Kent’s lack of prehistoric monuments – the price of being the ‘Garden of England’

The general lack of prehistoric field monuments across much of Kent has long been recognized, even though the rolling chalk downland of east Kent in particular has readily invited comparison with the similar landscapes of Sussex, Wessex and the Yorkshire Wolds, so rich in prehistoric remains. Yet prehistorians throughout the 19th and 20th centuries have been continually disappointed by the absence of comparable numbers of upstanding Neolithic and Bronze Age structures in this region (e.g. Woodruff 1874, 17; Champion 1982, 32; Barber 1997, 82). As a consequence, until recently, Kent has often been envisaged (sometimes almost subconsciously) as being less densely occupied during the prehistoric past than many other parts of southern Britain.

However, it is now quite clear that the paucity of visible ancient remains is very much the result of subsequent land-use. Thus, central to understanding the preservation, distribution and survival of local prehistoric field monuments is a thorough appreciation of the nature, extent and intensity of agricultural activity throughout the historic period, particularly over the last two or three centuries. In this context, the prehistoric complex now identified at Ringlemere effectively presents a microcosm of the situation across much of the county and serves to demonstrate that, even though there is often virtually nothing to be seen on the surface, with detailed investigation, there is still much of significance too be discovered below the fertile top-soil of the ‘Garden of England’.

Potential Neolithic ceremonial enclosures and henge monuments in Kent

From the excavation evidence there would now seem to be two main periods in the prehistoric development of Ringlemere M1 (Chapter 2). In its earliest form, the monument appears to have constituted a Class 1 henge. Subsequently, the addition of a central mound transformed this monument into a barrow of large diameter, but not necessarily very high, which may or may not have served as a place of burial.

In Kent generally, henge monuments have remained elusive or controversial, thus making the new discoveries at Ringlemere of exceptional interest and importance. Other possible examples of henges and ceremonial enclosures, however, are now also beginning to be identified and it would anyway seem improbable that Ringlemere M1 was the only such monument that existed in prehistoric Kent.

Not far to the north-east of Ringlemere, at Richborough (Fig. 26), Paul Ashbee has recently noticed (Ashbee 2001, 86; 2005, 113) how William Stukeley’s drawing of the Roman amphitheatre there (Stukeley 1776, 36.2d; reproduced in Ashbee 2001, fig. 5) has very much the appearance of a henge. He suggests a Roman adaptation of an earlier monument, similar to the sequence known at Maumbury Rings, Dorchester (Bradley 1976). Moreover, a recent geophysical survey of the Richborough site has revealed two large enigmatic side-features which cannot be readily understood in the context of a Roman amphitheatre (Millett and Wilmott 2003, 190), perhaps further raising the possibility of an earlier monument here; only detailed excavation will resolve the issue.

Aerial reconnaissance across the county has revealed further possible henge sites. An assessment conducted by the RCHME in 1989 (unpublished) listed 11 air photograph sites in Kent that might represent henges, although only one of these seemed likely (RCHME 1989, list 18; Bewley, Crutchley and Grady 2004, 72). Of the potential sites noted, ten lie on the chalklands in the eastern-most part of the county, with no less than seven occurring on the Isle of Thanet, including two close to the excavated Lord of the Manor monument complex described below. Two more possible henge sites (refs KE 674.14.1, TR 2900 5260; KE 674.83.1, TR 3034 5422) lie on downland near Eastry, only a short distance to the south of Ringlemere (Fig. 26); site 674.83.1, about 45m across, is almost 3km away, with the much larger KE 674.14.1 cut through by Thornton Lane, some 4.4km distant. This latter site, of which just under half has been recorded by aerial photography, is of particular interest because of its apparent double ditch and large size, around 200m in diameter. Three round barrows have been previously recorded from the immediate area (see below) and one of these can now be seen to lie near the centre of the enclosure.

The clearest identifiable example of a henge monument, however, is located some 40km to the west of Ringlemere, at Bredgar near Sittingbourne. Here, the crop-mark of an apparent Class 2 henge has been recorded on high downland to the north of Trundle Wood (ref. KE 735.1.1, TQ 8847 5907). The monument is oval in outline, between 30 and 40m across, with opposed entrances on the south-east and north-west sides.

Further possible candidates for henges may exist among the 50 double and triple concentric ring-ditch sites that have also been noted on air photographs of the east Kent and Thanet chalklands (RCHME 1989, list 19). Excavation of several has now taken place, mostly on Thanet and although details of most have yet to be published in full, it is apparent that the bulk of them are complex monuments of multi-phased development. Evidence for internal features, re-cutting and replacing of the enclosing ditches, together with finds of Neolithic pottery and flintwork combine to show that most of the excavated examples are not straightforward Bronze Age round barrow sites. Indeed, it has been suggested that a number originated as Late Neolithic ceremonial enclosures, which were only later developed as burial sites and covered by a barrow mound, now invariable destroyed. Perkins (2004, 76) has termed such sites ‘henge-barrows’.

On the southern side of the Isle of Thanet, about 10km
north-east of Ringlemere, a key site lies at the Lord of the Manor (Ozengell) crossroads (Fig. 26) where excavation of a complex, concentric triple ditched enclosure was undertaken in the 1970s (LOM Site I). Situated on a chalk ridge overlooking the sea and the Wantsum Channel, this monument was associated with a cluster of other ring-ditches. Two of the RCHME’s possible henge sites lie nearby.

Analysis has suggested four phases of development to LOM Site I (Macpherson-Grant 1977). A circular outer ditch, unbroken by any obvious entrance causeway, was believed by the excavator to be the earliest feature and this enclosed an area about 24m in diameter, possibly with an internal bank. It was provisionally dated to the Late Neolithic period (Macpherson-Grant 1977, 15). During Phase 3, sometime in the Early Bronze Age, a grave containing two crouched inhumations was cut at the centre of this enclosure, surrounded by an inner ditch and probably covered by a small mound. Later, in Phase 4, further burials were added to the central barrow, which was then enlarged by material derived from a new penannular middle ditch, cut just inside the assumed position of the internal bank of the original Late Neolithic enclosure.

Further excavations on the site led to the suggestion that at least two of the other adjacent ring-ditches might also have originated as Late Neolithic enclosures (LOM Sites IID and III). Site IID consisted of a single penannular ring-ditch enclosing an area about 17m in diameter, with a broad entrance causeway on the south-western side. Internal features included post-settings and a hearth, and later, a central crouched inhumation. The excavator believed that the monument had undergone three phases of development, the earliest dating to the Late Neolithic period (Macpherson-Grant 1980). Site III was another single ditched enclosure, with an internal diameter of almost 20m. It was provided with an entrance causeway on the south side and again appeared to have gone through several phases of development, with a central cremation burial contained within a Bronze Age Collared Urn, added during Phase 2 (Perkins 1980).

On the north side of Thanet, at Eastchurch Road, Northdown, Margate, the discovery of another large ‘Neolithic ceremonial circle’, perhaps subsequently re-used as an early Bronze Age burial site, awaits detailed publication, along with a group of adjacent barrow ring-ditches (Fig. 26; Rosa 1982, 18; John Willson pers. comm.).

Some distance to the west of Thanet, a possible Neolithic ceremonial circle has been identified above the valley of the River Medway on Holborough Hill, near Snodland (Grinsell 1992, Snodland i). Here, a previously excavated, plough-damaged ring-ditch with an internal diameter of about 25m (Evison 1956) has, on the evidence of the pottery contained within its lower silts, recently been recognised as originating as a circular Neolithic enclosure (Harding 2003, 19). At the time of its investigation, it was assumed to be the remains of a simple Bronze Age round barrow. There was no surviving evidence for the presence of any primary burials, nor a barrow mound,
although the prior existence of the latter was suspected by the excavator because, like Ringlemere, the monument had subsequently served as the focus for an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

If the sequences proposed for these Lord of the Manor and other ring-ditch sites are fundamentally correct, the notion of Late Neolithic ceremonial circles which evolve during the Early Bronze Age into burial monuments marked by round barrows could mirror the sequence now interpreted for Ringlemere M1 (Chapter 2). Clearly, detailed publication of all the Thanet sites is urgently required before any more useful local comparisons can be made.

It seems likely that further and more secure henge monuments will be identified in Kent over the coming years, especially if the pace of fieldwork continues to increase at its present rate. Currently, however, Ringlemere M1 seems to be the most convincing classic henge within the county.

**Bronze Age barrows and ring-ditches in east Kent**

At some stage after its construction, the original henge enclosure at Ringlemere, with its central timber structure, was significantly modified by the addition of a mound to create what, in conventional archaeological terms, may be regarded as a round barrow, the last vestiges of which are still visible today. This general sequence may be broadly comparable with the smaller, less well-preserved 'henge-barrows' previously examined at the Lord of the Manor complex on Thanet (see above, this Chapter). At Ringlemere, the new barrow mound was surmounted by a centrally positioned timber façade, apparently intended either to replace or enhance the original timber 'cove' (Chapter 2).

Bronze Age round barrows represent the most common prehistoric monuments known in Kent and Ringlemere M1 in its later form can now be added to the list of surviving remains. During the early 1990s, in the last of his great surveys, Leslie Grinsell was able to detail about 170 round barrow sites in Kent overall (Grinsell 1992), of which half were concentrated in the eastern-most part of the county, mainly on the higher chalk downland to the south and west of Ringlemere. In contrast, few sites were known on the Tertiary and later clay and sand deposits that skirt the foot of the North Downs dip-slope (Ashbee and Dunning 1960, fig. 1; Grinsell 1992, fig. 1), though this is precisely the region where Ringlemere and another newly identified monument complex at nearby Wingham Bridge (detailed below) are located. Even as Grinsell, then 85 years old, was completing his long-planned Kent survey, it was becoming increasingly clear from the results of aerial photography that for every visible barrow mound in the county there were dozens of others that had been destroyed by ploughing. The unpublished 1989 RCHME study of crop-mark evidence across the county (see above) had already identified over 640 probable sites in Kent (RCHME 1989, lists 19–21).

Shortly after Grinsell’s catalogue was published, Dave Perkins attempted a revised quantification of the numbers of levelled Kentish barrows. In 1995 he counted 739 potential round barrow sites in the county, recorded on air photographs (Perkins 2004, 76). As with the extant mounds, the distribution of these sites was very uneven, with three-quarters of them again lying in the eastern-most part of Kent. For the block of chalkland between Deal, Canterbury and Folkestone some 356 ring-ditch sites were noted, with another 315 spread across the much smaller area of the adjacent Isle of Thanet. Adding Grinsell’s figures for surviving mounds and newly discovered sites such as the Ringlemere and Wingham Bridge complexes, it now transpires that a total of over 900 probable round barrows is recorded from Kent. The average density of barrows on Thanet, an area intensively studied by Perkins for many years, seems to approach parts of prehistoric Wessex, at almost 4 sites per km². On the chalk downs of mainland Kent east of Canterbury, the density is lower at about 1.25 barrows per km². West of Canterbury, up to the south bank of the Thames and into the Weald, which together account for some four-fifths of the total area of the historic county of Kent, however, the number of recorded barrow sites remains very much smaller. At least in part, this will be due to the obscuring effects of woodland and soils less conducive to the formation of crop-marks, together with urban sprawl from London, rather than any genuine absence of prehistoric monuments. Even allowing for originally lower barrow densities in these regions compared to the eastern part of the county, the former presence of 2000 Bronze Age round barrows across Kent now seems very likely. Such a figure may be compared with the area of prehistoric Wessex, around four times larger than Kent, which has an estimated total of over 6,000 round barrows (Cunliffe 1993, 117).

Amongst the plough-eroded sites recorded on air photographs in Kent are examples with double and triple concentric ring-ditches, many of which are likely to represent complex sites with several phases of development. As noted above, some of these sites could even have originated as henge monuments. Also represented by crop-marks are clusters of half-a-dozen or occasionally more ring-ditches grouped together.

From the available evidence, however, it would seem that the very large nucleated barrow cemeteries such as are famously known on the Wessex chalklands, are essentially absent from Kent (as in many other parts of the country). Surviving barrows on the Kentish chalklands most frequently occur singly or in pairs and very occasionally in groups of three or four (Ashbee and Dunning 1960, 48). Almost all are simple bowl barrows, invariably without a visible ditch. As far as can be determined from the surviving remains, the more elaborate forms of round barrow – the so-called ‘Wessex fancy barrows’ – are not present in any significant numbers in Kent (Grinsell 1992, 357), although extensive plough damage will have destroyed the relevant evidence at many sites. A saucer barrow has been preserved in Warren Wood at Crundale, near Ashford (Grinsell 1992, 357; Crundale 1). This has the remains of a bank set outside a still visible ditch which encloses an area about 18m in diameter (Kent SMR, TR 04 NE 26). It appears to be the only extant example of an embanked barrow surviving in east Kent, although we now also have the (limited) evidence for an outer bank at Ringlemere M1. Moreover, the evidence implying that the mound of M1 was never very high suggests that, in traditional field-worker’s terms, this too might be regarded as a (large) saucer barrow.

Although examples of primary cremations and inhumations have been recorded, perhaps unsurprisingly, modern excavation of many heavily plough-damaged Kentish prehistoric barrow sites has failed to yield any contemporary burials and it must be that these have been previously destroyed. The discoveries under one upstanding barrow mound excavated in the 18th century by James Douglas, on Bay Hill at St Margaret’s-at-Cliffe near Dover, demonstrates the potential nature of the problem.
This mound was found to contain the cremated remains of a child ‘deposited exactly at the centre of the barrow on the surface of the native soil, without any excavation whatever, the mound of earth raised simply over it’ (Douglas 1793, 120). Clearly, such a fragile burial deposit could not have survived on any heavily plough-eroded site.

It is difficult to document the destruction of the prehistoric round barrows of Kent at all closely but it seems likely that their erasure has been a continuous process over many centuries. Two of the three barrows situated below the North Downs scarp at the foot of Castle Hill, Folkestone, seem to have been under the plough by the Iron Age (Rady 1992) and comparable evidence for destruction in pre-Roman times is reported from the Lord of the Manor complex on Thanet (Perkins 2004, note 2). A number of other mounds, such as those at Holborough Hill, Snodland (see above); Mill Hill, Deal; Long Hill, Buckland and Bay Hill, St Margaret’s must have survived as visible monuments until at least the 6th century AD, however, because they provided foci for early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries, as now also clearly seen for Ringlemere M1.

It seems likely that many prehistoric barrow sites had already been lost county-wide by the time of the first antiquarian interest in the region; thus Kent’s early barrow diggers, most notably Bryan Faussett and James Douglas, working at the end of the 18th century, generally located and excavated mounds that were of Anglo-Saxon date, with just a few earlier monuments. Douglas opened a prehistoric mound not far from Ringlemere, somewhere on Shingleton Down, near Eastry, in 1782; it produced a central cremation in an urn (Douglas 1793, 160–1; Grinsell 1992, Eastry 3a). This may have been one of the mounds which still survive off Thornton Lane (see below).

About 6.5km to the south of Ringlemere, a barrow almost 9m in diameter and surrounded by a ditch was excavated ahead of its destruction by an extension to Tilmanstone Colliery in 1911 (Ashbee and Dunning 1960, 57; Grinsell 1992, Eastry 2; Fig. 26). Situated on a chalk ridge-top, a detailed report on this site was never published. However, it would seem that an inhumation burial was discovered near the centre of the monument and, in a position not stated, a slotted incense cup was recovered (Fig. 33.4) but this has now been lost for many years (Jessup 1930, 122).

Several mounds off the chalkland, in the general vicinity of Ringlemere, were recorded by early antiquaries. Stukeley (1776) notes that ‘there are a great number of large barrows about Sandwich, one at Winsborough [Woodnesborough] with a tree upon it…; between that and Sandwich [town] is another called Marvil hill’ (Iter V, 126 footnote). Whilst travelling along the Roman road from Canterbury to Richborough, Stukeley had noted at Wingham ‘…a very large barrow, of Celtic make, by the road side, called the Mount: upon enquiry I found there were several more in the parish…’ (Stukeley 1776, Iter V, 124; quoted in Grinsell 1992, 356; Ashbee 2001, 72; and see below; Figs 2 & 27).

The mound at Woodnesborough seems to have been just north of the parish church and is also described and illustrated by Hasted (Hasted 1800, 122; Fig. 2) but, like all the other mounds around Sandwich, it no longer survives. Situated on higher ground about 1.5km to the east, the Woodnesborough mound was probably visible from Ringlemere but a prehistoric date for it cannot be demonstrated. Indeed, it could have been of natural origin, as could several of these other lost mounds. The barrow at Wingham, however, appears to have been recently rediscovered (see below, Wingham Bridge; Fig. 27), but now survives only as an eroded remnant of the monument Stukeley observed.

The combined results of geophysical survey and aerial photography have indicated that grouped around Ringlemere M1 there are at least nine other ring-ditches (monuments M2–M10), all of more modest proportions (Figs 3 & 4; Chapter 1). Many of these are likely to represent conventional round barrows now levelled by ploughing. Nevertheless, one (M5) is double-ditched, and the evidence from the geophysical survey suggests that some of the other lesser monuments could be complex or multi-phase structures; two may have causeways. Collectively, these monuments appear to constitute a nucleated barrow group, of a size not often encountered in Kent (see above). Ringlemere also stands out as being unusual for the substantial size of one of its monuments (M1) and the occurrence of rare and exotic items of gold and amber here. Together, these features mark out the Ringlemere complex as having an elevated status within the region during the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age. Lying on the slopes of the Durlock valley, however, this newly identified complex does follow a general pattern emerging nationally, in which Bronze Age barrow groups are being regularly identified in valley or head-of-valley locations, sited close to springs and streams (Woodward 2000, 73).

The top of the long ridge just to the north-east of the Ringlemere site (Fig. 2) represents another classic location for the positioning of Bronze Age round barrows, although nothing now survives here. Nevertheless, it is of relevance to note that immediately opposite the site, the summit of a short spur projecting into the valley and forming a local high-point, was once occupied by an artificial mound. This low circular mound was destroyed by the construction of RAF Ash just after the Second World War, but Ronald Jessup and O.G.S. Crawford had previously made an inspection of the site and believed it to represent a tumulus, even if re-used as the base for an 18th-century windmill (Davidson and Webster 1967, 4–5; Fig. 2).

Further west, ring-ditches known from aerial photographs imply the former presence of other round barrows on the higher ground adjacent to the Durlock valley (Fig. 2). North-west of Ash there is a large double ring-ditch (Kent SMR, TR 25 NE 35) which has yet to see any investigation. Some examination of a single ring-ditch on Neavy Downs south of Wingham was possible when it was cut through by a pipe trench in 1960 (Ogilvie 1977, 122; Grinsell 1992, Wingham 1). It appeared to be some 30m in diameter and was associated with a Beaker of Clarke’s East Anglian type (Clarke 1970, Corpus no. 409), although the exact context of the vessel could not be determined.

On the chalklands to the south of Ringlemere, the closest recorded barrow sites are the three mounds situated off Thornton Lane near Eastry, about 4.4km away (Grinsell 1992, Eastry 1–3; Fig. 26). Unfortunately, these mounds are now almost ploughed-out but aerial photograph evidence suggests that they might be associated with a large henge enclosure (see above). Much better preserved is the single, 1.5m high barrow surviving in woodland at Knowlton Park, Goodnestone (Grinsell 1992, 356; Ashbee 2001, 72; and see below; Figs 2 & 27).
show another ring-ditch immediately adjacent to a larger, more complex triple concentric ditched circular monument (Kent SMR, TR 25 NW 65; Fig. 27).

About 400m to the north-east of Wingham Bridge, in the valley-bottom (Fig. 27), an Early Neolithic pit containing an important group of pottery and other artefacts, has been previously reported, together with a nearby spread of calcined flint and burning debris likely to be a prehistoric ‘burnt mound’ site (Greenfield 1960). Adjacent peat deposits were the ones sampled by Godwin to produce the important pollen diagrams previously noted above (Chapter 1).

On the opposite side of the valley of the Wingham River, about 1km south-east of the newly identified ring-ditches, lie Neavy Downs, with their possible Beaker barrow (Fig. 2), crossed by the modern B2046 which is believed to follow the line of a prehistoric trackway leading inland, southwards from the shores of the Wantsum Channel (Fig. 27). No doubt further investigations in the region of Wingham Bridge would be highly informative but already there seems to be enough evidence to suggest the presence of another Neolithic and Bronze Age centre of activity here.

Reconstructing Kent’s lost ritual and burial landscapes

In Wessex and a number of other southern regions, ritual landscapes established in the Neolithic period apparently often continued into the Early Bronze Age, with round barrows frequently clustering around earlier, Neolithic monuments. We now appear to be glimpsing elements of a similar prehistoric
pattern across the heavily ploughed landscape of east Kent and the Isle of Thanet. In addition to the newly identified monument complex at Ringlemere, another Neolithic-Bronze Age focus of activity would seem to be emerging close to the head-waters of the Wingham River, less than 6km further west. The valley-side location of the Wingham Bridge monument complex is indeed very reminiscent of Ringlemere and the relatively close proximity to these two sites, within the same valley system, may suggest that they were connected in some way.

Taken together, the evidence from Ringlemere and Wingham Bridge, along with the previously excavated ridge-top complex at the Lord of the Manor on Thanet, combines to suggest that there were a number of local Neolithic-Bronze Age ceremonial centres scattered across north-east Kent, on either side of the Wantsum Channel. Other discoveries help to reinforce the view that these were significant places. Thus, a Neolithic causewayed enclosure and part of a possible cursus monument have now been excavated within 1km of the Lord of the Manor complex (Dyson, Shand and Stevens 2000, 472; Shand 2001; Fig. 26) whilst two possible henge monuments are recorded on air photographs in the same region. Another probable causewayed enclosure has been noted on an air photograph near Tilmanstone, 4.5km to the south of Ringlemere (Oswald et al. 2001, 153 no.47) and only just over 1km east of the monuments off Thornton Lane, Eastry, which include round barrows and the possible henge enclosure (see above; Fig. 26).

Some distance further to the west, beyond our main area of concern in this discussion, another region which must be mentioned is the Medway valley, between Maidstone and Rochester. Here, the famous megalithic long barrows clustered in two groups on either side of the valley, have long been known (Holgate 1981). Now, with the recent discovery of a large Neolithic rectangular timber building at White Horse Stone not far from the Lower Kits Coty burial chamber, the identification of a possible new causewayed camp at Burham (Dyson, Shand and Stevens 2000, 472; Oswald et al. 2001, 152 no.44), along with the circular enclosure at Holborough (mentioned above), this region stands out as another one containing an important ritual Neolithic landscape, which is in need of extensive, detailed modern study.

Elsewhere in Kent, evidence for Neolithic long barrows remains comparatively scarce. The nearest upstanding remains to Ringlemere are represented by a group of three long mounds above the Stour valley, around 22km to the south-west (Parfitt 1998b). However, recent air photograph analysis again has identified a dozen potential new sites scattered across the Kentish chalklands (RCHME 1989, list 17; Bewley, Crutchley and Grady 2004, 72). Six of these sites lie within 11km of Ringlemere, further underlining the prehistoric landscape potential of the region.