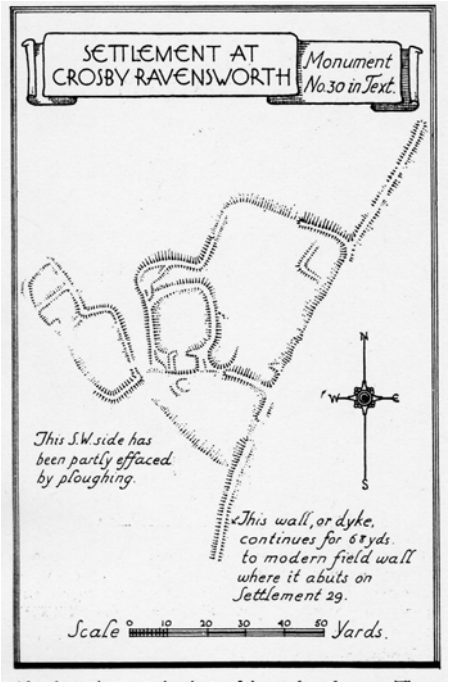
APPLEBY ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP

People and the Land: settlement in the Eden Valley, prehistory to the present day.



PEOPLE AND THE LAND: SETTLEMENT IN THE EDEN VALLEY, PREHISTORIC UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY.

Papers presented at a one day conference held on 6 October 2007, at Appleby Grammar School, Appleby-in-Westmorland.

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Preface

The papers in this book were presented to a conference on settlement in the Eden Valley, Cumbria, held at Appleby Grammar School on 6 October 2007. The conference drew together speakers who had over many years carried out research into the settlement of the Valley and presented an opportunity – perhaps for the first time - for interested members of the public to hear and discuss a theme that ran from the prehistoric to the present day. Without exception the papers generated interest and stimulation and it is hoped that by publication memories of the day will be revived and thoughts for future explorations will be refreshed.

Both the conference and the book were made possible with financial assistance from Awards for All, the assistance of the staff of Appleby Grammar School - in particular Ian Cousin who made himself available all day, to help with seating, heating, unlocking doors etc., and the speakers on the day. The members of the Group committee worked quietly and effectively to produce coffee, look after the capricious presentation technology, serve the very substantial lunch provided by Margaret and Elizabeth Lonsdale of Kirkby Stephen, and ensure the day went as planned. The speakers responded to the request for papers enthusiastically and have willingly reproduced their thoughts in print. Special thanks are due to Angus Winchester who introduced the conference and chaired the proceedings through out.

Harry Hawkins
December 2007

PEOPLE AND THE LAND

Introduction

The day conference on 6 October 2007 was a stimulating and memorable occasion, covering a huge amount of ground, from prehistory to the agricultural revolution. It was a pleasure to be invited to act as chairman for the day and I should like to begin this introduction by congratulating the Appleby Archaeology Group for organising such a splendid event, in which we were privileged to hear a series of experts provide a wide-ranging survey of the evolution of settlement and the rural landscape in the Eden valley. My purpose in this brief introduction is to stand back from the detail and to sketch out some of the broader context into which the landscape history of the Eden valley fits.

The landscape we see today may be thought of as the cumulative product of millennia of human occupation, as successive generations have adapted and modified the environment in which they have lived. In a memorable phrase coined by Brian Roberts, the British landscape is the result of at least 'six thousand years of human interference,' that being roughly the length of time that settled farming communities have won a living from the land. From the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter to the complex demands of the modern economy, the human need to make a living has involved growing crops and rearing livestock, managing woodland and other biological resources, exploiting mineral resources and constructing a vast array of structures: houses and other buildings, hedges, walls and ditches, roads, railways, bridges, dams and watercourses. Across the centuries, all of these have affected the landscape, whether directly (as man-made features) or indirectly (as in the impact of grazing livestock on vegetation patterns). At one level, today's landscape is thus the product of thousands of small decisions taken across many centuries by individuals, prompted by the utilitarian concerns of everyday life.

But that is not the whole story. One of the big themes in landscape history (and one which was touched on at various points during the day conference) concerns the extent to which the landscape is, indeed, the result of gradual, piecemeal evolution. We do not need to look further than the recent past to see that landscape character can sometimes be overwhelmingly the result of bursts of rapid change over short periods of time. Indeed, the possibility of rapid change is inherent in one of the key concepts in landscape history, that of the landscape as a 'palimpsest.' This term comes from the study of documents and refers to a piece of vellum which has been reused, the first text having been rubbed off and replaced by another, while elements from the older text are still visible beneath the later one. The concept of 're-writing' is often applied to the British landscape; where new features replace but do not completely obliterate what was there before.

The contrast between small-scale, piecemeal evolution of landscape and wholesale re-writing touches on another key theme in landscape history, that of power and authority. Who has the power to effect landscape change, the elite or the 'common people'? The cumulative actions of generations of ordinary men and women created many elements in the British countryside, notably the slowly-evolving, hand-crafted landscapes of what Oliver Rackham has termed 'ancient countryside', that is areas which have not been re-written in the post-medieval centuries. But we can also see

the hand of higher authority, whether in the regular, deliberately-designed layouts of medieval planned villages or in the drawing-board landscapes of Parliamentary enclosure, where large-scale re-writing has taken place.

Working back in time, it is possible to identify several phases which we know (or might reasonably assume) resulted in sudden, rapid change in the landscape. Urban expansion and the successive waves of the transport revolution across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are one such episode. Moving back through recorded history, three further phases stand out. The first is the 'age of improvement', the century of rapid agricultural and industrial change, conventionally dated to 1750-1850. This period saw the transformation of many parts of northern England into heavily industrialised landscapes, whether the mill towns of the Pennines, the pit villages of the coalfields or the iron-making and chemical towns of the Mersey and Tees estuaries. In the Eden valley the role of the industrial revolution is less immediately visible, but it is there in lead-mining along the Pennine edge, lime-burning and a scatter of textile mills. What is of much greater significance in the Eden valley landscape is the agricultural revolution and, in particular, the transformation of much of the countryside through Parliamentary enclosure. In Cumbria, as elsewhere in the more pastoral parts of England and Wales, enclosure by act of Parliament applied largely to moorland and fell, the common wastes which, even in the lowlands of the Eden valley, made up around one quarter or more of the land surface. The new landscape of rectilinear fields and straight, wide roads, created by the allocation of shares of the wastes to individuals as a result of Parliamentary enclosure, transformed a substantial proportion of the countryside, as Ian Whyte illustrates in his paper.

The framework of the landscape on the eve of the age of improvement (the location of farmsteads and villages, and the broad patterns of land use – arable fields, woodland, common wastes) had largely been inherited from the middle ages. Another phase of rapid landscape change can be identified in the centuries between the Norman Conquest and the Black Death that is roughly between 1050 and 1350. The Eden valley shared with much of the rest of northern England both the upheavals of the eleventh century and the colonisation which accompanied population growth in the twelfth and thirteenth. Although we can only glimpse fragments of the history of Cumbria in the eleventh century, it seems very likely that the political turmoil of the middle decades were accompanied by civil strife and that the eventual conquest of the 'land of Carlisle' (which included the later barony of Westmorland) by William Rufus in 1092 represented a major landholding and administrative revolution. The aftermath of these conditions may well have seen a re-planning of rural settlements similar to that which seems to have taken place in Co. Durham and the Vale of York. Whether the classic 'planned villages' of the Eden valley, such as Milburn, were laid out at this time is an open question.

As population levels rose across England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, new land was taken into use to feed the extra mouths. New hamlets and farmsteads were built on the margins of existing communities – the numerous Newbiggins ('new building') in Cumbria probably date from this period, for example – and land on the fringes of woodland and the uplands was brought into cultivation. The period between c.1050 and c.1350 must thus have seen a significant 're-writing' of the landscape, probably involving both existing settlements and new landscapes of

colonisation. Brian Roberts' theme at the day conference was to explore the evolution of villages in this phase.

Working still further back in time, we come to a critical period in the making of the English landscape. The outlines of the historic landscape can be traced back into the later Anglo-Saxon centuries. The names of most villages can be shown to derive from the Old English or Old Scandinavian languages, suggesting a continuity since before the Norman Conquest. Where charters granting estates survive in southern and midland England, the boundaries of the land granted can often be related to modern parish and township boundaries, strongly suggesting that patterns of landholding and land use established in Anglo-Saxon times formed a framework within which the medieval (and even post-medieval) landscape evolved. One of the big questions in landscape history concerns the extent to which the 'historic' landscape of the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval centuries inherited elements from the 'prehistoric' landscapes of the Roman era and before. In parts of England there is a clear discontinuity: medieval villages and open fields in the Midlands, for example, appear often to bear little relation to the layout of fields and settlements in the Romano-British or earlier periods. Indeed, some historians have talked of a 'rural revolution' in the later Anglo-Saxon centuries, which saw a re-writing of rural settlement and land use patterns in the centuries between c.800 and c.1100. Elsewhere, in parts of East Anglia and the South West, for example, continuity in the layout of fields and lanes has been suggested. How much continuity can we postulate in Cumbria (the ethnic and political history of which was very different from further south) between the historic and prehistoric landscapes? Rachel Newman tackles related themes in her overview of the evidence from Cumbria for the centuries between the Roman occupation and the Norman Conquest.

The three phases of landscape 're-writing' identified here all fall within the last two of the 'six thousand years of human interference.' In the absence of documentary evidence before the Roman occupation, we have to rely on archaeological and environmental evidence in any attempt to reconstruct the history of the landscape in prehistory. It is possible that there were phases of landscape change then, which were just as dramatic as those in recorded history. This is the context for Martin Railton's survey of the evidence for prehistoric settlement, in which he draws attention to the wealth of evidence from the Bronze Age and the dearth of evidence for Iron Age activity.

Finally, by way of introduction, a few words about the subject of the day conference, the Eden valley itself. Locality is important in landscape history: the natural resources of an area and the character of land and soils ultimately determine the patterns of human use of the land and hence the human impact on the landscape. The upper Eden valley forms an ideal area in which to study settlement patterns and landscape history, as it is a 'natural' geographical unit with a clear historical identity. At its heart lies the fertile vale of the Eden, a lowland area blessed with a comparatively warm, dry climate and comparatively rich soils. It has formed a core of land attractive to settlement across the millennia – an area in which some land may have been in more or less continuous cultivation for literally thousands of years and in which the time-depth of human activity is great indeed. Surrounding that core lies an upland periphery, yielding extensive pastures and a variety of mineral resources, notably lead and lime. The Pennine scarp, Stainmore, the limestone uplands between

Shap and Kirkby Stephen, and the eastern fells of the Lake District form an enclosing ring, beyond the limits of settlement, separating the Eden valley from other regions and giving it a strong identity. Historically, it forms a distinctive *pays*, to which the name 'Westmorland' ('the land of the people living west of the moors') was given in the Anglo-Saxon period. Its identity was reinforced when it became a great feudal estate, the barony of Westmorland, in the Norman period.

The name Westmorland also reflects the area's position on the line of one of the major routeways since the medieval period. 'Westmorland' must have been coined by Angles living in the Northumbrian heartland, east of the Pennines (an eastern perspective is implicit in the description 'the people living west of the moors'). In that period, the Eden valley presumably looked east to Northumbria as much as (perhaps more than) north-west into the rest of Cumbria. By the Norman period the area lay athwart the main road from York (the capital of the North) to Carlisle (the royal stronghold close to the Scottish border) and, by the troubled fourteenth century, must have been keenly aware of its northern links, when Appleby suffered from the depredations of Scots raiders. The pattern of communications also played a part in giving the Eden valley a distinctive character in the nineteenth century. Traversed by the Durham railway and the Settle-Carlisle line, the area was linked south and east to Co. Durham and Yorkshire, reinforcing its separate identity and distinguishing it from other parts of Cumbria.

Understanding the evolution of the landscape involves taking account of the particularity of a locality, as well as the broader processes (geographical, economic, historical) which lie behind landscape change. It was therefore particularly good that the conference ended with a paper firmly rooted in one place. Harry Hawkins' report on fieldwork carried out 'under Fiend's Fell' by members of the Appleby Archaeology Group draws together several themes encountered during the day by exploring the tangible legacies of the past along the high tide mark of human activity at the foot of the fells near Kirkland.

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PREHISTORIC FARMERS?
EVIDENCE FOR EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THE EDEN VALLEY

Martin Railton, North Pennines Archaeology

PREFACE

This paper discusses the evidence for later prehistoric settlement and land use in the Eden Valley, Cumbria. It examines the current state of knowledge regarding prehistoric settlement in Cumbria, and summarises some of the problems and challenges of investigating the archaeology of this period. It then describes a sample cross-section of known prehistoric settlement sites and associated land use systems within a transect across the Eden Valley.

PART 1: PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENTS IN CUMBRIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND, PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

Identifying early settlements

The Neolithic period (*c*.4000 - *c*.2500 BC) is traditionally associated with the adoption of agriculture and the creation of permanent settlements. However, archaeological evidence for permanent Neolithic settlements in Cumbria is lacking. An exception is a possible enclosed settlement, which was excavated by Bewley at Plasketlands on the North Cumbrian Plain. An alignment of post pits was excavated, which may give some indication as to the nature of early Neolithic activity (Bewley 1993).

The palaeoecological evidence for the early Neolithic in the county suggests landscape management by burning, notably in the uplands (Bradley and Edmonds 1993, 138-9), and also small scale clearances. It has been proposed that permanent Neolithic settlement and associated plant and animal domestication may have been limited to a number of 'core zones', which had high agricultural potential (e.g. coastal plain of southwest Cumbria and the Eden Valley). However, hunting and gathering lifestyles could have persisted over much of the county during this period, especially in the upland areas, which are considered to be economically peripheral in terms of early agriculture (Harding 2001, 2).

The earliest widespread evidence for settled agriculture in Cumbria is broadly dated to the Bronze Age Period (*c*.2500 - *c*.600 BC). It is thought that settlement in the Late Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age period was restricted to light and reasonably fertile soils. Evidence is provided by the presence of numerous burial cairns, clearance cairns, and ceremonial monuments. In the Early Bronze Age burials are associated with later forms of Beaker and Food Vessels (generally in cists under round cairns), whilst later burials are associated with cinerary urns of various types.

Unenclosed settlement sites have been recognised in parts of upland Cumbria in association with cairn fields and field banks, and may date to the Bronze Age. Examples include sites on Stockdale Moor and Town Bank, surveyed by Jamie Quartermain (Quartermain 2002). Similar examples in Northumberland have been dated to the earlier Bronze Age, and are associated with the partial clearance of upland areas at the beginning of the second millennium BC (Johnston 2000, 61). In the later Bronze Age (in South Cumbria) there is clear evidence for sustained clearance resulting from individual clearance episodes, in part for arable cultivation (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000, 156).

At the end of the Bronze Age there was believed to be a large scale abandonment of the uplands, which coincided with climatic deterioration, resulting in the marginal uplands becoming unviable as agricultural land The palaeoenvironmental record for the beginning of the Iron Age appears to show the regeneration of the uplands as a result (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000, 156).

Traditionally, the only settlements assigned to the Iron Age period in Cumbria (*c*.600 BC – 72/73 AD) are the defended farmsteads around the central Eden Valley and its eastern slopes, the coastal plain around the River Derwent, and in the predominantly coastal southwest (Clack and Gosling 1976).

The most common form of settlement identified is the undefended complex settlement consisting of a series of small field enclosures attached to a central enclosure containing stone-built round houses. The majority of known sites are stone built and survive as earthworks above the 700ft contour in limestone areas, especially on higher ground at the southern end of the Eden Valley (Higham & Jones 1975, 17). Classic examples are found in the Crosby Ravensworth area at Ewe Close. These have been assigned to the Romano-British period (or later) as none have been demonstrated to be pre-Roman.

Higham and Jones recognised that the distribution of known prehistoric and Romano-British settlements was a distortion of the true distribution of sites, as this was almost entirely reliant on patterns of survival. They realised that timber equivalents of the stone-built sites on lower ground had most likely been destroyed by intensive agriculture. Previous air photography had tended to concentrate on the system of Roman roads and forts, leading to a distorted picture of 'contemporary' native settlement. Aerial survey conducted by Higham and Jones in 1974-5 provided evidence for a large number lowland sites in Cumbria, many of which were closely linked to extensive field and dyke systems. The evidence suggested that the overall pattern of settlement was more extensive than had previously been thought, and was not in any way limited to the distribution of Roman forts.

The southern end of the Eden Valley in particular provides extensive evidence for 'native' settlements and associated field systems. Although W G Collingwood has proposed that the extensive dyke systems there are medieval, Higham and Jones argued that most of these had origins in the Iron Age/Romano-British periods (Higham and Jones 1975, 37). These consist of mainly earthen banks with a ditch on the uphill side, in contrast to those containing large amounts of stone and no ditch, which were interpreted as medieval or later stone walls. Dating of the dykes is based solely on their association with settlements. However Higham and Jones proposed

that the majority were pre-Roman. Examples include Aughertree Fell, where a group of ring ditches have as associated dyke system, and at Stone Carr where a dyke system appears to pre-date a native settlement site. The upland dyke systems supplement the natural boundaries of the landscape and can only be understood in relation to local topography (Higham and Jones 1975, 38). Many are cross-ridge boundaries, running up the contours and parcelling up the land into more manageable landscape units.

Whilst Higham and Jones have provided extensive evidence for the existence of native settlements and associated land use systems, the assumption that settlements are broadly contemporary, and are mainly Romano-British in date has not been proven.

The 'missing' Iron Age

A recent English Heritage document described Cumbria as a 'black hole' in terms of Iron Age archaeology, as it is a region which lacks even a basic Iron Age chronology (*Understanding the British Iron Age: An agenda for action*, Haselgrove 2001, 25). At present the dating of prehistoric and Romano-British settlements in the county relies on a few radio-carbon dates, the presence (or absence) of Romano-British pottery, and comparisons with morphologically-similar sites in other areas, in the assumption that these are contemporary. As a consequence the later prehistoric period in Cumbria is only understood in very broad terms (*c*.600 BC – 72/73 AD).

There are, however, a large number of known settlement sites in Cumbria which could potentially date to the Iron Age or Romano-British periods. As stated above, the majority of these survive as earthworks in the marginal uplands, and as crop-marks in the more intensively cultivated lowlands. The majority of known sites consist of single banked or ditched enclosures, which exhibit wide morphological variation, including circular, curvilinear, rectilinear and square forms. These native settlement forms may have extended from the Bronze Age to the end of the Roman period and may also have continued into the post-Roman period. Some of these sites have been dated to the Romano-British period on the basis of pottery evidence, whilst Iron Age sites have largely gone unrecognised, due to the apparent absence of Iron Age material culture and a lack of alternative dating evidence. Bewley argues that Iron Age Cumbria is essentially aceramic, which if true, makes the identification of sites of this period difficult without alternative dating evidence (Bewley 1994, 63).

Excavated evidence suggests that enclosed settlements may have considerable time depth. Roman period occupation has been identified at two curvilinear enclosures at Old Brampton and Jacob's Gill in the Solway Plain (Blake 1959, 1-6). At Wolsty Hall a circular and square enclosure were dated to the Roman period on the pottery evidence, but an adjacent oval enclosure was thought to be pre-Roman (Blake 1959, 7). A double-ditched curvilinear enclosure at Ewanrigg (Risehow) near Maryport was dated by pottery evidence to the fourth century AD (Bewley 1992, 25-37). However, carbonised grain from a pit within the enclosure produced a calibrated radiocarbon date of 1410-1000 BC, suggesting that the site had origins in the Bronze Age. Very little known excavation has taken place at enclosed site in the Eden Valley.

Unenclosed settlement sites are present in Cumbria, but are less well known than enclosed forms, due to poor archaeological visibility. It has been suggested that enclosed sites were predominantly a feature of the Roman landscape in the lowlands of Cumbria, and that unenclosed settlements may have been the norm in the Iron Age (Haselgrove 2002, 7-9). This theory has been supported by recent excavations of an unenclosed settlement at Baldhowend, Matterdale, which provided a late Iron Age date of 365 BC – 65 AD for two hut circles and an associated field and bank (Loney & Hoaen 2000).

No hill forts are known in Cumbria. Carrock Fell has been proposed as a possibility (McCarthy 2000, 136), but this could be Neolithic in date. There are a small number of multivallet enclosures which could be Iron Age, including a triple-ditched enclosure on the cliff edge at Swarthy Hill, near Maryport (Bewley 1992, 37-42). The upper fill of the inner ditch provided a single uncalibrated radiocarbon date of 450 $\pm$ 50 BC. Despite the difficulty of calibrating radiocarbon dates of this period, this provides a date within the earlier Iron Age, between 601 and 394 BC.

In common with much of North West England, the palaeoecological record indicates sustained and permanent clearance of woodland in the middle and later Iron Age. This is visible in pollen diagrams from across Cumbria and appears to represent a real expansion of activity. Deforestation appears to have occurred across the landscape, although it is likely that the scale of clearance was variable according to local factors (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000, 157).

In conclusion, despite an appalling lack of dating evidence for native settlements in Cumbria, these do not appear to conform to the types recognised elsewhere in the country. In Northumberland palisaded or ditched settlements (curvilinear and rectilinear) were the norm, while in Cumbria these have gone largely unrecognised. Also the hillforts, which have been pivotal to the interpretation of the Iron Age elsewhere, are absent from Cumbria. Instead the archaeological record is dominated by small undefended complex settlements and defended enclosures.

PART 2 : THE EDEN VALLEY

INTRODUCTION

Site Survival

The Eden valley provides some of the most tenable agricultural land in Cumbria, and as a result one would expect it to have been one of the most intensively occupied parts of the county in later prehistory. However, in terms of the survival of archaeological remains there is a real disparity between the upland fells and valleys of central Lake District, and lowland areas which provide better quality agricultural land; particularly the Eden Valley and the Solway Plain. In the Lake District and the margins of the Eden Valley there is generally a much higher survival of stone and earthwork monuments, whilst in the Eden Valley and Solway Plain the evidence has largely been obliterated by later agricultural practises. In the Solway Plain evidence in the form

crop marks is more prevalent (Bewley 1994). However, this is less common in the Eden Valley where a large proportion of the land is now permanent pasture.

Site Distribution

Archaeological data from the Cumbria County Council HER has been plotted to create a series of distribution maps of known settlement sites in the Eden Valley. The disparity between the intensively cultivated lowlands and marginal uplands becomes immediately apparent (Figure 1). The distribution of sites of Bronze Age sites is dominated by funerary and ceremonial monuments with a small number of isolated hut circles and field systems, in comparison with those of presumed Iron Age date (Figure 2), which are mainly enclosed settlements and field systems. Many more Roman Period sites are known, with a strong distribution of sites and find spots along the route of the A66, an important communication route in the Roman Period (Figure 3).

The Study Area

A representative sample of settlement sites has been selected for discussion. The study area comprises a 10km-wide transect across the Eden Valley incorporating settlements of all periods, covering the full range of environments, including the high Pennine fells, western slopes, lowlands of the valley bottom, and eastern limestone uplands. The known settlements within this transect can be broadly subdivided into five categories based on the limited information available: unenclosed settlements and field systems (Bronze Age), simple enclosed settlements (Iron Age/Romano-British), univallet/defended settlements (Iron Age), developed or 'village' settlements (Romano-British), and linear boundaries/dyke systems.

SETTLEMENTS

Bronze Age settlements and field systems

The climate during the Second Millennium BC is believed to have been comparatively warm and dry, and the archaeological evidence for this period suggests that there was a corresponding expansion of settlement into areas that were previously marginal for human settlement. Finds of Bronze Age metalwork, burial monuments and ritual sites can be found up to 427m to the east of the Pennines (Higham 1986, 82). In Northumberland unenclosed settlement sites associated with cairn fields and field systems are common on open moorland between 210-380m, suggesting that upland clearance for a combination of arable cultivation and pasture was fairly widespread in this period.

Bronze Age settlements in the lowlands have largely not been recognised. However, extensive clearance and localised cereal cultivation elsewhere (e.g. on the Pennine scarp, Caroline Skinner 2000) would suggest permanent settlements and field systems did exist, perhaps associated with extensive grazing over more marginal land, and cattle may have been particularly important (Higham 1986, 135-8).

Upland stone clearance implies agricultural activity and land-improvement for cultivation. Plots are generally small (0.1-2ha) and were probably cultivated either by

hand (in the smaller enclosures), or ploughed (using the ard) for the cultivation of emmer wheat, barley or oats. Cultivation may have been small-scale and associated with a shifting pattern of agriculture combined with grazing animals (used to improve fertility by manuring) and hunting. Upland areas may have been permanently or perennially occupied.

Examples from within the study area include a settlement at Scordale near Hilton (NY 7467 2130), which was recently surveyed by a team from English Heritage, and is a Scheduled Ancient Monument. The site comprises a dispersed Bronze Age settlement comprising a series of quadrangular fields and clearance cairns. The fields are defined by stone banks and positive lynchets, caused by the accumulation of soil from above. Within the broader field system are several smaller enclosures, possibly paddocks associated with nearby round houses. Over 40 clearance cairns were identified, which extended outside of the Scheduled Area (English Heritage 2006).

A number of smaller fragmentary field systems survive on the Limestone Uplands, associated with isolated hut circles and clearance cairns of likely Bronze Age date (e.g. Gaythorn Plain, Orton, NY 6470 1120). Field walking by the Cherries has produced an abundance of lithic material which indicates the area was certainly exploited in the late Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, perhaps combining limited cereal cultivation with grazing animals and hunting (Cherry & Cherry 1987).

Iron Age settlements

The climate apparently became colder and wetter at the beginning of the First Millennium BC, reaching its maximum effect around 800 BC (Higham 1986, 117). This would have resulted in environmental deterioration with a large-scale increase in hill soil wash in areas that had previously been cleared of tree cover and the creation of blanket peat or moorland over wide areas with poor drainage. This would effectively reduce the amount of land available for settlement expansion, and make cultivation impractical over much marginal land, particularly to the west of the Pennines. This could have led to a shortage of good-quality land in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron age and an increased level of territorial awareness. During this period, it is possible that the previously cultivated upland areas may have reverted to pasture. Unenclosed sites of an Iron Age date may have been associated with an animal-based economy, adopted to utilise these areas.

For the Iron Age and Romano-British periods most enclosed farmsteads are thought to have been relatively compact permanently-occupied operational units (in terms of the more intensively used land), probably surrounded by a ring fence or continuous boundary. Studies of this period are inevitably based on the analysis of boundaries which may survive as earthworks or as crop marks. However the landscape of a farm or settlement would have extended beyond the enclosed fields and occasionally larger units of land division can be recognised in the form of linear boundaries (or natural divisions) enclosing areas of rough grazing or woodland. In practical terms settlements are generally thought to have been1-2km apart.

An example of an enclosed farmstead of possible Iron Age date is Castle Hill near Dufton (NY 7016 2301). For illustrative purposes we are still dependent on the Royal

Commission surveys published in 1936 (RCHME 1936). This settlement contains several hut circles surrounded by an outer bank and ditch, and the presence of a possible later square structure, forming a typical defended farmstead (Figure 4). However the site is only one component of a more extensive landscape.

Most upland systems involve dykes – earthen banks with a ditch on the upslope side, tracable in some instances for up to 5km. Linear features probably acted as land divisions, making land ownership or possibly dividing lowland arable land-use from upland summer pasture, or possibly even more important: to protect livestock winter feed. At least some dykes have pre-Roman origins but were probably also used in the Roman and Medieval periods. It is thought that Castle Hill of one of at least three settlements, surrounded by an extensive dyke system, which has been mapped from air photographs (Higham 1978).

Another possible Iron Age enclosed settlement is the Druidical Judgement Seat on Brackenber Moor, near Appleby (NY 7196 1890). This is a D-shaped univallet enclosure, situated on a natural headland. Its association with nearby Bronze Age burial cairns, dykes, finds of saddle and beehive querns, and an adjacent rectilinear enclosure, suggest the landscape had a long period of use. Other sites identified from air photographs include a curvilinear ditched enclosure and associated dykes at Whitely Crag near Asby, and a recent discovery of a possible Iron Age curvilinear ditched enclosure and possible later square (Roman?) farm at Sidelands, Long Marton.

One of the few examples of an excavated 'native' farmstead in the Eden Valley is Penrith Farm (Higham & Jones 1983). Identified from air photographs by Higham and Jones, no trace of the bank and ditch survived at the surface. Excavation revealed a timber roundhouse within the enclosure with yards and internal ditches, replaced by later rectangular structures, possibly houses and animal sheds. Although dated by pottery evidence to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, this form of settlement is typical of the Iron Age and later periods.

Iron Age/Romano-British enclosures

Climatic improvement may have taken place towards the end of the First Millennium BC and into the Roman Period. A renewed period of clearance activity and expansion of settlements appears to have taken place nationally, possibly arriving later in the North. In the North West this may not have taken place until the end of the Later Iron Age or into the Roman Period (Higham 1986, 118). Much of the Cumbrian and Pennine uplands would have been open moorland by this time with impoverished soils and areas of blanket peat. Expansion would probably have taken place in areas of better-drained lowland soils, leading to increased deforestation in these areas.

A number of undated enclosures have been identified in the study area with may broadly be dated to the Iron Age or Romano-British periods. These include several upland examples, which may be associated with an animal-based economy. At High Cup Gill, Murton (NY 7350 2480), air photographs show three adjoining stone-walled enclosures. The medium enclosure contains a possible rectangular house foundation on the west side. Whilst at Middle Tongue, Murton (NY 7390 2410), a curvilinear enclosure lies adjacent to a rectilinear field system. Both sites are undated.

Romano-British complex settlements

The development of the simple farmstead into more complex (undefended) forms has traditionally been assigned to the Roman-British period on the basis of limited artefactual evidence. The complex or 'village' settlement is particularly well-represented on the limestone uplands to the west of the Eden Valley, particularly in the Crosby Ravensworth area. The limestone soils there would have been relatively fertile and easily-worked, but have not been heavily cultivated in more recent periods, leading to a high level of preservation.

One of the best preserved examples is Burwens Settlement (NY 6217 1225). It comprises a typical 'modular' arrangement of integrated round houses and small compounds within a rectilinear stone-walled enclosure (Figure 5). Typically these settlements have more than one entrance, giving access into different parts of the settlements, suggesting they were not intended to be defended settlements. The small compounds may have been used as animal pens, yards or gardens.

Other sites in the Crosby Ravensworth area include Howarcles Settlement (NY 6272 1316), which is interpreted as a Romano-British farmstead. This mainly comprises irregular enclosures, with at least one small hut circle and one possible large house, suggesting the farmstead of a single family. The most extensive example is Ewe Close (NY 6095 1346), which covers nearly 2 acres. The Maiden Way apparently takes detour to avoid Ewe Close, suggesting some form of settlement here predates the Roman road. In addition to the Crosby Ravensworth area, other similar sites exist near Asby. An example is Holbourn Hill Settlement (NY 6819 1218), which is less well preserved and any evidence for hut circles has been lost, but nevertheless conforms to the form of a Romano-British farmstead.

Collingwood excavated the plan of the central 'homestead' at Ewe Close in 1906, revealing a series of huts, and a large central building with a flagged floor. All of the finds were Roman in date. Collingwood reported on his excavation in Carlisle in 1907 stating : "Speculations on the possible use and nature of the building – so far as our present knowledge goes – in our district would be out of place until further examination of this and the neighbouring sites has given us all the data we can obtain from exploration." However, in the past 100 years since his address, no further exploration has taken place on any of these sites.

Finally, although interpreted as a Romano-British settlement, a site at Winderwath near Asby (NY 6630 1080) was close to the location of a hoard of Anglo-Saxon metalwork discovered in 1990's, suggesting the possibility of occupation in later periods.

DISCUSSION

It is noticeable that our view of the settlements of the later prehistoric period is dictated by the presence of well-drained soils which show cropmarks, and the preservation of features on now-marginal land (Higham & Jones 1975). These

comparable forms of evidence need to be given equal weight when considering the overall pattern of settlement.

The transformations that mark the beginning of the Iron Age are often regarded as a response to the process of climatic deterioration and the availability of fewer resources, which led to the widespread collapse of existing social, political and economic systems, particularly across the fells and higher foothills of the region, which were either abandoned or drastically reorganised (Harding 2001, 7). The archaeology of the Pennines and upland fells of the central Lake District is largely interpreted based on this climatic model and the concept of marginality (Tipping 2002). However there are other economic strategies, beyond the growth requirements of particular crops, which could be successful in so-called 'marginal' areas. Human societies may have developed specialized economies where cereal growth became difficult. It is possible that the Pennine fells continued to be occupied either permanently or perennially during the Iron Age and Romano-British Periods utilising an animal-based economy.

CONCLUSIONS

The Eden Valley contains a wealth of archaeological evidence for settlements dating to the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British periods, but apart from the evidence of air photography, no real advances have been made in understanding these since W G Collingwood's excavation of Ewe Close a century ago. Only through new fieldwork, in particular excavation, and the provision of a series of radiocarbon dates, can we begin to address the problems of interpreting prehistoric settlement and land-use in the Eden Valley.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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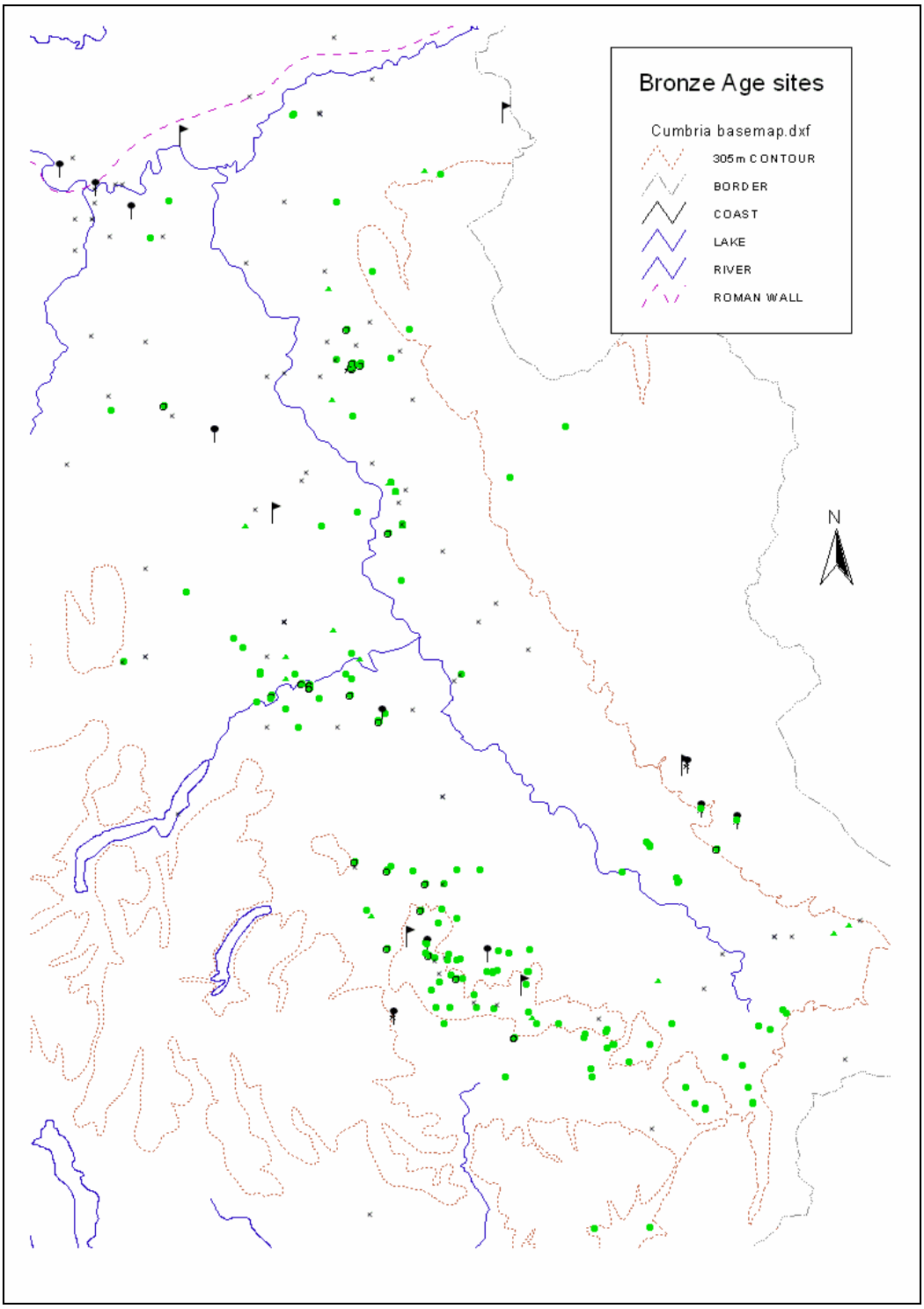

Figure 1: Distribution map of Bronze Age sites in the Eden Valley

(Key: Dots = burial monuments, Circles = ceremonial monuments, Flags = settlement sites and hut circles, Lollipops = cairn fields/field systems, Crosses = isolated find spots)

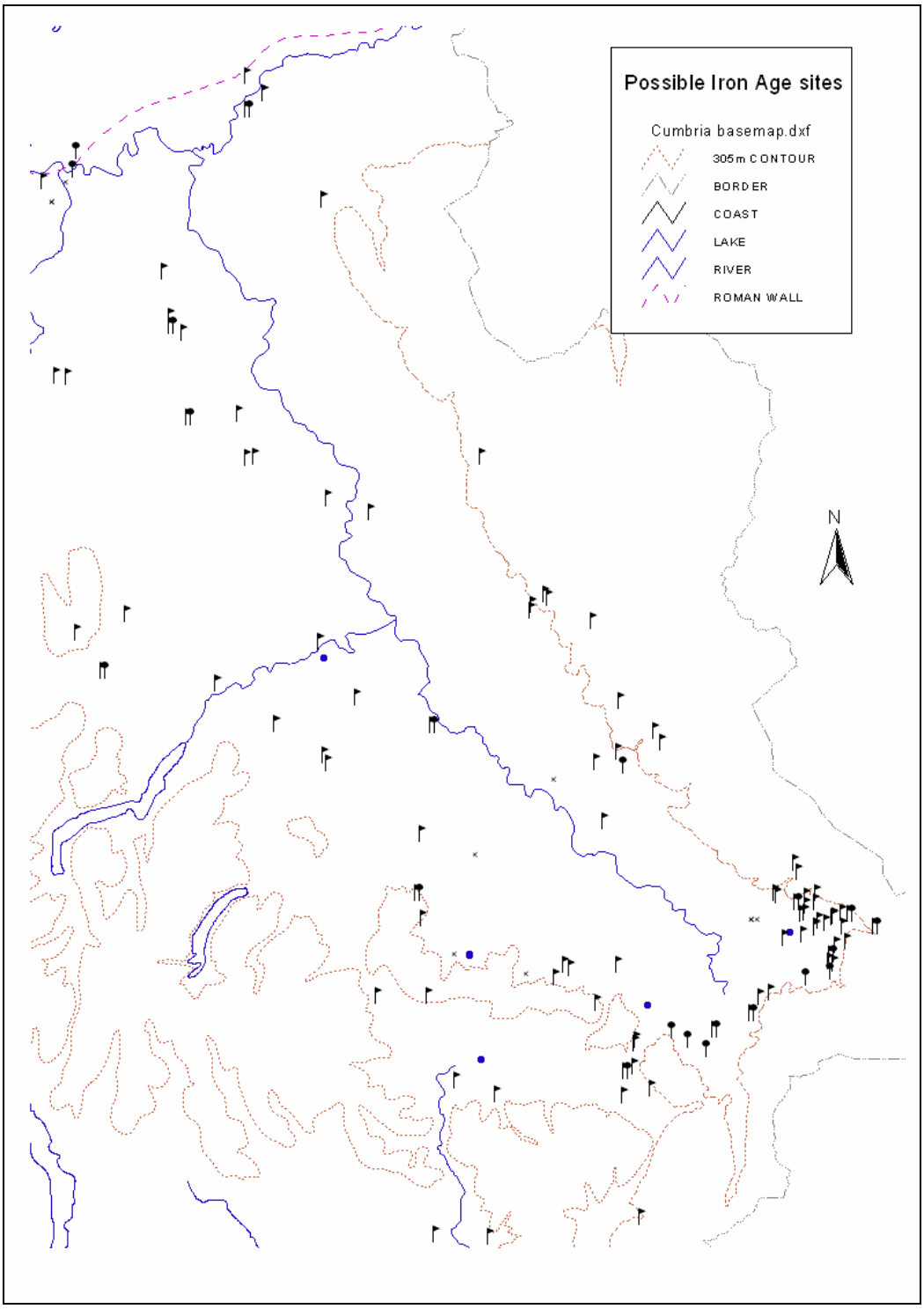

Figure 2: Distribution map of possible Iron Age sites in the Eden Valley

(Key: Dots = possible burial sites, Flags = settlement sites,
Lollipops = field systems/dykes, Crosses = isolated find spots)

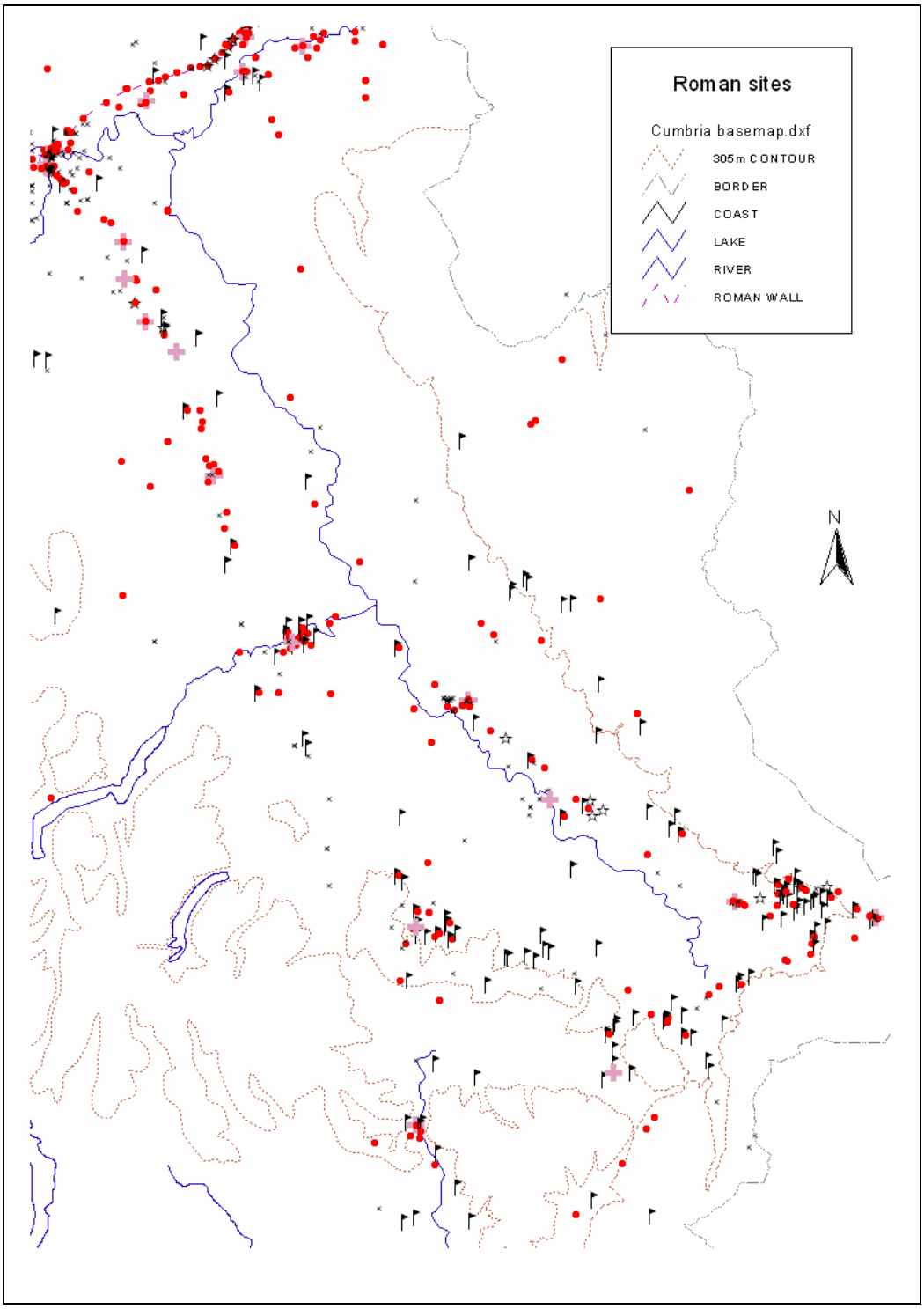

Figure 3: Distribution map of Roman Period sites in the Eden Valley

(Key: Dots = Roman period sites, Crosses = Roman forts, Stars = Roman signal stations, Flags = native settlement sites, Lollipops = field systems/dykes, Crosses = isolated find spots)

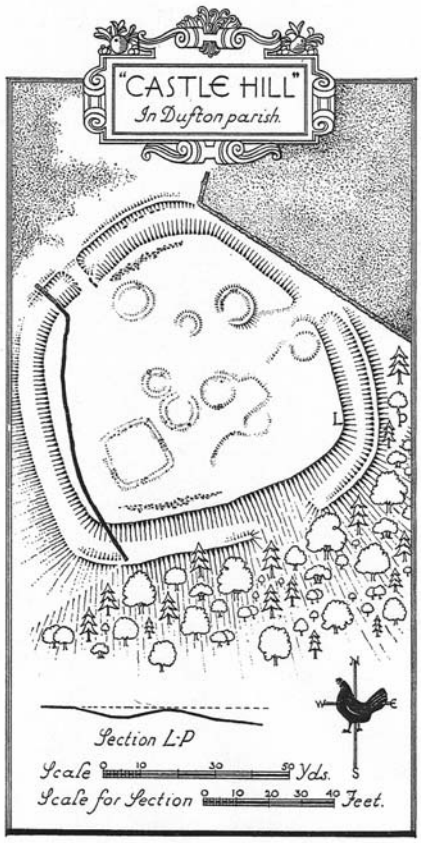

Figure 4: Castle Hill defended farmstead near Dufton (RCHME 1936)

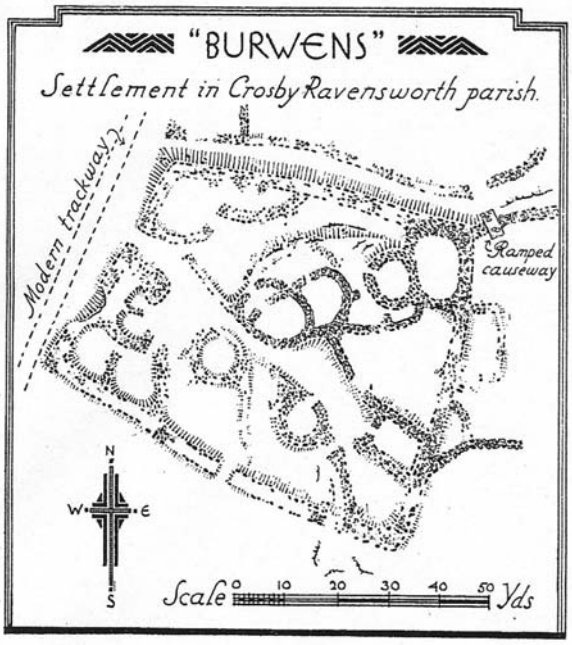

Figure 5: Burwens complex or 'village' settlement, Crosby Ravensworth area (RCHME 1936)

THE LOCALS AND ROME.

A NOTE

Andrew Hoaen who was to present this paper withdrew from the conference at the last minute and Ian Caruana stepped in to take his place. Ian had little time to prepare his presentation and therefore was not asked to write a paper for inclusion in this publication.

Readers who may wish to learn to know more about the Roman period in the Eden Valley are referred to David Shotter's *Romans and Britons in North-West England,* Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Lancaster University, 2004. This book has an extensive bibliography and provides an essential starting point for the history and archaeology of the Roman period in the North-West. Hilary Cool has written up Dorothy Charlesworth's 1966/67 excavations at Brougham in *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham,* London, 2004, while Nicholas Higham and Barri Jones in *The Carvetii,* Stroud, 1985, provide a valuable background to local conditions from AD 43 to AD 367. Mike McCarthy's book *The Romans on the Solway* includes native sites and Romans are prominent in Blaise Vyner (ed) *Stainmore: The Archaeology of a North Pennine Pass,* Hartlepool and London, 2001. The *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, contain many pre-First World War and post-World War papers on Roman sites in the Eden Valley including work on the forts at Brougham, Brough-under-Stainmore, Old Penrith, Low Barrow Bridge and Old Carlisle. There are good runs of the *Transactions* in the libraries at Kirkby Stephen and Appleby and a complete series in Penrith library.

An up-to-date assessment of Romano-British archaeology and a framework for future research can be found in the two volumes of Mark Brennand (ed) *The Archaeology of North West England: An Archaeological Framework for North West England,* CBA NW, 2006/7.

HH

WHO WAS HERE IN THE DARK AGES?

Rachel Newman, **Oxford Archaeology North**

The period after the ending of Roman governance in Britain is one of the most elusive in both the historical and archaeological record, hence it being named familiarly as 'The Dark Ages'. The archaeological community, however, tends to refer to the 600 years or so from the late fourth to the late eleventh centuries as 'The Early Medieval Period', particularly in the North, where labels such as 'Middle or Late Saxon', as commonly used in the South, really do not apply; also, particularly in the last 30 years or so, light is beginning to dawn archaeologically on 'The Dark Ages', so it is generally felt that it is time to move on! However, it is only 20 years since Nick Higham said that 'the end of the artificial, Roman, economy has deprived the archaeologist of diagnostic, artefactual evidence on all but a small minority of sites, and has left us dangerously dependent on documentary sources, the interpretation of which is unusually difficult.....To set beside these [few] sources are a handful of inscriptions and a very limited amount of archaeological evidence, much of which is of questionable value if only because of chronological imprecision' (Higham 1986, 242-3). This paper looks at how an admittedly small number of sites, and some in northern Cumbria in particular, are causing that statement to be rewritten.

As Caesar said of Gaul (Handford 1951), the early medieval period is divided in the North into three parts archaeologically, and thereby, at least superficially, culturally, through the media of the scanty documentary sources, the much larger corpus of place-names, and the limited archaeological evidence; these are sub-Roman, Northumbrian, and Anglo-Scandinavian, each lasting very approximately two centuries. Firstly, in the 5th and 6th centuries, following the withdrawal of Roman governance, it seems that the Roman provinces fragmented into a number of small kingdoms. Whilst there is perhaps some indication that these were beginning to coalesce into larger polities, the major changing force was that, during the 7th century, these became subsumed within the rapidly expanding Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Cumbria becoming part of the great kingdom of Northumbria. Northumbria's decline from political eminence from the later 8th century left a power vacuum, and from then onwards, until the Norman Conquest and beyond, the region appears to have remained politically unstable, and subject to external pressures, from the South, from the North, and from beyond the seas (Kirkby 1962). It seems that the pressure from Scandinavians and Hiberno-Norse acted as the catalyst for this instability, but by the early 10th century, pressure also came from the expanding English kingdoms, firstly from Mercia but more importantly from Wessex, having recovered from the onslaught of Danish armies, establishing the dominance which led to its kings becoming the first lords of a genuinely united England (Earle and Plummer 1892). That from the North came firstly from Strathclyde, which penetrated far into Cumbria, and then from the growing unity of the Scottish kingdom.

It is clear, however, from the growing corpus of information, that this broad historical chronology is much harder to identify on the ground than might have been expected

some 25 years ago, when the historical narrative was just about all there was. At that time, there were really only random and largely unstratified finds, often only recorded in antiquarian literature, to deal with. Indeed, it is perhaps remarkable to note that it is only since the 1970s that sites, other than burials, that are firmly associated with the early medieval period in the North West have begun to be excavated, sometimes unintentionally, when expecting to find evidence of other periods, and even though the sites concerned can be counted on the fingers of two hands, it can honestly be said that our ideas have been revolutionised as a result. In addition, the linking of palaeoecological studies to archaeology, both on conventional archaeological sites, and the realisation that the study of the vast resources of peat within the region can expand an understanding of the past exponentially, has given a whole new view of the period, particularly since it has started to remove our dependence on scanty cultural indicators in favour of absolute dating, primarily through radiocarbon assay; unsurprisingly, this has demonstrated that there was quite extensive early medieval activity which had previously simply not been recognised.

We have been brought up to believe that the end of Roman rule in Britain was in AD 410, although, increasingly, archaeological evidence indicates that, culturally, Roman sites were changing from at least the early to mid 4th century (Shotter 2004), perhaps suggesting that it would be more accurate to call the period 'the ending of Roman Britain' rather than 'the end...'. It is also questionable whether on clearly Roman sites, such as forts and in settlements such as Carlisle, the occupants thought of themselves as something other than Romano-Britons until well into the 5th century, if not later. After all, the anonymous life of St Cuthbert (Webb 1998) reports that the saint met a 'reeve' in Carlisle in 685, called Waga, a British name for a man with a title that was clearly Roman in origin. It was also recorded that Cuthbert was shown a functioning fountain, surely part of the Roman water-management system. Within the fort at Carlisle, radiocarbon dating of an animal bone produced a date of AD 210-440, which, when taken with the fact that the same pit produced a coin of AD 388/92, suggests that this phase of 'Roman' occupation may have extended well into the 5th century, and two further phases of 'Roman' activity were included, including the apparently deliberate demolition of most of the buildings in the fort (Zant forthcoming).

When examined in conjunction with the evidence from Hadrian's Wall, at Birdoswald, this really does overturn the traditional view of a sudden and possibly dramatic change from the Roman period into the Dark Ages. At Birdoswald, the concept of the Romans themselves becoming different without knowing it, as Dio Cassius said of the peoples being incorporated within the Empire (Cary and Foster 1969), has been elegantly demonstrated by Tony Wilmott, although it is notable that there was a considerable change in the construction techniques and styles used in building (from stone to timber for example), and he has put forward a model to explain how at least some of the war bands of the 5th and 6th centuries recorded in historical sources may have come into existence (Wilmott 1997). It now seems clear that no-one rang a bell, or blew a whistle, but that, after the Roman field army was withdrawn, about AD 406 (Johnson 1980), the frontier forces became increasingly isolated, until it seems that any system of overall command disintegrated. In other words, the ending of Roman rule in the North does not seem to have been heralded by the marching of feet, or the sound of martial music, but the failure of the pay chest to arrive!

What of the rest of the population? Was the 350 years of Roman rule simply an 'interlude', as Nick Higham (1986) has suggested? To date, there is no evidence that building forms were in any way different from the Iron Age through into the post-Roman period, although admittedly there seem to be some local styles which occurred in the Romano-British period. How long these styles remained in use is still a mystery, since almost all such rural sites have been dated by finds, rather than by radiocarbon assay. Hopefully, this will begin to change in the near future. Recently, evidence for the reoccupation of at least some hillforts has been found in Cumbria, to parallel that seen, for instance, in the South West (eg Alcock 1972): at Shoulthwaite, near Thirlmere, the organic primary fill of a ditch has produced dates in the 6th to 7th centuries (LUAU 1999). The fact that these came from an apparently primary fill raises perhaps startling possibilities of interpretation.

Before the advent of radiocarbon dating programmes, changes recognised in the peat record were largely linked to the past through known historical events. Thus, it was presumed that large-scale clearances were linked to the coming of the Romans, and the subsequent regeneration was an artefact of the collapse of Roman rule (eg Pennington 1970). Over the last 20 years or so, this has been shown to be an over-simplification of the situation, and it would almost be fair to say that, where radiocarbon dating of the onset of woodland regeneration has been achieved, it has been proven to have occurred, not in the 4th or even the 5th century, but in the 6th. There is also evidence for clearance activity, as well as agricultural indicators, for the whole early medieval period (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000). As yet, however, this thorny branch has not been grasped and regional differentiation has not been examined, nor has the question been asked as to what the more complex picture now revealed really means in human terms.

So, it is becoming increasingly apparent that 'Roman Britain' did not end at the end of the 4th century, or perhaps even in the early to mid 5th. The scant documentary record refers to war bands being formed (eg Miller 1975), and, by the 6th century, a kingdom called Rheged seems to have held sway over the area of Cumbria. Tradition suggests that this was a golden age, and that it ended late in the 6th century, when Urien, the last major king, was killed at a siege of Bamburgh in Northumberland. Certainly, by the mid 7th century, Cumbria would appear to have formed part of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, although whether this had occurred through conquest or treaty is not known. Northumbria itself was a new polity, formed from the union of Deira (approximately modern Yorkshire) and Bernicia, in the early 7th century. The king of Bernicia (the northern part of Northumbria), Athelfrith, united these kingdoms, and is known to have campaigned west of the Pennines, winning a major battle against the Welsh at Chester in AD 615. The only other hint is a tradition that his son, Oswy, who became king in 642, had married a British princess, who was thrown over for an Anglo-Saxon at some later date (Kirkby 1962; Higham 1986).

What this meant, however, in terms of population movement, is unknown, and archaeologically, the period of the 7-9th centuries is recognisable mostly at sites that could be construed as atypical. In Cumbria, at Fremington, just to the east of the Roman fort at Brougham, and adjacent to the road over Stainmore, a site excavated in advance of a pipeline produced four classic sunken featured buildings of a type associated with the Anglo-Saxon settlement of eastern England, and part of what

seems to have been a hall-type structure (Oliver *et al* 1996). Whilst the majority of finds associated with these buildings were Roman, diagnostic loomweights and a purse clasp were also recovered. Most startlingly, perhaps, the site also produced over 100 sherds of crude hand-made pottery, which appears to have come from a contemporary clamp kiln. This was most akin to the Bronze Age pottery of the region, there being almost no firm evidence for an Iron Age ceramic tradition. Whether this hints at some form of continuation of a culturally conservative tradition cannot be proven, but it does mean that traditional ways of dating pottery by association may be flawed, and more scientific ways should be sought wherever possible. It seemed that the early medieval activity at Fremington represented shifting settlement from a Roman focus further to the south, beyond the excavation, a theme recurring elsewhere in the North West (as defined by Taylor 1983), perhaps indicating a strong measure of continuity of land-use from the Romano-British to the early medieval period, at least in these richer agricultural lands.

In the uplands, a tradition of stone building may have continued from the Romano-British period onwards. Certainly, the only evidence recovered to date is of stone-founded buildings, as at Bryant's Gill, where a sub-rectangular stone-founded structure has been excavated (Dickinson 1985), and, trespassing outside of Cumbria for a moment, parallels can be found at Ribblehead, just over the Lancastrian border into Yorkshire (King 1978; 2004), and at Simy Folds in upper Teesdale (Coggins *et al* 1983; 2004). Whilst these are rectangular structures, as are all the lowland examples associated with the period, some slight pause should perhaps be made to consider the numerous undated upland settlements scattered throughout the region, not to mention the equally numerous class of structure traditionally dated as Romano-British on the grounds that excavations, frequently 40+ years ago, produced a few sherds of Roman pottery.

When thinking of the early medieval period in the North West, the mind is perhaps still most naturally drawn to religious sites, as it is here that the picture of activity in the region is perhaps the most complete. However, before reviewing the development of the proto-parish system, the pagan past should be touched on. It is generally assumed that a Christian population survived in sub-Roman Britain, but this remains largely archaeologically invisible, with the possible exception of the enclosure at Ninekirks, again near Brougham in Cumbria (Higham 1986), isolated cists, again mostly from Cumbria, and rows of oriented burials from Roosebeck, near Barrow-in-Furness and near Carnforth in Lancashire (Newman 2006). In addition, an extensive and oriented cemetery at Winwick, in northern Cheshire, seemed to focus on a Bronze Age burial mound (Freke and Thacker 1987). There is some tentative evidence for the re-use of earlier burial mounds, perhaps from both conversion periods of the 6th and late 9th/10th centuries, particularly in Lancashire and Cumbria, and two urns, presumably from pagan 'Anglo-Saxon' burials, have been found at Red Bank, Manchester (Holdsworth 1983), and near the river Ribble in Lancashire (Myres 1969). Two further tantalising sites have been identified in the region. A log coffin from the Quernmore area, in Lancashire, was made from two pieces of oak from the same tree, dated to somewhere between the 6th and 10th centuries (Edwards 1973); and what seems to have been deliberately placed heads and front feet of two or more cattle were found in Solway Moss, Cumbria, during peat cutting. These have been dated to the later 7th to 11th centuries, and seem to represent some survival of pagan tradition, perhaps propitiating a water deity (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000).

It is, however, the quality and scale (about 320 pieces) of early medieval Christian stone sculpture that marks the region out and gives a firm indicator of the pattern of churches in the early medieval landscape, although this pattern cannot be seen as absolutely complete. These sculptures are not, however, equally distributed across time and space, at least in part being dictated by the surrounding geology. For instance, there are 36 sites in Cumbria, of which only 20 have produced Northumbrian work, but these 20 sites contain 28 pieces of sculpture, against 111 pieces from the 10th and 11th centuries from the 36 sites (Bailey and Cramp 1988). Richard Bailey interprets this enormous expansion, which is reflected throughout the region, as the enthusiastic adoption of a once-monastic art form by new aristocratic patrons. Northumbrian sculpture reflects the elaborate network of national and international contacts of the learned monastic world in which it was produced, whereas the 10th and 11th centuries saw an increasing regionalisation of sculptural tastes, consequent on the break-up of this world, and significant new schools of production developed, such as that at Chester (Bailey 1980).

It is perhaps unsurprising, given this wealth of material, as well as the work of the Venerable Bede, that considerable weight has been placed on religious sites of the period. The site at Dacre has in part been excavated (Newman and Leech forthcoming), and would appear to be that of the same name mentioned by Bede, and other clearly important sites, producing sculpture, although undocumented, at Heysham in north Lancashire (Potter and Andrews 1994), west of the cathedral in Carlisle, and St Michael's Church, Workington, have also been examined over the last 30 years or so (Newman 2006). In all cases, evidence of early medieval activity has been identified, particularly burials, of which the most dramatic are the rock-cut graves at Heysham, but also both new sculpture and considerable assemblages of metalwork. At Dacre, as well as unusual sculpture with both Northumbrian and Anglo-Scandinavian affinities, a cemetery of more than 235 graves was excavated to the north of the medieval church. Whilst the soil conditions in Cumbria are inimicable to bone survival, enough could be recognised to demonstrate that the bodies had been oriented (ie laid in an east-west direction), with the head at the western end of the grave, accompanied by no grave goods, and, as far as could be established, on their backs, in an extended position - in other words, these were Christian graves. The most dramatic evidence was that many of the bodies were coffined, with the hinges being of a type seen in Northumbria, and also further afield, such as at Hereford (Ottaway forthcoming). Several of the coffins had been locked, again a tradition seen occasionally in Yorkshire. Several structures apparently of the period were recognised, one containing a millstone re-used as a hearth, with parallels at early medieval secular sites elsewhere in the country. The cemetery had in effect been slighted approximately at the time of the Norman Conquest, when the churchyard was redefined, leaving many of the graves beyond the consecrated ground. It has been asserted that Dacre, St Michael's, and Heysham were the sites of Northumbrian monasteries, whilst the jury is still out as to the interpretation of the cathedral site at Carlisle (Newman 2006). Each excavation has examined different elements of the sites, and thus it is perhaps unsurprising that no commonality of layout has been identified, but this does seem to be a common theme of Northumbrian monasteries (Cramp 1994). There is, however, some slight evidence at Dacre that there may be some similarities in layout with the great monastery at Jarrow, where buildings were excavated in a line on a terrace overlooking the river Don (Cramp 2005). At Dacre,

the two channels of a drain, first examined in the 1920s, may suggest a similar layout. This drain reused Roman stones, although where these came from is still a mystery (Newman and Leech forthcoming). None of these potential monastic sites has produced any clear evidence of abandonment or radical change to support the historical view that monasticism did not survive the political upheaval of the 10/11th centuries, although each had been transformed into a parish church by the 12th century. Indeed, the greatest dislocation at Dacre was the cutting of the northern churchyard boundary through the earlier cemetery, some time before the early 13th century.

Politically, the collapse of power within the kingdom of Northumbria in the 9th century led to instability, which continued until the imposition of Norman power more than 200 years later (Kapelle 1979). The documentary and place-name sources suggest that influence came from peoples of Scandinavian descent, as well as a resurgence of British speakers, although both groups have proved notoriously hard to discern in the archaeological record, and there is considerable doubt in terms of what this meant from a population perspective. The influence of the kingdom of Strathclyde is archaeologically invisible at the moment, although the dispute in the 12th century between the churches of England and Scotland, when the diocese of Glasgow claimed authority to the Rey Cross, seems to be a legacy of this (*ibid*).

In terms of settlement, there are many present place-names for settlements large and small that derive from Scandinavian roots (Armstrong *et al* 1950), but no clearly recognisable sites in the archaeological record. Again, documentary sources imply that Stainmore was an important routeway across the Pennines, with the Viking king of York, Erik Bloodaxe, being killed there is AD 954 (Addyman 1981), but what does this mean in terms of settlement? Documentary evidence, albeit from the 12th century, claimed that, following a Viking raid on Carlisle, presumably associated with the army of Halfdan, that over-wintered on the Tyne in AD 866/7 (Earle and Plummer 1892), the city remained desolated for 200 years (Summerson 1993), and yet the site immediately west of the cathedral produced both graves of this period, as well as a considerable wealth of artefacts (Keevil forthcoming). Similarly, the area of the fort, ie adjacent to the medieval castle, has produced a small but rich collection of material for the period (Howard-Davis forthcoming). The most visible remains, however, are from graves. Several clear Viking-type graves have been recorded in Cumbria, the majority by antiquarians, and several swords have also been recovered from churchyards, that presumably reflect burials during a period of conversion (Edwards 1998). Of these, the most famous is perhaps that from Ormside, where a bowl was also recovered, perhaps from the same grave. There, it seems that a burial mound had been constructed, as is seen on the Isle of Man (Wilson 1974), although whether this was in an existing churchyard, or the churchyard developed around a primary grave, has not been ascertained. In this context, a group of burials from Eaglesfield, not associated with a medieval church, should also be mentioned (Cowen 1967; Edwards 1998). By far the most visible sign of the Vikings culturally is the amount of stone sculpture, including the distinctive hogback stones seen in so many churches, which were clearly a fashion of the 10/11th centuries (Lang 1984). It has been claimed that these indicate a shift from a church largely based on monastic communities to something more akin to the parish system, which had certainly developed by the end of the 12th century (Bailey and Cramp 1988).

However, Viking-Age graves are extremely rare in England, there being less than 30 sites in the country as a whole, mostly found individually (Richards 1991). It has been suggested that this rarity reflects the rapid conversion of the people to Christianity, and thus the known graves in effect represent first-generation settlers, or even raiders who have died, or been killed, during forays, since the majority of graves are adults and male (Graham-Campbell 1995). Thus the discovery in 2004 of a cemetery of six graves at Cumwhitton was dramatic (Brennand 2006). There, an isolated grave of a woman, containing oval tortoise brooches, found by a metal detectorist, was associated with a further five graves in a close group. Four of these were clearly male, and the fifth was probably female, since it contained no weapons, but did have jewellery, although this is not a completely failsafe way of sexing cultural assemblages! These graves had clearly been planned, there being evidence of a careful arrangement, although the reason for the isolation of the first female grave has not, to date, been ascertained. Similarly, one of the graves had been defined by a shallow ditch, although there is some evidence to suggest this did not encircle the grave completely. All were rich, as each male grave can be associated with a sword, a potent symbol of power, but perhaps of greatest interest was that each grave approximated to an east-west orientation. Could this represent a technically Christianised population, which hedged its bets at death, being buried according to Christian practice in part, but taking evidence of their wealth and power with them, just in case they reached Valhalla? Whilst again, almost no bone survived, which means that scientific techniques, which could have indicated whether the occupants of the graves were related, and where they had grown up, are not viable, the grave assemblages suggest that they were buried in a fairly short space of time, and certainly in no more than 50 years. Could this be proof of the theory that Christianisation is the reason for so few graves being found, as the next generation were buried in Cumwhitton churchyard?

As can be seen, the archaeological record is highly incomplete, and we are only just beginning to move from a framework of the few tattered documentary references to peg the odd isolated piece of archaeological material, to a point at which the archaeological record can start to create a framework of its own. Techniques such as radiocarbon dating, DNA analysis, and, where it is possible, stable isotope analysis are vital to test assumptions. It is clear that some limited types of site, largely associated with religious beliefs, whether Christian or otherwise, are the most recognisable in the record, and the vast majority of the population remain archaeologically invisible.

This then provides a challenge when the central question is asked of who actually lived in Cumbria at any time during these 600 years. It also highlights the central conundrum: that place-name evidence suggests major influence in Cumbria from speakers of Germanic languages, both old English and Scandinavian (Higham 1986), yet there is perilously little archaeological information to substantiate that. We have seen in most of our lifetimes that language can change substantially, and cultural influence become dominant, without any major movement of population; after all, we have become trans-Atlantic without really knowing it. And yet, will we really be able to say for certain whether the changes involved substantial migration or not?

What can be said is that logic suggests that there was a reasonably substantial population at the end of the Roman period which continued to occupy the countryside,

although town life seems to have declined, presumably as a result of the collapse of the market economy. This rural population was subject to a number of different political masters, and it is likely that some population influxes took place, although whether these ever represented more than hundreds of people is in doubt. Indeed, it is not so long ago that it was beginning to be believed that the cultural shifts were almost entirely political, although the BBC programme, the *Blood of the Vikings*, not so long ago called this into question, by suggesting that there was more Scandinavian blood in the Penrith area than there was in Orkney, which was a pretty radical conclusion.

We are living at a time when archaeological theories are changing rapidly, and when there is a real chance to take an understanding of the period forward radically. Whilst dependent to a large extent on serendipity to find sites of the period, since, of all the sites referred to here, only that at Dacre had a documentary signpost to it (Colgrave and Mynors 1969), and most of the others have been found by accident or when looking for other things, there are also exciting opportunities to take this subject forward by leaps and bounds.

To try to answer the question 'who lived here'?: it is likely that there was considerable conservatism in the countryside, and that the population in the medieval period in Cumbria was essentially the same as in the Iron Age, although, as in all periods, new individuals, or even small groups, entered the gene pool, probably mostly at the landowning level. What little physical evidence there is certainly suggests this, as at Cumwhitton, although the potential bias in the record has to be acknowledged: unusual things or people are much more likely to be recognised than the poor. What is important is that there is clear evidence of a continuum of rural life from prehistory to the present day, following the same diurnal and annual routines, amidst considerable political turmoil, producing the landscape that is our common inheritance.

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OF CUMBRIAN VILLAGES

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Villages are indelible parts of our view the countryside. There is no doubt that many of us have a psychological attachment to the idea of a village, an attachment well-illustrated by the long-sustained radio soap-opera *The Archers*. Reality could be, indeed was and is, often very much less pleasant, with even stronger social and economic contrasts than are delicately indicated in the program by variations in accent, jobs, the nature of personal life trajectories and individual worries. Be this as it may, those dwelling in farmsteads and houses closely grouped within shouting distance have long been a feature of rural life within the lowlands of Britain, generating communally organized lifestyles which differed markedly from those living in scattered dwellings amid great tracts of wood pasture and open pasture. Villages and hamlets, unless they were wholly based upon industrial activity - a rarity - were formerly geared to the cultivation of townfields, open in character, sub-divided to strips and communally cultivated. My intention, in the lecture of which this article is a report, was to summarise how village and hamlet plans can be made to reveal important facts about the history of a medieval society's possession of the land, both politically and economically; to think about the role of maps in developing this story; and eventually indicate a little of the context in which they can be understood. Here, however, let us reverse the argument and begin with the context as illustrated by some documents and use these to pose questions about what can still be seen on both the map and the ground.

One of the most exciting illuminations of what may have happened to account for some villages in Cumbria is an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 1092:

*In this year (1092) the king William (Rufus) travelled north to Carlisle with a very great army, and restored the town, and raised the castle, and drove out Dolfin who earlier had ruled the land there and set the castle with his men, and afterwards returned south here, and sent very many peasants (*cyrlisces folce *= farming people) there with women and with livestock to live there to till that land.*

(Swanton 2000,sub anno 1092)

This is an exciting account, and in Carlisle we may note the links between street names, specifically Botchergate and Rickergate, names for two of the city gates (the *porta Bochardi,* and *porta Richardi*) and the names of outlying villages (Botcherby and Rickerby). Bochard or Burchard and Richard were personal names, possibly of two of William's knights. Castle, town and villages (of which there were many more) with the farming tenants and their hardworking and no doubt fertile wives, together formed a political and economic entity. William Rufus was in effect establishing a self-sustaining military colony on the north-western frontier of his kingdom, a zone that was exposed to both influences and threats from the north. Of course, the Scots had similar problems, but that is another story.

Lowland Cumbria remains dominated by villages and hamlets possessing 'regular'

plans, essentially consisting of one, two or more groups of house plots - tofts - organised into blocks, termed ‘compartments’ or ‘rows’. In practice these were normally backed by a core arable furlong whose strips ranged between 250 - 600 metres in length, i.e. significantly longer than the standard medieval ploughstrip of 200 metres. Such layouts can be seen upon mid-nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps and two examples appear in Figure 1, the small villages of Gamblesby and Glassonby. Giving a date to these plans is a major problem, and for a very full discussion the reader is referred to my book *Landscapes, Documents and Maps.* However, in the cases of Gamblesby and Glassonby, a plea in the royal court in 1201 looks backwards in time to note that Hildred of Carlise and Odard his son were given 'the land that was Gamel son of Bern's and the land that was Glasson son of Brictric's', who are referred to as 'my (i.e. the king's) drengs', or administrative officers. As Gamel son of Bern is mentioned in the Cumbrian section of the earliest surviving royal account roll of 1130, the presumption must be that these two officials took over and gave their names to these locations in the early decades of the twelfth century. It seems probable that Gamel and Glasson were granted existing farms on the condition that they planted them with new tenants, either with imported peasants from other regions, or with local folk drawn in from an earlier generation of scattered steadings. These would have involved mixtures of British, Scandinvian and English folk, as well as Flemings and French. To add a little spice to this mixture, Gamel is an Old Norse names, Bern (Beorn) and Brictric are Old English while Glasson is Old Irish.

As is normal in all such cases absolute proofs of the linkages between the documents, the named places and the village plans are not available, but the impression accumulated from host of cases I have examined throughout northern England is that the regular plans were indeed present in the twelfth century, although they may appear before or after this time. We must remember that there are many dozens of such layouts and we have no measure of when each appeared. In County Durham specific references to 'rows' in arguably twelfth century contexts are fully in accord with the regular layouts seen on the mid-nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps, with villages orientated east to west having north and south rows, and with villages orientated north to south we have east rows and west rows. But could the distinctive plans indeed be older than the colonising movement initiated by William Rufus? When seeking historical explanations - and to paraphrase J.B.S. Haldane - we must remember that not only is the past is more complex than we imagine, it is more complex than we *can* imagine. The mind always tends to compress large time depths into a thin layer, easily forgetting the importance of what lies beneath and what lies above. A map of the cultural landscape of Cumbria in the middle decades of the nineteenth century compresses into one plane many centuries of development. However, between about 1041 and 1064 Gospatric, probably the son of Earl Uhtred of Northumberland, granted to his dependants, freemen and drengs, certain freedoms in Allerdale, Cumberland. Certain men are named, and in a number of cases, as at Gambleby and Glassonby, the personal names tally with known place-names, in the majority of cases comprising a personal name qualified with the Scandinavian termination -*by*, implying a farmstead, kin hamlet and eventually, simply because the name did not change as the population expanded, a village. In fact this termination – *by* seems to have continued in use right into the twelfth century, as the cases of Gamblesby and Glassonby show.

In such interpretations there are vast technicalities and complications concerning the

correlations and chronologies that touch upon the development of villages. To reflect on some of these:

- it is likely that all the villages we see in the landscape and on maps experienced development from the farmstead of a single family, to a hamlet consisting of kin-members and slaves, to a tenanted village, with varied classes of tenant holding their lands from a substantial landholder or lord. As has already been noted, these folk could be assembled from many sources, but at first they need not have been kin, although intermarriage soon solved the problems of living with strangers. In this matter we can envisage a timescale extending from A.D. 500 to 1200, and there is a presumption that by 1100 tenanted settlements were emerging, encouraged by the activities of William Rufus. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it clear that in or soon after 1092 tenants were being imported by the king, but the documents of 1130 x 1201 and 1041 x 1060 do imply that the process of settlement foundation could have been taking place both before and after that date. A timescale extending from 1041 to 1201 embraces 160 years. There is no evidence at all to really reveal the pace and chronology of settlement plantation, but it was clearly happening.
- next, the eleventh and twelfth century documention in no manner *proves* that the villages with their tofts and long strips were certainly present between 1050 and 1200: there can be no proof, but on balance the present author believes this to have been the case. This conclusion in no way excludes degrees of later re-planning and/or re-modelling, but even in the face of many centuries of raiding, warfare and devastation the standardization of village plans, which can be demonstrated by reference to many cases, formed a paradigm for recovery. This was important in the absence of surveyed maps, for even after devastation property rights were crucial.
- third, even when identifying a place named in a document with a place on the ground and on the map an act of correlation is involved, creating a linkage which may or not be correct. Thus a farmstead or hamlet of 1000 may not underlie a planned village of the period between 1050 and 1150, for its richly manured precincts may have been absorbed into the arable fields of the later settlement.

The discerning reader will note the difficulty of creating dates even for generalization, but in general it is safe to say that A.D.1200 forms a *terminus ante quem* for village plantation throughout northern England. The activity was taking place before this date, and we are doing little more than speculate when trying to be more precise although I am increasingly convinced that village planning was indeed taking place before the Norman conquest of the north, perhaps even two centuries earlier.

All settlement is a product of continuity and cataclysm. To be successful and produce grains and stock farmers sought continuity, a year-by-year succession of ploughings, sowings and harvestings. It is likely, that in addition to the long strips attached to each village toft, the ordering of field strips created elsewhere reflected village toft order. In short, the village plan and its sequence of tofts was a model for the sequence of strips in the village fields, as well as being related also to the fiscal farms or taxable units within each township, and the farmers' rights within the common grazing lands. In sharp contrast, the rural landscape, that supported not only the tenants but their secular and ecclesiastical landlords, barons and eventually the king, was episodically disrupted by raids and warfare. This would involve the destruction of buildings and

crops and the carrying off of both kine and the younger people of both sexes as slaves or 'servants'. It is difficult to assess what was the more unpleasant, the passage of armies and local warfare, or endemic and persistent raids. But this is the history of the Borders. Often, no doubt, tenants could hide themselves and their stock when the upland shepherds and stockmen saw from unexpected smoke that armies or raiders were afoot. No village could defend itself against an army, but there were normally sufficient men to dissuade bandits and plain cattle thieves. Never created as defensive, the villages with their internal greens and hedges around the 'backsides' were nevertheless defensible, as Kurosawa showed in his brilliant film *The Seven Samurai.*

Gamblesby and Glassonby

To return to Gamblesby and Glassonby, the observant reader will have noted a slight discontinuity between the emphasis upon regular rows based upon compartments of near identically sized tofts and what is visible in the two plans (Figure 1). In fact, neither village layout falls completely into this category, and in practice within the concept or idea of a 'regular' plan not only are there classificatory sub-categories, there are more and more questions that arise from being able to observe and attempt to define why small variations appear. It is often more than mere chance. Let us turn first to Glassonby:

- There is a hint, and no more, of a very small two-row structure forming the core of this hamlet, but dwellings and farmsteads sprawl away from this to the east and the south-west. The latter are undoubtedly inserted into the heads of former long east-to-west field-strips, and are late-comers to the scene, representing expansion from the original core. We may guess that those to the east have a similar origin, and also linked to an expansion of the hamlet's population and arable lands.
- The core furlong or arable kernel to the south of the nucleus comprises strips that are of the order of 450 metres in length, yet possess ‘plough curves’: they are by no means late-comers to the scene and such strips are common, indeed normal, in Cumbrian villages and hamlets. I have argued in other contexts that these are land-breaking strips, where a large and rough plough, perhaps made from a tree-trunk with a projecting spike, itself the stump of a large branch, was used to break the land and reveal the stones that were then hand-picked from the soil. In this way agricultural soils were *made*.
- The putative nucleus is very small, and it is possible, indeed probable, that small initial farms have subsequently been amalgamated to create a smaller number of larger units, a normal trend throughout the north of England, although I have a suspicion that we could here be seeing a settlement which took origin in a group of small farmsteads set upon the waste at the head of the arable strips rather than set upon the ends of the strips.
- Finally, the church of St, Michael, isolated to the south-west, with its seventh to tenth century sculptural materials is in fact a replacement for a church destroyed by the River Eden (NY 565395), the parish church of a lost village of Addingham, of which parish Glassonby is a township. These earlier sculptures appear to have been drawn together at the site of one newly build before 1704.

Already sufficient has been said to show that much of what is argued above is based

on my professional experience! It is *not* guesswork, and could, item by item, be 'documented', by citing comparative cases where evidence is more certain. Neverthless, there is a challenge here: prove me wrong! I may be wrong, but the arguments sketched above can be seen as working hypotheses against which to judge any conclusions based upon further evidence and I give a few examples of comparative reasoning below.

In Gamblesby the picture is even more complex, but we need to remember that we are likely to be dealing with nine hundred years or more of a settlement's history. To isolate only a few key points, for a substantive monograph could be prepared to do justice to this complex and fascinating plan:

- long strips appear to the east and the west of the nucleus, strips that are in each case 450 metres long. The terminations of these are complex, and I know this to be important because not only have I seen adjacent strips of variable length shooting into the waste on seventeenth century Scandinvian maps, I have also found fossil traces at Cockfield in County Durham of strip lengths being 'drawn back' to make them shorter, as can be seen to the east in Gamblesby. To the west the 'plough nicking' of mounds of glacial materials shows that these long strips were indeed ploughed as a unit at some time in their history. Finally there is a whisper of a hint, and no more, that the strips could once have been sustained right across the village tofts and green! Plough strips of 900 to 1000 metres? Rubbish? No! Look at the 1:25000 Ordnance Survey map of the area around Pickering, in the East Riding (OL 27), a layout that will convince any sceptic!
- In this case there is, again, no clear evidence of regular toft compartments, but note the way that on the eastern 'irregular row' of the settlement, a regular toft tail line has been inserted for a block of strips, and this in fact matches the set of shortened long strips forming a distinct unit, indicated by the thickened line: does this represent a new start following substantive devastation? This certainly could be the case.
- Yet again, there is evidence of multiplication of farmsteads and dwellings to the north of the village, inserted into the head of field strips.

Envoi

Enough has been said to indicate the problems of morphological analysis. When sufficient numbers of villages are examined some, as for example in County Durham, can be linked in with sufficient documentation to harden arguments and make them less speculative. While detailed studies of individual places, particularly when archaeological investigations are involved as well as documentary and landscape studies, the results can be remarkable and even startling. Thus Wharram Percy in the East Riding of Yorkshire is a regular two-row green village, with a head-row, and the complex evolution of the site has been recovered by excavation. However, for better or worse, as is said in other contexts, my own personal trajectory has been directed towards synoptic perspective, a viewpoint that extends beyond the individual site to the local region and eventually to the national scene. It has to be said that this is not always popular, for it raises uncomfortable questions about the use of limited and partial evidence, about the temporal and spatial implications of the features, and about time-depths which are by no means always comfortably contained within

conventional frameworks of analysis. As has been said earlier, there are challenges here for all of us, but I am heartened by one fact: more and more individuals and local groups are turning to 'their village', and generating studies of great value to both themselves – the pride of possession – and to me as a 'synoptic synthesizer' with the ability to set them in a national picture. While this work has an important dimension in history, not least economic history, it has another that is 'beyond rubies': it is fun!

Reflections on Reading

Some of my readers will *not* be professional scholars, not that I hope that professional scholars will fail to read this, but those who pay the piper need – at times – to call the tune! What follows are a series of short 'bibliographic reflections':

I, Myself and No Others

Much of what I say here is 'referenced' in my book *Landscapes, Documents and Maps,* being produced by Oxbow and now (Nov. 2007) in their hands, print ready. It is a pity that my *The Making of the English Village* (Longman 1987) is out of print, but second hand copies are available. My *Landscapes of Settlement: Prehistory to the Present* (Routledge 1996) is happily still in print, indeed reprinted, because, as a world view, it sells in the USA, and I find, with much pleasure, that European scholars find it useful. Collectively these works cut out the obscurities of conference papers and journal articles and the like as well as allowing me to avoid detailed referencing here. One article I must mention: 'Hartside, Northumberland and Cockfield, County Durham: Specific Cases, Settlement Systems and Time Trajectories' *Landscapes*, vol.7. no. 2 (2006), 70-89 (www.windgather.co.uk). This is an excellent and sparking journal, well worth the investment. The article ranges, as the title implies, from two studies of superb air-photographs, to some horrible but necessary theoretical material concerned with multi-dimensional thinking about change. I like it! The editor, David Austin, bullied me thoroughly, and he succeeded making what I was saying reasonably clear!

Cumbria and Others

Cumbria is both well-served and badly served by publications. It is well-served by a succession of excellent scholars – exemplified by the papers in this volume (and I am mostly leaving the authors to speak for themselves) – but badly served by publishers willing to maintain material in print. Happily, it cannot be long before out-of-date books are on the net! Three books sustain great depth throughout: Angus J.L Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (John Donald 1987); Nick Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (Longman, 1986); Charles Phythian Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians* (Scholar Press 1996). Unfortunately the last is out of print and is, so far as I can tell – for I want a copy – unavailable anywhere in the world! It draws upon a lifetime of work and will continue to be significant.

Anyone interested in northern landscape history should purchase *Archaeology in Northumberland National Park* by Paul Frodsham and others (Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 136, 2004). This is a stimulating and beautifully illustrated study, and Figure 7.15 inspired me to write the paper in *Landscapes* noted earlier.

While the quality is variable GoogleEarth presents the most splendid images of landscapes: I use it more and more, for it often gives that wider perspective necessary for what I know, or think I know, is present on the ground. Nineteenth century six inches to the mile Ordnance Survey maps can be consulted and purchased at www.old-maps.co.uk, although this is now an excessively barriered and rather unattractive site.

Old Faithfuls

Here the *Victoria County History for Cumberland*, two volumes published in 1901 and 1905 but reprinted in 1968, provide an excellent and a rich quarry for information, and each volume will set you back at least £60. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (His Majesty's Stationary Office 1936), originally at £1 10s. 0d. … now on the second-hand market exceeding £100, £150 and the rest … is excellent. Treasure it if you have it!

Finally, it has taken me nearly a half century to learn how to use the volumes of the English Place-Name Society, but fortunately not only are they one vital foundation of all landscape enquiry, they are kind to a beginner:
Armstrong, A. M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F. M. and Dickens. B. *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (English Place-Name Society 20-22, 3 vols., University Press, Cambridge 1952);
Smith, A. H. *The Place-names of Westmorland* (English Place-Name Society 42-43, 2 vols., University Press, Cambridge 1967).

And Finally

While I have corresponded with Margaret Allison, I have never met her. Her study *History of Appleton-le-Moors: a 12th. Century Planned Village* (Printers G.H. Smith and Son, Easingwold, York, 2003, www.ghsmith.com) presents material that is of real use in the evaluation of a single village.

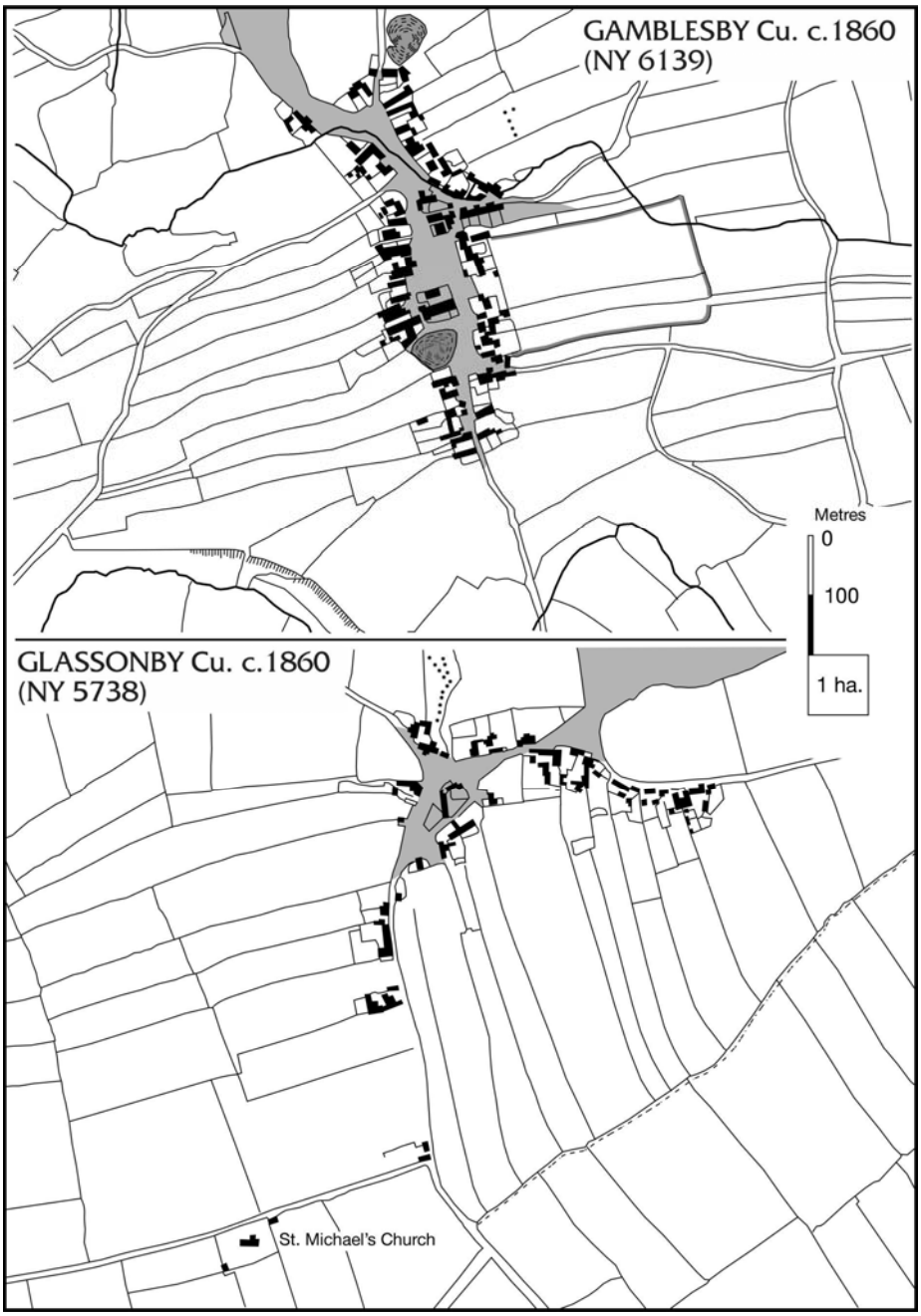

Figure 1: Gamblesby and Glassonby

REVOLUTION! AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.

Ian Whyte, Lancaster University.

If you read the accounts of eighteenth-century travellers, guidebook writers and topographers it is clear that they considered the Eden Valley and its surroundings to be a landscape badly in need of improvement. In the early part of the century Daniel Defoe found the area 'agreeable and pleasant country' but this was compared with the high fells (1). Arthur Young, writing in 1771, was impressed with some of the farms around Penrith which were growing turnips, clover and legumes as well as wheat but the moors around Shap and between Penrith and Keswick were sadly in need of improvement and cultivation (2). William Hutchinson in 1794 described how an extensive area of common had been enclosed at castle Sowerby a generation before but overliming and too frequent cropping had ruined the land (3).

There is no doubt that this was far from being the most agriculturally advanced region in England but it is worth pausing a moment to consider why. The greatest obstacle to improvement, certainly in the view of local manorial lords, was the survival of Cumbrian customary tenures. These originated from late-medieval Border service under which security of tenure virtually equivalent to freehold was granted in return for turning out when necessary on horseback, with a lance and steel bonnet, to fight the Scots. Although the need for military service disappeared following the Union of 1603, Cumbrian customary tenants successfully defended their privileges in a number of court cases during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (4). In the mid eighteenth century they were still entrenched in large numbers on many manors, paying rents fixed by the custom of their manors which, if not fixed, could not be raised easily in line with inflation. They were, however, liable to pay grassums, or lump sums, on the succession of a new tenant or the death of the manorial lord, plus heriots (the best beast) on the death of a tenant and sometimes labour or 'boon' services as well (5).

All this had important implications for the pace and scale of agricultural improvement and landscape change. Because customary rents could not easily be raised, estate incomes in Cumbria lagged behind those of other regions. Additional background reasons for the lateness with which improvement came to the Eden Valley was the fact that many of the major landowning families, both aristocrats and larger gentry, were absentees. The earls of Thanet had inherited the Clifford estates focusing on Appleby Castle, but whose main estates were in Kent. The northern outposts of their lands were somewhere to visit only occasionally (6). Sir Philip Musgrave, proprietor of the Edenhall estates which were widely scattered through the Eden Valley from Hartley in the south almost to Carlisle, was another absentee (7). Running estates at a distance through stewards and agents was not conducive to agricultural innovation.

Thirdly, Cumbria was a relatively poor region in the mid eighteenth century, still only imperfectly linked to the rest of the country whether physically, before the coming of the turnpikes, or economically. The degree of poverty was, however, blatantly exaggerated by Cumbrian MPs, who were able to procure low land tax assessments for their counties as a result (8). In fact, as John Marshall has shown, the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a period of modest, unobtrusive prosperity for Cumbrian yeomen, many of whom were customary tenants (9). But owner occupiers, yeomen and small estate owners were hardly likely to be in the forefront of an agricultural revolution.

Nevertheless agriculture and the rural landscape was not completely stagnant and unchanging in the mid eighteenth century. Surviving open field systems, sometimes quite extensive, were being divided up and enclosed by private agreements, a process which has been highlighted by Blake Tyson in his study of the open fields of Murton (10). In addition, on many commons areas were being enclosed, with the agreement of manorial courts, as stinted cow pastures which were shared between small numbers of farmers rather than all the commoners, like Nateby Cow Close, enclosed in the late sixteenth century (11). At a later stage these pastures were often divided into individual shares; in the case of Nateby Cow Close as late as 1857 (12). Both processes could be accomplished without necessarily generating much, or even any, documentation. Small-scale, piecemeal intake of land from the commons had been a feature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when population pressure was considerable (13). It was less evident in the mid eighteenth century but still occurred; around the fringes of Inglewood Forest for example.

An important influence on agricultural change was the development of the turnpike network in the Eden Valley. This not only improved long-distance communication but greatly facilitated the local movement of bulky items by cart and wagon (14).

Some of the changes in the rural landscape described above were generated from below, from within the farming population. By contrast the main drivers for the changes which began to occur from the 1760s came from manorial lords and the larger customary tenants. If manorial lords could not generate increased income from rents at a time when inflation was increasing, their options were limited. They could expand their estates by buying up customary tenancies as they came on to the market. This was done by the Lowthers and the Earls of Thanet in the Eden Valley in the later eighteenth century (15). They could invest in industry and/or port development, as the Lowthers and other families did so successfully in west Cumbria (16). They could develop demesne land under their own direct management. Or they could enclose their commons and convert the shares they received as manorial lords into new leasehold farms which could be let out at commercial rents (17).

No matter which of these options a proprietor chose implementing of them was the responsibility of agents and estate stewards, the unsung heroes of agricultural change in the Eden Valley. One of the most influential in the later eighteenth century was Thomas Heelis, agent to the earls of Thanet. He was also an alderman and mayor of Appleby as well as a solicitor. He probably masterminded the enclosure and improvement of Whinfell in the later 1760s (see below) (18). After his appearance as a witness to the privately agreed enclosure of Crackenthorpe in 1769 he seems to have enthusiastically advocated enclosure, serving as commissioner for the first parliamentary enclosure in the Appleby area, at Brampton, in 1772, (19). Following this he undertook another seven enclosures un the Appleby area (20). A provision in the 1801 General Enclosure Act , which banned land stewards from acting as commissioners in parishes where their employer had an interest, curtained his career as a commissioner on Thanet manors though he undertook one or two later

enclosures, like Dufton Fell, by private agreement (21). He is commemorated by a plaque in the church of St. Laurence in Appleby and his career would repay further research. A contemporary of Heelis was Christopher Dobson, steward on the Edenhall estate outside Penrith. Like Heelis, he was in favour of enclosure, as long as it was profitable for his master Sir Philip Musgrave. Dobson was involved in demesne improvements at Edenhall in the 1770s (22). Unlike Heelis, (so far as I am aware), he left a good deal of correspondence behind him detailing his work (23). He is commemorated by a plaque in the church at Edenhall.

The most impressive demesne improvement in this area was the conversion of the huge deer park on Whinfell into a productive enclosed landscape from 1767, with the creation of seven new farms (24). The deer park had long been neglected and its perimeter wall had fallen into disrepair allowing the deer to escape and damage the crops on the arable land of the surrounding townships (25). The work of improving Whinfell, year by year, is recorded in detail in the Appleby Castle accounts (26). With well-drained sandy soils the land was fertile, if adequately manured, and ideal for root crops like turnips or potatoes. Some of the land was planted with trees and some used for grazing cattle bought from Scottish drovers (27) It had paid no more than £40 a year in rent in the past but by the 1780s this had risen to over £1,000 (28).

At Edenhall, just across the Eden, Dobson was undertaking similar improvements though in this case on low lying land beside the river, creating a new farm at Dolphenby. His letters to his master detail from week to week the problems of recruiting sufficient skilled labour for the walling and transporting materials like stone and timber (29).

Significant as these changes were at a local scale it was the enclosure of the common pastures which belonged to most townships which caused the most dramatic visual transformation in the rural landscape. Enclosure by private agreement had always been, and remained, an option provided that there was unanimity among those with common rights regarding the desirability of enclosure. By the mid eighteenth century it had become normal to handle such affairs by appointing arbiters who were local men but without any direct interest in the pasture to be divided and enclosed (30). They would undertake a survey making a fair division of the lands in proportion to the common rights of the various owners, detailing the final agreement in a document. Such men evolved into the commissioners who controlled parliamentary enclosure proceedings. The principal advantage of enclosure by agreement was its low cost compared with enclosure under an act of parliament and enclosure by agreement continued into the later nineteenth century. Undocumented examples can be identified on the map by areas with regular field patterns outside those affected by parliamentary awards. Crackenthorpe, with 526a of common, enclosed in 1769, was one of the largest of these but several earlier ones are known (31).

Models for parliamentary enclosure in the area may have been extensive enclosures by agreement like Crackenthorpe but also early parliamentary awards like Skelton (1767) or the contemporary enclosure of Bowes Moor on Stainmore which many landowners in the area must have passed.

The enclosure of land under parliamentary act had its origins in the seventeenth century but did not begin to be used in this area until the 1760s.

In the Eden Valley one of the earliest enclosures, Skelton, for which an act was passed in 1767, involved a significant area of open field as well as common pasture but most of the examples of enclosure in the first burst of activity which occurred in the 1770s were of common pasture at relatively low altitudes (32). It has been suggested that the principal reason for enclosure at this time was that the commons were heavily overgrazed due to pressure from the droving trade (33). Manorial courts became increasingly unable to control larger customary tenants who openly flouted their attempts at regulating grazing (34). However, it is clear that much of the land in these early enclosures was ploughed up and cultivated. The tithe surveys show that much of the land enclosed around Appleby in the 1770s was in cultivation in the 1840s, at a time when the extent of arable had probably fallen from its early nineteenth-century peak (35).

The process of parliamentary enclosure required that three quarters of the landowners (by value of land rather than number) should be in favour of enclosure in order for parliament to act. Enclosure was often initiated by the lord of the manor but in a good many cases the larger customary tenants pushed for it (36). The smaller customary tenants often appear to have gone along enclosure but not necessarily with great enthusiasm (37). Unlike small leasehold tenants in southern England the customary tenures which so many of them enjoyed ensured that they received an enclosure allotment, however modest in size, adjoining or at close to their existing land. Many small farmers may have seen this as a preferable option to sharing an overgrazed common from which, in some cases at least, their livestock might well be driven off by the dogs of the larger tenants (38).

Enclosure replaced open common and rough pasture with regular square and rectangular allotments containing improved pasture or even arable. The boundaries on some of the earlier, low-lying enclosure awards were hawthorn hedges, which had to be protected from grazing animals for a number of years with post and rail fencing (39). Many of these hedges are poorly managed today. At higher altitudes drystone walls were normal though some areas of enclosure had a mixture of both. Only a few awards specified in detail the height and thickness of allotment walls, the number of courses of throughstones and how many of them per rood (seven yards) of wall. Parliamentary enclosure period walls are usually dismissed as being boringly uniform. If you start to look at them in detail, however, they have more variety than you might expect due to differences in the source of stone (quarried or picked up from the glacial drift), geology (in the Eden Valley mainly sandstone and limestone with granite around Shap), whether the wall was on an allotment boundary or an internal one, local styles and how sound the foundations were. Many walls have been reinforced in modern times with posts and barbed wire to increase their height but this may be a reponse to walls settling and spreading on soft foundations.

The surveyors who planned the sets of new allotments also laid out straight access roads. In early enclosures like Skelton or Brampton these were up to 60 feet wide, probably to allow movement around wet patches at a time when road building skills were not always very advanced. By the end of the eighteenth century the width of the main access roads had been halved to 30 feet as construction and drainage improved (40). Culverts and bridges were often required as were public watering places for livestock and quarries for extracting stone for making roads and walls. Sand and gravel pits were also designated in some cases (41).

The new landscape was created largely by local labour. Where enclosure accounts have survived the people who won the contracts for making up the roads can be identified as local men. Christopher Dobson' correspondence indicates in the 1770s walls were also built by local craftsmen. How much of this work was done by unpaid family members, particularly on smaller farms, is uncertain but there is no evidence for itinerant working gangs from outside the area were used (42).

In most cases allotments were added to the existing holdings on the inbye land, what the commissioners termed the 'ancient enclosures'. In some cases, however, the manorial and tithe allotments were large enough to justify the creation of a new farm and the building of a new farmhouse and outbuildings. Most of the new farmsteads were plain and workmanlike in their design: some were quite modest. A few were more grand but in the early nineteenth century a new farmstead might cost over £1,000, a considerable investment (43). Outlying areas of allotments might be served less expensively by sets of outbuildings without a new farmhouse or simply by new field barns (44).

After an initial burst in the 1770s enclosure died away in the 1780s and 1790s. A second, much larger, peak of enclosure occurred during the French wars between 1793 and 1815, a time when agricultural prices were high and the payback period for investment in enclosure was correspondingly short. Again a good deal of the marginal land that was enclosed was ploughed up, sometimes inadvisably. Some of the land enclosed at this time, however, was too high and exposed to be worth trying to take even a couple of quick crops of oats, and was only fit for pasture, not necessarily very much improved, as on the Shap fells (45).

A third burst of enclosure came in the mid nineteenth century, especially after the 1845 general Enclosure Act greatly reduced administrative costs. Enclosure pushed to even higher levels; on the slopes of the Cross Fell escarpment for instance, during the period of high farming which meant high investment for (hopefully) high returns. This period saw much newly enclosed land improved with underground tile draining, the great innovation of the 1840s (46).

The areas enclosed on each manor ranged from a few score to several thousand acres. The largest single block of parliamentary enclosure was Inglewood Forest between Penrith and Carlisle, an area of 28,000 acres the enclosure act for which was passed in 1803. Bits of it had already been the subject of earlier, separate acts (Sebergham 1765 2,896 acres, Skelton (1767) 5,000 acres and Castle Sowerby (1967, 5,000 acres). Although on heavy, rather cold soils a good deal was cultivated after enclosure, for a few years at least. Huge areas of enclosed land were laid out on a gridiron pattern of fields and access roads and the largest concentration of new farms anywhere in the North West (47).

Just as the turnpikes had helped usher in the earliest phases of agricultural change so the end of the era of improvement might be considered to be marked by the coming of the railways. What was to become the west coast main line was opened in 1846, the line from Durham over Stainmore to Tebay, with a branch from Kirkby Stephen to Appleby, in 1862 (48). By the mid nineteenth century the area under cultivation had fallen markedly from the part of the century and farmers were concentrating on

commercial livestock rearing for dairying and beef cattle as well as sheep, benefiting from access to the urban markets of south Lancashire, Tyneside and even London (49).

The era of improvement in the Eden Valley was not exactly a revolution, assuming that revolutions bring sudden and violent change. For a start the changes I have discussed were spread out over a century or so. Nor did they affect all the landscape of the area. Probably for reasons of cost, many commons were never enclosed at all. Westmorland in modern times still contained more land in common pasture than had even been enclosed by parliamentary act (50). Landscape change was more piecemeal in both space and time than in the areas of classical agricultural revolution in lowland England. Changes in the farming practices and lifestyles of ordinary customary tenants were slow and gradual. The diary of Tom Rumney of Mellfell, Watermillock, in 1805 and 1806, at the peak of enclosure, shows a farmer who whose operations were still only partly commercialised (51).

Nevertheless, the 'statesmen' or yeoman farmer of the first half of the eighteenth century, working within what was still in many ways a peasant economy, gradually changed into the commercially minded small farmers of the later nineteenth century who have been studied in detail by Margaret Shepherd (52).

If landscape change in the Eden Valley in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was steady rather than rapid, the results could still be dramatic. This can be demonstrated with two contrasts. One is the landscape of the area south of Appleby as it appears on Jefferys' map of 1770 and the modern Ordnance Survey map. The commons which dominated the landscape in 1770 are enclosed on the later map with regular field patterns. The second contrast, highlighted on Google Earth, but visible to anyone who drives between Appleby and Orton, is the contrast in land use on either side of the boundary between Crosby Ravensworth common and the enclosed lands of Orton, one of the earliest parliamentary enclosures in the region. On the same terrain and geology the vegetation difference between heather moorland on the common and improved grassland on the enclosed land is dramatic. On one side you have a landscape of revolution on the other one of evolution.

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LIVING UNDER FIENDS FELL – RECENT WORK AT KIRKLAND,

Appleby Archaeology Group

The North Pennines dominate the northern horizon of the Eden Valley and Fiends Fell, the medieval name for Cross Fell from the OE *fēond*, the highest point in the Pennine chain broods over the small settlement of Kirkland at its foot.[1] The medieval ecclesiastical parish of Kirkland extended from the river Eden to the watershed of the Pennines and included the manors of Kirkland, Skirwith, Blenkarn and Culgaith, today it is in the modern civil parish of Culgaith. The settlement consists of a church, a large Edwardian vicarage, farm and several cottages straddling the Kirkland Beck and a trackway that leads out of the Eden Valley over the Pennines to Garrigill in Alston Moor. Kirkland also lies on a routeway that runs from the Stainmore Pass along the bottom of the Pennine escarpment and through the Fellside villages to Brampton near Carlisle.

The geomorphology of the area has been influenced most by the Pennine Fault and its associated activity, ice-water movement of the middle to late Quaternary, and alluvium deposits of the Holocene. The Fault uplifted the Melmerby Limestone which now marks the eastern skyline at 500m and created the small pikes of Wythwaite Top and Ladslack Hill. Running north and then by northwest from the lower fellgate there is an ice-water channel which has isolated Bank Rigg from the Pennine Edge.[2] Bank Rigg to the southwest with the slope and escarpment of High Cap and Kirkland Fell to the northeast form a natural amphitheatre into which forceful water events along the line of the upper Kirkland Beck has washed large amounts of rock. Large fragments of limestone and dolerite which outcrops as the Whin Sill near the top of the limestone escarpment, have been deposited in the washout with a graduation to smaller fragments down the slope. The wash-out fan ends in two plateaus above the ice-water channel overlying soft mudstone and shales. Apart from a low area between the two plateaus, the plateaus are free draining with a thin stony soil and many exposed rocks, covering vegetation is rough grass with low bracken, thistles and areas of rush. The wash-out plateaus lie within an allotment enclosed in 1850 and now used as rough grazing for sheep and cattle. This allotment was chosen by the Appleby Archaeology Group for an archaeological survey project.

In the Summer of 2000 mature students from Liverpool University had identified a number of stone features in the allotment that appeared to be the result of human activity possibly dating back to prehistoric times, (Fig. 2), and in 2002, the Group carried out a field walking survey of the whole allotment. This survey revealed the stone features to consist of linear banks, robbed out stone walls, piles of stones, two circular pits and rectangular and curving enclosures. A low stone revetted structure with a deep pit was discovered near the Kirkland Beck in the allotment adjacent to the south. In 2003 a more detailed survey was conducted in a small area

[1] *Place-Names of Cumberland*, EPNS, I, 243.
[2] Millward R & Robinson A, *Ullswater and the Eden Valley,* London, 1972.

west of the track which revealed several cairns, rectangular stone features and another robbed out stone wall. In 2004 a survey using GPS equipment revealed possible circular enclosures east of the mountain track, (Fig. 3), and this was followed in 2006 by a more detailed survey of one of the enclosures, (Fig. 4).

In 2004 two pits were surveyed in detail, (Figs. 5 and 6), Both pits are near the Kirkland Beck. Pit A although outside the study area, is a noticeable feature on the east side of the beck near where the track crosses the Kirkland Beck and 20m west of the track, it has an opening onto the beck side. Pit B which is within the study area but 180m from the track, it is also approximately 20m from the beck but has no opening. In 2004 M Davis-Shiels visited the site and identified the pits as simple forms of kiln used for burning bracken. The kilns burnt greenish bracken which was grown as a crop and harvested every four years, being cut from Michaelmas Day, the 29th September. The ash from the bracken was then mixed with burnt lime to make caustic potash, then tallow and then boiled in soft water to make *lyes,* a term still used by modern textile manufacturers. In the time of Henry VIII the kilns were called E-lyeing Hearths. The *lyes* was then used to wash wool before it was dyed. Kendal became the main centre for wool dying in Westmorland although it is quite possible it was done locally as well. The process of using pits to burn bracken apparently continued up until the 1850s in the Lake District and well into the 20th century in the Trossachs in Scotland. A typical potash pit was built of drystone walling set into the side of a bank and close to a trackway, occasionally it would stand alone in a small enclosure on the lower fellside or just outside the head-dyke where a 'sheep-gate' gave access to the fells. When complete a pit would be about 3m high at the draught hole but level with the ground level at the rear. Pre-Elizabethan kilns were larger while those associated with the monasteries of Furness and Holme Cultram were very large.[3]

Of the two pits at Kirkland, Pit A fits the description above; it is close to the track to Garrigill and some 100m outside what was the fellgate until about 1850 when the lower fellside was enclosed. The pit has an opening towards the stream facing NW, which could be the collapsed draught hole and is about 2m high at this point. Pit B is 900m north of the fell gate and 180m east of the Garrigill track but there are traces of another track nearby and its position may have been chosen as it was closer to the higher areas of bracken. This pit has no visible draught hole which would be on the stream, SE, side. Both pits are smaller than others described by Mike Davies-Shiel but this may reflect local domestic use rather than a commercial enterprise.

The circular enclosure in Fig. 4 has characteristics of prehistoric enclosures known from elsewhere,[4] and in the Summer of 2007 it was planned to carry out further investigations by test trenches across the features but unfortunately the Group was unable to secure permission to carry out the work.

The absence of any dating evidence from the area prevents firm conclusions being made about the nature and date of the features identified and it has to be remembered that the area has been subject to human activity for at least two thousand

[3]Davis-Shiel, M, *Potash Kilns for Wool-Fulling Mills,* 5th edition, 2001. Notes. Davis-Shiel suggests potash pits typically occur on the edge of the fell usually near the fell-gate and close to a stream. Apple Archaeology Group, *Research Report no.1,* March 2004, *Research Report no.2* November 2004. *Newsletter*, Summer 2004, vol 7, issue 2.

[4] See RCHM, *Westmorland,* Ewe Close, Crosby Ravensworth, 1936.

years and possibly since the end of the last Ice Age. Approximately 1 km to the west, a possible prehistoric settlement consisting of a banked enclosure with internal hut circles has been identified in Bank Wood. The Roman Road from the fort at Kirkby Thore to Whitley Castle near Alston and onto Hadrian's Wall, runs over Bank Rigg some 1000m to the northwest and to the east there are the possible cultivation terraces known as the Hanging Walls of Mark Antony. Later activity is recorded by the occurrence of OE and ON place-names and while Kirkland itself shows no characteristics of a planned village as identified by Roberts, it was a medieval parish and the church was probably built there to serve scattered farms and small settlements.[5] Modern field boundaries southeast of Kirkland Hall suggest an medieval open field but enclosure and improvement north of Kirkland Beck may have destroyed any evidence of medieval fields in that area. There are two limekilns below High Gap on the escarpment above the allotment, the lower one largely destroyed and probably earlier than the better preserved kiln higher up. 1500m to the northwest there are two large limekilns with a metal tramway up the fell suggesting lime extraction on a commercial scale.

Although there are no records to show that Kirkland was once any larger than now, the Census of 1841 records seventeen people, described as 'wandering tribes', living in the open.[6] These were presumably drovers as a drove road following the Maiden Way came over the Pennines from the Scottish Borders, exactly where they were living is not known but it is possible they were in temporary huts in the study area. [7]

The track over the Pennines to Garrigill has probably been used since prehistoric times and as late as the 1960s was used for access to mines on the shoulder of Cross Fell.[8] Licences for mining coal and iron are recorded in the late nineteenth century it is possible that the miners built temporary accommodation for themselves at the foot of the fell.[9] Continuous use of the track would also necessitate repeated repair and much of the stone would be taken from shallow scraps in the ground alongside resulting in semicircular depressions. The track would have followed a number of routes before it was stabilised, there are traces of hollow ways on the rise from the crossing of the Kirkland Beck and to the left of the track where it climbs onto Plyliers Gap. The possibility that drovers used the area to rest also means they would have built some form of structure or moved stones and boulders to form temporary footings for portable accommodation.

The low dykes and robbed out walls could be the result of attempted enclosure of the Fellside in the late medieval to modern period when pressure on the upland fringe began to increase. The existing walls date from enclosure in the 1850s and may represent an extension of the earlier allotments. In the area southwest of the track and approximately 100 south of the fell wall there are several large cairns or collections of stones and boulders in an area that is largely clear of surface rocks suggestive of an attempt at field clearance at some time.

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[5] Roberts, Brian, *The Making of the English Village,* Harlow, 1987.
[6] 1841 Census.
[7] Bonser, K J, *The Drovers,* London, 1970, p150.
[8] A Morton of Bank Hall, *pers. Communication*.
[9] KRO, WD/Ry. The Fleming Papers contain a number of references to coal and iron on Kirkland Fell.

This study by the Appleby Archaeology Group of the allotment and the adjacent areas at Kirkland has shown that over time people used the land for a variety of purposes from exploitation of the natural resources to a place to stop for a short period. Much of their activity was slight and left few or any trace, other activities left more permanent reminders in the form of tracks, enclosures, walls, and kilns. Without firm dating evidence it is not possible to build a chronology for these activities but enough has been uncovered to show that people used the area probably from the prehistoric and continue to do so to the modern day.

Harry Hawkins

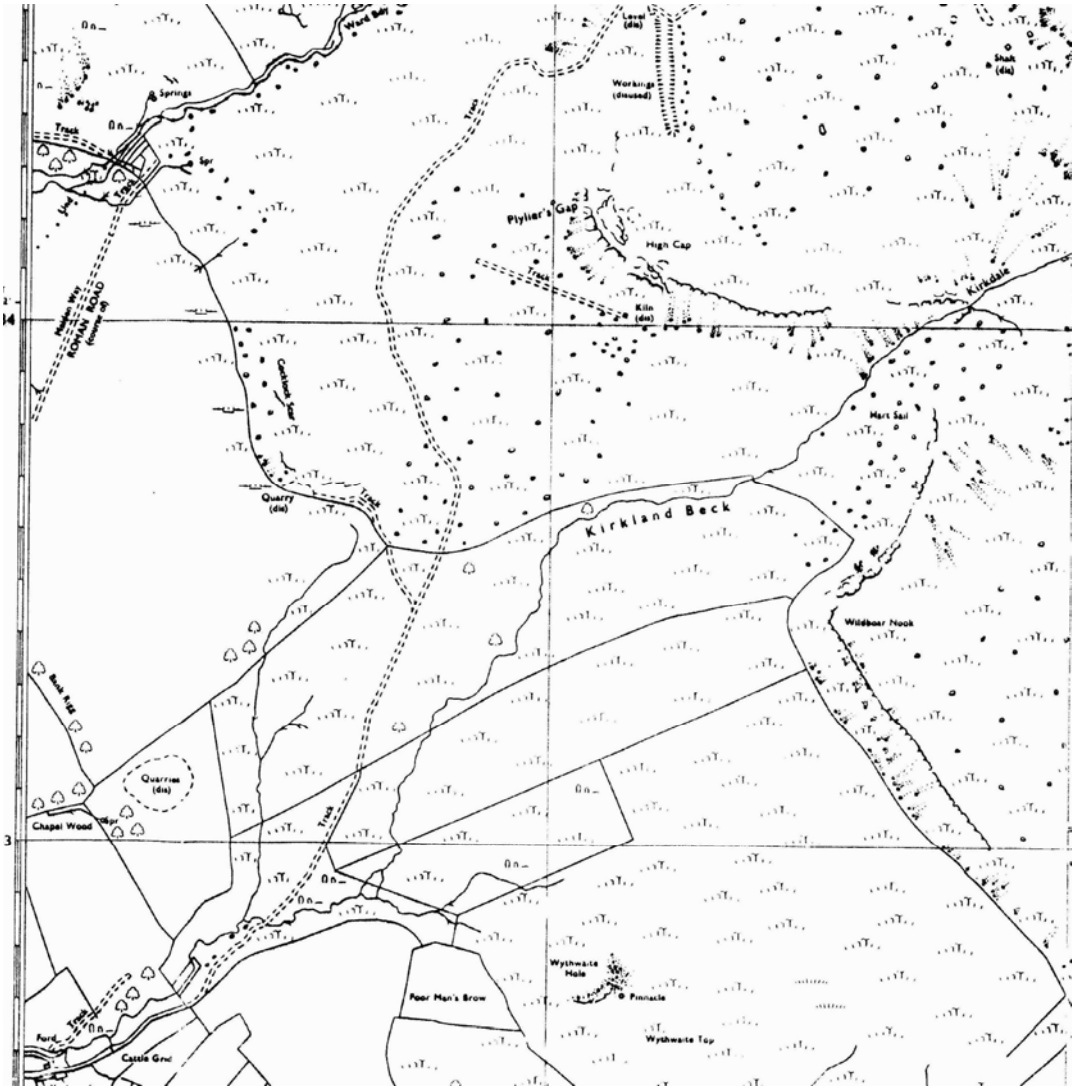

Fig. 1. Extract from 1899 6 inch to 1 mile OS. The area of interest was either side of the track in the last allotment before the open Fellside.

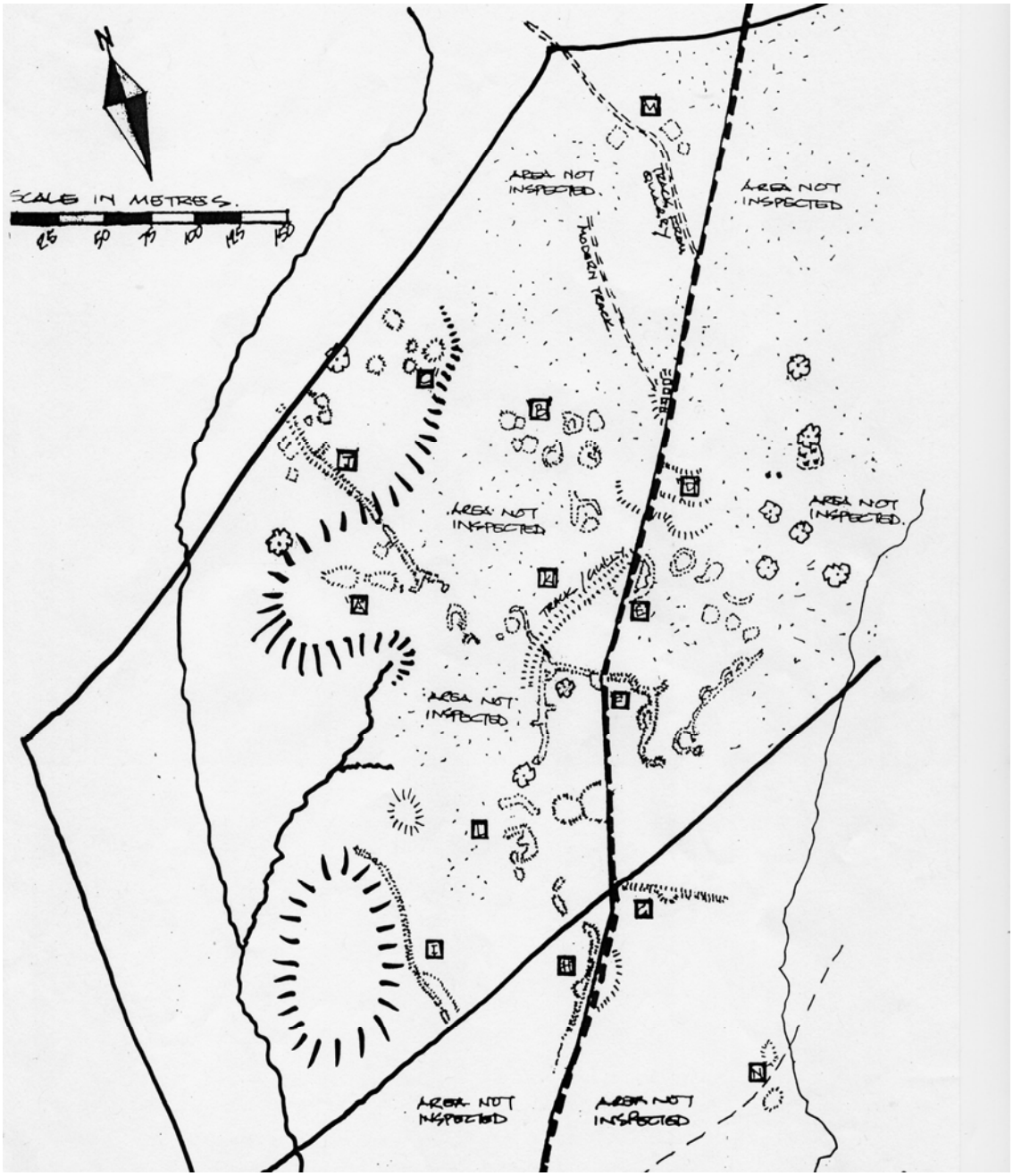

Fig. 2. Survey Sketch by Philip Young, 2000 AD

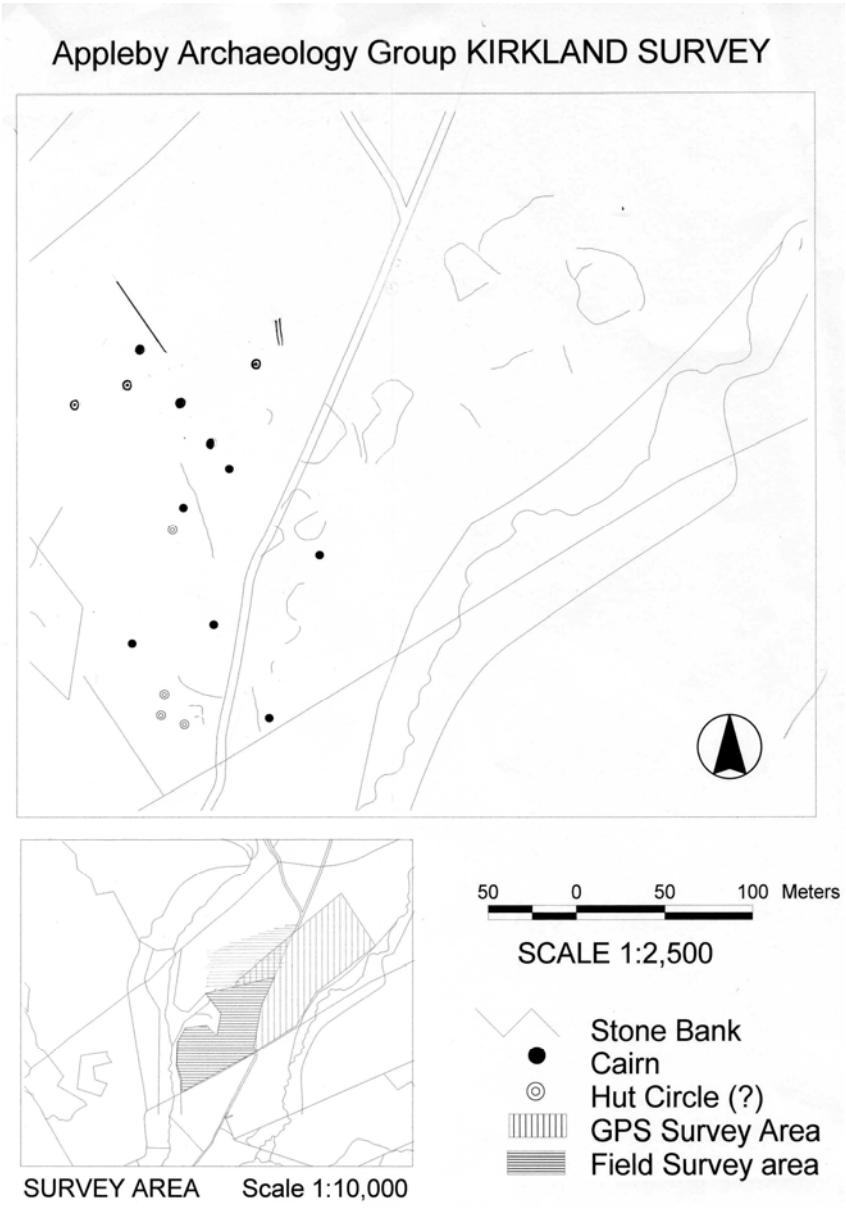

Fig. 3. Survey of 2004

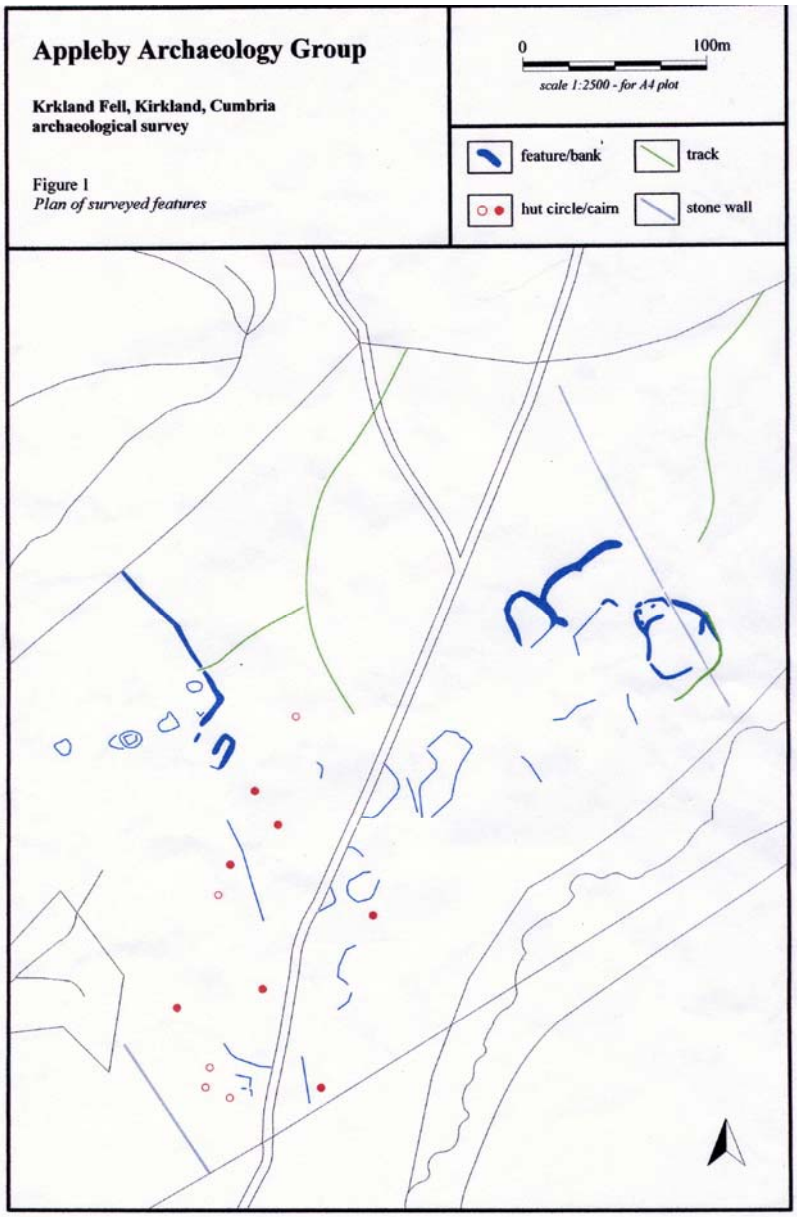

Fig. 4. Survey of 2006.

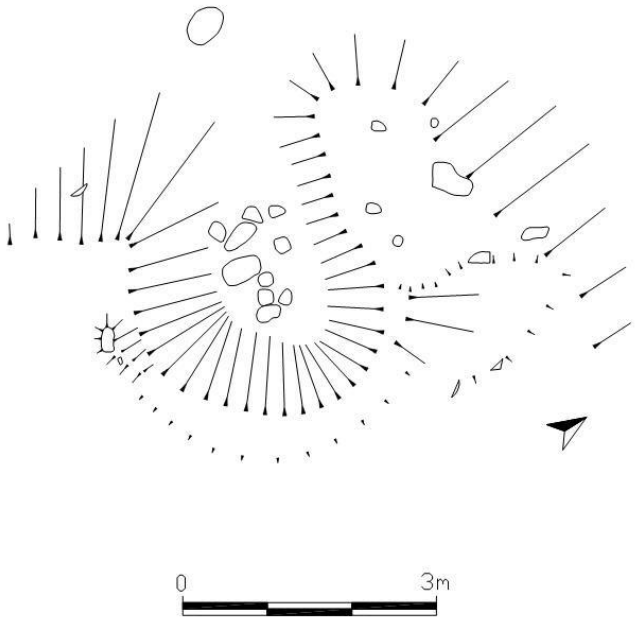

Fig. 5 Pit A

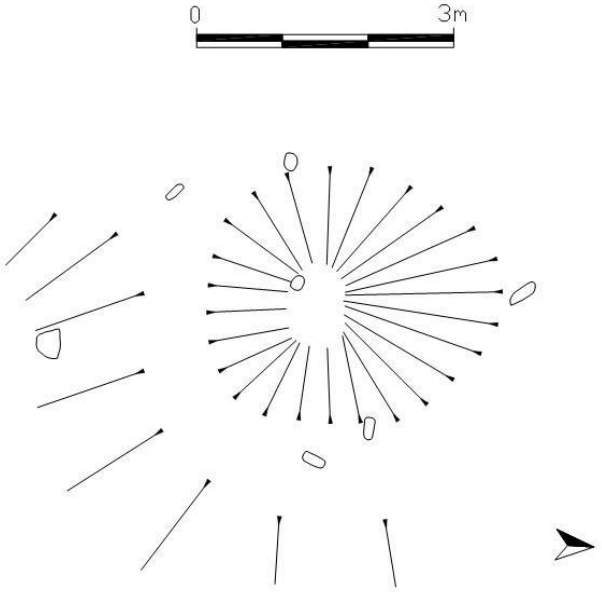

Fig. 6. Pit B