family remained in possession in 1585.[11] By 1610 the manor had passed to the Buskill family,[12] later in the seventeenth century passing to the Prestons, and before *c*.1687 being sold to the Cliffords.[13] In the eighteenth century the manor consisted of fifteen messuages and over 800 acres of land.[14] It included properties at Beetham Bridge and along Hangridge Lane and was said to have formerly included the hamlet of Meathop.[15] During the eighteenth century there are a number of documents referring to the mansion of Cappleside Hall being the capital messuage of the manor of Cappleside.[16] The earliest specific reference to the hall occurs in 1691-2[17] but by that time it may already have been abandoned as a dwelling. After its purchase by the Cliffords the estate was sublet and the hall is said to have been allowed to become ruinous except for one wing.[18] Eighteenth century local folklore asserted that the building remained unoccupied because it was haunted.[19] It was not demolished soon after 1687, as stated by Curwen,[20] but rather survived in a ruinous state to be partially demolished in the later eighteenth century. The western wing survived ruination during the eighteenth century and in 1763 a local farmer converted this into a barn.[21]

The local antiquarian William Hutton, who was already interested in the hall as an archaeological site by the 1760s, records that the centre of the house measured 14 yards by six yards. The eastern wing was 10 yards by 12 yards and the western wing 12 by 16 yards giving a total frontage length of 36 yards.[22] These dimensions, according to Curwen, made Cappleside the fourth largest medieval hall in Cumberland and Westmorland.[23] Hutton further described the hall thus, "The wings consisted of three stories, very low as in all these old houses. As the hall was the public room, the other parts of the buildings were not made for anything more than mere conveniency and that in a wretched taste. Elegant living may hurry mankind in luxury and licentiousness, but God be praised that I was not born in days of ignorance, cruelty and barbarism. The floor of the hall was a kind of rude mosaic pavement with very small stones".[24] It was from this description and observation of the surviving earthworks that Curwen attempted a plan reconstruction in 1911, when he showed the hall as running broadly west-east. The western wing was shown as having no internal access from the hall but with external independent access, though at both Beetham and Hazelslack the only access to similar multi-storied wings was from the hall. To the east of this structure he postulated a garth enclosure.[25] Neither Hutton's description, the surviving masonry, nor the earthworks are entirely consistent with Curwen's interpretations and much of his proposed layout appears to be entirely conjectural. There seems little doubt that the hall was associated with a walled enclosure, however. Hutton described Cappleside Hall as the "stone house on the top of the hill [which] remains a complete military tenement to this day, fences itself round, and pays the lord 40s

annual rent".[26] How defensible Cappleside Hall was is unclear. Certainly the manor of Beetham had a number of defensible structures within it during the later medieval period. These included the principal messuage of the manor known as Beetham Hall; Hazelslack Tower, which is a remnant of a larger structure the hall of which does not survive; and the tower house at Arnside. It is quite likely then, that one of the most important subinfuedated estates in Beetham manor would have had defensible qualities.

PLATE 1. Aerial photograph of Cappleside Hall (Cumbria County Council SMR 10902).

Curwen interpreted the western wing as representing the base of a pele tower.[27] This interpretation has influenced subsequent views including that of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments who surveyed the site in the 1930s,[28] and regarded the remains as the lower portion of a former tower. Rather than a pele tower at Cappleside, what appears to survive is a fragment of a three storey service wing. The walls are not especially thick, in part because they did not need to resist the pressure of a vaulted undercroft.[29] The projecting turrets on the south side of this fragment[30] are part of the wing's function with the south westerly projection probably originating as a garderobe chute, and that in the south eastern corner may more tentatively be interpreted as a fireplace.[31] It must be admitted, however, that interpretation of the standing masonry remains is fraught with difficulty, as what survives is a fragment of a structure that was converted for agricultural use in the later eighteenth century. A well-built, three-storey service wing could nevertheless serve a defensive function. The surviving three-storey service wing at Beetham Hall was clearly defensible and tower-like, though not primarily a fortification.

William Hutton appears to have conducted a watching brief during the conversion works of the northern wing and during the reduction of the foundations

of the rest of Cappleside Hall. He noted that human bones were found within a garderobe chute. The farmer sold the stones of the ruinous hall to his neighbours as building materials.[32] The structure resulting from the conversion of the north wing was known as Cappleside Barn and was depicted with associated enclosures on a Dallam estate map of 1799.[33] The barn had passed to the Dallam estate along with the rest of Cappleside manor in 1768 when sold to the estate by Lord Clifford.[34] Cappleside manor seems to cease to have any meaningful tenurial existence after this transfer and the land remains as part of the Dallam estate today.

By 1867 Cappleside Barn also had fallen into ruin,[35] and by 1911 survived as little more than the fragment visible today.[36] It is the masonry remnants of the barn, the converted north wing of Cappleside Hall, which still stands. The remainder of the hall survives as well defined earthworks partially obscured by later earthworks related to the enclosures associated with the barn. Cappleside Hall was the capital messuage of the manor of Cappleside and as such was in existence before 1523. As argued by Curwen,[37] the origins of most of the visible archaeological remains are probably fifteenth century, in which case they are likely to relate to the creation of Cappleside as a sub-manor. Even so, as the centre of an important tenement held by military tenure within the manor of Beetham, it may have even greater antiquity. The evidence for Cappleside Hall indicates a building of at least late medieval origin with a central open hall and projecting service wings, strongly built and with a defensible character.

Notes and References

[1]   Thomas Jeffery's Historic Map of Westmorland 1770 (re-printed CWAAS Record Series XIV, 2001).
[2]   My thanks to Anne Hillman for providing the Sites and Monuments Record with a copy of the plan.
[3]   J. Lee, *The Place Names of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1998), 18: K. Cameron, *English Place-names* (London, 1961), 225.
[4]   For example, John F. Curwen, "Capulside or Cappleside Hall, Beetham", *CW2*, xii, 103-106.
[5]   W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* ii (Kendal, 1924 – re-printed as CWAAS Record Series V Kendal, 1999).
[6]   W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* i (Kendal, 1923 – reprinted as CWAAS Record Series IV Kendal, 1998), 203.
[7]   W. Farrer (1924), *op. cit.*, 221.
[8]   *Ibid.*, 222.
[9]   *Ibid.*, 234.
[10] *Ibid.*, 212.
[11] J. Rawlinson Ford (ed.), *The Beetham Repository* (Kendal, 1906), 124.
[12] W. Farrer (1924), *op. cit.*, 235.
[13] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 124: J. Ewbank (ed.), *Antiquary on Horseback* (CWAAS Extra Series XIX Kendal, 1963), 53.
[14] CRO(K) WD/D/B4/45 Deeds and conveyances relevant to Cappleside eighteenth century.
[15] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 122.
[16] CRO(K) WD/D/B4/45.
[17] J. Ewbank, *op. cit.*, 53.
[18] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 124.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] J. F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands* (CWAAS Extra Series XIII Kendal, 1913), 355.
[21] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 124.
[22] *Ibid.*, 125.
[23] John F. Curwen, *CW2*, xii, 106.
[24] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 125.

[25] John F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* (Kendal, 1926) iii, 249.

[26] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 95.

[27] J. F. Curwen (1913), *op. cit.*, 354.

[28] RCHM *Westmorland*, 42.

[29] John F. Curwen, *CW2*, xii, 105.

[30] D. Perriam and J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* (CWAAS Extra Series XXIX Kendal, 1998), 332f.

[31] RCHM *Westmorland*, 42.

[32] J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*, 125.

[33] CRO(K) WD/D acc. 950/43 Dallam estate map 1799. My thanks to Tom Clare for drawing my attention to this map.

[34] CRO(K) WD/D/B4/45.

[35] OS map 1867.

[36] John F. Curwen, *CW2*, xii, photograph opposite page 105.

[37] J. F. Curwen (1913), *op. cit.*, 355.

13.   *Mastone steps*
      By Jeremy Godwin

Mastone Steps,[1] the name of a sharp corner on the B6413 road at grid reference NY 566442, about two miles north-north-east of Kirkoswald (Cumbria) has intrigued many, there being no steps in view there now. The site is on the road that connects the former market town of Kirkoswald to the medieval road from Brampton to Appleby. Here a lesser road from Ainstable parish joins (part of this road is now merely a field track), and a little further on the road to Renwick meets at the next corner. North of these corners is Long Moor (now pasture fields), and south-east is Scales Moor, also now under pasture; a narrow valley (Mastone Gill[2]) runs north-westwards down to Briggle Beck. The clue[3] lies in the pool of water issuing from a spring south of Mastone Steps, and in the small stream flowing out of the lesser gill on the south side of the Renwick road. These, now in modern cuts, meet beneath today's tarred road, and, at the lip above the descent to Briggle Beck (the ground rises slightly here, forming this lip, as if of a dam), they enter a culvert under the field. Until the road was properly metalled and tarred the sixty yards of level ground between the feet of the three roads' short slopes would have been swampy most of the time, and travellers on two legs or four would have been glad indeed of stepping-stones over it, such as yet may be seen on many a local footpath.

 Hence the second word of the place-name. The "steps" are long gone. On the Kirkoswald Parish Tithe Award (1843), quoted by its vicar, Canon Thornley, in 1897,[4] Mastone appears as Marston, but is pronounced "mastin" or "masson". The place is in Staffield Township, within two farms in Scales, a scattered hamlet; three in one farm (including one field of woodland), two in another farm; all called 'Marston Gill'. Ferguson, 1873,[5] gives the word "Mastel, part of an arable field never ploughed, from Anglo-Saxon *maest-lond*, pasture-land; from *maestan*, to feed, fatten"; and Dickinson, in 1859,[6] says that this is a mid-Cumberland usage. The Old English word maest has become "mast", as in beech-mast, valued of old for pannage, the fattening of pigs grazing there.[7] As for the 1843's "Marston", this is probably the genteel Home Counties imported pronunciation as in Grasmere (long "a") today, for many but not for the older Cumbrians.[8]

Maston[9] therefore means "the fattening-place", whether wooded or grassy, in the moorland of Long Moor and Scales Moor here.

Notes and References

[1] Ordnance Survey 1:25000 Outdoor Leisure Series Map 5 (1998 edition), names it. Observations on my two visits, June 2002.

[2] A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickens (eds.), *The Place-names of Cumberland* English Place-name Society i, 251 notes it as Marston Gill but offers no explanation.

[3] Observations on two visits in June 2002.

[4] *CW1*, xv, 70. The three fields in the 1843 Award were Nos. 187, 188 (woodland) and 399; the two fields were Nos. 189 and 398. The Award is in CRO(C). Staffield's Award was in 1816.

[5] Robert Ferguson, *The Dialect of Cumberland* (1873), 85.

[6] William Dickinson, *Glossary of the Words and Phrases of Cumberland* (1859), 70.

[7] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1933 edition).

[8] Ex. inf. the late Canon Tait, Rector of Grasmere in the 1970s. The old said "Gressmer".

[9] The final "e" on Maston(e) may be a modern example of gilding the lily, as of old, e.g. "towne" for town.

14. *Further drawings by George Senhouse discovered*
    BY MARY E. BURKETT

In my account of the life of George Senhouse[1] I indicated that there was only one drawing by him known, that of Philip Nelson (Plate 1) – and that from a photograph provided by Miss Dixon. Since then Dorathy Morgan, in preparing a Senhouse family exhibition for the Senhouse Museum, came across some drawings at the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle.[2] These were unclassified, but on examination it appeared that one small, very damaged, pencil drawing was inscribed in faint pencil, "Mary Benn by George" (Plate 2). It was a lovely, fresh depiction of an old woman in a bonnet and it was beautifully drawn. I had no difficulty in attributing it to George Senhouse. It bears a strong affinity with the one of Philip Nelson[3] with the same free cross hatching, sensitive shading, and in this case there is superb handling of the eyes. According to Miss Dixon (whose parents and grandparents lived locally) there used to be a very popular teahouse in Maryport run by a Miss Benn in the 19th Century. Nothing is known about the sitter. The writing on the reverse is not by George, at least not when he was a boy.[4]

In late 2000 the staff at the Record Office chanced upon three more small drawings amongst the Senhouse papers which they showed to me.[5] In style they were very similar to that of Mary Benn. One is just the head and neck of an old man with a beard (Plate 3). Traces of his right arm can be seen faintly, perhaps he is holding something. His expression is animated and he has high cheek bones and sparkling eyes. It is very faintly wrought and whether it is from life or a copy of a painting cannot be determined. Then there is an almost full-face drawing of a young woman (Plate 4) whom I believe to be Mary Fleming, George's mother.[6] If George had done the drawing in 1750 or 51 before he went to Devis for his apprenticeship his mother would have been in her mid thirties. The eyes and mouth are very similar to my

Fig. 11.2,[7] where her hair is put up and she is perhaps about 50. It is certainly a possible identification and explains why the drawing might have been kept. The card on which it is drawn has been cut roughly into an oval cartouche shape and seems of 18th Century date.

The third in this group is of a little girl (Plate 5), a side view, and inscribed on the reverse "Miss Stanwix very like her" in the hand-writing of Mary Fleming. This drawing must have been done when George was still at home. The little girl in question was the only daughter of John Ross who was "enjoined to change his name to Stanwix in his uncle's will". He and his wife and only daughter were drowned when the ship the *Eagle* was lost on its return to England from Ireland in 1766. John Ross, as Lieutenant-General John Stanwix, had become M.P. for Carlisle from 1746-60 and for Appleby 1761-66. In 1752 he was Governor of Carlisle Castle.[8]

A further search of material in the Record Office, recently sorted and boxed, revealed one more drawing which I feel can safely be attributed to George Senhouse. It is a small horizontal sketch of Netherhall (Plate 6) dated 1789 under a later blue mount.[9] It is black and white, in both ink and pencil. The neat hand of the printed title below the drawing is reminiscent of the writing of a later member of the family who used to label items. On the reverse of the drawing in another hand are the words "drawn by Mr Senhouse". The drawing is very fine. Detailed hatching on roofs and walls show skill and precision. He must have either drawn it before he went to Billington or perhaps from memory at the Hospital.[10] He certainly mentioned in his letters home that he had done some landscapes while he had been at Billington. Compared with other later sketches in the Senhouse folders, this is the only really competent one that could have been done by George. Although there were some other members of the Senhouse family who left drawings they are all of a more amateur quality.

Notes and References

[1] Mary E. Burkett, "George Senhouse of Maryport 1739-1793" in R. J. Wilson (ed.), *Roman Maryport and its Setting – Essays in memory of Michael G. Jarrett* (Published by the Trustees of the Senhouse Roman Museum, Maryport, 1997), 141, 160.

[2] CRO(C) D/Sen Box 200/11.

[3] Mary E. Burkett, *op. cit.*, Fig. 11.4. Philip Nelson (1730-1806) was the faithful steward of George's father who travelled down to Dr Chew's asylum at Billington (see n. 9 below) each year to pay the fees of £50.

[4] cf. letters in E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the 18th Century*, Vol. 2 (1965).

[5] CRO(C) D/Sen Box 200/11.

[6] Humphrey Senhouse II married, in 1731, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir George Fleming, Bishop of Carlisle. Mary died 1790. C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* CWAAS Extra Series XXIII (1978), 301.

[7] Mary Burkett, *op. cit.*

[8] C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, *op. cit.*, 322.

[9] CRO(C) D/Sen Box 200/10.

[10] George suffered from mental illness and when his condition deteriorated he was sent to an asylum run by a Dr Chew and son at Billington, near Preston. It was an extremely well run home where the patients had relative freedom, good care, and a private room each for 15s. per week, including meals and a servant to attend them. He often drew and painted there.
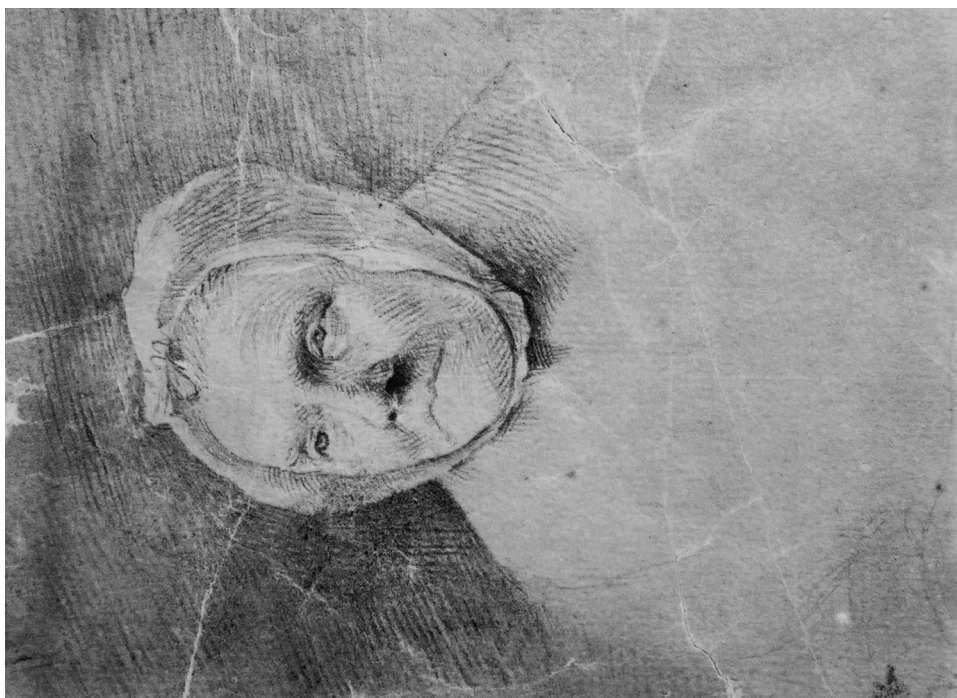
PLATE 2. Inscribed "Mary Benn by George".

PLATE 1. Philip Nelson, steward to Humphrey Senhouse.
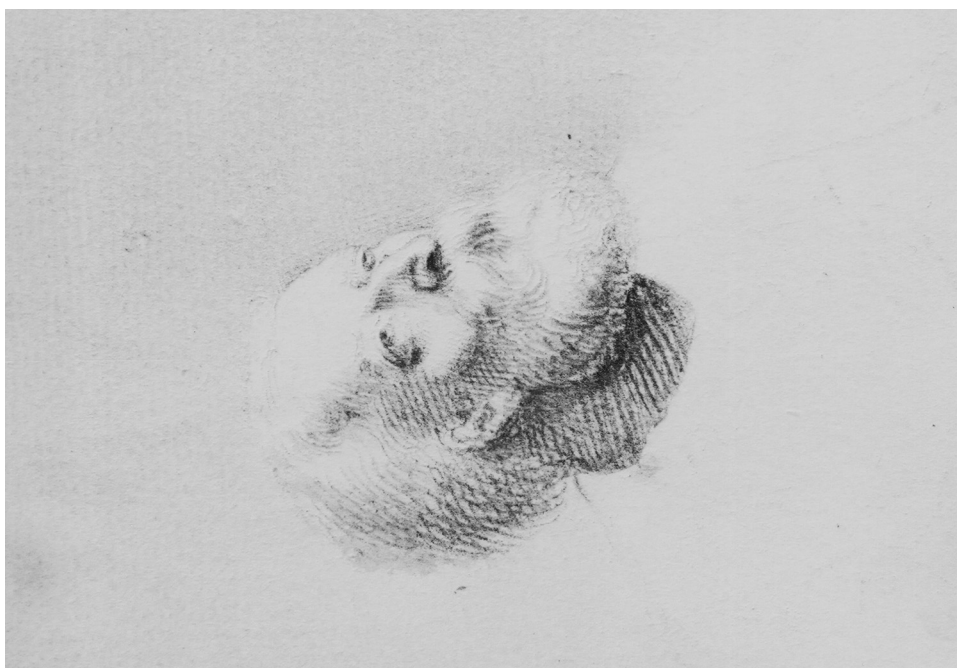
PLATE 4. Mary Senhouse née Fleming.

PLATE 3. Drawing of an old man.

PLATE 5. Miss Stanwix.
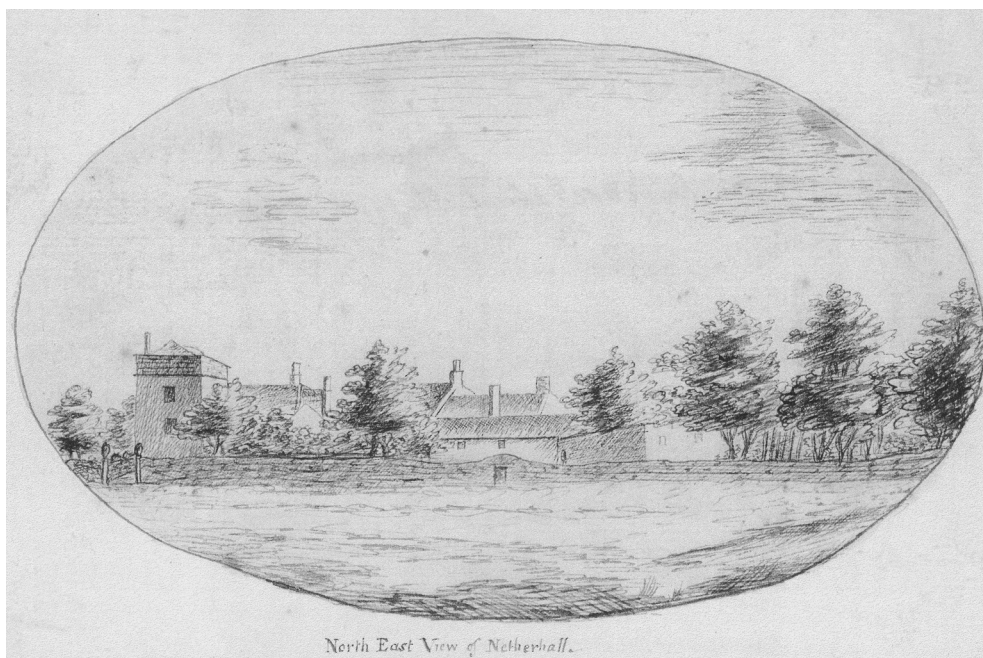

North East View of Netherhall.

PLATE 6. Sketch of Netherhall.

15.   *Wray Castle and James Dawson*
      By John R. E. Borron, F.S.A.

It is possible to add a little to Jamie Lund's interesting article.[1] Lund was obviously unaware of the small collection of Dawson papers in the Liverpool Record Office.[2] These are in an album labelled "Mrs Dawson. Pencil and crayon portraits of members and friends of the Dawson family of Low Wray, Windermere 1835/1836". The portraits are attractive examples of the work of W.G. Herdman. Unfortunately only eight of the 38 portraits are named, including James and Margaret Dawson, Robert Preston, Mrs Preston of Firgrove, Mrs Rodick, John Lord, Henry Holmes and Alfred Gilling (possibly Billing).

In addition there is a small group of papers. A barely legible letter from Sir F. F. Vane of Armathwaite Hall dated 14 September 1831, begging James Dawson's acceptance of some venison, illustrates that he moved in gentry circles in the area. A rather mysterious undated letter appears to refer to Dawson's quest for a Baronetcy and goes on to state that the castle "now building is to be christened by her gracious Majesty's desire Wray Towers" – presumably this was Queen Adelaide.

The storm to which Lund refers was a great deal more dramatic than Beatrix Potter suggested.[3] It occurred on 7 January 1839. In a letter dated 9 January 1839 there is a terrifying description of the occupants of The Wray huddling in the centre of the house while windows crashed in.[4] It goes on – "The sweet little church (at Brathay) has but one window left. The Sandys at Graythwaite have not a chimney. Sir Thomas Pasley[5] has not a stack remaining and the spray from the lake reached as far as his windows". It is hardly surprising that Dawson wished to build something substantial!

There seems no reason to doubt the attribution of Wray Castle to John Jackson Lightfoot who certainly worked for Dawson.[6] Lightfoot was listed in Gore's *Directory* of 1843 as an architect and accountant living at Tranmere Hall with an office at 21 Temple Street, Liverpool. Horner was probably called in after Lightfoot's early death.

It is worth noting that James Dawson became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons 15 February 1805 and was one of the 300 foundation Fellows in 11 December 1843.[7] In its obituary *The Lancet*[8] paid tribute to his charitable work including that Dawson, "to our knowledge, up to five years ago, was not prevented by weather or the weight of ninety years from consideration for the poorest of his neighbours or courtesy to the most casual of his visitors". It is perhaps worth adding that the sale price when sold by Dawson's heir E. P. Rawnsley in 1898 to David Ainsworth was £30,118.[9]

I am much indebted to Kay Parrott of the Liverpool Record Office for information and assistance and also to Mrs Susan Denyer.

Notes and References

[1] J. Lund, "A history of the Wray Castle Estate, Claife", *CW3*, ii, 231-252.
[2] Liverpool Record Office HF 741-91 HER.
[3] J. Lund, *op. cit.*, 235.
[4] It is unclear who wrote the letter or to whom. It refers to the occupants at the time including Mrs Dawson.

[5] Sir Thomas Pasley of The Craig, now Craig Manor.
[6] Sir Howard Colvin in a letter (21 September 1997) to the writer comments that "in fact Wray Castle is the only building known to have been built to his (Lightfoot's) designs".
[7] Letter from Miss Glen F. Jones, Library Secretary of the Royal College of Surgeons of England dated 26 April 1999. I am grateful for her help.
[8] *The Lancet* 30 January 1875.
[9] Personal communication from Mrs Susan Denyer.

16.   *The Romney House, Milnthorpe Road, Kendal*
      BY JOHN MARSH

A photograph dating back to the middle of the 19th century has recently been discovered in the archives collected by the late Joseph Hughes, F.S.A., former President of our Society (1981-84). It was in the form of a slide used in a lecture on "Old Kendal". In itself the picture seems of no particular interest but on further examination turns out to be an early photograph of the Romney House in Milnthorpe Road, Kendal where the artist George Romney died in 1802. This much altered building remains and there has been much discussion as to whether the present building on the site is the original or a replacement. The discovery of the picture confirms that the original building still exists.