

DANEbury.

By J. P. WILLIAMS-FREEMAN, M.D.

The central mass of the chalk which constitutes Salisbury Plain sends out two main lines of hills across Hampshire, which are continued to the eastward into Surrey and Sussex to form the North and South Downs. On the northern ridge, crowning its highest and barest points, are three typical hill-top fortresses—Walbury, Beacon Hill and Ladle Hill. On the southern stretch, which is somewhat broader, there are six—Quarley Hill, Danebury, Bury Hill, Woolbury, St. Catherine's Hill and Old Winchester Hill. At the extreme north-east of the county and half in Surrey, on a spur of bare gravel, is the well-known Cæsar's Camp, Aldershot, and away in the extreme west, just on the edge of the chalk, is the magnificent triple entrenchment of Whitsbury, till recently in the county of Wilts.

Of these eleven fine contour camps, Danebury is undoubtedly the finest. Its position, though not on the highest or the steepest of the downs, is nevertheless very striking. Its inner rampart is by far the highest in the county, and one of the highest in the south of England, while the defences of the entrances for strength and complexity, stand second only to those of Maiden Castle in Dorsetshire.

The camp stands on a round hill 470 feet above ordnance datum, and 150 feet above the general level of the chalk around it. On the northern and western slopes the ground falls very sharply—about 1 in 4 in some places—but on the southern side the slope is gentle, and on the east the hill is continued along the line of the down by a nearly level neck. The view of the surrounding country is uninterrupted. To the west the high ground forming the watershed between the Test and the Avon—Old Lodge, Quarley Hill, and the

ridge above Tedworth—breaks the view over Wiltshire and Salisbury Plain ; but to the north the view is limited only by the ridge of chalk bounding the Thames valley, with its three hill-camps fifteen miles away. Eastward the eye can range across the greater part of Hampshire to the hills around Medstead, shut in only as one turns southward by Stockbridge Common Down and Farley Mount. Away to the south-east on a clear day can be seen the Isle of Wight, and further south the high ground to the west of the New Forest. Of the hill-top fortresses of Hampshire six are visible—Quarley Hill, Bury Hill and Woolbury near at hand, and Walbury, Beacon Hill and Ladle Hill away to the north, besides Sidbury and probably others in Wiltshire ; while many of the lesser plateau and other camps—Bury Field (Tangle), the Andyke, Tidbury, Norsbury and no doubt others can be made out.

The number of camps that can be seen from any one camp is always worth noting, as are also the numerous cases in which a pair of camps are placed on opposite sides of an intervening valley, such as Danebury and Woolbury, Beacon and Ladle Hills, Bury Hill and Balksbury, Cæsar's Camp and Hungry Hill. One may speculate as to how far this is due to accident or to design, and whether considerations of opposing or supporting one another, and of communication by beacons entered into the choice of their situations.

The soil of Danebury is everywhere bare chalk ; not an inch of clay, or sand, or tertiary debris of any kind caps the hill. No heather or gorse, or thick undergrowth can establish itself ; only the true natives of the chalk—the juniper and the yew—can get a foothold. Even the beech, which now crowns the hill, will scarcely grow on the unbroken down, and would moreover, in a state of nature be destroyed by the wild cattle and the deer.

This open stretch, now largely under plough, is bounded on the east by the valley of the Test a couple of miles away ; a mile-and-a-half to the north a thin coating of loamy soil, which stretches from close to Quarley Hill eastward to the Test, gives rise to a line of woods ("Sarson" wood is one of them), and divides it from another smaller stretch of down dominated by the camp of Bury Hill. A mile or two to the south the

alluvium of the Wallop stream would in primeval times, form the jungle frontier in this direction, but away to the west, past Quarley Hill for five-and-twenty miles, stretches, almost unbroken, the open plain.

It is on such bare hills that we find the hill and plateau forts. Where the chalk or the gravel is overlaid with soil, where the holly and the oak can grow, and the undergrowth is thick, such camps are absent. No hill forts crown the wooded heights of Sidown or Stonor hill. No earthworks of this character are to be found in the eastern woodland-half of the county; and there is said to be but one camp of any description in the whole forest of Anderida.

This stretch of down has seen other fighting besides the cattle raids of earlier times, which has probably given its present name to the camp of Danebury. Somewhere here, possibly a few miles west near "Kent's" Borough, was fought the battle of Sceorstan (? Sarson: "Soresdune" in Domesday), between Canute and Edmund Ironsides, when "Canutus was foyled and travayled all the night towards Winchester, and harborowed himself in a safe place." The Danes, like Cæsar and Oliver Cromwell, so impressed their name upon the imagination of the English, that many earthworks were called after them which probably they never saw. We have in this county earthworks at Awbridge Danes, and Danes Grove, near Woodcote, as well as Danebury, and in all three instances it is probable that the syllable is a corruption of "Dun"—Celtic for hill or fort. The word survives in Merdon, Bull's Down and Dunwood, other earthworks in the county, and in Gough's Camden, and in most maps of the 18th century this place is spelt Dunbury.

An iron cannon ball has been recently found at Danebury, and probably marks some temporary occupation in the Civil War, when the road between Salisbury and Andover saw a good deal of skirmishing. Perhaps, the ancient anvil and hammer found here, and now in the Winchester Museum may be of the same date. A late Celtic comb found at Danebury is in the British Museum.

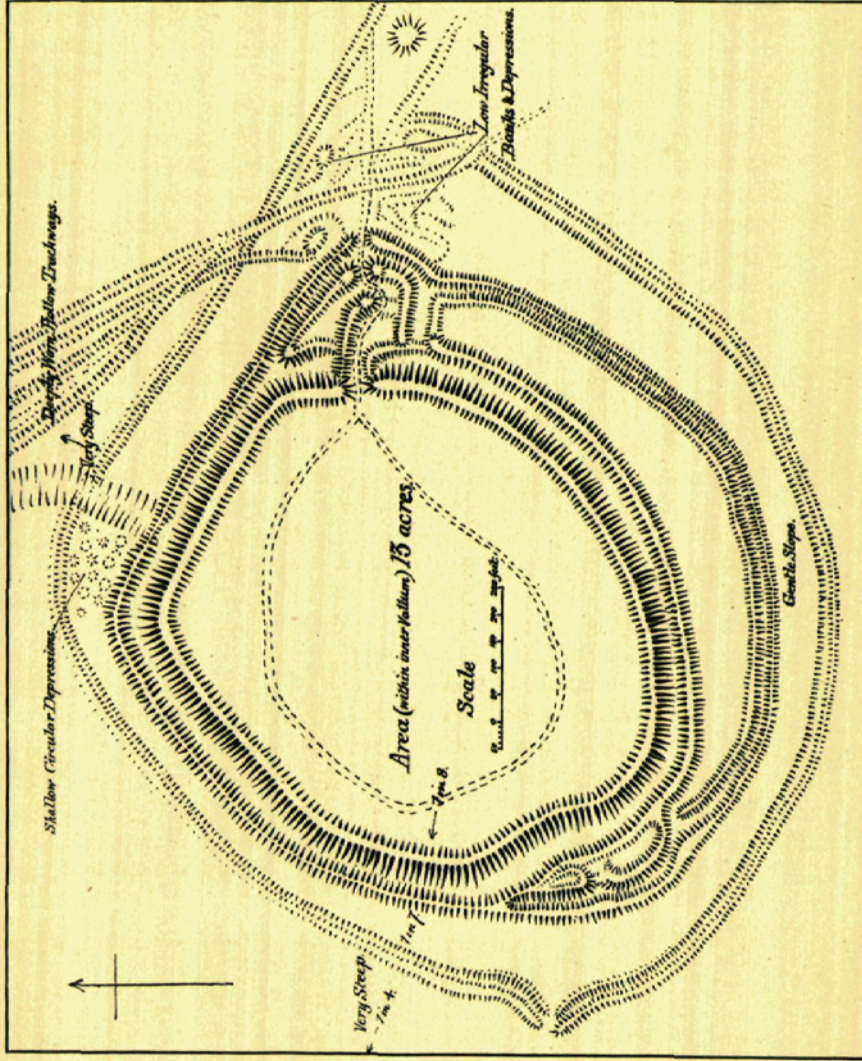
The whole of the double vallum, and the area contained within it have been thickly planted with beeches and firs of no

great age, while yews of much earlier date are frequent along the bank. Striking as this makes the hill with its crown of trees as a landmark, and cool and beautiful as the wood is on such a day as that of the Club's visit in August, 1909, it must be confessed that the archæologist has need of all his love of beauty and of nature to soothe his irritation when he tries to examine the camp. The trees, even when the leaf is off, quite prevent a comprehensive view of any length of the ramparts. Measurements and close study of the intricate banks and ditches of the defences are extremely difficult, while to add to his troubles, no prehistoric stockade which he can imagine upon the ramparts, would offer a greater obstacle to his movements than the unclimbable fence which surrounds the plantation. When the one gate is shut, both the fox and the student are effectually baffled, when they make for their earthworks at Danebury.

The whole entrenchment, which is quite unusual—if not unique—in plan,¹ consists of three complete rings on all sides, with an additional one on the south. They can be seen in Plate I. The inner and principal vallum is of great strength. It rises no less than 32 feet—the height of a three-storeyed house—above the bottom of its ditch on the south-west side, and must average over 25 feet, a most unusual height for any pre-Norman earthwork.² Its crest is 12 feet above the level of the area. The space enclosed by it is about 12 acres, and it has but one opening, viz., the main entrance on the east. On the outer side of the main ditch, which is 18 feet broad at the bottom, springs the second vallum, which rises to a height of 9 to 10 feet above the

¹ The plans given are based on the 25 inch O.S., modified and amplified in several particulars. The plans of the entrances are enlarged to double scale. The figures show the altitudes of the different points in feet measured from a point marked O. It should be remembered that they are only amateur's work, roughly measured with rods, and make no pretence to be an accurate survey.

² In measuring a vallum it is always best to give the vertical height, and to state whether this is taken above the area, the bottom of the ditch, or the natural level of the ground outside, as the case may be. The vertical height above the bottom of its ditch is the best simple measurement to take, as this gives the measure of difficulty an enemy would have to surmount. Measurements up slopes give little information, and are of no use for drawing a section. Similarly, measurements of breadth should always be horizontal.



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natural ground, and has no ditch outside it. This second vallum, however, is not an uninterrupted circle. At the south-west corner of the camp it divides into two parts. The inner portion is continued with the main vallum to the entrance, while the outer portion gradually draws away to a distance of about 50 yards, and goes on to its termination at the "outer gate" of the east entrance, enclosing a long narrow space of about three acres. This outer bank is doubled along its whole length.

In the angle between the two parts is the complicated arrangement of banks which I have called the west entrance. The whole acreage of inner area, with all its banks, ditches and entrance defences, and the three acre enclosure, amounts to about twenty-seven acres.

At an average distance of about forty yards round the whole entrenchment runs the outer-most ring, now a mere shallow ditch on the north side, but developing an external bank three feet and more in height on the other sides. Its ends are lost in the trackways and irregular banks and depressions which lie outside the main entrance. It is most marked at the western side nearly opposite the west entrance, where it has an opening which appears original, and which is flanked for a few feet by the banks turning *outwards*, the reverse of the usual arrangement. The whole area enclosed within this outer ring amounts to about forty acres.

So much for the encircling banks and ditches; they are complicated and interesting, and in many ways unusual. But the most curious parts of Danebury are the elaborate defences which guard the two entrances.

The fighting of primitive man was mostly hand to hand. His longest range missiles must have been the sling stone and the stone thrown by hand, the casting of which he no doubt carried to a degree of efficiency undreamt of even by the primitive boy of modern times. He had flint-tipped arrows and javelins, and doubtless stone tomahawks and wooden clubs. Red-hot clay balls he used in order to set fire to the thatch and wattle of the enemies' houses and defences. His protection must have been a shield, carried, no doubt, upon his left arm, since in so many instances we find an approaching enemy is made to expose his *right* side to a flanking "fire."

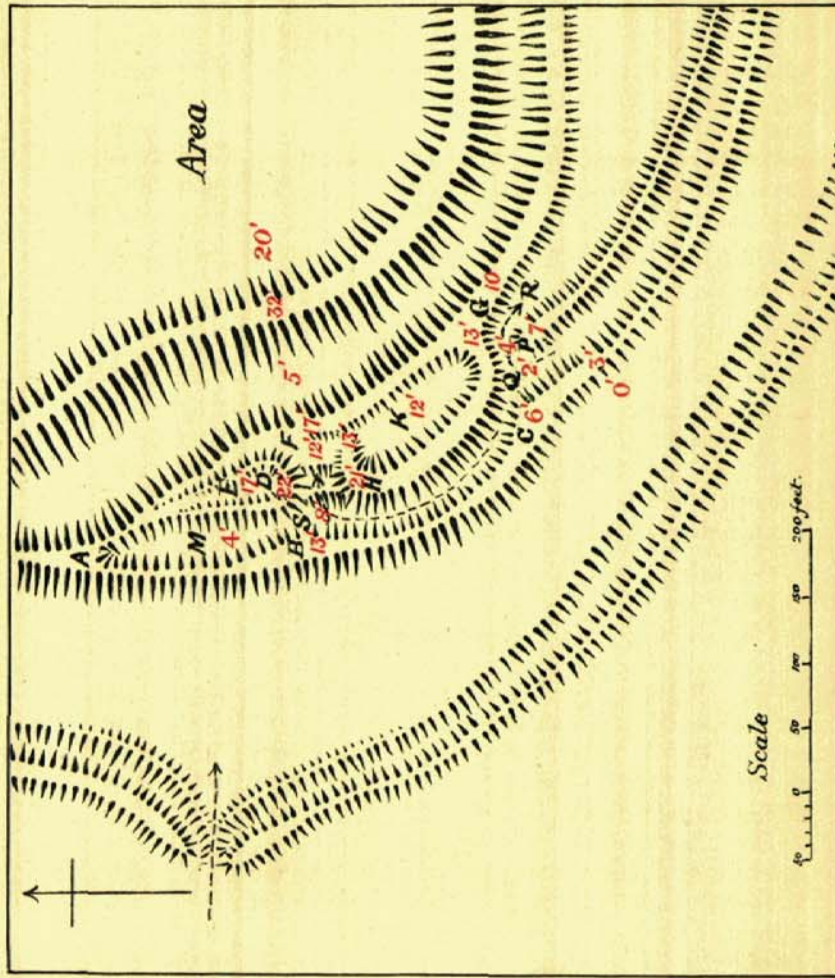
As to the means used to strengthen the earthworks, we know that Stonehenge was fashioned with flint instruments, and need have no hesitation, therefore, in ascribing to early man a very high proficiency in working in wood. Wooden gates or barriers were doubtless used; indeed, the grooves and sockets for the door posts have been found in a stone fortress in Wales, and in a chalk camp in Sussex. The tops of the ramparts were strongly stockaded; the marks of the uprights have been found in Uffington Castle in Berkshire. Pointed branches, and all sorts of wattle and wooden fences were probably used freely. A military friend to whom I showed the profile of a British vallum and fosse, said that the place for a stockade would be at the bottom of the ditch, and it is a fact that pointed stone stakes have been found in this position in Wales. It is to be noticed at Danebury, and at some other camps, that there are numerous large flints along the top of the bank. The denudation of years would naturally leave more here than in other parts, but this would, I think, hardly account for the large number to be found, especially near the entrance and on the mounds in which the banks end. Were there at any time flint breast works or towers? Or were these flints only collected to hurl down on the heads of the attacking party?

The arrangement of banks and ditches to defend the entrances of British camps is never identical in any two, though the principles are of course the same, viz., to keep the attacker as long as possible under fire, to expose him without exposing the defenders, and to give him, both literally and metaphorically, an uphill fight.

Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft in his book "Earthwork of England"—a book to which all students of earthworks must be indebted, whether for wealth of facts, soundness of deduction, or clearness of style—describes more than twenty different devices found in prehistoric camps. Among the commonest are the so-called "guard-houses," small outworks, usually somewhat pear-shaped, with a saucer like depression, which spring from the vallum either just outside, or more rarely, just within the entrance, and command the approach. Whether covered or not, there seems no doubt that they

PLATE II.

HANTS FIELD CLUB AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



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DANEbury.—WEST ENTRANCE.

were used to give shelter to a body guarding the gates. Another device is the *cul-de-sac*, sometimes so placed as to suggest a blind entry to deceive the enemy, in others, as at Danebury, suggesting a place of concealment whence a body of defenders could make a counter attack and rush upon the invaders at a critical moment. In some cases the only road of entrance runs for some distance up the ditch, exposing the attack to a flanking fire from the vallum. In others, a long bank extends outwards or inwards from the main vallum, flanking the assailants, usually, as before remarked, upon their right side.

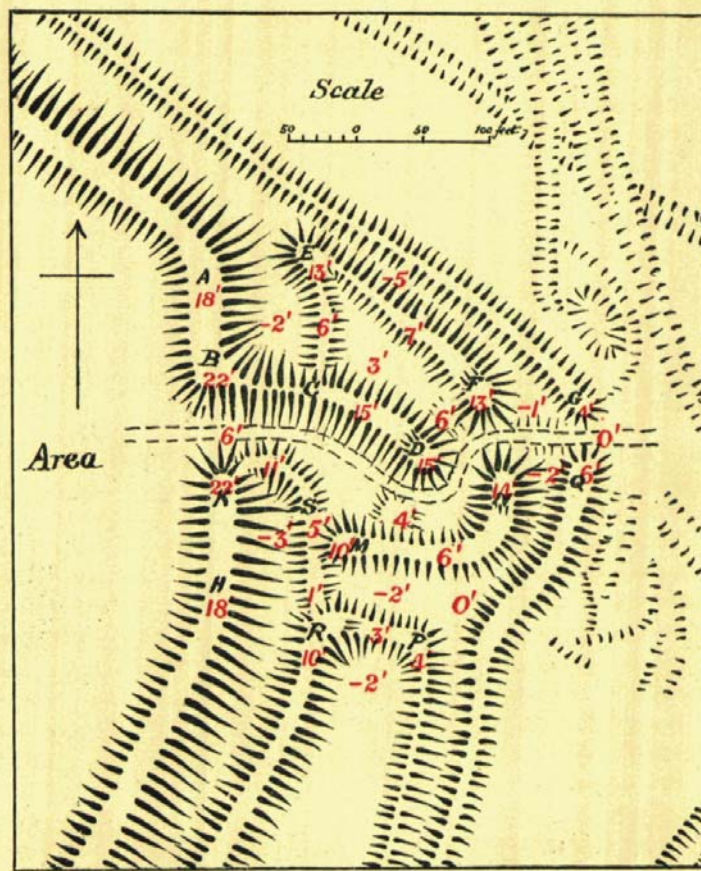
If we now turn to the enlarged plan of the entrances at Danebury, we shall see that use is made of all these devices. One must remember, of course, that the condition of the banks and ditches must be very different now from what it was when they were in their fresh state, and that they have nearly certainly been altered and adapted from one use to another from time to time. It is certain that one's interpretations of them will turn out to be erroneous in many points, when the study of earth works is more advanced. They are only put forward as suggestions—*faute de mieux*.

The west entrance, shewn in Plate II., is comparatively simple. Two more or less pear-shaped "guard-houses," E and K, spring from the outer vallum, and overhang by some eight or twelve feet the road which passes up between them. There is, however, no corresponding opening in the vallum A, B, C, which encloses these guard-houses on the outer side, and which averages 5 or 6 feet above the ditch which lies between. The road apparently lay along this ditch, marked by the dotted line. This, which is quite a common arrangement, would force the enemy to run the gauntlet of a heavy fire from the lofty bank of the guard-house on his right; then he would find himself at the point S, with the *cul-de-sac* M in front of him, from which the defenders could counter attack. Turning to his right he would probably be faced by a strong wooden gate, which he would have to force under a hail of stones from the points D and H, which are even now 12 to 13 feet above him. The remarkable thing about this entrance is that, even supposing it to be carried by

the enemy, it does not give access to the main area of the camp, but only admits to the second vallum. There remains a drop of 12 feet into the main ditch, and a rise of 27 feet to the top of the main bank to negotiate before the camp can be entered. Access if any must have been by means of a bridge, though there is no indication on the inner vallum of any track, ramp, or gap opposite these defences. It would be interesting to know if a similar formidable defence to an outer vallum is found in any other earthwork. The entrance to the three-acre enclosure, which stretches east from the points P, G, may probably have been at the point Q. Though the rise is considerable, viz., about 6 feet, there seems to be no other opening which looks original in its containing banks. The whole arrangement of an outer enclosure is, I think, uncommon, though there is a similar "suburb" of $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Bury Hill, a circular double-vallum camp about four miles off. It is possible that they may have been used as safe enclosures for cattle, the one at Danebury being strongly protected by its double bank, and by a barrier across the entrance from the point P.

The east entrance, the only entrance through the main vallum—the one to which all the trackways converge, and which from the outer mound to the inner gate shews traces of banks and ditches for no less than 230 yards—is one of the most elaborately defended of any of the camps that I have seen described. These defences could only have been put up by a powerful people, and must have guarded a very important place. They are shewn in Plate III. To commence at the outside. A defensive mound—one of the so-called "Block-house Mounds" not uncommon in hill-top fortresses—is placed on the down 120 yards from the outer gate, as if to guard the main approach along the ridge from the east. [This is outside the limit of the enlarged plan, but is seen in Plate I.]. From this point inwards the ground is broken by low banks, mounds and depressions, whose exact disposition and purpose it is hopeless to work out. The ends of the outer ring of the whole entrenchment, as well as the trackways coming up on the north side, get mixed up and lost in those irregularities.

Once inside the modern fence, however, the banks and



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DANEbury.—EAST ENTRANCE.

ditches become definite and well marked. Immediately on entering, the visitor finds himself standing between the ends G and Q of what constitutes the outer bank of these defences. In the enlarged plan I have marked this point with a cypher and taken it as the datum from which to measure the altitudes of the different parts. The heights at G and Q are only now 4 feet and 6 feet respectively, but it is probable that they originally abutted on the "outer gate." When we pass inwards we find that the path, which is raised where it crosses the ditch, and which rises gradually towards the "inner gate," at B K, bends slightly to the left between the mounds N on the left, and F on the right. These rise steeply to a height of 9 or 10 feet above the path, and as will be seen by the plan, are the raised ends of considerable banks.

Twenty-five yards further on the path curves to the right round another mound D, which is again raised 10 feet above its level, and from which a bank D, C, continues along its right side and joins the main vallum at the "inner gate; the path is thus commanded on the right for its whole course from D to B, somewhat over 100 yards.

On the left of the path for half this distance is an open space, 10 or 12 yards deep; enclosed by low banks and divided into two by a low mound which strongly suggests one or more guard houses. For the last 20 or 30 yards before reaching the main vallum, the path is commanded on the left also by the bank K S, but at a much lower altitude than on the right-hand side. Where the path passes through the main inner vallum, is a gap of 5 or 6 yards, and the vallum is here 16 feet above it. Here, no doubt, stood the main or inner wooden gates or barriers, and it seems likely that there were intermediate gates between the mounds F.N.

If the visitor clambers up a foot or two between the mounds D and F, he will find himself in a four-sided space some 30 yards by 15. This whole space is raised considerably above the level of the path, though depressed in the centre like a saucer, and it is surrounded on three sides by the banks D, C, E, F, which rise to a formidable height above the surrounding ditches. This space is open only towards the path between D and F, and strongly suggests a guard house or place of assembly

for the defenders, whence they could deliver the counter attack in great force. On the left, too, behind the low bank M.N., is a space which may have served some similar purpose.

Imagine these banks some feet higher, crowned with flint breastworks or palisades, the ditches considerably deeper and defended by stakes and abatis, the approaches barred by strong gates and barriers of timber, while the defenders manned the walls, flanked the approaches, lay concealed in ambushes, or protected in guard houses, and one can but picture Danebury as the almost impregnable fortress of a very formidable and resourceful people.

The question of the water supply of these hill forts has been much discussed. That the common "mistpond" of our downs was known and used by early peoples is hardly to be doubted. Many of the hills have a cap of clay where any chance excavation will naturally collect and hold water. There is such a natural dewpond, for instance, in Walbury Camp. Even chalk if much trodden will hold water for a time; such workers in earth as the constructors of Danebury could hardly fail to hit on the device of puddling it with clay. There are the remains of artificial depressions by the eastern entrance which may well have been dewponds, and there is a modern one about 250 yards to the N.W. In times of peace the universal custom of sending the women to fetch water from the nearest stream in a skin "mussack" was doubtless followed.

The area of this fortress is so covered with trees that it would be impossible to recognise the marks of dwellings, even supposing that the planting of the trees or previous cultivation had left such traces intact. Outside the second vallum, however, on the north side, and especially just to the west of the little gully which runs up into the camp, may be seen several shallow circular depressions which have all the appearance of the pit dwellings such as are found, for instance, within the area of Beacon Hill Camp.

The "ridge ways," "harrow ways," and "track ways" that cross our downs make an interesting study, and carefully worked out would certainly shew more communications from one "camp" to another than are at present recognised. From Danebury a track runs east from the main entrance past the

"Block House Mound," along the ridge and across the down to Longstock. Here it crosses at a ford and can be traced up the hill to Worlbury on the opposite side of the Test. Again coming from the east entrance and turning down the north side of the hill, there are among the juniper bushes at least half-a-dozen trackways deeply worn into the chalk as they descend the steep brow of the hill. Such parallel cuttings may be seen on many of our steep chalk slopes, and always mark an ancient and much-used road. In this case they all turn westward on reaching the bottom, and point straight for Quarley Hill; from Quarley Hill westward to Amesbury Camp (the so-called Vespasian's Camp close to Stonehenge) a direct road is easily recognisable, but though two trackways can be made out coming down the east side of Quarley Hill, the connecting road from there to Danebury is not obvious. A close examination of the ground with the 6in. ordnance map would probably reveal it.¹

Within a mile or so of a hill fort it is not uncommon to find a group of round barrows, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they constitute the burial places of the chiefs of a tribe that at some time occupied the stronghold. I may instance the "seven barrows" south of Sidbury, in Wiltshire, The "six barrows" at the foot of Quarley Hill, the "seven barrows" south of Beacon Hill, and the group of six just outside, and four within Old Winchester Hill. Until quite recently a group of seven barrows existed on Chattis Hill, about a mile to the south of Danebury. They were unfortunately levelled a few years ago, some bones which came to light being removed to the Hartley Museum. These barrows offer strong evidence of the occupation of the camp in the early Bronze Age, but they are not the only barrows which one must associate with this earthwork.

Two exactly similar unchambered long barrows, about 70 yards apart, exist 600 yards N.W. from the camp, just to the east of a belt of fir trees, and the remains of another, rapidly being ploughed out, is cut through by the Andover-Stockbridge road, just to the north of the cottage about one mile N.E. of

¹It very possibly ran along the present track from Stockbridge, by Kent's Barrow, to Grately Station.

Danebury. Other instances can be named where long barrows, chambered and unchambered, are found near these Hill Forts, e.g., Old Winchester Hill, St. Catherine's Hill, Haydon Hill (Wilts), and Whitsbury.

When one remembers how many long barrows must have been ploughed down, the close proximity of one or more to no less than four out of the eleven Hill Forts in our county, is additional evidence that these camps were occupied as early as the Neolithic age.

In discussing the "age" to which this camp belongs, one may be excused for insisting upon two points, which, though obvious enough, seem often to be forgotten—first, that there was no sharp line between the late Stone and the Bronze Age, and secondly, that a stronghold such as Danebury was nearly certainly occupied and altered by different people over a long period of time.

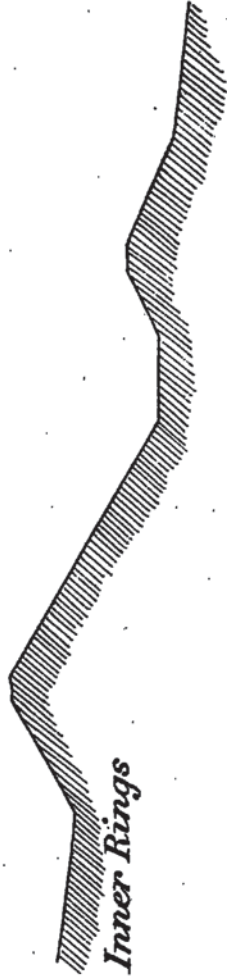
Long after bronze weapons became the treasured possessions of the chiefs in this island, long even after the introduction of iron, stone weapons must have been in common use amongst the bulk of the population. The finding of flint instruments and flakes in abundance about a camp does not of itself show that it belongs to the Neolithic age. Only the repeated failure to find (except of course as surface finds) weapons and pottery of the bronze period in a certain class of camp would justify one in calling them Neolithic.

The evidence as to the "Hill Forts" is not yet strong, still, such as it is, it accumulates. General Pitt-Rivers and others have made excavations in several, perhaps half-a-dozen of these Hill Forts without finding anything which could ascribe them to a later period than the Neolithic. Most of them, however, have been simpler forts than Danebury, forts with a single vallum and without very elaborate defences. In his original paper on the Hill Forts of Sussex, General Pitt-Rivers lays down several points of "British," he does not say "Neolithic," castrametation:—

- (1) They follow the line of the hill.
- (2) Fuel and water supply were not considered.
- (3) Ramparts are in inverse ratio to the strength of the position, i.e., the steepness of the slope.

DANE BURY

Sections on West Side



Inner Rings



Outer Ditch

Section on South side, through the two outer Rings.



25 yds.

Scale, 40 feet to Inch.

- (4) The ditch is sometimes on the inner side of the defensive bank.
- (5) An outwork is sometimes thrown up within 200 or 300 yards of the main work.
- (6) Ramparts are higher at the gateways and sometimes in-curved.
- (7) Gateways are sometimes covered by circular erections.
- (8) Pits and flint flakes are often found in the interior.

It will be noticed that every one of these points is exemplified at Danebury in the outermost circle, with the exception that the banks at the gateway are out-curved, and that the "circular erections" or "guard houses"—pear shaped or cutlet shaped would be a better description—are found protecting the second vallum at the west entrance. The defensive works as a whole, and particularly those to the gateway of the inner vallum at the east entrance are exceptionally complicated. Taking all these facts into consideration, and remembering that we have both three long barrows and a group of round barrows, besides two or three single ones within a mile of the camp, and also remembering the peculiarities of the entrances, one may at least hazard the guess that the original builders of the outer ring, and perhaps of the second vallum with the west entrance and defences, belonged to the Neolithic age, and that a later chief, probably of the bronze period, added the last rampart of the inner vallum with the complicated and impregnable defences of the main eastern gates. The many deeply-worn roads turning westwards towards Salisbury Plain point to a long and considerable occupation when the region round Stonehenge must have been the centre of a great and important civilization.

In the early days of the study of earthworks, hill camps were considered to be "Camps of Refuge." The late Mr. Shore, a pioneer in this branch of archæology, whose views it would be almost disrespectful for a member of the Hampshire Field Club to pass over, was at one time an upholder of this theory. His view was that the Celtic people had cleared and cultivated the richer ground in the lower levels, and used these hill forts to drive their flocks and herds into, and as a protection for the

women and children in case of attack. That hill entrenchments may have been used for this purpose on occasions, no one will deny, but that they were normally used and designed for such temporary occupation is not now generally believed. The strength of the vallum (15 to 18 feet above the bottom of the ditch is a common measurement), the fortification of the entrances, the grouping of barrows near by, and the worn trackways leading from one to another, all point unmistakably to their permanent occupation as the towns of a people in no low state of civilization. Another writer seems to suggest that they were only designed to protect the flocks and herds against the wolves in winter, and that the worn trackways were made by the cattle going in and out. The same arguments apply here in even greater force. No such formidable earthworks as surround any of our Hampshire hill forts are required to keep out a wolf.

If one may let one's imagination roam over these downs in the days of early man, one sees him emerge from the hunter stage in which he followed his game in the dense forest with no fixed habitation, into that of the pastoral stage, hunting still, but possessing small herds of cattle which he tended and milked. Here on the chalk where no trees would grow, was sweet food for his cattle as well as for the deer he hunted. Here, where he could see the enemy coming, he could protect himself against the wolves and bears, and the wild men who lurked in the woods. Here he pitched his skin tent and made a zareeba for his family and his herds.

Next we see the chief of the pastoral tribe selecting Danebury for his permanent camp. He loosens the earth with his deer-horn pick, splits a stake into a primitive spade, and throws up a simple bank of earth crowned with a palisade or a fence of brush wood against the wild beasts. Later on comes some Neolithic Abraham who strengthens the camp into a formidable stronghold. To keep his neighbour of Quarley Hill from lifting his cattle, he makes the bank stronger and higher, crowns it with a strong palisade, and surrounds it with a ditch not to be jumped by man or beast. He is a cultivator now, and still finds the light downland best suited for his wooden plough. He builds permanent huts of mud, and of wattle and daub, digging out the ground for additional height and shelter,

and thatching them with reeds or brushwood, and near by he constructs a sepulchre for himself and his family. There are no sarsens scattered on his down, so he constructs the chambers of wood—perhaps lines of flints beneath the long barrows still preserve their plan. And so the community grows and the settlement increases, the herds are larger, sheep are added to the cattle, but the grazing land is still limited by the forest. Cattle raids and encroachments are constant, population has increased with civilization, and war is on a more formidable scale. The simple bank and ditch no longer suffice for defence; an inner vallum is thrown up over 15 feet high, strongly stockaded, and so deep and wide is the ditch, that it is used as the road up to the gates. These are of strong timber worked by his flint adzes.

Like all his contemporary chiefs; he has an entrance at each end of the camp on the backbone of the hill, behind the old entrances in the outer ring, and he flanks them with strong guard-houses, similar to, but more formidable than those of his distant neighbour on Beacon Hill. He places a blockhouse on the ridge to the east, and other defences to guard that gate, but nothing is left of these now but the low banks and depressions we have seen. He has advanced in culture, and his town contains skilled workers in wood, bone, and flint, skin dressers, builders in wattle and mud, and cultivators of the soil. The women are weavers, cheese makers, and sewers of skins and cloth. They make close baskets of rushes and reeds, and line them with clay to hold water. They are no longer content to herd with the cattle, which are relegated to the outer compound—a fine Neolithic fortress this—few of his neighbours can boast an outer enclosure, though Bury Hill has a large one, and his great rival at Quarley has two.*

Centuries pass; all arts are advanced and more have been introduced; the clay-lined basket has long since been baked into pottery and has become an article of universal use and varied construction. Bronze has appeared, and the precious weapon, polished and shining like rare gold, is treasured by the chiefs. Stonehenge has been built half a day's journey off, commerce between the towns has taken the place of war. A new race has appeared in Britain—tall and muscular, with

*According to Gough's "Camden," but there is no trace now of outer enclosures on Quarley Hill.

broad head and powerful frame, he has conquered the older feeble Neolithic chiefs and enslaved their people. He brings new customs, he discards the long barrow—the family sepulchre, vaulted with timber or stone, and buries each chief in his own round barrow. He groups these barrows in clusters a mile or so from his strongholds, or carries his mighty dead to be buried near the great sun temple on the plain. He is no longer content with a single vallum round his town. He throws up the huge inner rampart with its one great entrance to the east, he reconstructs its defences till they stand unrivalled in strength and complexity.

All around the country has advanced, the woods have been largely cleared, corn is widely cultivated, commerce in tin, copper and gold, in ornaments and manufactured articles follows definite roads. The smaller chieftains are dominated by the more powerful. At intervals of 15 or 20 miles the country is overawed by the more important double and triple vallumed towns:—Old Sarum, Yarnbury, Whitsbury, Badbury, Maiden Castle, are his rivals to the west. And so on into the iron age and the time of Cæsar, when the rich cornlands of the South of England were inhabited by an “innumerable people,” when the lowlands and the woodlands of our county were thickly populated, and also had their triple strongholds at Buckland Rings and Bullsdown, when the ox waggon and the war chariot crossed the county by well worn roads, when Calleva dominated its northern, and Venta its southern parts. Who can say when Danebury ceased to be an important place? Was it reduced by Vespasian? Did the Romans occupy it as they did Sorbiodunum? Did Cnut ever “harborow” here after his repulse at Sceorstan, or did he push on to his entrenched dock at Longstock? Did some Norman robber ever use it as a stronghold?

It is easy to ask such questions, but not easy to answer them.

It is, however, lawful to let the imagination clothe these dry bones with the fancy dresses of different ages, so long as we remember that they are only fancy. The “scientific imagination” may stimulate interest and direct research, but it is only by accurate measurements and close comparisons, by painstaking excavation and careful sifting—both of the earth and the evidence—that we can add to our real facts and advance to a true knowledge of such ancient earthworks.