



Early Man in the Cheshire Plain.

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THIS paper is an attempt to restate and re-examine the evidence relating to the pre-Roman phase in the history of the Cheshire Plain.¹

The earliest evidence for the presence of man in the neighbourhood comes, not from the plain, but from the adjacent limestone uplands of Derbyshire and Denbighshire, whose caves have revealed signs of human occupation from very early times. The lowest occupied levels of the Creswell Caves, Derbyshire,² have yielded Acheulian and Lower Mousterian artefacts, thereby demonstrating the existence of man in that neighbourhood in the second interglacial period.³ Occupation of these caves went on intermittently throughout the glacial epoch and into the mesolithic period which followed it.⁴

The evidence from Denbighshire is not nearly so satisfactory. In the cave at Y Bont Newydd there were found rough stone implements of Upper Palæolithic form interbedded with a yellow boulder clay.⁵ It has been suggested recently that this boulder clay is the product of a local glaciation contemporary with that which produced the Hunstanton Brown Boulder Clay of East Anglia, and which

¹ For an earlier opinion see Shone, *Prehistoric Man in Cheshire*, 1911.

² W. Boyd-Dawkins, *Cave Hunting*; A. L. Armstrong, *J. R. A. I.*, 1925.

³ *B. M. G. Stone Age Antiq.*, 1926, p. xiv.

⁴ Armstrong, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Boyd-Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 287; *Early Man in Britain*, p. 192.

can be regarded as the last manifestation of the Ice Age proper.⁶ If this view be accepted it follows as a necessary corollary that man had reached the Denbighshire uplands by the close of the Ice Age.

Except for the Lower Palæolithic hand-axe found at St. John's, Chester, in building material, no implements belonging to the Palæolithic period have been found in Cheshire.⁷ This fact, taken together with the above-mentioned evidence for the existence of Palæolithic man on the adjacent uplands, suggests that the Cheshire Plain was not habitable at this time. Although the alternations of the relative level of land and sea in the glacial period have not been worked out fully for the Cheshire plain, yet it may be assumed that the greater part of it was under ice, or glacially-impounded water during much of the Palæolithic period.⁸

In England generally the Upper Palæolithic period passed into the Mesolithic characterised by Azilian, Tardenoisian, Maglemose and Campignian implement types,⁹ which represent intrusions from the continent as modified by survivals of Upper Palæolithic craftsmanship. *Mesoliths*, or pygmy-flints, have been found in Cheshire :

- (1) on the shores of the Bache Pool, Upton, Chester¹⁰ (including a micro-graver and a double-notched core comparable with that found at Commondale, N.E. Yorks,¹¹ and with those from the Pennines.¹²)
- (2) at the Red Stones, Hilbre Point¹³ (including batter-back blades);
- (3) at the Castle Rock, Alderley Edge¹⁴ (including long, narrow, batter-back blades, trapezoidal and sickle-shaped, reminiscent of those of the Pennines);

⁶ K. S. Sandford. *Geol. Mag.* Jan., 1932.

⁷ R. Newstead, *J. C. N. W. A. S.* (n.s. xvi).

⁸ Ogden. *Proc. Man. Geog. Soc.*

⁹ *B. M. G. Stone Age*, pp. 84-94.

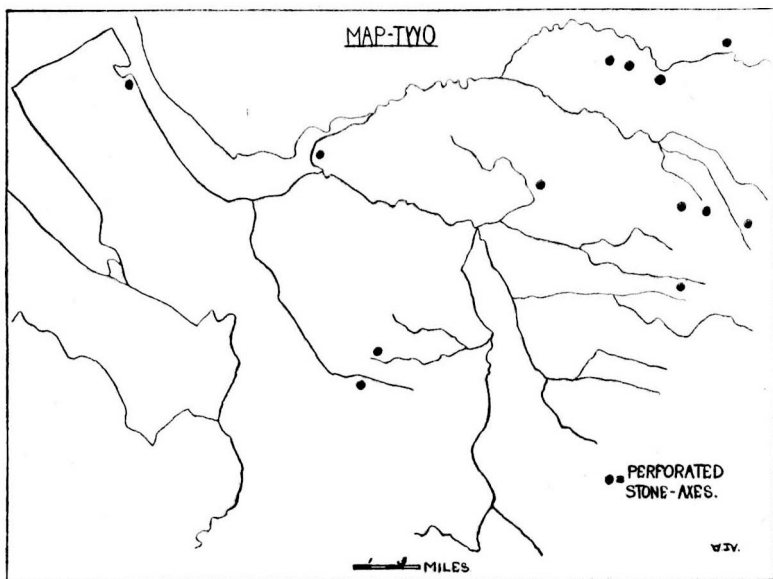
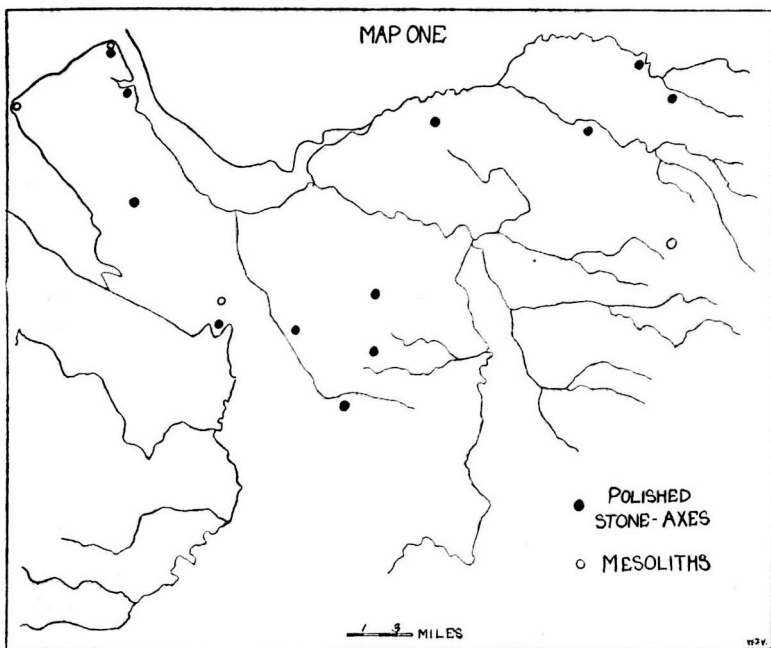
¹⁰ Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹¹ Elgee. *Early Man in N. E. Yorks.* plate iv. 7b.

¹² Buckley. *A Microlithic Industry of the Pennine Chain.*
J. A. Petch. *Early Man in the Huddersfield District.*

¹³ Shone. *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Roeder. *L. C. A. S.* xxiii.



- (4) from the submerged forest, the Cheshire shore, near Hoylake¹⁵ (including and along with implements of much later date);
- (5) from the Red Noses implement-floor, New Brighton¹⁶ (along with barbed and tanged and leaf-shaped arrow heads).

The exact chronological significance of the above evidence cannot be determined because mesoliths are known to have a wide distribution in time. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the majority of the above-mentioned sites have an open character with a sandy subsoil and are in that respect similar to typical Tardenoisian sites although much lower than those of the Pennines and N.E. Yorks.

The mesoliths of Cheshire are mainly of the narrow-blade type found on the Pennines which have been related to the Azilian, but they also include some pointed types reminiscent of Aurignacian work.¹⁷ They probably represent an extension of the Pennine mesolithic culture on to the open sandy heaths of the plain, but the two are not necessarily contemporaneous. The occurrence of mesoliths with barbed and tanged arrowheads at Red Noses, suggests a late Neolithic or Bronze Age context.

In the orthodox view¹⁸ the mesolithic culture gave way to the neolithic which implies or includes, artefacts of polished rather than flaked stone, pottery of quite well-defined forms, long-barrows, a knowledge of agriculture and an ignorance of the use of metals. It is only fair to say that doubt has been expressed whether any such culture existed.¹⁹

As map 1 reveals, implements of "neolithic" form have been found on the Cheshire plain. For example:

(1) the flint celt from Stockton Heath²⁰ with its pointed butt, flaked sides and polished cutting edge is reminiscent of a Scandinavian type there believed to antedate the oldest megaliths.²¹

¹⁵ Shone, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Roeder. *L. C. A. S.*, v. 50.

¹⁷ *B. M. G.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ *B. M. G.*, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ T. D. Kendrick. *The Axe Age.*

²⁰ Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²¹ *B. M. G.*, *op. cit.*, p.157.

(2) the completely polished stone celt from Foulk Stapleford has obvious affinities with the above.²²

(3) the polished celt from Willaston, Wirral, with its thin butt and straightish sides represents a later development of the above type associated in Scandinavia with the early dolmens.²³

(4) the so-called muller from Pownall Green²⁴ represents another type of implement which has been found in the Vale of Pickering.²⁵

(5) the stone celts from Beeston and Tarporley,²⁶ the former found casually with a perforated stone hammer, with their wider butt and more curved cutting edge represent yet another and possibly later variant of the polished stone axe.

On the other hand, not a single piece of neolithic pottery nor a long barrow, nor any site which can be proved to have been occupied by the people who used these things, has yet been found on the Cheshire Plain. At the moment it is not wise to assume that the casual finds of implements of "neolithic" form imply any occupation of the Cheshire Plain by "neolithic" man. They may represent no more than forays from the neighbouring uplands which were inhabited from the Upper Palæolithic period onwards, or they may be the weapons of people who were not unfamiliar with bronze, but who did not despise the older material. The absence of anything relating to the settled life, the finding of implements along lines of routes commonly used in the Bronze Age, the occurrence of implement types reminiscent of N.E. Yorks and Scandinavia, the finding of a "neolithic" celt along with a perforated stone hammer, all seem to point to an Early Bronze Age context rather than to a separate "neolithic" phase in the history of the Cheshire Plain. The only cultural phase which can be interposed between the Upper Palæolithic and the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze is the Mesolithic, which may be quite late in the Cheshire Plain.

²² Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²³ *B. M. G.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁵ Elgee. *op. cit.*, pl. v, fig. 6.

²⁶ Shone. *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

Towards the end of the " Neolithic " or the beginning of the Early Bronze period, there took place a series of events which had far reaching effects on the progress of the material arts. The chronological sequence of these events has not been fully worked out but it is possible to distinguish between some of the influences which contributed to them. Among the most important were :

(1) the advent of the Megalithic Idea, which in this country took one or other of the following forms: the chambered long-barrow, the dolmen, the menhir, the stone row or avenue, the wooden or stone circle;

(2) the advent of the Beaker culture-complex and the people who brought it;

(3) the contact with Ireland represented in this country by the Food Vessel.

The Megalithic idea, although it reached Denbighshire,²⁷ Flintshire,²⁸ and Derbyshire,²⁹ and the higher lands of Cheshire,³⁰ did not reach the plain and therefore it need not be discussed here.

The Beaker culture-complex is associated in this country with the advent of invading peoples from the neighbouring shores of the North Sea.³¹ A recent view divides the Beaker culture-complex into two, each with its own associated objects and its own particular distribution.³² As this view fits the evidence for the Cheshire plain it may be considered in greater detail. The two complexes are :

(1). Beaker complex I, which includes Beakers of Abercromby's types³³ A. C., and A.C., perforated stone hammers, flint daggers, v-perforated buttons and riveted metal daggers.

²⁷ See Ellis Davies. *Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Denbighshire.*

²⁸ The Flintshire volume of the *Inventary of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales.*

²⁹ *Victoria County History of Derbyshire;* and Ferguson, *Rough Stone Monuments.*

³⁰ *The Bridestones, Congleton, and the circle at Clulow.* Shone, pp. 43 and 73.

³¹ Cyril Fox. *Arch. Camb.*, 1925.

³² Clark. *Antiquity.* Dec., 1931.

³³ Abercromby. *Bronze Age Pottery.*

(2). Beaker complex II, which includes Beakers of Abercromby's type B, flat tanged metal daggers, and bracers.

There are no known Beakers from the Cheshire plain, but there have been found several perforated hammers.

Of these, the one from Northenden³⁴ represents the Beaker type proper,³⁵ while that from Gatley³⁶ is reminiscent of the axes found at Kief in South Russia.³⁷ The same mixture of types—which is indicative of the mixed origins of the Beaker folk—occurs in North East Yorks³⁸ and in Derbyshire which are both centres associated with Beaker complex I.³⁹ Since perforated stone hammers and a flat riveted bronze dagger have been found in Denbighshire,⁴⁰ and A., C., A.C., types of Beaker have been found in Denbighshire, the Lleyn Peninsula,⁴¹ and Anglesey, and since the Beaker folk are regarded as having landed on the east coast from whence they spread westwards,⁴² it is possible that the perforated stone hammers of Cheshire represent the lines of route by which the Beaker folk reached Wales from the Pennines. In this connection it is worth while making a special note of their distribution (a) along the Mersey Valley; (b) across country from the Bollin to join the above near Runcorn; (c) in the Beeston gap; (d) at the entrance to the Vale of Llangollen.

There are no objects associated with Beaker complex II from the Cheshire Plain. It has been suggested that this complex first reached south eastern England from whence it spread to Wiltshire.⁴³ The occurrence of fragments of B type beakers in the chambered long barrow at Capel Garmon, Denbighshire,⁴⁴ suggests that it was from one or other of these areas that the B type beaker reached Wales. Also, since B type beakers are not common in Derbyshire or North East Yorks and objects associated with them have not been found in the Cheshire plain it seems likely that the route by which they reached North Wales did not lie across the Cheshire plain.

³⁴ Shone, p. 40.

³⁵ *B. M. G.*, *op. cit.*, and Elgee, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁶ Shone. *loc. cit.*

³⁷ *B. M. G.*, *op. cit.*, p.157.

³⁸ Elgee, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*,

³⁹ Clark, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Ellis Davies. *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Fox. *op. cit.*

⁴² *op. cit.*

⁴³ Clark. *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ W. J. Hemp. *Arch. Camb.*, 1927.

The Food Vessel originated in Ireland, being a development of neolithic pottery,⁴⁵ but its presence in this country is often regarded as evidence for contact with Ireland in the Early Bronze Age.⁴⁶ Fragments of a food vessel of Abercromby's type 3 were found at Holt, along with cinerary urns one of which had the neolithic maggot ornament and which was otherwise reminiscent of the lugged food vessels of the north of England.⁴⁷ No other evidence as to the date of the interment was forthcoming, but there are one or two points which suggest that the food vessel was in reality coeval with the urns and that both belong to the Mid-Bronze Age. At Hillbury, near Wrexham, a tumulus contained fragments of a food vessel of Abercromby's type 2, together with a cinerary urn and calcined bones, all enclosed in a stone-cist, the whole forming a typical Mid-Bronze cremation burial. Similarly a tumulus at Llangwm, in Denbighshire, revealed fragments of bones, blue faience beads, a cinerary urn and fragments of a food vessel of Abercromby's type 3, all enclosed in a cist and again obviously forming a Mid-Bronze burial.⁴⁸ The cumulative effect of this evidence is to suggest that in Denbighshire food vessels were in use along with cinerary urns in the Mid-Bronze period. The Holt food vessel, therefore, is to be regarded as evidence not for direct contact with Ireland in the Early Bronze Age but for a river valley settlement of the Mid-Bronze period analogous with those mentioned by Leeds as existing in the gravel terraces of the Thames, in the same period.⁴⁹ Food vessels have been found on the other side of the Cheshire plain in Denbighshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire,⁵⁰ Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire.⁵¹ There does exist, however, some evidence which can be utilised to support the view that there was contact between the Cheshire plain and Ireland in the Bronze Age. It has already been pointed out that the perforated

⁴⁵ R. A. Smith. *Arch.* 1911.

⁴⁶ Elgee. *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴⁷ W. F. Grimes. *Y. Cymmrodor.* 1930. p. 188.

⁴⁸ Ellis Davies. *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ E. Thurlow Leeds. *Geography.* 1928.

⁵⁰ Abereromby. *op. cit.*

⁵¹ Cyril Fox. *Archæology of the Cambridge Region.*

stone hammers of Cheshire lie along routes which focus on the Mersey near Runcorn. Roeder has commented on the similarities between the flints from Red Noses and Antrim,⁵² and the accompanying map shows the distribution of early types of Bronze axe found in Cheshire which also lie along routes some of which focus on the Mersey. In the opinion of Mr. Peake⁵³ this evidence implies that the Mersey was the base for one of the sea routes to Ireland in the Early Bronze Age, connected with some sort of trade in copper. If this view be accepted, the food vessels may well represent the effects of such contact and may likewise have reached their destination by routes which lay across the Cheshire plain from some point on the Mersey.

At this point it may not be irrelevant to point to what seems to be a very significant feature of the archaeology of the Cheshire plain, namely that throughout the periods so far discussed, that area remained without permanent settlements. It is true that such an assumption rests upon negative evidence in an area where prehistoric archaeology has not flourished. Nevertheless there are other reasons for thinking that such an assumption has some basis in fact. The Cheshire plain is largely the product of the Ice Age, and except for its sandstone knolls and ridges it is extensively covered with various kinds of glacial deposits, boulder clay, glacial sands and gravels, lacustrine clays and silts.⁵⁴ During the Ice Ages and until a more or less normal drainage evolved it must have been largely under ice or water. In the neolithic period climatic conditions were favourable to the development of forest,⁵⁵ a vegetational association suited to clayey soils. For these purely physical reasons therefore, there is some ground for thinking that the Cheshire plain must have been largely under forest or swamp, a view which seems to be corroborated by the archaeological distributions so far discussed. This view is further supported

⁵² Roeder. *L. C. H. S.*, v. 50.

⁵³ Harold Peake and H. J. Fleure. *Merchant Venturers in Bronze*. p. 20.

⁵⁴ Ogden. *op. cit.*; various sheet memoirs of the Geol. Survey.

⁵⁵ H. Wilcox. *Essays* . . . presented to H. J. Fleure.

by the location of the first settlements on the plain which are associated with the people who used the cinerary urn, which came into use in the Mid-Bronze Period.

The latter developed out of the events which preceded it. The cinerary urn evolved from the food vessel and the beaker,⁵⁶ the weapons of the period show an orderly development from the earlier types of flat bronze axe to the looped palstave,⁵⁷ and the people who used these things were probably descended from a fusion of neolithic and beaker folk. Pending evidence to the contrary the Mid-Bronze period can be regarded as a time of peaceful development rather than one of invasion.⁵⁸

The occurrence of cinerary urns itself implies some degree of settlement inasmuch as they are found, as their name implies, in burials. Their distribution in Cheshire is as follows :

- (a) along the valley of the Bollin and the Mersey;
- (b) Around Alderley Edge;
- (c) on Betchton Heath;
- (d) on Stockton Heath, near Warrington;
- (e) around Delamere;
- (f) on Prees Heath;
- (g) on Caldy Hill, West Kirby;
- (h) at Holt, on the old bank of the Dee.

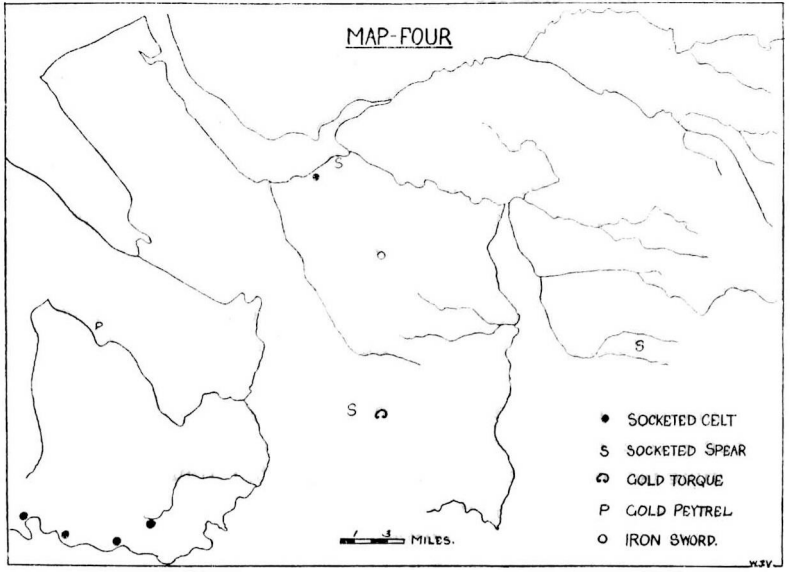
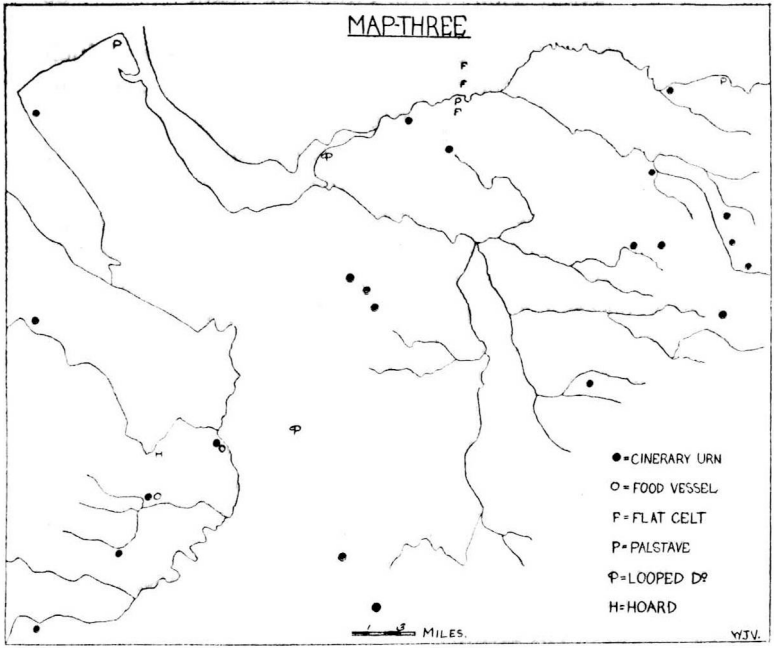
The geological character of the above sites is an interesting comment upon the physical aspect of the plain. They occur on either sandstone knolls and ridges, as at Caldy Hill and Alderley Edge, or on patches of heath on glacial sands as at Prees and Betchton, or on river terraces as at Holt. So far as can be traced they do not occur on the clay nor on land below fifty feet. In other words the Cheshire urns are found on sites most likely to be free from forest or swamp.

The origin of these settlements is surely not far to seek. There is abundant evidence to show that the uplands of Denbighshire and Derbyshire were populated from the Upper

⁵⁶ Fox. *Archæology of the Camb. Region.*

⁵⁷ *B. M. G. Bronze Age Antiqu.*

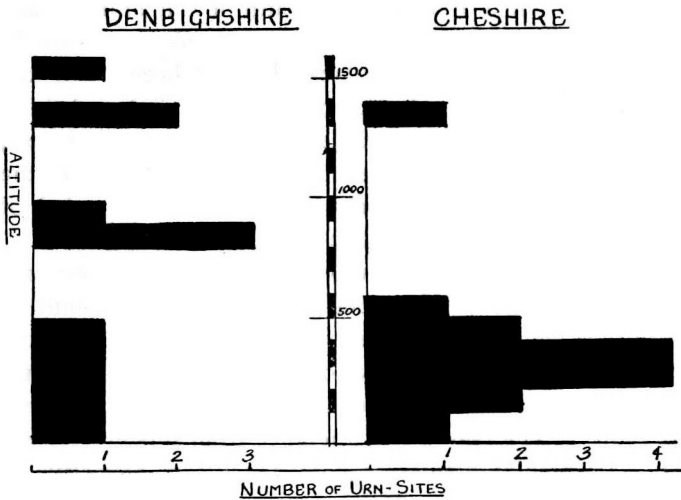
⁵⁸ O. G. S. Crawford. *Antiq. J.*, 1922.



Palæolithic period onwards and it does not seem necessary to look beyond these areas for the source of the people who settled on the plain. There are various lines of evidence which suggest that this is a reasonable hypothesis; they may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1). The relation of the urn-sites to the river valleys which lead down from the uplands is such as to suggest that the valleys were the routes by which the immigrants came.

(2). The accompanying diagram shows that valleyward settlement was in progress in Denbighshire as well as on the plain.



(3). The Holt urns bear a strong likeness to many found in Denbighshire, which in turn are closely related to neolithic types which have never been found on the plain. Similarly, the sole survivor of the urns found at West Kirby is almost the replica of one found at Darley Dale, Derbyshire, and like it was found in a flat burial.⁵⁹

We may now proceed to discuss the nature of this valleyward settlement preparatory to making an attempt to discover the factors which conspired to bring it about.

⁵⁹ Ellis Davies. pp. 116, 127, 144, 204, 278, 378, 387, 392, 415-7.

The archæological evidence suggests that the period in which settlement took place was fairly long. For example, among the Cheshire urns are types of all stages in the development of the urn, some early such as those reminiscent of neolithic pottery,⁶⁰ and those with the well-marked over-hanging rim,⁶¹ others quite late, such as that from West Kirby.⁶² Similarly the modes of burial range from the supposedly earlier method of interment in a low mound or barrow to the supposedly later form of flat burial.⁶³ It is, however, quite impossible to assign chronological limits to the period for it is by no means certain that the chronological scale which applies in the south of England or some other area where the evidence is more abundant necessarily applies in the North of England. It has been suggested that North Wales and Northern England lag behind southern England in cultural development.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, assuming the broad sequence of forms to be the same, the evidence suggests, as has been stated, that the period of settlement was long rather than short.

Secondly, the settlements were neither numerous nor densely distributed. The total number of urns found in Cheshire is low as compared say with N.E. Yorks; even the number of recorded but unexplored tumuli is small as compared with that for neighbouring uplands of Denbighshire and Flint.⁶⁵ The reasonable inference from this evidence is that the Cheshire plain was not particularly attractive to settlers.

Further, there is no evidence of a wholesale abandonment of the uplands in favour of the plain, for even in Cheshire there are more urn sites found on the higher rather than the lower levels.

⁶⁰ Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 50; and Abercromby No. 481.

⁶¹ Holt, see Ellis Davies, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; VII Lows., see Shone, *op. cit.*, 61.

⁶² Shone. *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶³ *B. M. G.*, *Bronze Age*.

⁶⁴ Abercromby, *op. cit.*, and Mortimer Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Walls*.

⁶⁵ Ellis Davies, *op. cit.*; and W. J. Hemp, *Bull. Celtic Studies*, 3.

It may reasonably be assumed therefore that the urns of the Cheshire Plain represent no more than the beginnings of valleyward settlement rather than any large migration of people from the uplands.

It is now possible to discuss the factors which may have contributed to this beginning of valleyward settlement. There can be no certainty in a matter which must of necessity be highly speculative, but the following factors possibly played their part.

The normal growth of population in a time of peaceful development plus the abnormal growth due to the advent of peoples through the events of the Early Bronze Age would eventually lead up to the taking up of the greater part of the land available on the uplands and encourage the search for "pastures new" which were only to be found valleywards.

The people of the Mid Bronze period were not unfamiliar with wood-craft, witness the wooden circles of this country,⁶⁶ and the continent,⁶⁷ and the wood coffins found in barrows in East Yorkshire,⁶⁸ so that forest clearing would not present any insuperable difficulty if it were necessary.

If it be accepted that the Mersey served as a base for contact with Ireland in the Bronze Age and that that contact had something to do with trade in metals, then it is likely that that trade resulted in an increasing knowledge of routes across the plain, a knowledge invaluable to immigrants. The distribution of urns has much in common with that of perforated stone hammers and bronze axes and may be in itself evidence of that contact to which we have referred.

It is possible that the search for metal may have had something to do with the settlement of the Cheshire plain. There is evidence for thinking that the copper workings of Alderley Edge were in use in prehistoric times,⁶⁹ the

⁶⁶ Cunnington. *Woodhenge*; W. Boyd Dawkins, *Trans. L. C. A. S.* xviii.

⁶⁷ Van Giffen. *Boustoffen voor de Grininschhen Oergeschiedenis & Die Bauart der Einzelgraber.*

⁶⁸ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches, etc.*

⁶⁹ Roeder. *L. C. A. S.*, xxiii.

grooved stone hammers found there have parallels in prehistoric mineral workings from Sicily to Ireland, including Llandudno and Llanbrynmair in Britain.⁷⁰ Copper also exists near Bickerton Hill,⁷¹ but there is no evidence for its being worked in prehistoric times, although some might be found if the area were explored.

Finally it is possible that climatic change was a factor which encouraged valleyward settlement in the Bronze Age. Late in that period there took place a deterioration of the climate of this country which resulted in an increased rainfall and a rise in the level of the water table.⁷² The result of this change was the formation of peat bogs on the high moorlands of the Pennines⁷³ and a consequent diminution in the amount of land available for settlement which in turn might well have been an incentive to search for new lands suitable for agriculture. On the other hand it may be urged that the deterioration of climate occurred later than the period of valleyward settlement, *i.e.*, in the Late, rather than in the Middle Bronze Period.

The remaining problem within the scope of this paper is an attempt to estimate how long settlement persisted in the sites mentioned.

In some parts of this country the Mid-Bronze period was followed by a series of invasions from the continent, the first of which is commonly associated with the advent of the socketed celt and the leaf-shaped bronze sword, and the last with culture complexes assigned to the Early Iron Age.⁷⁴ The significant feature of the history of the Cheshire Plain at this time is the rarity of objects assignable to any of these late cultures. Except for socketed celts which have been found in the valley of the Mersey, at Broxton, and in the Vale of Llangollen the only other objects referable to the

⁷⁰ S. J. Jones. *Essays* . . . presented to H. J. Fleure.

⁷¹ *Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. 2, pp. 13, 29, 49.

⁷² C. E. P. Brooks. *The Evolution of Climate*.

⁷³ Elgee. *Origin of the Cleveland Moors; Moss, Vegetation of the Peak District*.

⁷⁴ Crawford, *op. cit.*; Evans, *Antiquity*. June, 1930.

Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age are :—

- (1) the gold torques found at Egerton;⁷⁵
- (2) the gold peytrel from Mold, Flintshire;⁷⁶
- (3) the fragments of an iron sword from Kellsboro' Castle;⁷⁷
- (4) iron tools from Alderley Edge;⁷⁸
- (5) a hemispherical bronze cauldron of La Tène type, found on the Deanery Field, Chester, in a second century (A.D.) Roman deposit.⁷⁹

The evidence from Denbigh and Flint is equally meagre. Excavation of the camps of the Peckforton Hills may someday reveal further evidence, but at present it looks as if the Cheshire plain was largely unaffected by the events of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

The characteristic distribution of socketed celts in the valleys⁸⁰ suggests no more than a continued use of the old cross-country routes between the Pennines and Wales. The finding of gold objects in Anglesey, Flintshire, Cheshire and Staffordshire may imply a survival or resurgence of contact with Ireland,⁸¹ but of settlement there is none, neither is there any evidence for any contact between the users of the cinerary urn and the people who brought the socketed celt. There is indeed no evidence to controvert the opinion that the urn users may well have continued to occupy the sites already mentioned until the advent of the Romans, with which this survey ends.

In conclusion I should like to express my indebtedness to all those on whose help I have called, particularly to my friend and master Dr. H. J. Fleure, F.S.A., whose paper, written in conjunction with W. E. Whitehouse, on "Valleyward Settlement," which appeared in *Arch Camb.* 1917, was the starting point of this and many worthier investigations.

⁷⁵ Shone, *op. cit.*, 85.

⁷⁶ *B. M. G. Bronze Age*, p. 94.

⁷⁷ Shone, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ Shone, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ Newstead and Droop, *Liv. Annals Arch. & Anth.* 1931.

⁸⁰ Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.*

⁸¹ *B. M. G. Bronze Age*, *loc. cit.*