

Photo. by R. F. Hunter, Buxton.

POSTERN GATE, CARLS WARK.

## DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL

AND

# NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

### The Promontory Forts of Derbyshire.

By Edward Trustram.



HE county of Derby, owing to the semi-mountainous character of a large portion of its area, afforded to the tribes who inhabited it in the prehistoric period many favourable sites for the construction of hill

fortresses. The numerous stone circles, recently investigated by Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., which are found on the hillsides, are evidences that a considerable population, in prehistoric days, lived on these hills, and hunted in the forests and jungle that covered the adjoining valleys. On the hilltops the ancient men, whether the circle builders or their predecessors, constructed their strongholds, to which in times of danger they with their families and cattle could retreat for refuge.

The Committee of Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures, in their published classification of these hill-strong-holds, adopt two classes, namely:—

A.—Fortresses partly inaccessible by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by banks or walls.

B.—Fortresses on hilltops with artificial defences, following the line of the hill. Examples of both A and B are found in Derbyshire, but the scope of this paper is intended to be confined to "promontory fortresses," which are embraced in the first definition.

Derbyshire can boast of three of these interesting memorials of a forgotten race, the names and positions of which are:—Combs Moss, also known as Castle Naze, near Chapel-en-le-Frith; Carls Wark, on Hathersage Moor; and Markland Grips, in Elmton.

Carls Wark is about thirteen miles, as the crow flies, to the east of Combs Moss, and Markland Grips is situated about fifteen miles still further in an eastwardly direction. These relative positions naturally raise the suggestion whether the three forts may not have had some connection with one another, and have together formed a chain of defence of some tribe. The relative positions may, however, be merely a coincidence, and each fort may have formed the stronghold of a separate community. We know so little of the ancient inhabitants of Derbyshire, and our source of knowledge is so limited, that the answer to such a question will probably never be more than a matter of conjecture.

By far the best and most accurate description of these forts, written by Dr. Cox, is contained in the Victoria History of Derbyshire, and with Dr. Cox rests the credit of first bringing to notice the camp at Markland Grips. The descriptions and plans in the Victoria History, however, do not refer to or show one most interesting feature, which, on further careful examination, has been found to appertain to each of these three forts, namely, the small entrance or postern-gate, as it might not inappropriately be termed, situated at a point of the enclosure the furthest removed from the principal entrance. The bringing to light of these entrances, which have been verified by Mr. W. J. Andrew and Mr. Gunson, and which have hitherto passed unnoticed (except in the case of Combs Moss, by Mr. Sainter1), must be pleaded as the main apology for this article, which deals with a subject so ably treated by Dr. Cox in the Victoria History.

<sup>1</sup> Scientific Rambles Round Macclesfield.

Photo by R. F. Humer, Buxton.

VIEW OF CARLS WARK.

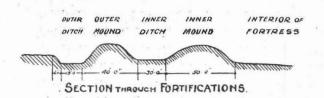
Combs Moss and Carls Wark have also been described by various other writers, and particularly by Mr. Sainter in his Scientific Rambles Round Macclesfield, and by Mr. Chalkley Gould in previous journals of the D. A. and N. H. Society. Mr. Adrian Allcroft, in his excellent Earthwork of England, recently published, refers to Carls Wark, and exhibits a plan, but the postern-gate or easterly entrance is not noticed, nor is it shown on the plan. He does not mention either Combs Moss or Markland Grips.

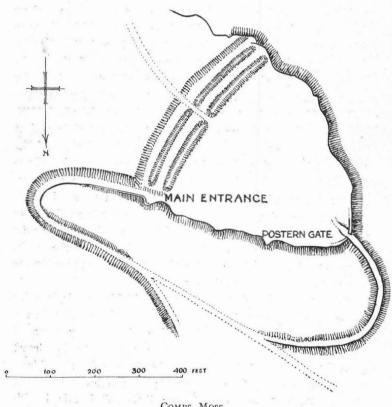
In order to save the necessity of a reference to the existing authorities, it will probably be convenient to give here a short description of each stronghold. The plans which illustrate this paper are the work of Mr. Gunson, and are believed to be the most careful and accurate representations of the earthworks yet published. The measurements of the three forts, for convenience of comparison, are given at the end of this article.

Combs Moss.—About a mile to the south-west of the L. & N.W. Railway Station at Chapel-en-le-Frith, stands out boldly against the sky, a promontory, thrown out from the adjoining hills, somewhat tongue-shaped, and towards its apex towering above the adjoining land with precipitous sides. At the point on the north-east where the declivity merges into a climbable slope, commences a double rampart (with a ditch on the outer side), which is carried, with a slight outward curve, across the open side of the promontory to the precipice on the south. Outside the fort is a wild expanse of heather, while the enclosure is carpeted with rough pasturage.

The outer rampart is much more formidable and is in a far better state of preservation than the inner. The latter, in the irregularity of its height and outline, shows many signs of wear and hard usage, while the former appears to-day almost as complete as it probably was when left by its original builders. The inner rampart is constructed almost entirely of stones gathered from the moor, and very little soil is mixed with the stones. The outer rampart is formed of similar stones,

<sup>1</sup> The Journals for 1901 and 1903.





COMBS MOSS.

combined with a much greater quantity of soil. The outer fosse still preserves its sharpness of outline, while the surface of the inner fosse is now scarcely lower than the level of the ground inside the enclosure. This raises the question whether there was originally any fosse outside the inner rampart. From a study of the site, but judging without the advantage of excavation, the writer believes that there was a wide but shallow fosse in that position, but that it has become silted up. This rampart, in its completed state, was undoubtedly given a covering of earth and sods, and as these would naturally be obtained from the ground immediately outside, the result would be a wide fosse of little depth. Neither fosse could have held water owing to the ends being open, on the south-west to the precipice and on the north-east to the steep entrance slope; nor are they sufficiently level.

The question whether both ramparts were constructed contemporaneously, and together formed the original defence, or whether a single rampart was thrown up by the first builders, and the second rampart added as an additional safeguard at some subsequent period, has apparently never been debated.

Even to the casual observer the well preserved condition of the outer rampart, when compared with the dilapidated state of the inner, at once points to one of two conclusions: either that the outer rampart is a work of a later period than the inner, or, if both ramparts are of the same date, that the outer work has been repaired at some subsequent period when the inner was left untouched. In support of the contention that both ramparts were thrown up at the same time, and together formed the original defensive design, it might be urged that if the inner rampart alone constituted the original defence, it would have been protected on the outer side by a substantial fosse, and the ground does not show any decisive evidence that such a fosse existed. But this argument is by no means conclusive, because, as mentioned by Mr. Allcroft, many hill forts have large valla and small ditches, and Dr. Christison<sup>2</sup> records

<sup>1</sup> Earthwork of England, p. 168. 2 Early Fortifications in Scotland.

that, in Scotland, about St. Abb's Head, there is a group of ten forts with no ditches whatever. It is quite possible that the builders of the inner rampart, with their primitive tools, would have found it a difficult matter to excavate a fosse of any considerable depth in the rocky soil of Combs Moss.

Even in the prehistoric times of promontory fortresses some advance in the art of fortification must gradually have taken place, and it is scarcely possible to believe that a fort which, no doubt, for many generations formed the place of refuge for the tribe, was not strengthened and improved with the passing of centuries.

The most probable conclusions, as they appear to the writer, may be summarised as follows:—That the defences of Combs Moss as they now stand were not the design of one chieftain, nor the work of one time; that the inner rampart is of earlier date than the outer, and represents the original defensive work; and that at some subsequent period the more formidable outer rampart and ditch were added.

We can readily imagine that the military genius of the long forgotten past, who first conceived and carried out the idea of taking advantage of this defensive position by throwing a single rampart (with or without a ditch) across the open side, would be amply satisfied with the result, and that such a work would be a sufficient protection against an enemy, to whom it would appear a vast and impressive obstacle. No doubt also with the passing of the years, or of generations, this impressiveness would wear off, the single rampart would become to be considered less impregnable, and, perhaps, might be rushed by a foe. Consequently, some succeeding chieftain would be anxious to improve and strengthen the work of his predecessor, and in front of the original defence would throw up a higher bank and dig a deeper and wider fosse.

The original entrance, referred to by all the authorities, was at the north-east corner, between the ramparts and the precipice, where a narrow space was left for the purpose, and is approached by a steep path cut in a slanting direction up the

side of the hill. An enemy attacking this entrance would be met by a storm of stones and other missiles, hurled down from the northerly ends of the ramparts, which, to-day, tower above the approach at a steep angle.

The other original entrance, the postern-gate, hitherto unnoticed by all the authorities except Mr. Sainter, is gained by a steep path running up close under the north-westerly angle of the enclosure, and enters a few yards to the south-west of that point. About five yards from the top, a projecting rock has been roughly split or cut through to allow for the passage, which, between the rocks, is only three feet wide. Here the entrance has, in modern times, been walled up and most effectively blocked with the usual Derbyshire dry-stone walling.

There is also now a third entrance, cut at a right-angle straight through both ramparts near the centre, the width of the passage on the ground being about four feet. From this entrance two tracks can be distinguished running across the moor, one leading towards another slanting way down the hill, two hundred yards or so from the rampart, and the other bearing in a south-easterly direction towards the high moorland. The opinion has been expressed by most authorities that this entrance did not form part of the original design, and the absence of a corresponding original entrance at Markland Grips may be cited in support of that view. Too much reliance. however, cannot be placed on any such comparison. Dr. Cox1 suggests that this entrance may have been made by the Romans, who, he thinks, are not likely to have overlooked the advantageous position of the fort. Not a particle of evidence, however, has yet been discovered of Roman occupation, possibly because no excavations have hitherto been made. There are on the ground some indications that a portion, at least, of the materials produced by the cutting through of the inner rampart has been thrown inside the enclosure on both sides of the entrance, but there is no trace of any deposit of material removed from the outer rampart. If the cutting through the

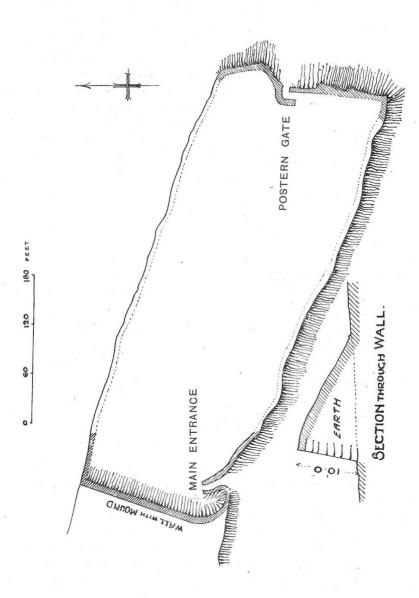
<sup>1</sup> Victoria History of Derbyshire.

ramparts had been made for convenience of access for agricultural purposes, it would be reasonable to expect that the earth removed would have been disposed of in the most convenient way by tipping it into the fosses. There is no trace of such tipping, and presuming that the cutting was made since the formation of both ramparts, the excavated material must have been carried away, or possibly used for the repair of the ramparts. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the cutting was made during the period the fort was used as a stronghold, and from the general appearance of the entrance and ramparts, the writer inclines to the opinion that this entrance is contemporaneous with the outer rampart.

An ancient trackway can be clearly traced running towards the fort from a westerly direction, and the path leading to the north-westerly or postern-gate entrance branches off at the bottom of the slope. The main track then continues along the northerly side of the fort at the foot of the steep slope below the precipice, and here the track is sunk to the depth of about five feet below the surface. The excavated earth has been thrown up on the side of the track away from the fort, apparently with the intention of affording some protection. The track takes a sharp curve at the bottom of the ascent leading to the principal entrance, and unless the indications are due to wear caused by water, which does not seem probable, the pathway was sunk to the depth of two or three feet for about half the distance up the slope. Above there are, or not long ago were, some traces of a stone wall on the outer edge of the path.

Towards the westerly end of the enclosure there are some excavations in the ground which Mr. Sainter<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Chalkley Gould<sup>2</sup> believed to be the sites of huts. But as these excavations are irregular in shape, and by the side of them are slight mounds, which may be taken to be the refuse thrown out from them, it is doubtful whether they are anything more than pits made for getting stone for walling, either in ancient or modern times.

<sup>1</sup> Scientific Rambles Round Macclesfield. 2 D. A. and N. H. Society's Journal for 1901.



CARLS WARK.

Carls Wark.—In the far-off days, when any work of nature removed in some small degree from the usual, was considered the work of a god or demon, how forbidding, how pregnant with awe and mystery, must have appeared this bold escarpment of millstonegrit standing out of Hathersage Moor. And the huge boulders and rocks, which, notwithstanding the destruction wrought in times past by the millstone workers, still so thickly strew the flat table-like plateau, and are scattered in wonderful profusion on all sides below, to what agency could they be attributed other than to a most powerful supernatural being. Even when fortified with our present-day acquaintance with the workings of the forces of nature, Carls Wark, backed by the still higher rugged ridge of rock lying to the north, and known as Higgar Tor, possesses a wild grandeur and solemn dignity not often witnessed in England.

On the northerly side of the plateau is a precipice quite unclimbable, on the easterly and southerly sides there lie fairly steep, rock-strewn slopes, and on the west the ground trends gently downwards. Across this westerly end a rampart of earth intermixed with stones has been thrown, and this rampart is faced on the outer side with what may fairly be considered to be one of the most ancient and interesting stone walls in England. The wall, needless to say, is dry built, and the stones vary considerably in size, the largest being about 4 ft. 10 ins. long and nearly 2 ft. in width. The stones may have been, to some slight extent, shaped, but even this is doubtful. The wall is now 9 ft. 6 ins. in height, and has a batter of 2 ft. The top of the wall is now level with the top of the rampart, but probably originally a rough parapet was added. There are on an average eight courses of stone in the height of the wall, which appears at the base to be about four feet thick.

Mr. Allcroft<sup>1</sup> speaks of a ditch outside the wall, but this must be an error, as there is no sign whatever of a ditch. It is doubtful also whether any scarping was done by the builders of the fort, as has been suggested.

<sup>1</sup> Earthwork of England, p. 66.

A continuation of the rampart and wall is curved round the south-westerly corner, where it projects in a semi-circular bastion-like form, and commands the approach to the principal entrance, which is situated at this point. A wall was also carried round the southerly and easterly edges of the plateau, but owing to the ravages of the millstone workers and others, it is difficult to give any reliable data as to its original height or width. As, however, there is no sign of any rampart behind the wall on these sides, it was probably only a few feet in height.

To attack the walls on the southerly and easterly sides must have been a most difficult matter, as, owing to the vast number of rocks, even now so thickly scattered about the slopes, a quick advance to the wall would be impossible, and when near the wall the spaces between the rocks are so limited and the surface of the rocks so irregular, that standing room for an assault by a number of men would be difficult to find. The precipice on the northerly side rendered the fort impregnable from that direction, so that the only points at which an enemy could assemble for an attack without heavy preliminary pioneer-work, quite beyond the capabilities of the age, were the wall on the west and the south-westerly entrance gate. Both of these, moreover, were so strong and forbidding that the fort in the olden-time must have been considered quite impregnable against an assault.

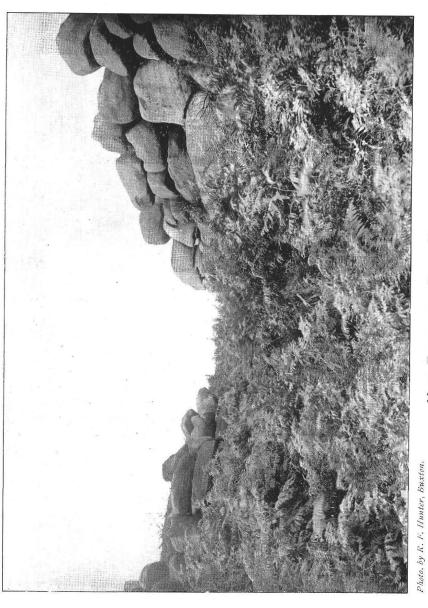
If Carls Wark is properly classed with promontory fortresses, which view has been adopted by most if not all the authorities, and as these strongholds, as a class, are considered to be the earliest fortifications in England, then we are probably justified in regarding these walls as the most ancient examples in England of stone walling for defensive purposes. The builders of old, who selected this site for their stronghold on account of its great defensive advantages, if they intended to throw a rampart and ditch across the open side, as in other promontory forts, would have found their primitive tools quite unequal to the task of cutting a trench in the hard millstone grit. The inadequacy of a rampart of earth without the protection

of a fosse, and the difficulty of excavating one, may have led the builders to face their rampart with a stone wall. They would see rocks piled on each other by nature, and as suitable stones lay scattered on every side, the idea may have occurred to them that a stone wall facing to their rampart would compensate for the absence of a ditch.

Earthen ramparts with a stone wall facing on the outer side, and also two stone walls with a filling of earth between, are well-known defences to some fortresses following the line of the hill. These, however, are considered as belonging to a later period than the promontory forts, and consequently the walls at Carls Wark may probably be assumed to be a much earlier work. It seems very unlikely that the tribes living in a portion of England so remote from the sea as Derbyshire, in the very early period to which promontory forts are usually assigned, would have received reports of stone wall defences from the Continent of Europe. Far more likely would appear to be the conclusion that, imitating the example set before them by nature, they utilised the building materials they found so ready to hand, and thus independently originated the idea of a defensive wall of stone.

Carls Wark may therefore be regarded as probably the earliest and most interesting example in England of a fort defended by a stone wall. It is a thousand pities that this unique relic of the past should have suffered so extensively in former years at the hands of the millstone workers and others. Happily in the present day no such vandalism is likely to be permitted, and archæologists may have every confidence that the Duke of Rutland will take all necessary measures for the protection and preservation of the fort.

The original and principal entrance, already referred to, was at the south-westerly corner, and there are clear indications that the defences of this entrance, besides the projecting bastion on the one side and the curving wall on the other, were extended some five or six yards inside the fort. The wall on the easterly side of the entrance is remarkable for the great size of some of its foundation stones, the largest of



MAIN ENTRANCE: CARLS WARK.



PORTION OF WESTERLY WALL, CARLS WARK. Photo. by R. F. Hunter, Buxton.

which is about ten feet long. This wall near the entrance is now about five feet in height, and averages four courses of stones. No doubt originally it was considerably higher.

There is now an entrance at the northerly end of the rampart, but as the foundations of the stone facing can still be seen, there is no doubt that this is a modern way, probably made for the convenience of the millstone workers.

On the easterly side of the enclosure, furthest removed from the principal entrance, is the secondary entrance, or posterngate. This is so cleverly designed that from the outside of the fort, fifty yards away, it is impossible to see that an entrance exists at this spot. This result is achieved by the entrance being constructed in the form of a passage about 4 ft. 6 ins. wide, which takes a right-angled turn to the south on the inner side of the wall on the plateau-edge, and from a short distance away the wall flanking the passage appears as if it were a continuation of the wall on the plateau-edge. The flanking wall is now far from perfect, but sufficient remains to show the original design.

Many of the large stones lying in the fort and on the slope below the precipice on the northerly side of the plateau exhibit the usual basin-shaped weather marks, and many of these marks are not on the top but on the sides of the stones, clearly showing that they have been moved, no doubt by the millstone workers, and probably many of those on the slope have been thrown down from the fort.

Markland Grips.—Here we find no bleak hillsides, no wild moorland scenery, no rugged weather-worn rocks, and until we suddenly come with surprise upon the grips, we see no natural defensive position. The landscape, to eyes accustomed to the hills, seems one flat, cultivated expanse when approaching the fort from Clowne Church, about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of which it is situated.

In order to convey any distinct idea of the fort, it is necessary, in the first place, to give some description of the grips. They can, perhaps, best be likened to dry, deeply-cut beds of ancient rivers, with banks formed of precipitous cliffs of lime-

stone, averaging from twenty-five to fifty feet or more in height. Two of these grips join together, making two sides of an irregular isosceles friangle, and across the third side, or the base of the triangle, stands a rampart of earth and loose stones. The rampart has been much trodden by cattle and worked by rabbits, and is now about seven feet in height above the level of the enclosure, and is about twenty-four feet in width at the base.

Dr. Cox, in the Victoria History, speaks of three ramparts with corresponding fosses. Mr. Andrew and the writer could not find on the ground any definite trace or satisfactory evidence of the two outer ramparts, or of any ditch along the greater length of the single remaining rampart. As the field adjoining the rampart on its outer side, except at the southerly corner, is under plough, it is possible some evidence may have disappeared since Dr. Cox wrote his description.

Adjoining the southerly end of the rampart on the westerly side there is a small rough field containing some mounds and excavations. The railway runs by the side of this small field, and cuts through the corner of the fort. On the southerly side of the railway the ends of two ramparts can be clearly seen with a ditch between them, and there are traces here which lead Mr. Andrew and the writer to conclude that the main entrance to the fort was at this corner. It is probable that the present entrance through the rampart, which Dr. Cox refers to as a modern entrance—no doubt correctly, as the stones and soil excavated in cutting it have been thrown on either side of the rampart—was made when the railway was constructed.

The unprotected entrance at the northerly end of the rampart, referred to by Dr. Cox as the principal entrance, scarcely bears that appearance, and quite possibly may be a modern way.

There is also a postern entrance situated near the easterly angle of the enclosure in a similar position to those of Combs Moss and Carls Wark. At two or three other places there are now feasible ways up the cliff into the enclosure, but if any of them were in existence when the fort was occupied as such, no doubt they would have been blocked.

The absence of any natural water supply in many promontory fortresses has been frequently noticed. Combs Moss has a spring or pool of water, but it seems doubtful if, at the present day, it is of much service in dry weather. There is no water supply in Carls Wark, and from its position we should not expect to find any, but there is a stream about two hundred yards from the postern-gate. The farmer in occupation of Markland Grips fort stated that there is no spring or pond in that enclosure. Probably water was always to be found on the site of the mill pond, immediately at the bottom of the cliff on the east.

A natural supply of water within the enclosure of promontory fortresses does not seem to have been considered by the original builders as absolutely essential. If the most convenient defensive position within their scope had a natural supply, no doubt they welcomed it. But if there was none, then they did not reject the site on that ground alone. In the latter case, when a retreat to the stronghold was decided upon, the duty of carrying skins of water would no doubt devolve upon the women and any other non-combatants, who would also drive the cattle before them into safety. We must not assume that in the ancient days, when these promontory fortresses were constructed, the art of besieging a fortress, and so effectually surrounding it as to prevent access and egress for any prolonged period, was practised in England. Such a course of action would require much more discipline and cohesion, and also organised commissariat, than is likely to have existed amongst the wild uncivilised tribes. It is quite possible that one or two attempts might be made to rush the rampart, and if these efforts failed, entailing, as would be inevitable, considerable slaughter, the attacking tribe would retreat. It is even more probable, however, that an assault on the fort would be considered as too hazardous, and would not be attempted, unless by way of surprise, but that recourse would be had to the cunning which the savage usually displays in warfare.

It is interesting to consider whether any, and, if so, what, means were adopted by the prehistoric builders to render their

earthen rampart secure against a sudden rush of a hostile force, and also whether any and what protection was afforded to the men stationed on the rampart. It can scarcely be accepted as probable that the tribes who possessed the engineering skill and the means to throw up these huge ramparts, would not devise some method of making the outer slopes practically unclimbable. In Britain one of the most ancient forms of military obstacles, represented in the present day by barbed wire entanglements, consisted, as is well known, of wooden stakes, firmly driven into the ground and the upper end afterwards sharpened, the stakes being inclined at an angle, presumably of something like forty-five degrees, towards the direction from which the attack was expected. Bede tells us in his Ecclesiastical History that Cassebellaunus "fenced the bank of the river and almost all the ford with sharp stakes" in the vain attempt to prevent the legions of Cæsar from crossing the Thames. He also, in a subsequent passage, when speaking of the wall of Severus, makes the following remark:-"For a wall is made of stones, but a rampart, with which camps are fortified to repel the assaults of enemies, is made of sods, cut out of the earth and raised all round like a wall. having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes of wood fixed upon its top."

Irregular rows of such stakes driven into the outer slope of the rampart, near the top, would have formed a very effective obstacle to an attacking party, and the defenders would have been able to hurl their heavy stones and other missiles over the stakes on to the assailants while in the act of crossing the fosse. It is quite possible, and even probable, that stakes may have been used for such purpose even in the remote period to which promontory forts are generally assigned. It seems probable also that some rude stockade, made of tree trunks, branches of trees, and loose stones, crowned the summit of the rampart. Some such fence must have suggested itself to the earliest man who required to protect himself or his cattle from wild beasts or enemies, and the placing of this stockade on the top of a rampart would mark an important advance in the art of fortification.

Mr. Allcroft¹ mentions that in many promontory fortresses no trace can be found of the fences necessary to confine cattle, and therefore concludes that in some cases the builders did not own cattle. This may be so, but it seems more probable that the defences, which were considered sufficient obstacles to stop a rush by an enemy, would also be sufficient to keep the cattle within the enclosure. A mere dry fosse and earthen rampart destitute of any other protection would scarcely be sufficient for either purpose, but the addition of a stake stockade, or rough palisading of trees, would be quite effectual. Doubtless, also, some portion of the community would be charged with the duty of watching and herding in the cattle.

The points of similarity between the three forts may be briefly summarised as follows:—

Advantage has been taken of a natural defensive position, protected on all sides, save one, by precipices or steep declivities.

Across the open side one or more ramparts have been constructed.

The principal entrance is placed close to one end of the rampart, which towers above it.

A postern entrance is provided at a point in the enclosure the furthest removed from the main entrance.

The measurements of the three forts are as follows:-

#### COMBS Moss.

					Feet.
	Length of rampart				547
,	Width of outer fosse at top of cutting				30
	Depth of ditto from level of ground				6
	Height of outer rampart from bottom	of outer	fosse		14
	Width of inner fosse at top of rampa	rts		5	o to 65
	Depth of ditto from top of ditto				10
	Height of inner rampart				10
	Length of west side of enclosure				450
	Length of north-east side of enclosure				466

#### CARLS WARK.

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					I	eet.			
	Length of wall-faced rampart				about	170			
	Depth of outer face of wall		<b></b>			10			
	Width of rampart at base					20			
	Length of north side of fort					500			
	Length of south side of fort					540			
	Length of east side of fort					150			
MARKLAND GRIPS.									
					F	eet.			
	Length of rampart				about	600			
	Height of rampart				***	7			
	Width of base of rampart					24			
Width of fosse at southerly end of rampart about									
	Length of enclosure				about 1	,300			

The photographs illustrating this paper were taken by "Hunters," Station Approach, Buxton.