

The "Harbour" and Barrows at Arbour-lows.

By S. O. ADDY, M.A.



THE attention which has been paid during the last few years to the remains now so often called Arbour-low leads to the hope that their origin and purpose may be ultimately discovered. An attempt will here be made to show that the circular earthwork, which in the course of these remarks will be described as "the harbour," was a sheepfold or cattlefold in which flocks or herds were protected by night, and in which they may have been milked as in an African kraal; that such a "harbour" was a necessity of the pastoral life of the district; that "the harbour" was abandoned at a not very remote time; that its place was possibly taken by another fold hard by called New Haven, which means "new harbour"; and that the barrow at the gate of "the harbour," and also the one called Gib Hill, are the sites of abandoned huts or dwellings probably occupied by a gatekeeper and a watchman.

In 1761 John Mander, of Bakewell, spoke of the place as Arbourlows.¹ Pegge called it Arbour-lows in 1783, and Lysons described it by the same name, remarking that there were two burial-mounds. No earlier form of the name seems to be at present available.

It can, however, be shown that Arbour here stands for Harbour. In 1722 Titus Wheatcroft, the Ashover school-master, spoke of Cold Harbour in that village as Cold Arbour,²

¹ See Mr. Ward's Notes in *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxx., p. 170.

² *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xix., p. 40.

so that the aspirate could easily have been omitted. In 1563 the townships of Ryton and Chapwell, near Durham, are said to have been bounded in one place by a "greate round hill like a wynde-mylne hill—a pece of grounde caste about with a greate old diche, by some called the Arbour."¹ Gough, in his edition of Camden, speaks of the "lows and barrows in Arbour-close," near Okeover. Mr. Matthews has kindly made me a sketch plan of this place.

The reader must consult the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the history of the word "harbour" or its equivalents "harbury" and "harborough," as in Market Harborough. In Derbyshire we have Harborough, Bitchinhill Harbour, Harbour-lands, and Harbour-firth at Eckington. In Staffordshire there are Windy Harbour near Church Mayfield, and Arbour Hill near Throwley. There is a Windy Harbour about seven miles north of Skipton. Arbury Banks in Hertfordshire is a circular vallum. Harbour Farm in the same county is described as "the site of a Roman settlement or camp." At Arbory, in Lanarkshire, there is a circular wall, now entirely cast down, enclosing a space of about 135 feet in diameter. The circular space thus enclosed is surrounded by two concentric trenches "furnished with slight ramparts or parapets."² These examples may suffice to illustrate the application of the word "harbour" to ancient earthworks. In Iceland a sheepfold was called *byrgi* (*Eyrbyggja Saga*, c. 28).

We are all familiar with the "harbour" which protects ships in rough weather. We are less familiar with its older sense of a lodging or inn. And nobody seems to have heard of it in the sense of a shelter for cattle, though Dryden thus described the wandering of flocks in summer in his translation of Virgil's *Georgics* :—

Whole months they wander, grazing as they go,
Nor Fold, nor hospitable Harbour know.—iii., 529.

Sir James Murray, in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, explained Cold Harbour as a shelter from cold. The Cold

¹ Surtees' *History of the County of Durham*, ii., p. 281.

² Christison, *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, p. 158.

Harbours on the Derbyshire hills and elsewhere were probably intended to shelter cattle from rough weather. In East Yorkshire there are certain embankments, made in the form of a cross, which "are traditionally called Bields by the country people, who believe that they were made to give shelter to the cattle grazing in the open country."¹ The word "bield," meaning a shelter or refuge, occurs in 1450. Behind one of the arms of such a cross cattle could shelter themselves against the wind from any quarter. Shelter could also be obtained from wind in a circular enclosure.

Additional shelter from the wind could be given by making the "harbour" a little below the summit of a hill. After observing that "no other county in England is so prolific in prehistoric circles as that of Derby," Mr. Andrew makes the significant remark that they "are never present on the actual summit of a hill, but are almost invariably on the hillside near the highest point."²

But shelter from the wind was not the only thing to be considered; had it been so, "the harbour" would have been made down in the valley. Sheep grazed on the hills, and possibly it was necessary, for one thing, to have some elevated point, not far from the fold, where watch could have been kept over the landscape, in order to summon the herdsmen at milking time, or to warn them of impending danger. The site of the big mound lately called Gib Hill, about 350 yards from our "harbour," would have been a convenient place of observation, for it commanded a wide prospect.

According to the Ordnance maps, the "harbour" at Arbour-lows is at an elevation of 1,231 feet, and yet it is not much higher than the level of the surrounding district. This tract of high ground must have been used for grazing from time immemorial. Sheep have a marked preference for the fescue-grass so abundant on such pastures, and they graze it close to the ground. Here, for ages past, life must have been eminently pastoral, varied perhaps by lead-mining.

¹ Mortimer, *British and Saxon Burial Mounds*, pp. 390, 392.

² *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*, pp. 73-4.

"The fold," says Kemble, "was often distant from the homestead, and required careful watching, especially during the dark winter months. Sheep alone were not folded, but oxen, cows, and particularly mares: hryðrafald, cúafald, stofald. This system may still be seen in full force in Hungary."¹ Some old remains on Crossland Moor, in the parish of Huddersfield, were known as the Stotfolds² (stud-enclosures).

Nearly a mile to the south-west of our "harbour" is a place—not a village—called New Haven. Here a fair for sheep and cattle was held on St. Luke's Day (18th October), and Leonard Wheatcroft says that he went there on that day in 1679.³ Ebenezer Rhodes, of Sheffield, thus describes it in 1837:—"At this place numerous booths were erecting for a Fair, which is held here twice a year. A public Fair, in the midst of a wild country, newly obtained from the moors, with only here and there a solitary dwelling to intimate that it is not entirely deserted by man, seems somewhat of an anomalous establishment; and yet, we understand that these Fairs are generally well attended, and much business in the sale and purchase of cattle transacted."⁴ The fair may have been held at New Haven long before 1679, and it was certainly held on an unenclosed moor. There is no earthwork here.

We who live in modern England do not always realize the dangers of the old pastoral life. When wolves and other fierce animals prowled about the land sheep were kept in a fold at night. In Alfric's *Colloquy*, written in Latin and English during the tenth century, the shepherd is made to say that in the early morning he drives his sheep to pasture, stands over them in heat and cold, with dogs, lest wolves devour them, brings them back to the fold, and milks them twice a day.

Everywhere in England there are traces of ancient sheepfolds and cattlefolds. About a mile to the south of Penistone is a place called Shepherds Castle, which is mentioned in 1728,

¹ *Saxons in England*, i., p. 324.

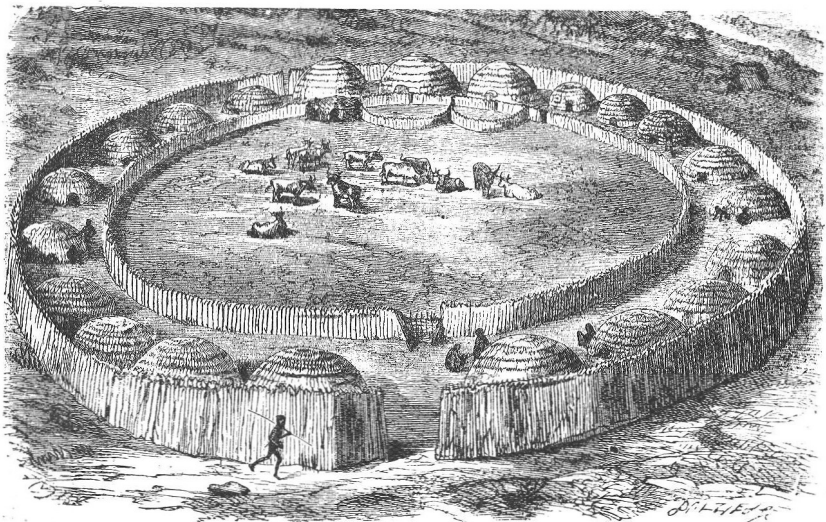
³ *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxi., p. 42.

⁴ *The Derbyshire Tourists' Guide*, p. 206.

² Watson's *Halifax*, p. 275.

and at a much earlier time. A little to the south of the place now known as Shepherds Castle is a circular earthen enclosure marked on the Ordnance maps as a "camp," and between the "camp" and the village of Penistone are Castle Green and Castle Dyke. The word "castle," as is well known, was often applied to British and Roman earthworks, and we may be almost sure that Shepherds Castle was an ancient sheepfold.

Fig. 1.



KAFFIR KRAAL.

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[From "Wood's Illustrated Natural History of Man."]

A rather complex oval earthwork in Lanarkshire bears the significant name of Cowcastle.¹

The form of the "harbour" at Arbour-lows much resembles that of a Kaffir kraal, which usually consists of two concentric circular fences enclosing an inner and an outer space (fig. 1). The inner space is known as the *isi-baya*, and in it the Kaffir protects his beloved cows. The space between the two circles is occupied by a ring of circular huts, of beehive shape, generally from ten to fourteen in number. The two gates of

¹ Christison's *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, p. 282.

entrance will be noticed. The fences by which the inner and outer spaces are surrounded are built in some cases of big stones piled on one another, and in others of wood. Each night the entrance to the kraal is carefully closed with poles and sticks, which are kept ready just within the entrance. During the daytime the herd is out at pasture, watched by the unmarried men or "boys," as they are called, but when night approaches, or if there is any indication of danger from enemies, the cows are driven into the isi-baya.

They are milked at ten o'clock in the morning, and a second time at sunset, when they are brought home for the night.¹ These doubly-fenced kraals are sometimes on the slope of a hill.

We may infer from the analogy of other stone circles that the stones at Arbour-lows originally stood upright. At all events they were put there by human hands, for Dr. Arnold-Bemrose assures us that the parent rock at this place "is very different in colour, texture, and composition from that of which the slabs were formed."² And Mr. Hubbersty thinks that the transport of the stones was effected on a strong sledge drawn by a number of men by means of ropes made of hides or grasses.³

The stones may have formed the main posts of an inner wall enclosing a space into which cattle were driven for safety, as in the African kraal. In two instances Dr. Thurnam found distinct traces of dry walling by excavating between the ortholiths or standing-stones at the bases of barrows in North Wiltshire. The walling was carried up for three or four courses, and he says that it was doubtless much higher originally. Another illustration of walling between upright stones may be seen in a Buddhist tope at Sanchi, and there, across the upright stones, are horizontal stones as at Stonehenge.

We may have traces of this kind of building in the pilaster strips and rubble walling of some of our early churches.

¹ Wood's *Natural History of Man*, i., pp. 58 f.

² *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxvi., p. 79.

³ *Op. cit.* xxvi., p. 81.

In 1900 a prehistoric fenced enclosure, made of timber posts, was discovered at Bleasdale in Lancashire. It was 150 feet in diameter. It consisted of "round logs of oak placed closely side by side, the principals being from two to three feet in diameter at intervals of about thirteen feet, and sunk into the ground to a depth of from five to six feet, while the surrounding logs are about eight inches in diameter, and do not penetrate more than three feet from the surface."¹ There are thirty of these upright posts, and we might compare the stones at Arbour-lows, when standing erect, with them. If the intervening spaces at Arbour-lows were ever filled by a rubble wall, it has disappeared.

In England we had out-door milking-folds, and it is interesting to find that at least one of them was called Arbor. About the year 1365 a Durham historian mentions a very beautiful cross which had formerly stood in the upper part of the suburb of Gilesgate, in a place called *Maid Arbor*, and which was given by William Wright to be set up in Durham market-place.² We are told that this Maid Arbor "was afterwards used as an enclosure for the milking of the Gilesgatemoor cows, and items for 'mending the mayden castell dicke,' for 'drissinge the maiden bower,' for 'mending the mayden castell which was broken down by the milkers of kye,' occur in the parish books. It was a square platform at the angle of the Sunderland and Sherburn roads."³ Mr. Longstaffe, whom I am quoting, gives, on a map, three different places near Durham called "Maiden Castle or Harbour," "Maiden Bower," and "Maiden Castle." Why he should say that Maid Arbor was *afterwards* used as a milking-place is not apparent, and it may have been so used from very early times. There was a *Maidencastel* in Yorkshire in the year 1150.⁴

¹ Professor Boyd Dawkins in *Transactions of Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, xviii., p. 118.

² *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.), p. 156.

³ Longstaffe in *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute (Newcastle)*, ii., p. 67.

⁴ Wheater's *History of Sherburn*, p. 136.

In 1789 Gough wrote:—"On the north side of Corndon hill, in the county of Montgomery, on the edge of Shropshire, is a circle of stones called *Madge's Pinfold*, or *Milking Fold*, from the vulgar tradition of a cow that gave milk there enough for all honest people that wanted, till some wicked person or witch milked her into a sieve; from which time she disappeared. The greatest diameter is $91\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the shortest $80\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There are fourteen stones remaining, and the vacancies require thirteen or fourteen more. These stones are six feet distant."¹ "Milckmadge," meaning milkmaid, occurs in 1582, and the tradition makes it certain that this circle of stones was a milking-fold.

There was a curious story about the Roman road over the moors near York called Wade's Causey. It was that "Wade had a cow, which his wife was obliged to milk, at a great distance on these moors; for her better convenience he made this causeway, and she helped him by bringing great quantities of stones in her apron; but the strings breaking once with the weight, as well they might, a huge heap (about twenty cart-load) is shown that dropped from her."² There is a military way near the Roman wall in Northumberland called the Maiden Way.³ This tradition shows that the milking-fold was at a considerable distance from the houses.

Mr. A. L. Lewis visited the circle of stones called Madge's Pinfold in 1882. He found that the height of the stones varied from two to six feet, their width and thickness being from one to three feet. The original number of stones, he says, may have been from twenty-seven to thirty. Since Gough's time one seems to have been lost, and another, then erect, to have fallen. Madge's Pinfold itself stands on a sort of plateau, overlooking a valley to the north-west, but surrounded

¹ Gough's *Camden*, 1806, iii., p. 165.

² Drake's *Eboracum*, 1736, p. 35.

³ Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 114; see also *Dr. Troughton's Sketches*, ed. by Mary Dormer Harris, p. 40. Dr. Brushfield, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Thomas Bateman, tells me that Mr. Bateman knew of no tradition about Arbour-lows.

by hills on the other sides. A number of tracks meet and cross each other at or near the spot.¹

We have the tradition of the mad cow in Derbyshire also. "A cow supplied a whole village with milk during a time of famine. But a witch came and milked the cow through a sieve, whereupon the cow went mad. According to another account, it was the witch herself who kept the cow, and went three times a day to milk her, so as to supply the village with milk. One day a stranger came to the village and asked the witch to fill his water-can full of milk. This made the witch so angry that she struck the cow in front of him, and then the cow dropped down dead."² It will be noticed how much this tradition resembles that about Madge's Pinfold recorded a century before. But the Derbyshire version tells us a little more, for the witch who milked the cow three times a day was the milkmaid. The tradition that the cow supplied a whole village with milk implies that the cows of a tribe or community were milked by a number of maids in a common fold.

Another version of the cow story was related by an old man at Bourton-on-Dunsmore (Dunsmore Heath), near Rugby:—"The cow, which was confined in a magic circle of stones . . . gave of her milk to a giant daily, filling therewith every vessel that he brought her. But in an evil hour the giant allowed a witch to test the milk-giver's miraculous powers, and to get the better of the giant the crone milked her into a sieve or cullender, whereat the cow, angered because her powers availed not to fill the vessel, kicked over the witch, and breaking through the magic circle struck the Watling Street and came to Arden and Dunsmore, working havoc as she went."³ Leaving out the magical element of the story, we have here an allusion to the fact that cows were milked in a circle of stones.

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi., p. 4.

² Addy's *Household Tales, &c.*, 1895, p. 67.

³ *Dr. Troughton's Sketches*, ed. by Mary Dormer Harris (Batsford, London), pp. 39, 40, referring to Whitley's *Humorous Reminiscences*.

Folklore has been compared to a broken mosaic, the fragments of which lie scattered here and there, and can sometimes be put together again. From the story of the mad cow, or the dun cow, as it is sometimes called, we may collect the following historical facts:—

(1) Cows were milked by young women in a large fold, which was surrounded by a ring of stones.

(2) The fold stood on a heath or moor at some distance from the village.

(3) The fold was common to the tribe, or village community.

In *Hrafnkels Saga*, which describes Icelandic life in the tenth century, we are told that Einar the shepherd, who had just driven his sheep into the fold (*kvi*), "lay on the fold wall counting the sheep; but the women were milking."¹ In a note on this passage, Vigfusson, himself an Icelander, says:—"This exactly describes a scene that takes place every evening of the season in Iceland. The sheep are driven into the fold to be milked by the women who are waiting there for them, and as they all huddle up side by side along the broad turf wall of the fold, the shepherd stretches himself lazily full length on the top of it, and counts the sheep, or chatters with the milkmaids."²

Old German documents frequently mention places called by such names as Magathaburg, and Foerstemann gives a list of at least fifty of them coming down to the eleventh century. These names, he says, are sometimes translated by the terms Parthenopolis, Urbs Virginea, etc., the meaning being "maiden burg." He thinks that in most cases the name is derived, though not always originally, from the Virgin Mary.³ But the name refers to the milkmaid, not to the Virgin Mary.

A mile south of Penrith, in Cumberland, is an ancient circular enclosure called Mayborough, or Mayburgh, meaning

¹ *Hrafnkels Saga*, Copenhagen, 1847, p. 8.

² *Icelandic Reader*, Oxford, 1879, p. 369. The Icelandic *kvi*, a fold, is cognate with the Scottish *quoy*. Ewes were milked in the Peak of Derbyshire in the sixteenth century.—Fitzherbert's *Husbandry* (Skeat's reprint), p. 44.

³ *Alldeutsches Namenbuch*, ii., p. 1040.

"maiden borough." It is about a hundred yards in diameter, and has in the centre a large block of unhewn stone. Some of these names give us idyllic pictures of old country life. At Norton, in this county, there is a hamlet or group of houses, not far from the church, called Magathay, the accent falling on the last syllable. At Cartledge, near Holmesfield, there is a similar place-name—Maggeth Lees. The one means "maiden croft," and the other "maiden meadows," the first element in both being the O. E. *mægeth*, a maid. Such names tell us of the days when milkmaids milked the cows and ewes in an open meadow, or in a milking-fold. Pepys, in his Diary, under the date 13th October, 1662, tells how he took a melancholy walk with his father to Portholme, seeing the country maids milking the cows there, being then at grass. There are Maiden Castles in several parts of England, the most remarkable being that near Dorchester, which was big enough for grazing as well as milking.

There is a circle of stones in Cumberland, about a mile from Penrith, called Long Meg and her Daughters. It consists of about seventy stones of various sizes, of which only twenty-seven are now erect, forming a rather irregular oval, 305 feet from north to south, and 360 feet from east to west.¹ There are circles in various parts of Cornwall, consisting for the most part of nineteen stones, which are called the Nine Maidens.² On Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, is a circle of nine rude stones, from three to four feet in height, called the Nine Ladies.³ These "maidens," or "ladies," seem to be reminiscences of milkmaids.

It is clear, then, that some of these circles of stones were milking-folds.

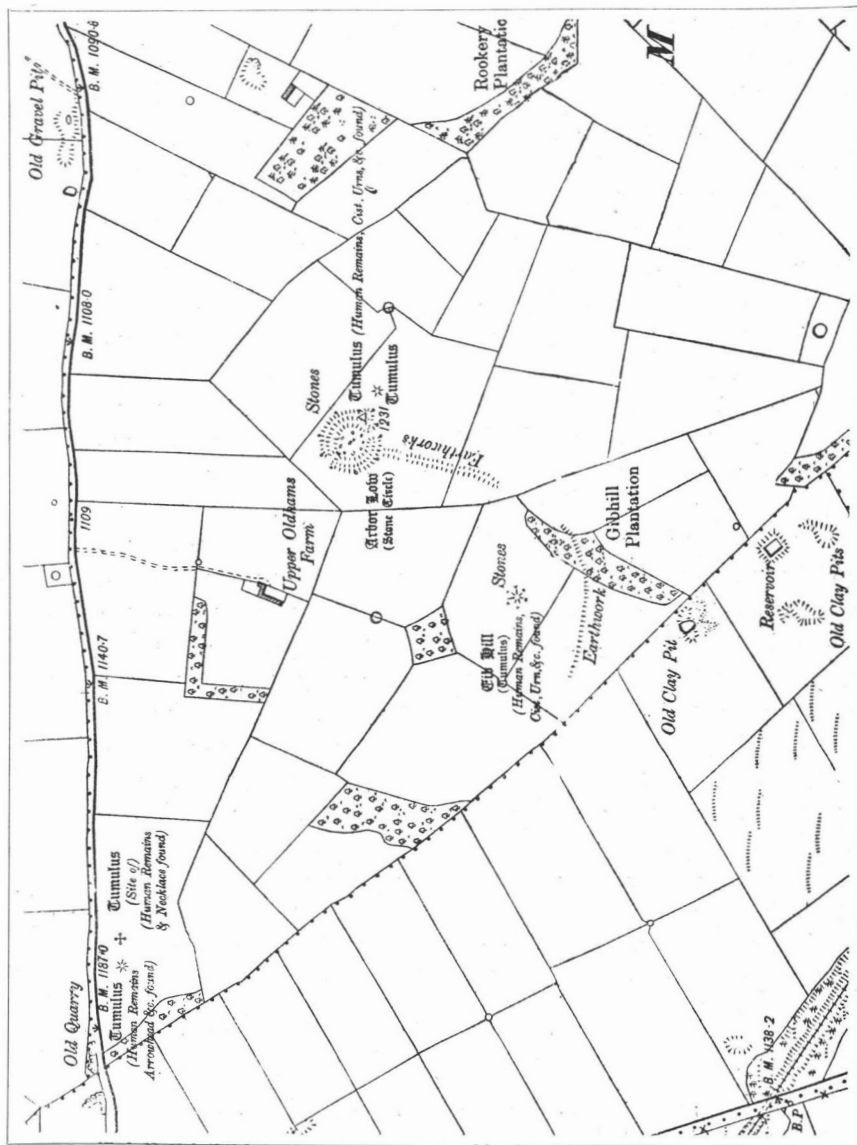
We may now return to Arbour-lows. If we look at the map (fig. 2) we shall see that an embankment, there marked "earth-work," extends from near the south-eastern gateway of the "harbour" in a south-westerly direction, and that by curving

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv., p. 471.

² *Op. cit.*, ix., p. 149.

³ Bateman's *Vestiges*, p. 112.

FIG. 2. MAP SHOWING POSITION OF ARBOUR-LOWS.



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

round, it partly encloses the large mound now called Gib Hill. The connection of this embankment with the "harbour" is not accidental; it was evidently designed for some useful purpose, and formed a part of one and the same scheme. "Doubtless," says Mr. Gray, "the bank was higher at the time of construction." Judging from the flint implements which he discovered, he says "it would appear to be about the same date as the larger monument." He found that the depth of the adjoining ditch was three feet, and the width at the top eight feet. Such an embankment would have been useful in directing a herd of cattle into the "harbour," and without some contrivance of this kind it would have been difficult to get them in. For we must remember that they were driven from an open waste, and not through a fenced lane. If you make a circular cattle-fold and put a gateway in any part of its circuit, you would find it puzzling to get a disobedient animal through the opening. You could do it in a lane with a hedge on both sides, but not in an open plain. Hence the embankment is itself evidence that the "harbour" was a cattle-fold. Sheep and cows might have followed the shepherd or cowherd, especially at milking-time. But at all events the embankment would have made it far easier to drive animals in, especially horses and colts. In some Scottish earthworks there are what Dr. Christison calls "earthworks thrown forward to flank the entrance," and he says that at Cowcastle the outwork is on one side only. At Muirhead there is an excellent example of a hornwork on each side of the gateway.¹

There is a passage in the Gospel of St. John which shows that in Palestine, and in the East, a sheepfold had a gate-keeper or porter: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice."

¹ *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, p. 218.

Now, if we turn to Mr. Gray's admirable plan,¹ we shall see that the south-eastern gateway of the "harbour" is flanked, as we enter, on the left by the embankment, and on the right by a barrow. Here, then, we have a barrow in the exact place where the gatekeeper's lodge would have been, if such a lodge had existed. It is on the right side as you enter, as the porter's lodge is in many an ancient castle.

Does this barrow at the gate mark the site of a hut in which a gatekeeper once lived? The answer to the question involves the whole subject of house-burial. This cannot be fully discussed here, and a few words must suffice. Greek and Roman authors have declared that the dead in early times were buried in their houses.² This does not mean that everybody was so buried, but only those who had died in their houses. It was believed that a house was polluted if a death took place within it, and it became thenceforth a tomb. Dr. Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough*, has thus described a custom prevailing among savage races: "If a man dies in the house it is deserted and left to its ghostly tenant. Thus the Kaffirs carry a sick man out into the open air to die, and the Maoris and Esquimaux remove their sick into special sheds or huts. . . . The Bakalai, in Central Africa, drive sick people from the village, but if several people should happen to die in the village it is deserted. Amongst the Balondas, when a chief or his principal wife dies, the village is deserted; but when an ordinary man dies it is only his house which is abandoned."³ In East Yorkshire Mr. Mortimer has found the remains of huts in burial-mounds, and anybody who will pay attention to the late Mr Thomas Bateman's writings will see that not a few of the Derbyshire barrows contain remains which can only be described as the contents of rude dwellings. In this barrow at the gate of the "harbour" there were, besides a cist and two urns, some animal bones, a shoulder-blade and antler of a large deer, and a few pieces of stag's horn. In 1761 Major Rooke found here "small parts of animal bones,

¹ *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxvi., p. 41.

² Plato, *Minos*, p. 315; Servius, *ad Aen.*, v., 64; vi., 151. See also *Aeneid*, iv., 494.

³ *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, xv., 68, where numerous references are given.

parts of stag horns, some of birds with claws, some of mice." He also found "clay in some parts."¹ These bones are merely household refuse. It is possible that the death of the gatekeeper in his hut caused the "harbour" to be abandoned, and thenceforth regarded as a place of burial.

When the head-man of a Hottentot kraal dies his body is usually buried in the middle of the cattle-pen,² and Mr. Gray found the skeleton of a man near the middle of the "harbour." It was only about a foot beneath the surface, and lay extended on its back.

There is evidence that the barrow known as Gib Hill covers the remains of a dwelling. "This tumulus," says Mr. William Bateman, "is very conical, and rises to the height of about eighteen feet, and has the usual basin-like concavity on its summit. Its height, immense size, and remote antiquity are calculated to impress the reflecting mind with feelings of wonder and admiration. On opening this barrow it was found to consist of earth and limestone, divided by layers of amygdaloid, and in the centre a bed of very stiff reddish-brown clay, completely saturated with what was supposed to be animal matter, most probably arising from the decomposition of human bones. This bed or stratum of clay was laid upon the natural surface, to the depth of about a yard and a half; it was about three yards in diameter, and about five yards from the summit of the mount. This clay was intermixed with a considerable quantity of charcoal and burnt human bones, and a small sprinkling of rats' bones. From it were taken an arrow-head of flint, two and a half inches long, and unburnt, and a fragment of a basaltic celt. Nearer the surface of this tumulus were found a small iron fibula, which had once received a setting of some gem, now lost, and another piece of iron, of indeterminate form. . . . In the interior of the barrow were found numerous pieces of white calcined flint."³ This examination was made in 1824.

In 1848 the examination was resumed by Mr. Thomas Bateman. A trench was dug, and this "being widened at each

¹ *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxx., p. 171.

² Wood's *Natural History of Man*, i., p. 264.

³ Bateman's *Vestiges*, p. 31.

side, a space nearly, but not exactly, in the centre of the barrow, was found to consist of loose stones, whilst the outer part of the mound exposed to view by the section was composed of tempered earth approaching the consistence of hard clay." The trench was deepened "principally through the before-named clay, varied by layers of decomposed wood and charcoal. From the appearance of the bark still remaining on these fragments, they were decided to be hazel. Amongst them were found animal bones and flints as before, one of the latter being a fine instrument of semicircular shape. Our excavation was continued until the undisturbed surface of the earth was reached and laid bare for the space of twenty-five feet by eighteen feet, without disclosing any interment whatever." It became "evident that the tumulus had been originally raised over four smaller mounds, each consisting of indurated clay intermixed with wood and charcoal, the superimposed material being of a looser description. On the natural soil beneath the little mounds were flints as usual, one of them a round instrument, and large disconnected bones of oxen very much decayed." In the end a stone cist, containing an urn, was discovered about eighteen inches "beneath the turf clothing the summit of the barrow."¹

These "four smaller mounds" and their contents appear to be the remains of four circular huts, or four contiguous rooms forming one dwelling, and the "indurated clay intermixed with wood and charcoal" all that is left of their wattled walls and their floors. The so-called beehive houses of Scotland are found clustered together and contiguous to each other. Lord Avebury thinks that "many of these are very ancient, and some probably date from the Stone Age."² Pieces of hazel are exactly what we should expect to find in the remains of a hut, for the pliant stems of that tree have long been used in making hurdles and basket-work. In a dictionary printed in 1616 we are told of a "hartheled wall, or rathered with hasill rods." Near Bishop Welton Mr. Mortimer discovered the stake and post holes of a circular hut under a

¹ *Ten Years' Diggings*, pp. 17 f.

² Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, 1872, p. 55, where an engraving of a cluster of such houses is given.

burial-mound. These were placed at regular distances, and they formed two circles, one within the other, measuring respectively twenty-one and a half feet and twenty-eight feet in diameter. "The base of the mound within these circles consisted in the main of clayey matter brought from a distance."¹ What was this but the floor of the hut?

Mr. Mortimer also found in East Yorkshire a smaller mound inside a larger, and this smaller mound was nearly surrounded by vertical stake-holes, from three to six inches in diameter, with decayed bark sticking to their sides. On the smaller mound there were pieces of partly-decayed wood, lying horizontally, as well as impressions of others of less thickness than the vertical stakes. One piece of oak had a cross incision evidently made by a metal saw. On the smaller mound also were decayed portions of the antlers of red deer. "Here," says Mr. Mortimer, "the vertical stake-holes and the horizontal pieces of decayed wood were undoubtedly the remains of the wattled walls of a dwelling bedaubed with clay."² The smaller mound in this Yorkshire barrow consisted of a circular bed of blue clay, fifteen inches thick, which thinned out at the margin, and was evidently the floor of the dwelling. Can it be doubted, in the face of such evidence as this, that we have both in Gib Hill and in the barrow at the gate of the "harbour" the remains of a dwelling?

The large disconnected bones of oxen found beneath the smaller mounds in Gib Hill are not the evidences of funeral banquets held there, but the remains of the food which the occupants of the dwelling had eaten. We may compare the numerous superimposed floors in the huts of the lake-village at Glastonbury, and may point to the fact that in Caithness "the same mound has frequently been used over and over again for a succession of habitations."³ These habitations are filled with the refuse of human food, layer above layer.

The "old clay pits" marked on the map to the south of Gib Hill should be noticed. Clay was required for making wattled huts, as well as for puddling the "meres," "dawms,"

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi., p. 476; see also ix., p. 394. See also Greenwell's *British Barrows*, pp. 137, 140, 247.

² *Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 182 f.

³ Laing and Huxley, *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, 1866, p. 4.

or circular pools which occur so frequently on these high and waterless moors, and which were necessary for cattle, if not for men. It will be seen on the map that the stone walls of the fields go across some of these meres, dividing them into two parts, so that they can be used by cattle on either side of the wall. This shows that the meres were there before the land was enclosed. Mr. Mortimer has described two fine meres in the centre of the village of Fimber, and thinks that they were formed for getting clay for daubing wattled huts. The "old gravel pits," a little to the north-east of the "harbour," deserve attention, for skeletons, urns, weapons, and other remains have been found in such pits. Old English documents mention the *lām-pytt*, or clay-pit, as well as the *sand-sēath*, or sand-pit.

The meres on the Derbyshire hills may have been so called from early times. But there is a word *crundel* which often occurs in the boundaries given in Old English charters; a boundary is said to extend from this or that tree or stone to this or that *crundel*. The word has been explained doubtfully as a cavity, chalk-pit, or pond. But the late Professor Earle regarded it as another name for what in Derbyshire is called a mere. "I figure to myself," he said, "the *crundel* as like one of those puddled reservoirs of water for the sheep which we see here and there on Salisbury plain."¹ Such things have been called dew ponds of late years, but we ought not to give them new names; the old ones are good enough. Messrs. Hubbard say that "over a thousand sheep may be watered daily at one dew pond when it is in working order, and every morning finds it replenished."

Mr. Ward has lately made the interesting discovery that Gib Hill was known as "Llewing low" in 1761. He quotes some notes by John Mander, who says that "Llewing low (a Welsh word) is the name of this barrow."² The word, however, is English, and obviously stands for Lewin-low, the tomb of a man called Lewin. The name Lewin, a shortening of Leofwine, is of frequent occurrence in Old English, and is found eight times in that part of the Domesday Survey which relates to Derbyshire. The name exists to-day, for what barrister or solicitor has not consulted Lewin's *Law of Trusts*?

¹ *Land-charters*, p. 472.

² *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxx., p. 171.

The flint implements found at Arbour-lows and other similar earthworks may have been used for cutting marks on sheep's ears, so as to distinguish one man's animal from another's. Mr. Mortimer thought that some of them were used as ox-goats. The old Norse law made it obligatory for a man to mark his sheep on the ears, and in no other place; oxen were also marked.¹

Sheep fairs are still held in one or two old earthworks, and this tends to show what their original purpose was. On Woodbury Hill, near Bere Regis, in Dorsetshire, "is an ancient earthwork, in good preservation, with an oval entrenchment and a rampart which encircles the hill-top, enclosing a great level green space on which a great sheep fair is held annually in September, one of the most famous gatherings of the kind in the south of England."² This is the fair to which Mr. Thomas Hardy alludes in his novel *Far from the Madding Crowd* (c. 50). "This yearly gathering," he says, "was upon the summit of a hill, which retained in good preservation the remains of an ancient earthwork, consisting of a huge rampart and entrenchment of an oval form encircling the top of the hill, though somewhat broken down here and there. To each of the two chief openings on opposite sides a winding road ascended, and the level green space of twenty or thirty acres enclosed by the bank was the site of the fair." But the old custom has passed away, and in 1897, "for the first time, not a single sheep was offered for sale, the auctioneers combining to remove such transactions to big towns like Dorchester. There were, however, a number of horses for sale, two examples of the bioscope on view, and other incitements to gaiety."³

On the fourth of October an annual fair for the sale of sheep and colts is held at Yarnbury Castle, an eminence on Salisbury Plain. This is a very perfect and interesting circular work, enclosing twenty-eight acres. The entrenchments are two large banks and ditches. The principal entrance faces the east, and is flanked by a complicated earthwork. There is another entrance on the south in complete preservation.

¹ *Grágás* (1829), ii., 308-11.

² *Little Guide to Dorset* (Methuen), by Frank R. Heath.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., vii., 272.

We may compare the dates of these fairs. That at New Haven, near Arbour-lows, was held on the 18th of October; that at Woodbury Hill on the Nativity of the Virgin (8th September); that at Yarnbury on the 4th of October. Fairs for the sale of the annual produce of pastoral districts are common to most parts of the world.

It is said to have been conclusively proved "that the common varieties of stone circles in Scotland are circular cemeteries of bronze age burials." It has also been said that "the greater circles, like those of Stennis, Avebury, and Stonehenge, may have had a different origin and purpose."¹

As regards Arbour-lows, Mr. Gray was of opinion that it was not a place of sepulture at a period closely following its construction.²

An old name for a cattlefold on the side of a hill seems to have been "borstall," or "Berry-stall"—a place-name at Little Hucklow, in this county. Bishop Kennet explained this word as a "seat on the side or pitch of a hill." The name *Ccaltborgsteal*, that is, Cold Borstall, occurs in a pre-Conquest charter.³ A gloss of the tenth century has "*cliuium*, i. *discensum*, helde, burhsteal,"⁴ and, *helde* being a slope, this bears out the observation of Mr. Andrew that prehistoric circles "are never present on the actual summit of a hill." *Burstal* is found among German place-names of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and, in the opinion of Foerstemann, the word was applied to the stalls which towns possessing rights of common made for their cattle in distant pastures.⁵ The same author observed that the frequent occurrence in Germany of the name *Kalteherberge*, corresponding with the English Cold Harbour, is remarkable, as is the *Koude Herberg* of Holland.⁶

The remains called Arbour-lows stand on what was formerly known as Middleton Common, that village being two miles to the east. Monyash is two miles north-west.

¹ Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, 1901, art. "Stone Circles."

² *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, xxvi., p. 69.

³ Hussey's *Churches of Kent, &c.*, p. 373, referring to Kemble.

⁴ Wright-Wülcker *Vocabularies*, 205, 36. See also the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Borstall.

⁵ *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, p. 371.

⁶ *Die deutschen Ortsnamen*, p. 87.