

ART. XII.—*Prehistoric settlements near Crosby Ravensworth.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

*Communicated at Appleby, September 6th, 1932.*

THE group of "British Settlements" that surround the head of the Lyvennet valley were visited by our Society in 1907, and studied on that occasion by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, who made notes and sketch-plans, now in the writer's possession; during that and the following year he dug the chief of them, Ewe Close. The results of this excavation were so definite that Ewe Close may claim to be the best-known Romano-British village in northern England—it remained for many years the only one in the north that could be compared with the sites dug by Pitt-Rivers in the south. But these results have lain idle, instead of being applied to the elucidation of other sites and the planning of further excavations; and the time seems ripe for an attempt, proceeding from the known to the unknown, to start from the Ewe Close excavation reports as a fixed point and find what light they throw on the whole group of which Ewe Close is a single member. In order to do this the writer, accompanied by our members Mrs. R. G. Collingwood and Miss K. S. Hodgson, undertook a survey of the Crosby Ravensworth settlements and other prehistoric remains, making plans and surface examinations of them, and relying on the Ewe Close results for excavation-material. In this paper an account is given of the remains we saw and the interpretation we are led to put upon them.

*Ewe Close.*—This is by far the largest of the Crosby Ravensworth settlements, and also the best known, owing to its excavation in 1907-8 and publication in these

*Transactions*, N.S. viii-ix. It is unnecessary here to repeat the description there given and the discoveries there recorded; but this paper would be worse than incomplete without some brief outline of them, together with a plan (copied from that in N.S. ix, facing p. 297) uniform in scale with the others hereafter shown.

Ewe Close lies about 850 feet above sea level, on a north slope of about one in fifteen, a mile south-west of Crosby Ravensworth. It consists of a walled village, almost square in shape, an acre and a quarter in extent, with rounded angles and a gate almost centrally placed in the south side; to the east are stone-walled fields of the regular "Celtic field" type with which Mr. O. G. S. Crawford's work\* has made us familiar, together comprising nearly two acres, and close by, on the south, is a group of nearly a dozen huts, outside the village gate. The whole covers about three acres and two-thirds. The walls are everywhere about six feet thick and are made with faces of granite boulders and rubble (mostly limestone) cores.

The planning of the village is remarkable. In the centre is a round hut of unusual size—50 feet internal diameter; close to it is a small hut containing a furnace, and clustered round the gateway are nine other small huts. The natural explanation is that the central building is the house of a chief, whose followers live in their own huts by the gate, others—perhaps less intimate in their relation to him, perhaps later arrivals, allowed to settle under his protection—outside his walls.

The objects found in excavation made it clear that the place was occupied in the Roman period; nothing was found to prove occupation either earlier or later than that. But the negative side of this evidence must be handled with care. We do not yet know what furniture the

\* *Air Survey and Archaeology*, Ordnance Survey Professional Papers, No. 7 (new series), 1924; *Wessex from the Air*, Oxford, 1928; and elsewhere.

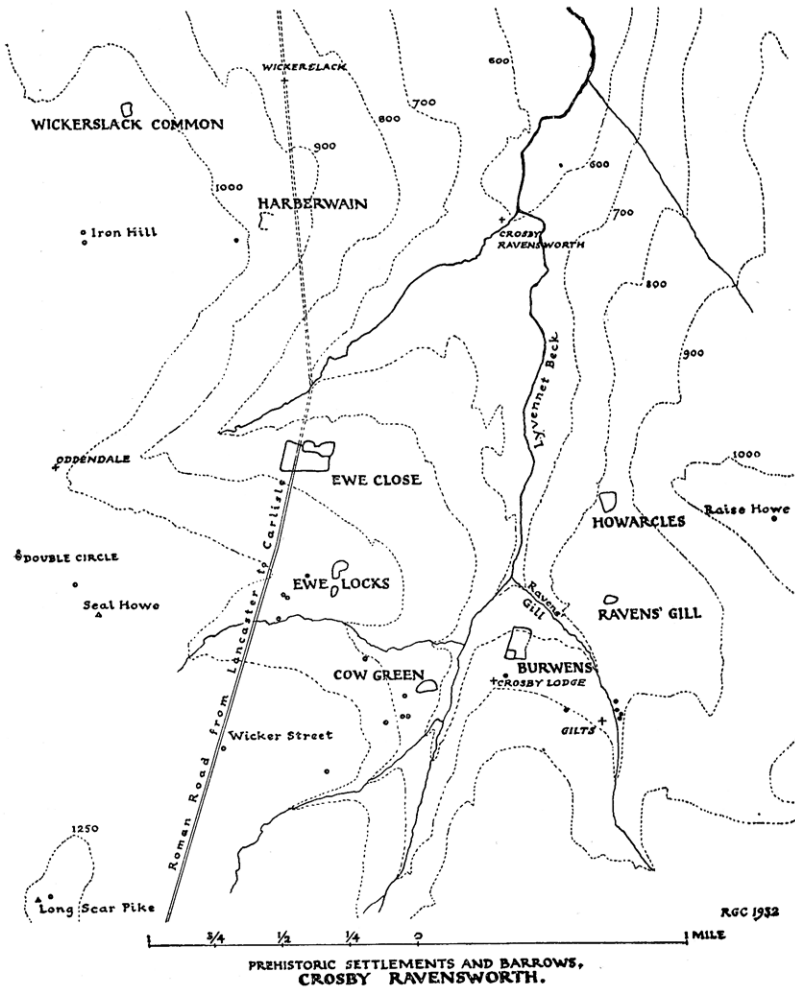


FIG. 1.—General map of the sites. Based on the Ordnance Map, with the sanction of the Controller-General of H.M. Stationery Office.

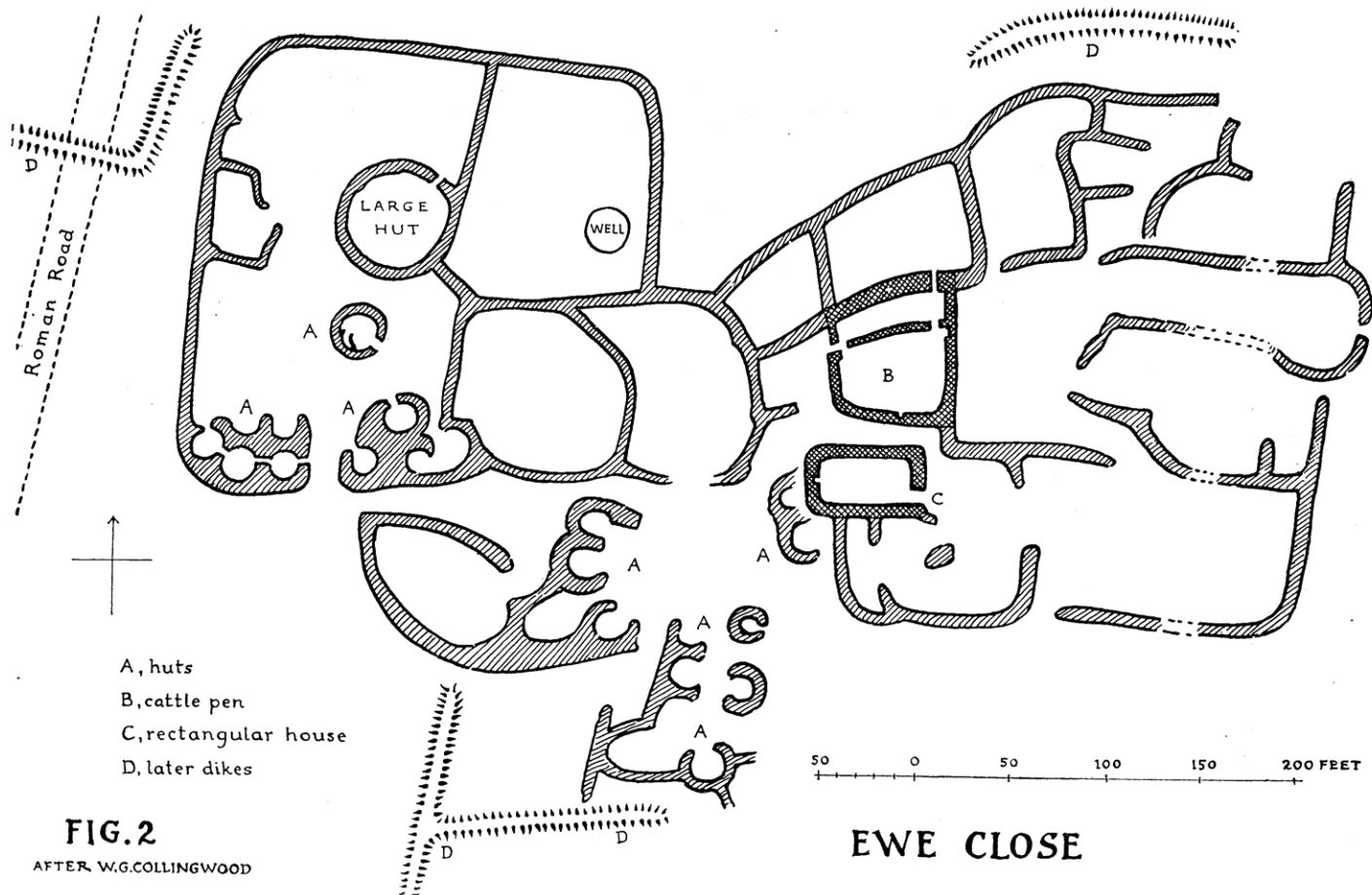
pre-Roman and post-Roman Britons of our district possessed; there is reason to believe that they had very little of such a nature as to leave clues to the archaeologist. If a village like this had a long life before, during and after the Roman period, it is probable that excavation would yield, as at Ewe Close it did, finds of Roman date and no others.

The masonry, with its cobble faces and core of small stuff, was thought to show signs of a lesson learnt from Roman building-construction. But the same type of masonry was found at Urswick Stone Walls, which has generally been thought pre-Roman;\* it also recalls the walling in Early Iron Age forts of southern England, which owed nothing to Rome; and it is a natural method of treating the materials available on the spot. Indeed, the idea of retaining a mass of small stones by means of a revetment of heavier ones goes back to Neolithic times and the method of building long barrows.

The square shape of the village, with its central building and its gateway with guard-chambers, was also thought a sign of Roman influence. But the large dwelling in the middle of a British settlement is not dependent on Roman models—it occurs *e.g.* at Urswick Stone Walls—and the gateway with guard-chambers is now known to be a commonplace in pre-Roman forts of the Early Iron Age (cf. Hawkes on " Hill-Forts," *Antiquity*, 1931, pp. 60 *seqq.*, especially pp. 72-76).

There remains the quadrilateral shape, as the only evidence that Ewe Close was built after the Roman invasion. This is perhaps too slender a support for such an inference; and in fact there is one reason to think the opposite. The Roman road from Lancaster to Carlisle passes within twenty yards of the settlement. It leaves the Lune Gorge at Tebay and ascends Crośby Ravensworth

\* *Trans.* n.s. vii. For other examples, cf. *Antiquity*, 1931, drawings on pp. 82, 85 and facing 88.



- A, huts
- B, cattle pen
- C, rectangular house
- D, later dikes

**FIG. 2**

AFTER W.G. COLLINGWOOD

**EWE CLOSE**

Fell; from this first summit a plain and easy way lies open to it, over the level moorland, north by west past Oddendale and Castlehowe Scar directly towards Brougham. Instead of taking this obvious line, it turns down to Ewe Close, descends into the ravine of Dalebanks Beck, climbs again to Wickerslack, and crosses at least two other lateral valleys before it regains the ridge it has left.\* Why did the Romans take a longer and in every way more difficult road instead of keeping to the ridge when they had gained it? Why, for that matter, did they not take the still easier and more direct line by Shap? The lay-out of the road irresistibly suggests that Ewe Close is the key to the problem. From Tebay onwards, the road is aiming at Ewe Close; thereafter, it is trying to get back to the ridge and the direct line to Brougham. In view of the line taken by this road, it seems impossible to doubt that Ewe Close existed, and was important, when the road was planned: that is, when the Romans came.

There are two field-systems at Ewe Close. One is the system of stone-walled "Celtic" fields belonging to the British Settlement; the other is a system of earthen dikes, called medieval in the excavation report, some of which cut across the Roman road (for a general plan of these later dikes, see N.S. ix, facing p. 295). Now it does not seem possible to trace these dikes beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement; and one is bound to ask whether they may not betoken a medieval farm occupying the same position. Are there any buildings in the settlement which might represent such a farm?

There is one (C in the present plan; L in the excavation report; cf. N.S. ix, pp. 301-2). It is a rectangular building, utterly different in plan from the ancient round huts; it was dug, but nothing of Romano-British date was found

\* The course of the road was, I think, correctly determined by the late Percival Ross in these *Trans.*, N.S. xx, pp. 1-15. When Ewe Close was dug, it was still believed that the road was the Maiden Way, i.e. that it was making for Kirkby Thore; so the problem in the text did not arise.

in it; and Mr. W. G. Collingwood writes of it and the two enclosures immediately north of it "they are . . . of apparently later and more advanced construction than the round huts of the western inclosure, and any problems of roofing extended spaces may have been met by a system of posts and beams, with thatch over all." In fact the building C is in shape and size quite comparable to early Teutonic houses of well-known types (cf. Gerda Boëthius, *Hallar Tempel och Stavkyrkor*, Stockholm, 1931, especially figs. 8-13); and B is most easily explained as a paved farmyard or cattle-pen with a roofed byre or shed at its north side, belonging to the same establishment. Thus the buildings shown cross-hatched on the accompanying plan would represent the "medieval" farm-steading to which the later field-system belongs. The farmyard and byre were made out of a single field of the earlier system; the rectangular house seems to have been erected partly on the site of some earlier huts.

*Ewe Locks.*—This settlement lies half a mile south of Ewe Close, on an almost level site at an elevation of about 950 feet. It is on rough grassy common that has never been ploughed; its remains are consequently very visible and would be easy to dig, but they have been to some extent disturbed by subsequent occupation and quarrying.

The remains include a large northern and a small southern group separated by a gap of 60 yards. The northern group consists of an oval enclosure of 0.8 acre and a square one of 0.3. Both are built with six-foot walls faced with granite boulders on either side, exactly in the style of Ewe Close. At Urswick Stone Walls it was thought that the oval enclosure was original and the rectangular one a subsequent addition, built when the Romans had introduced the idea of rectilinear planning (*Trans.*, N.S. vii, 78). Excavation at the junction of the oval and square, at Ewe Locks, might show whether there was a difference in date. As at Urswick, human habi-

tation is confined to the oval, which contains two hut-circles opening on a yard; the rest of it is composed of

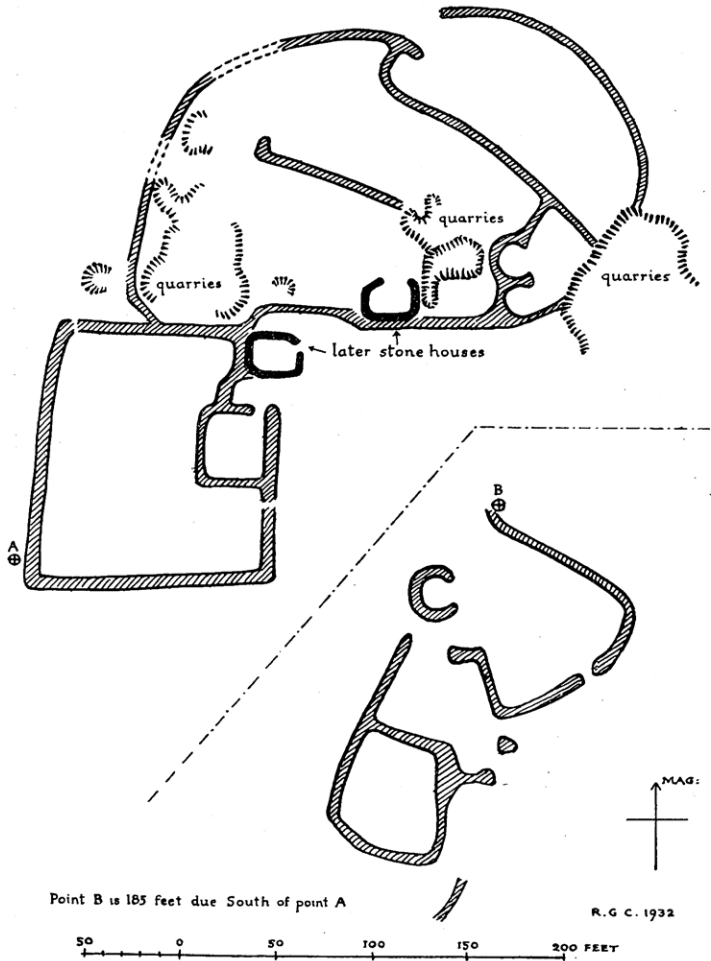


FIG. 3.—EWE LOCKS.

three divisions, each about a quarter of an acre, which are perhaps best described as fields. The main entrance is to the north. Subsequent quarrying makes it difficult to



say that there were never any more huts. The square enclosure, however, is not thus disturbed, and seems never to have contained huts.

The southern enclosure is a quarter of an acre in extent and consists of one hut and three little fields. It has the appearance of a tiny croft such as might be inhabited by a dependant of the main settlement, which in any case must have been a one-family farm rather than a village.

Two houses of definitely later date have been built on the site. Each is about 20 by 15 feet internally, and has walls made of boulders in a double line stood on edge, with no packing in between them. One would surmise that such walls were perhaps never meant to stand more than one course high, and that above this the slope of the roof would begin, making a tent-like house ten feet high in the middle and two or three at the sides. Their roughly rectangular shape differentiates them from the circular huts of the settlement, and so does the appearance of their remains, which are not overgrown with turf. Moreover the main walls of the settlement, immediately in their neighbourhood, have been robbed to build them.

Barrows, not marked on the O.S. map, were observed near by. One, consisting of a mound with a ring of stones 6 feet in diameter, is about 100 yards west of the settlement; two others are about 300 yards west of the southern enclosure.

*Cow Green.*—This is the name of an enclosed piece of land separated from Crosby Lodge farm by the Lyvennet. It contains a settlement, a quarter of a mile west of Crosby Lodge and half a mile south-east of Ewe Locks, lying on the brink of the Lyvennet ravine at an altitude of about 830 feet. Cow Green is traversed by dikes of later date, belonging to the fifteenth-century deerpark, but they do not interfere with the earlier remains.

These consist of two groups of enclosures each about half an acre in extent. The eastern group, whose remains

are well preserved and appear as massive banks ten feet wide, in which here and there as many as three courses of facing-stones are visible, consists of one large hut with fields, etc. adjoining. In the western group there seem to be two huts, but all this part is much robbed and its walls often fade away completely. Where they can be seen, however, they are regularly built with faces,

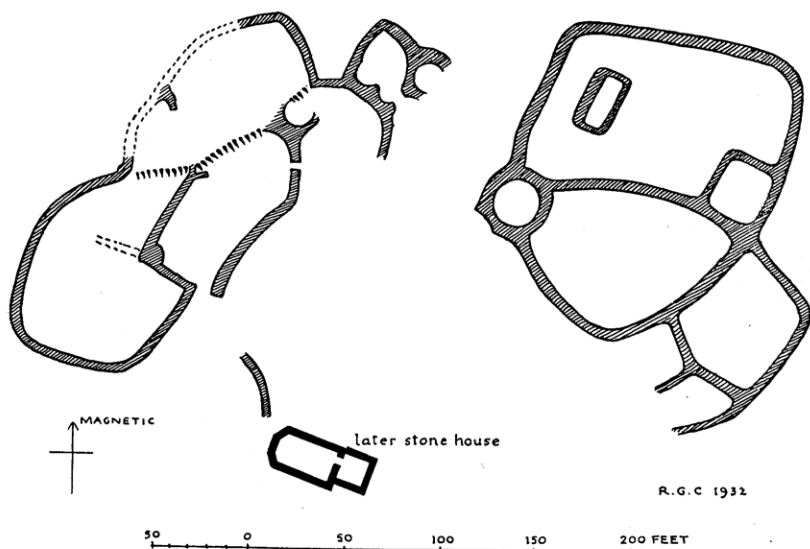


FIG. 4.--COW GREEN SETTLEMENT.

generally of granite boulders or limestone slabs on edge, and pretty uniformly five feet thick. There seems to be a definite gateway in the southern part, and in one place a well-built doorway penetrates a wall.

In spite of superficial differences in appearance between the east and west enclosures, further study convinced us that there is no reason to regard them as anything but parts of a single structure, differing only in having been differently treated at a later date. There is a later stone house (see below) at the south side of the settlement;

access to this, from the north (the natural way), has led to the complete destruction of a belt of ancient structures which must have connected the two halves of the settlement, and its builders have robbed the western half and left the eastern alone. The original settlement was therefore over an acre and a half in extent, and was perhaps a one-family farm with a single large round hut as the dwelling-house. In the principles of planning and

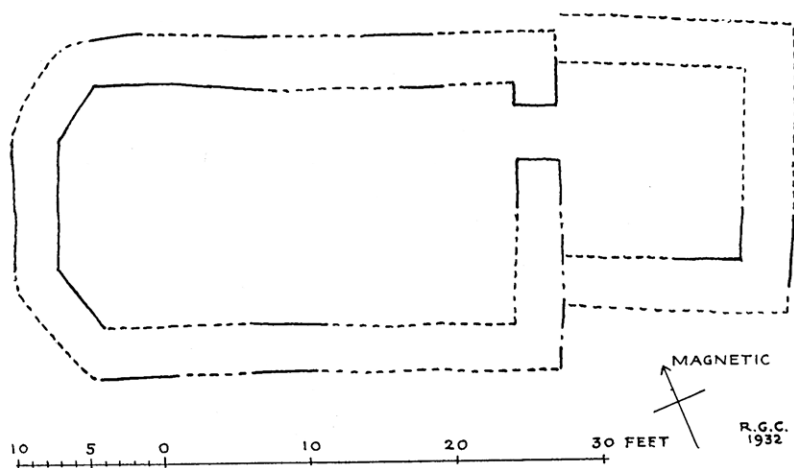


FIG. 5.—LATER STONE HOUSE, COW GREEN.

the style of construction it resembles Ewe Locks, Urswick Stone Walls, and other examples of the same class.

The later house consists of a single room 30 feet by 16 internally, with a porch or entrance-room, perhaps a secondary addition, 13 feet square. The walls are four feet thick and are solidly built of limestone slabs on edges, used as facing-stones; many of these are still standing, others have merely fallen without otherwise moving. The rectangular shape, the cut-off corners and the door in one end connect this with early Scandinavian and Teutonic houses, and the construction of the walls suggests that it,

like them, had low walls supporting a high roof (for examples and details, cf. Gerda Boëthius, *op. cit.*). There is no trace of a fireplace, but apart from this antique feature we found no evidence of date, and for the present we must be content to describe it by the vague non-committal term medieval. So well-preserved a relic, however, would seem to demand excavation. It is hidden from sight by the trees with which the whole site is encumbered, and this is no doubt why it is not generally known; but the trees would not seriously hinder digging.

There are several barrows close at hand; the O.S. map shows four within 300 yards to the south-west, i.e. on the uphill side of the slope.

*Burwens.*—Five hundred yards E.N.E. of Cow Green settlement, and 200 yards N.N.E. of Crosby Lodge farm, is the settlement called Burwens, the best-preserved of the entire Crosby Ravensworth series. Like Ewe Close, it is a village rather than a one-family farm; but the extraordinary preservation of its remains leads one to think that excavation here should be at once less difficult and more instructive; for it is very probable that walls three or four feet high could be found almost everywhere, that much could therefore be learnt about methods of building, and that here if anywhere the question how the huts of these settlements were roofed could be answered.

The site is a mile and a half south of Crosby Ravensworth, on a tongue of land between the Lyvennet and Ravens' Gill. The settlement lies at an altitude of about 850 feet, on a north slope of about one in ten, 150 yards N.N.E. of Crosby Lodge farm. The crown of the ridge is rocky with outcrops of limestone, but its slopes are covered with good soil.

The remains consist of an enclosure 0.9 acre in extent, being the village itself, and fields adjacent to it on the east and north. The remains of the village are very visible, for they are singularly massive and have not

suffered from robbing; but the field-walls are slighter in build, encumbered by bracken and coppice-wood, and obscured by dikes of later date, and a satisfactory survey of them would have required more time than we had at our disposal; we therefore made no attempt to plot them, and our plan only shows the village together with the beginnings of field-walls adjoining it on the east.

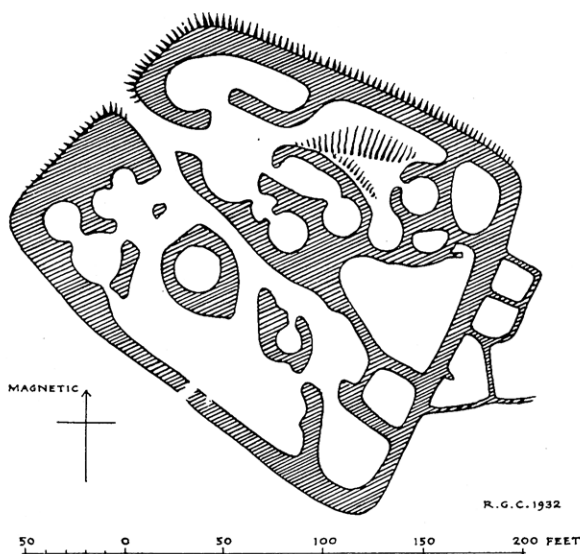


FIG. 6.—BURWENS.

The village is quadrilateral in outline, with rounded corners and one entrance, more or less centrally placed in the N.W. end. At the gateway, the mounds of the wall still stand over head-high, and one enters by a rising passage between banks still high enough to conceal four or five feet of masonry. Inside the village, two streets divide. One to the right, runs south-east, past a group of hut-circles and two isolated huts, one of which, about 25 feet in diameter, is the chief dwelling of the settlement. Openings between these huts lead to spaces which may be

called cattle-pens; these could be shut off from the street by hurdles or the like, placed between the huts. The other street, running to the east, passes a pen on the left and two huts with fore-courts or ante-chambers on the right, and then leads into an open rocky place with huts and pens giving on it. A large triangular pen at the end of the village, opposite the gateway, was perhaps entered from the street first described; but the entrance is not plainly visible without digging.

The resemblance to Ewe Close is obvious. In each case we have a quadrilateral walled village, as opposed to a one-family farm, with rounded corners and a gate in one side. The main difference is the absence, at Burwens, of any great central dwelling like the chief's house at Ewe Close. Clearly, there was not a chief of that kind in every village; the Ewe Close chief was therefore, in all probability, ruler of the whole valley.

There are barrows in the neighbourhood. One, marked on the O.S. map, lies a quarter of a mile to the south-east, near Gilts; it is a conspicuous mound, about 65 feet in diameter. Another was noticed by Miss Hodgson, 100 yards south of the settlement, close to Crosby Lodge. This is a pile of stones, diameter 21 feet one way, 30 feet the other.

Occupation of later date seems to be indicated, as already observed, by the apparently later character of certain field-dikes; and Crosby Lodge itself may be a very old farm.

*Ravens' Gill.*—Nearly half a mile north of Gilts, and 700 yards north-east of Burwens, there is a small settlement on the right bank of Ravens' Gill. Owing to the condition of the ground, densely covered with long storm-beaten grass, we were unable to survey it or even to decipher its plan satisfactorily; we could only see that it was much the smallest of the whole series, and note its existence here for the sake of completeness. It lies about 850 feet above

sea-level, on a little slope or scar which, like a step, separates level ground above it from level ground below.

*Howarcles*.—This is the name of a settlement 600 yards north of the last. It lies on a steep slope—one in seven—facing west, between 800 and 850 feet above the sea, a

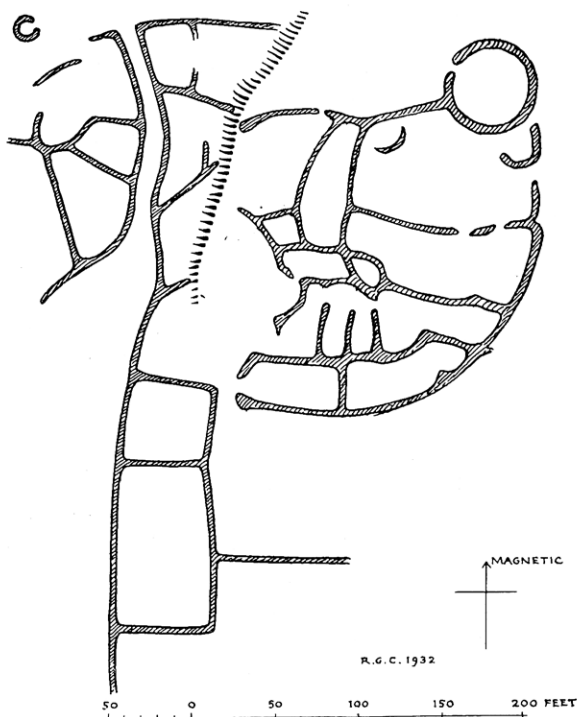


FIG. 7.—HOWARCLES.

mile distant from Ewe Close, Ewe Locks and Cow Green. The site is an intake, good pasture with smooth-cropped turf; the mounds of the settlement are all turf-grown, as at Ewe Close, but where the turf has been broken the stone of the walls can be seen, and there is no doubt that the method of construction here used is the same that has been found elsewhere.

The remains as planned cover an acre and a third. To the south are later dikes like those at Ewe Close; to the north is a cultivated field in which any remains would have disappeared; but had there been considerable remains here, the field would not have been worth cultivating. The visible remains consist almost entirely of fields, with some smaller enclosures that may be called cattle-pens. The settlement is divided into unequal segments by a road which appears to be an integral part of it; for, had it been later than the settlement, it would have oversailed and broken through the field-divisions, but in fact these adapt themselves to it. Similarly, the limestone scar shown by hatching in the plan, though it has been quarried, has not been only, or even very extensively, quarried since the time of the settlement; for the mounds of the settlement come up fairly close to it on both sides.

The curious feature of the plan is the scarcity of huts. There is one definite example, at the north-west corner of the settlement; there is also, at the north-east corner, what may be a very large hut comparable to the great hut at Ewe Close, but without excavation it would be dangerous to state this positively. Nowhere else in the settlement are any traces of huts to be seen. The only suggestion I can offer is that Howarcles may be a very large one-family farm, in which—except for the one outlying hut—everyone lived in the one large dwelling.

Barrows have not been noticed close at hand, but half a mile to the east is the tumulus known as Raise Howe, on the top of Bank Moor. This is a "skyline barrow."

Subsequent occupation of the site seems to be proved by the later field-dikes close to the settlement on the south.

*Wickerslack Common.*—On this unenclosed grassy moor, at an elevation of about 1050 feet, there is a small settlement 0.9 acre in extent, 1000 yards W.S.W. of Wicker-



slack. It is on almost level ground, with a slight slope to the N.E., and stands on the top of the plateau just before the ground begins to fall into the Lyvennet valley. The situation is unusual; the other settlements are all halfway down the slope and seem deliberately to avoid these summits. There appears, however, to be another example at about 1000 feet half a mile away at Harberwain, whose remains are so scanty that they are not worth describing in this paper.

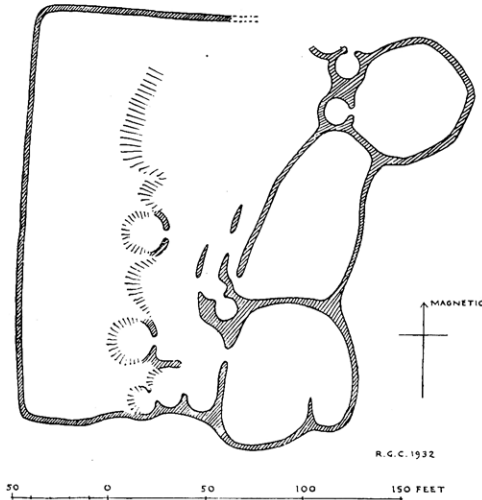


FIG. 8.—SETTLEMENT ON WICKERSLACK MOOR.

The settlement consists of about eight huts, mostly grouped at its southern end, two in a separate group at the northern. There are three fields on the east; the western part is enclosed by a more or less rectilinear boundary-wall which becomes difficult to follow at the north-east but probably joins the field-wall there. West of the settlement and 120 feet from it is a barrow about 30 feet in diameter which seems to have been dug; half a mile S.S.W. are the two Iron Hill barrows.

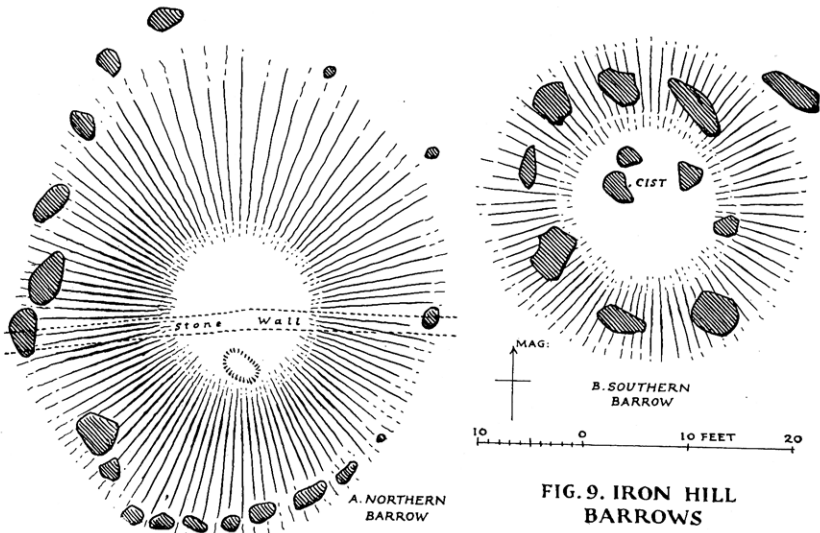
The remains are perhaps those of a small village; yet the whole thing seems on too small a scale to support more than one family, and excavation might show that one hut was inhabited and the rest used rather as outhouses, workshops, etc. than as separate dwellings.

Some digging was done here by Canon Simpson; he found paved floors and hearthstones in some of the huts, but his account (*Archaeol. Journal*, xviii, 37) tells us nothing more.

*Mauld's Meaburn.*—On the O.S. map there is a "British Settlement" marked on the ridge running north and south immediately west of the village. We examined this, and satisfied ourselves that it is not another British Settlement, but the houses and gardens of the medieval village. These would be worth studying and surveying, in connexion with the long strip-fields that still run westward from them, as an unusually regular and well-preserved example of medieval village-planning; but they have nothing to do with the subject of the present paper.

*Barrows.*—Many of the settlements have groups of barrows near them. The best case is Cow Green, where there are four large ones within 300 yards. At Ewe Locks there are three within the same distance. At Burwens there is one a hundred yards away; it has just escaped being destroyed by the farm buildings of Crosby Lodge, and others close to it may have vanished. At Wickerslack Common there is one 40 yards away. At Ewe Close none have been seen; but Ewe Close lies in an intake, whose walls and cultivation would be very likely to destroy barrows. The same applies to Howarcles and Ravens' Gill. On the other hand, at Gilts there is a group of barrows not obviously belonging to any settlement; it is 700 yards from Burwens and the same distance from Ravens' Gill. On the hypothesis that these barrow-groups are the burying-grounds of the settlements, this group is not easy to explain. Apart from this one group, however, the hypothesis seems to work satisfactorily.

There is one well-defined series of barrows which demands separate treatment. These are what may be called sky-line barrows. They are placed on the summits of the moor in such a way as to be clearly visible on the sky-line from places lower down the slopes of the hills; and some seven or eight of them are to be disposed on the summits above the Lyvennet valley as to form a curve concentric with the curve described by the settlements.



R. G. C. 1932

A mile and a half due west of Crosby Ravensworth are two of these skyline barrows on Iron Hill, half a mile from the Wickerslack settlement and about the same from the Harberwain site. Rather over a mile south of these are three more, close to Oddendale; these lie on the nearest summit to Ewe Close, and a mile south-west of it. Another mile south-east from the Oddendale group brings us to the Wicker Street barrow, beside the Roman road; this is a short mile S.S.W. from Ewe Locks and about the same distance from Cow Green, and a mile S.W. of Wicker

Street is the most conspicuous skyline barrow of all, on the top of Long Scar Pike. Going round the head of the valley we come to Robin Hood's Grave, beside the Crosby Ravensworth-Orton road, a mile uphill from the barrow group at Gills; and finally, ignoring some barrows on Gaythorn Plain which seem to fall outside the Crosby Ravensworth district, we come to Raise Howe, on the summit of Bank Moor, two-thirds of a mile uphill from Howardles.

These skyline barrows are in general larger and more imposing monuments than those on the lower slopes. Normally they consist of a pile of earth or stones containing a cist and closely surrounded by a circle of stones; good typical examples are Robin Hood's Grave, which has been recklessly destroyed in the search for road metal, and the northern Iron Hill barrow, of which a plan is here given (fig. 9, A). Sometimes the circle is smaller in diameter and made of fewer and larger stones; the southern Iron Hill barrow (fig. 9, B) is a good specimen. The central Oddendale barrow is by far the most magnificent in our group, though not equal to the similar but more massive one a little to the north-west, at Gunnerkeld; it consists of a cist-barrow and circle of normal type, with a second circle of 34 boulders, 90 feet in diameter, surrounding it at a distance of 30 feet from the inner one (fig. 10).

Excavation, of a kind, has been freely undertaken in these barrows, especially in the skyline barrows, as larger and more conspicuous than those of the lower slopes. Canon Simpson dug into the Oddendale double circle and found "burnt matter" in the centre (*Trans.*, o.s. vi, 178). In Seal House, the easternmost barrow of the Oddendale group, he found a cist 20 inches by 16, which must originally have contained an urn (*ibid.*, p. 179). At Iron Hill (southern barrow?) digging which, even seventy years ago, was conspicuous for want of "that care which

its prominence and position well deserved," revealed bones "of a man of great stature, a portion of the antler of a deer, much larger than those of our days, and bones of other animals" (*Archaeol. Journal*, xviii, 317). In a

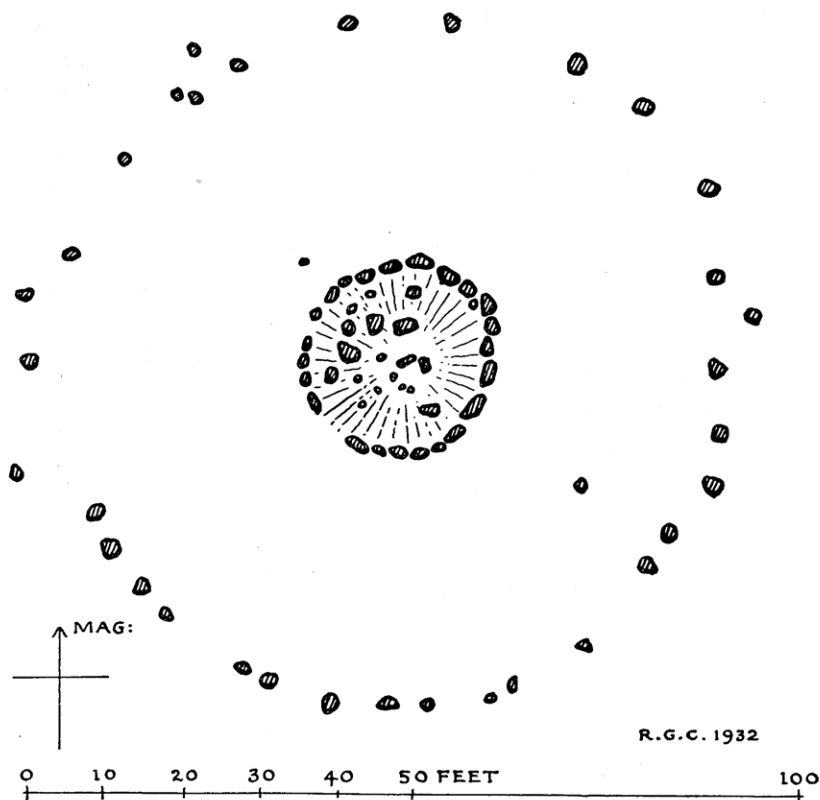


FIG. 10.—"DOUBLE CIRCLE" AT ODDENDALE.

cairn on Dale Moor, Mr. James Moss found small flat disk-shaped beads of brown lignite or shale, with "fragments of early British pottery and unburnt bones"; towards the centre of this cairn was a large boulder of red granite (*Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, series 2, vii, 214).

Canon Greenwell's excavations introduce a more scientific atmosphere. He dug three barrows near Crosby Ravensworth. His No. 180, on Gathorn Plain, contained an unburnt adult skeleton, disturbed by previous digging. The barrow was 25 feet in diameter and was surrounded by a circle of stones at its base (Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows*, pp. 397, 475). Greenwell's No. 181 was near the foregoing, and was a similar structure 34 feet in diameter. It contained a primary interment of two unburnt skeletons, one an adult male, the other probably a male and under twenty years of age; these were in the centre and laid on the natural rock. South-east of the centre and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ft. above the original surface was an urn containing a secondary burial, the burnt remains of an adult, probably a woman (*ibid.*, 397, 475). Greenwell also dug Seal Howe (No. 182; *ibid.*, pp. 398-400, 475). Here he found a primary burial of an unburnt adult male, laid on the rock in the centre, and south of the centre an urn containing the burnt remains of a woman and child. He also notes that a sandstone cist containing bones had been found in the cairn called Hollin Stump, close to the Crosby Ravensworth—Great Asby moorland road; and that a mound beside the Roman road on the highest part of Crosby Moor had proved barren of any burial remains (*ibid.*, p. 398). The most interesting fact which emerges from Greenwell's records is that in some cases these round barrows originally covered unburnt bodies—one or more—and that cremation is in these cases a feature of the secondary burials. The mixture of neolithic and Bronze Age traditions is clear.

These excavation-records prove beyond a doubt that the skyline barrows date from the Bronze Age. There is nothing in them taking us back to the Neolithic period—the long barrow reported as existing near Oddendale seems, from our examination of the natural hummocks on the site, to be altogether imaginary—and nothing taking

us down into the Early Iron Age. But clearly, the connexion between them and the settlements is less intimate than in the case of the barrow-groups on the lower slopes. The question is, do the skyline barrows belong to an earlier date than the settlements, or are they contemporary?

It is shown elsewhere in this volume that the Bronze Age in our district lasted down to the Roman conquest, and that there never was hereabouts either a Hallstatt period or a La Tène period. If the settlements, as I have argued in the case of Ewe Close, are pre-Roman, their builders enjoyed a Bronze Age civilisation, and there is nothing in chronology to prevent their using the skyline barrows.

It is therefore tempting to suggest the possibility that the skyline barrows are the graves of the chief people in the settlements, and that the commoner sort were buried in the barrows nearer at hand, on the hillsides. The largest and handsomest skyline barrow, the Oddendale double circle, stands above the largest settlement, Ewe Close; and a chief who lived in the great central hut at Ewe Close during life might suitably be laid to rest in the great circle near Oddendale. The Iron Hill barrows might be similarly related to the Harberwain or Wickerslack Common settlement, or both; Wicker Street to Cow Green, Robin Hood's grave to Burwens, and Raise Howe to Howarcles. These ascriptions are perhaps in some cases rather arbitrary, but that there is a certain degree of correspondence between the skyline barrows and the settlements is difficult to deny. The obvious way of testing the hypothesis is by digging the lower barrows, whose association with the settlements seems obvious, and finding out whether the civilization which they show is identical with that shown in the skyline barrows or not.

*Conclusions.*—Of the eight British Settlements within a mile-and-a-half radius of Crosby Ravensworth, the six here

planned and described belong to one general type: of the other two, Ravens' Gill appears to conform to the rest, and at Harberwain the remains are too much damaged to classify. The type is a collection of "Celtic fields" of the well-known form, divided by stone walls and associated with round stone huts. But within this uniformity there are variations. Two, Ewe Close and Burwens, are definite villages, squarish in shape, with strong walls and defensible gates; and Ewe Close contains a large hut which can only be the residence of a chief. All the others are probably one-family farms, and by their similarity of type, all were simultaneously inhabited.

The social organisation, therefore, is that of a small tribe or sept having one chief village of some fifteen to twenty families, one smaller village of eight or ten families, and half-a-dozen isolated farms. The tribe is ruled by a chief, whose retainers in a special sense bodyguard or fighting tail, a bare ten or a dozen men, live within his own gateway. As to the numbers of the population, at a guess one might give sixty souls to Ewe Close, forty to Burwens, find an average of ten to the rest: in all, between 150 and 200; the number of men, from 30 to 50.

Their economic condition was that of people living by mixed farming—cultivation of their little fields, in which they grew grain-crops (querns were found at Ewe Close), and pasturage of cattle on the hillsides. They chose their settlement-sites, with the one exception of Wicker-slack Common, between 800 and 900 feet above sea-level, on naturally-drained slopes with no fear of flooding or waterlogging, and with good turf and good soil over the limestone rock. They did not mind which way the ground sloped; the two villages are both on a north slope.

Their history does not take us back very far into the darkness of time. Except for the Early Bronze Age halberd found at Harberwain—which may be a survival, or may have been casually dropped—there is nothing in



the whole group of remains that would not naturally fall quite late in the Bronze Age, perhaps even into the last few centuries before Christ. The only thing reasonably certain is that the district was settled—probably much as we see it in the foregoing description—before the Romans came.

The Roman conquest did not make much difference to our valley. The tribe was important enough to attract the attention of the conquerors; they were at pains to secure its loyalty (when they might easily have rooted it out, making a solitude and calling it peace) by diverting their main road so as to pass by the dwelling of its chief. That chief must have been the northern counterpart of the southern British nobles whose Romanization Tacitus so deplored; less civilised, but glad to think himself a Roman, and a friend of the Romans who marched their troops up and down the road, and treated by them as a friend or as a barbarian according as their manners might be. At any rate, in their train came pottery and perhaps the revolving quern, and our tribe rose a point or two in the scale of comfort and material civilization. Perhaps they gave up the old habit of burying their chiefs on hill-tops to be nearer heaven; but it is unlikely that even by the end of the Roman period they had learnt much Christianity.

What happened to them after the Romans went, we do not know. It is likely enough that they lived on, undisturbed for centuries. There are few place-names in the neighbourhood indicating an Anglian settlement; Crosby Ravensworth itself must date from the Viking Age. At some time or other, Ewe Close, Ewe Locks, Cow Green Howarcles, and perhaps we may add Burwens and Harberwain, underwent a change, ceasing to be "British settlements" and becoming "medieval farms." When did this happen? Was it before the Viking Age colonization, and did it represent a gradual penetration of the old

“ Welsh ” by Anglian influences? Or did it happen later, as a result of the Viking Age settlement? Or—a third alternative—was it only after centuries of lying waste that the old sites were reoccupied by new people because there were ready-made fields and building-stone to be had there? Between these alternatives there is at present no means of deciding. But the Westmoringas, whose land was ravaged by Thored Gunnarsson in 966, were perhaps not only the descendants of Anglian settlers in Westmorland, but a mixed race descended in part from these and in part from the older stock; and the secondary occupations at the Crosby Ravensworth sites may represent traces of this mixture.