



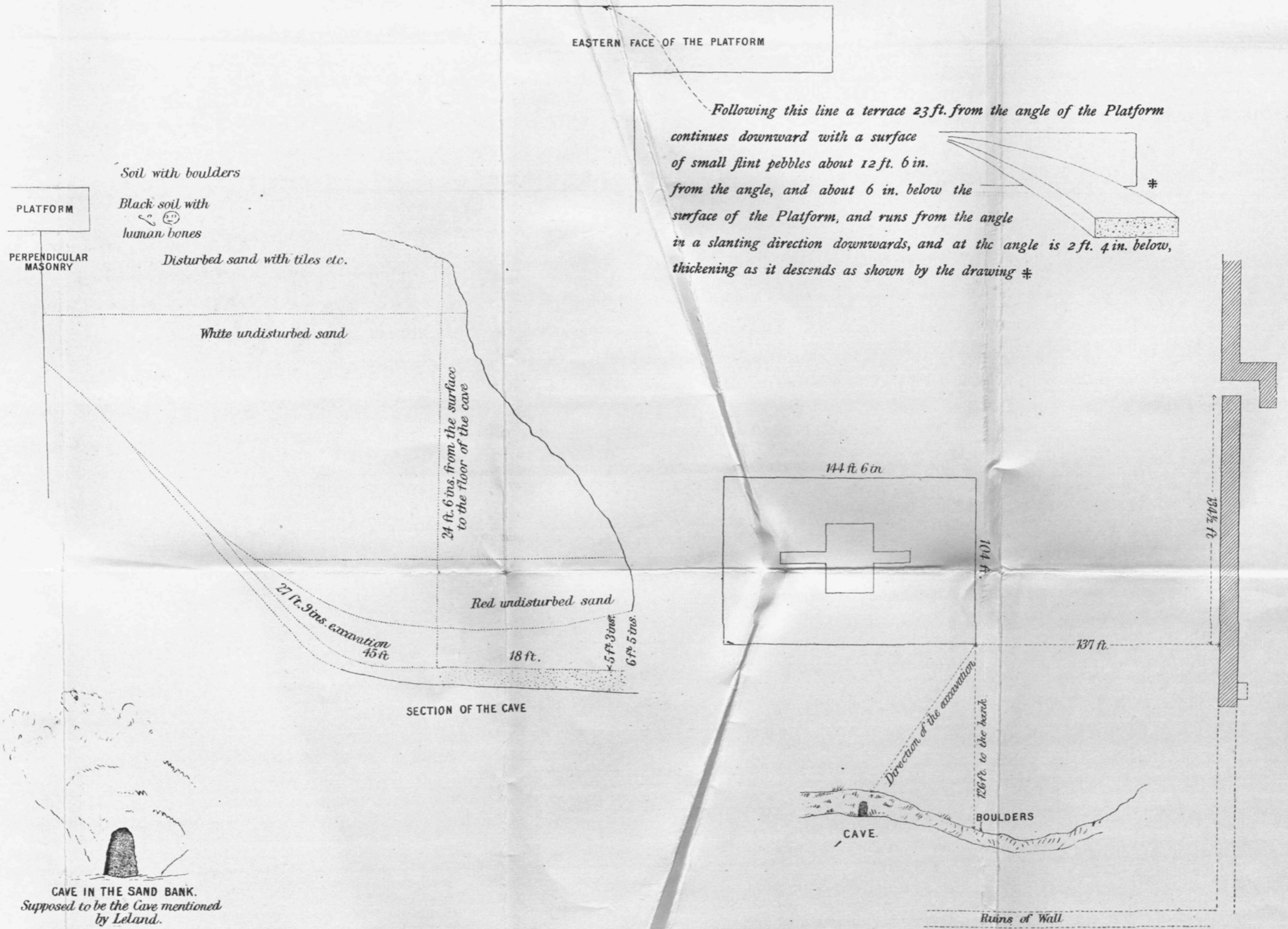
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# RICHBOROUGH.

Minutes, Plans & Sections relating to the excavations made by M. Gleig in 1826  
 Drawn by the late E.F.S. Reader of Sandwich



EASTERN FACE OF THE PLATFORM

Following this line a terrace 23 ft. from the angle of the Platform continues downward with a surface of small flint pebbles about 12 ft. 6 in. from the angle, and about 6 in. below the surface of the Platform, and runs from the angle in a slanting direction downwards, and at the angle is 2 ft. 4 in. below, thickening as it descends as shown by the drawing \*

PLATFORM

PERPENDICULAR MASONRY

Soil with boulders

Black soil with human bones

Disturbed sand with tiles etc.

White undisturbed sand

24 ft. 6 ins. from the surface to the floor of the cave

Red undisturbed sand

27 ft. 9 ins. excavation  
45 ft.

18 ft.

5 ft. 3 ins.  
6 ft. 5 ins.

SECTION OF THE CAVE

144 ft. 6 in.

104 ft.

137 ft.

134 1/2 ft.

Direction of the excavation

26 ft. to the bank

BOULDERS

CAVE.

RUINS OF WALL

CAVE IN THE SAND BANK.

Supposed to be the Cave mentioned by Leland.

## ON THE CROSS AND PLATFORM AT RICHBOROUGH.

BY THE LATE GEORGE DOWKER, F.G.S.

THE very unique and wonderful construction known as the cross and platform, within the walls of the Castrum at Richborough, has not only been a puzzle to antiquaries, but has excited the interest and the speculations of all who are acquainted with its enormous proportions.

As further excavations on the site of this cross and platform are not likely to add much to the knowledge which we already possess, I will endeavour to gather up all the facts that have been ascertained, with a view to helping us towards some safe conclusions respecting the meaning of these remarkable structures.

For particulars or notes upon the cross and substructure I may refer my readers to Leland's *Itinerary*, 1560; Lambarde, 1580; Camden, 1607; Somner, 1668. But for details of the structure we must consult the plan and particulars of the excavations first undertaken by William Boys, the historian of Sandwich, A.D. 1792, which were further illustrated by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his book on the *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, 1850, which included the particulars of Mr. W. H. Rolfe's excavations. Since that time further excavations were undertaken for the Kent Archæological Society under the direction of the late Rev. R. Drake and myself, particulars of which were communicated to Vol. VIII. of *Archæologia Cantiana*. I may also refer to an engraving of the Castrum of Richborough as it appeared in 1722, drawn by Stukeley.

Although later investigations were made in 1889 (as recorded in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XVIII.), they do not touch the question of the platform and cross.

When my report of the excavations at Richborough appeared in 1865, the Hon. Secretary of our Society, the late Mr. T. G. Godfrey-Faussett, added a note as a summary of our researches, with his own theory, which was the same in substance as that which was adopted by Mr. Planché.\* Mr. Faussett did not see that our excavations had at least shewn that we had discovered the very cave mentioned by Leland, "wher men have sowt and digged for treasure." He did not notice that I described the outer walls surrounding the cross, and marked F on my plan of the platform, "as built of boulders; those on outside *squared*, imbedded in mortar, composed of lime, grit, and broken tile, but *containing more sand* than other mortar at Richborough, and *easily crumbling in the fingers*. . . . It had a course of bonding tiles, *apparently Roman*, but *shewing signs of having been broken before their present use*, as if taken from an older building" (see my report†). And I may here mention that Mr. Godfrey-Faussett had never seen the platform laid bare and the foundations of the walls I described resting upon it; indeed it is not likely that any one except Mr. Drake and myself (if we except the labourers at the work) had ever seen these walls, as from the quantity of soil upon the platform we were compelled to lay bare the latter by trenching large portions at a time, and then filling them up with the soil of the next trench. Certainly Mr. Faussett, if he had paid any attention to the details of these excavations, could not have written as he did, and ascribed them to the same builders as the makers of the cross or platform. In short, Mr. Faussett's theory was that the Comes Littoris Saxonici designed to erect here a Pharos or watch-tower of unusual height, and mistrusting *the sand* of the hill, dug down 30 feet for the foundation; he imagined, however, that some mutiny of troops, or series of Saxon attacks, led to the abandoning of the large scheme, and then the cruciform building was a substitute, and the walls (F on my plan) used as supports to timber resting against them, and the cross in the centre. In sup-

\* See Planché, *A Corner of Kent*, p. 8.

† *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. VIII., p. 9.

Fig. 1

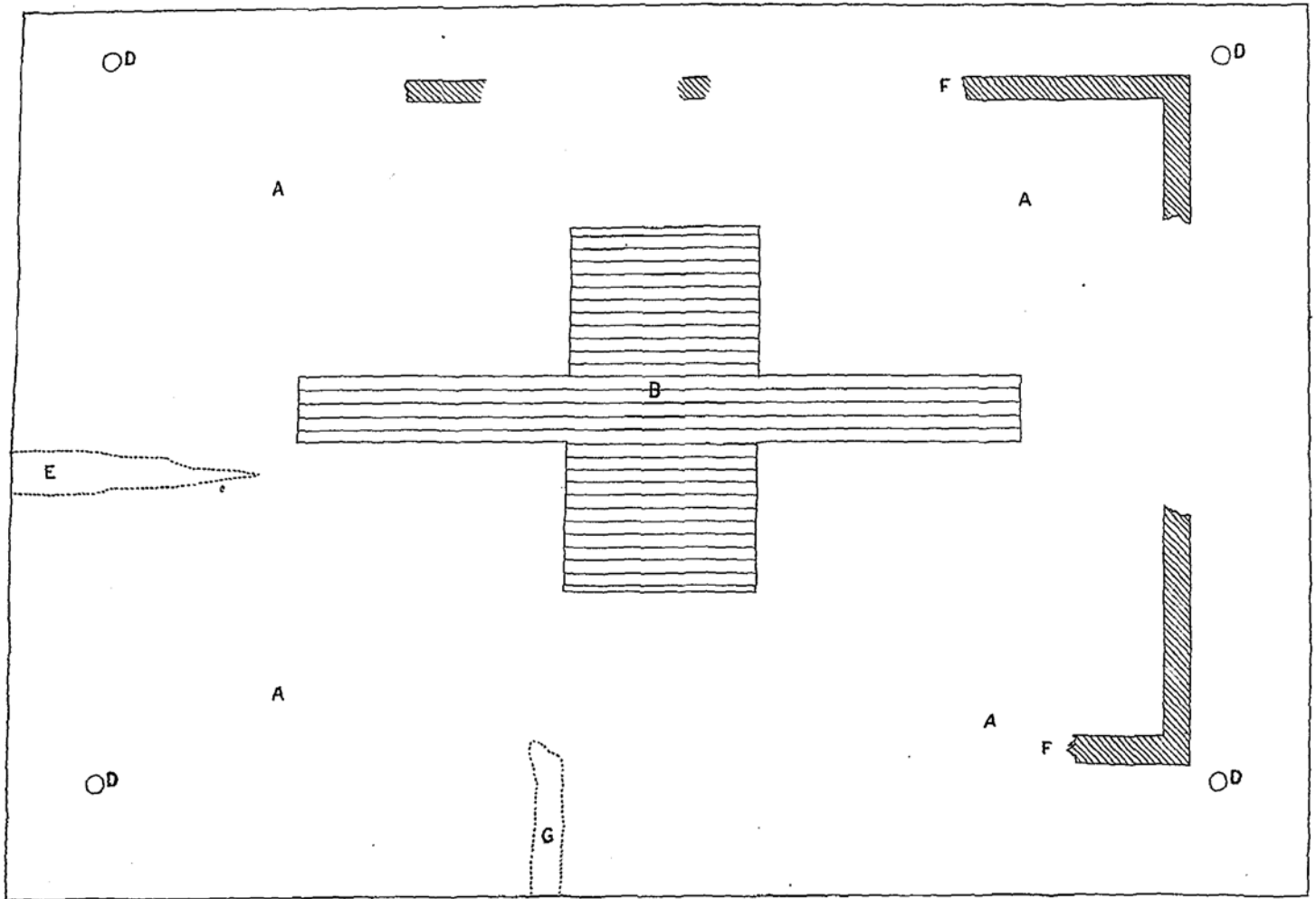
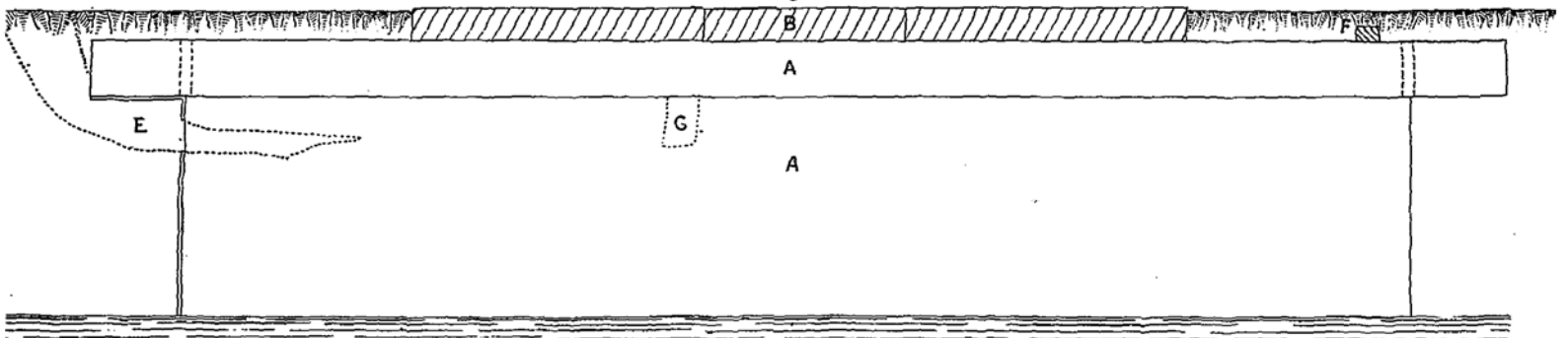


Fig. 2



DESCRIPTION.

FIG. 1.—A.A.A.A. Platform.

B. Cross.

F. Saxon Walls.

G. Excavation into the Masonry 16 ft. made by Mr. Rolfe.

E. Excavation at some remote period. Leland's Cave.

D. Holes in each corner of the Platform through the projecting Top.

FIG. 2.—Section of the same to scale, showing the level of the soil of the hill, and the water-line below which or down to which the perpendicular Masonry extended. Height of the hill 25 feet from the railway fence below.

Scale of 100 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet

port of this theory he quotes Gildas as writing that the Roman towns had watch-towers.

With all due deference to Mr. Faussett's opinion and that of Mr. Fox, who quite lately adopted the same theory, I cannot see that they have brought forward any new evidence to shew that this cross or the platform at Richborough is connected with the remains of a Pharos or a watch-tower. I do not in the least doubt that the Romans did erect watch-towers on the coast. We have an instance of the Pharos in the castle at Dover on the east, and a similar watch-tower existed till lately on the western heights; we have also evidence of foundations of a Roman watch-tower at Worth, near Sandwich; but we have no evidence whatever that in any case these remains or foundations in the least resembled those found at Richborough: and most of these theories I must characterize as rash surmises unsupported by facts. Mr. Faussett was, for instance, so ready to adopt Mr. Planché's theory that he speaks of the Romans *mistrusting the sand of Richborough Hill*, just as Mr. Planché imagined that Richborough Hill was a sandbank cast up by the sea, when the Wantsum estuary was occupied by its waters. In my report I carefully guarded against this error.\*

As I considered Mr. Faussett's summary of our researches was contrary to the evidence produced, I took an early opportunity of stating some of my objections, which I did in 1876, when I had the honour of conducting the members of the Royal Archæological Institute over the ruins of the Castrum; and in 1883, when I conducted the members of the British Archæological Association (my Paper being printed in their Proceedings in 1884). Inasmuch, however, as my protest has received but little attention—and I have some fresh evidence to produce for the benefit of our Kent Society—I have thought it best to reproduce some of the arguments I have before given, and chiefly that with reference to the cross and platform, so that as far as possible my readers may have the whole of the facts placed before them. This is I think the more necessary, as up to the present time the question has not received the attention it deserves. I

\* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. VIII., p. 6.

was surprised that in July 1896 Mr. Fox, who read a Paper on the Roman coast fortresses in Kent, adopted entirely Mr. Faussett's theory, ignoring the objections I raised in my Paper before the British Archæological Association as if he had not read them.

First, may I be allowed to test the theory which has so wide a circulation, and has been so plausibly suggested by the late Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, viz., that the platform and masonry upon it represent a grand idea of a Pharos, subsequently altered into a wooden structure? What are the dimensions of the foundation? First, we find buried underground to a depth of 5 feet a mass of the most compact masonry, cemented with the finest mortar, 144 feet by 104 feet, with no indications that we can find on the surface that it extended downward to any greater depth; in fact Mr. Boys, who carefully explored it, came to the conclusion that this, with the cruciform building placed in the centre of it, represented the whole structure. Apart from the cross this represents 74—880 cubic feet of masonry, a foundation on which the whole of Minster Church in Thanet might stand, and with foundations deeper than that on which the great tower of Canterbury Cathedral stands. But since Mr. Boys examined it we have discovered that the central parts rest on much deeper foundations, while the top part projects to the extent of 12 feet on the east and west sides, and 10 feet on the north and south sides, like the flaps of some gigantic table. The whole of this structure is placed on the undisturbed subsoil of the hill, and the projecting portions likewise. At the present time, after the soil has been removed from beneath these, one walking underneath might have the impression that they would not support any great weight, and this was evidently Mr. Faussett's idea when he wrote, "The smaller walls, marked F on the plan, are built so exactly and regularly at a short distance within part of it which is not mere platform 5 feet deep, but huge solid foundations perhaps 30 feet deep, that we may conclude them to have been certainly built with knowledge of, and in reference to, the great substructure." We know now that the projecting parts were sunk deep in ground on soil as firm as

a rock. It was also suggested that the Romans, distrusting the sandy nature of the soil, took these extraordinary precautions. But there is not the slightest ground for such a supposition. The walls of the Castrum, 10 feet thick and 30 feet high, are not laid on any deep foundation, and the soil on which the Castrum at Reculver is built is even more sandy than that at Richborough, and the Romans laid no deep foundations there, though, according to Mr. Fox, it was of earlier date than Richborough.

If the original idea of the Roman builders had been to construct merely an enormous foundation on which to erect a perfect Tower of Babel, we cannot understand the meaning of the table-like top projecting beyond the deeper foundations, nor, if the earlier project had been abandoned, why the whole platform should have been spread with a uniform coating of mortar, as if the structure were complete.

It has been suggested that it was a Pharos or signalling station, so that news of a pirate fleet in the estuary of the Thames might be conveyed from Richborough to Reculver, in which case a corresponding tower at Reculver must have been erected, but we have no evidence that such was the case. Again, why should a high tower be required when these stations are only eight miles apart, and the intervening country nearly flat? Again, if a high tower was required, why was it not placed on the highest ground in the Isle of Richborough instead of low down within the Castrum walls?\*

It has been urged again that a tower here was imperatively necessary to guide the vessels into the Rutupian port; but we must remember that the entrance to the port was by the narrow strait between Sandwich and Stonar, which opened out into a wide bay; also that a Pharos at Worth, on the high ground, was much more likely to serve such a purpose; while if it had been necessary to have such a tower within the walls of Richborough, one of the towers that flanked the corners of the Castrum might easily have been made to serve as such. These towers were probably higher than the walls, and the latter we know were 30 feet in height.

\* The amphitheatre at Richborough stands at an elevation of 63·8 feet above O.D., whereas the platform stands at the least 30 feet lower.



For comparison, the Pharos at Dover Castle (which is octagonal) has a diameter of about 35 feet, while that on the western heights there seems to have been of smaller proportions. The building which appears to have been intended for a similar purpose at Worth (described by Mr. Boys in his Collections for a History of Sandwich) was square, and about 30 feet each way, enclosed by an outer wall about 55 feet each side. In neither case will these buildings have any similitude to the cross or platform at Richborough.

Those that adopt the Pharos theory for the object of the cross have endeavoured to shew that it would answer such a purpose when supplemented *with timber*, and the walls marked F on my plan have been supposed to have been built for the purpose of affording support for such a timber structure.

The theory that the walls surrounding the cross are so exactly within the space where the deeper foundations occur that they coincide with them, and must have been built with a knowledge of them, surely requires little refutation; and as a matter of fact these walls do not exactly coincide with the deeper foundations. They are parallel with the outside of the platform, and this projects 10 feet in one direction, and 12 feet in the other. But it may be thought that I am whipping a dead horse, and setting up theories on purpose to demolish them. Such would, however, be a waste of time and labour. Unfortunately these theories, which have again been so lately revived, have the effect of obscuring or diverting attention from further considering these structures. The excavations of 1865 proved conclusively that, first, the platform and submasonry, secondly the cross, and thirdly the walls F were of different materials, and probably built at different times, and consequently have as much connection the one with the other as Tenterden Steeple has with the Goodwin Sands.

Our excavations have shewn that the cave mentioned by Leland was situated on the south side near the centre of the platform; it was there we noted that at some remote period an attempt had been made to break into the lower masonry, and an irregular hole formed some 20 feet horizontally in the

direction of one angle of the cross—the soil having been disturbed and mixed with broken pottery, boulders, black earth, and a quantity of bones, etc.

The hole made on this south side, 20 feet, and the other made on the east side by Mr. Rolfe, 16 feet, would shew (if the masonry is of uniform consistence) that it is only under the cross, where we have as yet not penetrated, that any cavity could exist;\* and we must conclude therefore that the structure is so far solid, and deducting the 20 feet on the south and 16 feet on the east, we should leave a central unexplored space 84 feet long by 48 feet wide, on or over which the cross now stands.

Before I discuss the possible meaning of this extraordinary structure, I will proceed to consider the cross in the centre of this platform. It has been shewn that it differs in its materials from the structure beneath, and indeed from any materials used in the walls of the Castrum. We found it faced with squared blocks of tufa, and largely composed of a coarse-grained oolite, like that met with in the churches at Reculver, at St. Pancras, St. Mildred's, Canterbury, at Lyminge, and the church in the Dover Castle. I quoted Mr. Roach Smith as stating that the "*materials* incline us to attribute it to Roman times." I took the same view of it, and also of the parts of the church at Reculver with similar material, and the columns from that edifice now in the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral. How far the conclusions we arrived at some twenty years ago will hold good now I am not prepared to say, but Mr. Micklethwaite, a great authority on Saxon architecture, has entirely opposed the notion that any part of these were of Roman construction, and if he is right we must reconsider the question of the age of the cruciform structure at Richborough.

Mr. Boys suggested indeed that this might have been St. Augustine's Cross. Mr. Roach Smith rather inclined to the opinion that it might have been the site of a small chapel, but he thought he had discovered the site of the chapel

\* See report, *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. VIII., p. 9.

erected here, near the edge of the cliffs, some distance from this spot.\*

Let us then consider what facts have been ascertained about the cross. It is 87 feet long from N. to S., with a width of 7 feet 6 inches, with a transverse 22 feet wide and 47 feet long, and a height of 4 feet 6 inches; that is, about level with the ground at its present height. As far as compact masonry goes, it is nearly as hard as the walls of the *Castrum*, and as difficult to remove. We have no evidence as to what was its original height, or indeed that it was *even higher* than it is at present. When excavating round the cross it was found to rest on a stratum of chalk blocks laid upon the mortar covering the platform, and but a small quantity of the material derived from the cross was spread over the former. Large quantities of sculptured marble were found, and quantities of Roman coins; the marble pieces have been engraved in Mr. Roach Smith's *History of the Castrum*, and some three pieces are now in the Maidstone Museum, together with fragments of the drapery of a colossal bronze statue.

What had previously been found by Mr. Boys perhaps we shall never know, but it was quite evident he had not laid bare the face of the platform, but contented himself with making trenches to determine its dimensions.

Now with respect to the rectangular walls which we discovered resting on the platform and surrounding the cross, and marked F in the ground-plan in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. VIII., they were particularly described as built with very inferior mortar compared with the other Roman structures, and whatever doubt I had at the time as to classing them as Roman, I should not have the slightest hesitation now in declaring such could *not* have been the case. As to the remark made in the note following my Paper, "This masonry is, as has been said, clearly Roman, with its red

\* Mr. Planché has very ably discussed the problem of the cross in the latter part of p. 54 in the *Corner of Kent*. He states, "The singular object now called St. Augustine's Cross has been thought by some to have marked the spot on which the chapel of St. Augustine once stood; but Mr. Roach Smith dismisses the suggestion as untenable. We venture to express our opinion that it does not deserve to be disposed of so hastily."

mortar and its course of bonding tiles," this was written not from personal observation of the writer, but simply from the description I gave, which certainly warranted no such conclusion. We have lots of Norman churches built with such material, which on the same grounds might be classed as Roman.

Having now exhausted all the facts brought to light by our researches, we may allude to the historical evidences we have in relation to these structures—and, firstly, that of Gildas (*Historia Gildæ*), quoted with respect to the Pharos or watch-towers. As I before remarked, we have evidence that some such towers did exist in Roman times, but Gildas is worse than the sand-hill to rely upon. Mr. Wright, in his book on *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, referring to Gildas's history of Britain during the first half of the fifth century, states: "Its composer was ignorant of the events which followed the usurpation of Maximus, as well as of the early Saxon invasions," etc. "In fact the whole story, built apparently on some slight notes in an old continental chronicle, displays the most profound ignorance of the period to which it relates"; and Mr. G. Warde Norman, in his remarks on the Saxon invasion, states: "The earliest we hear of connected with our island is Gildas, who lived and wrote after the Romans had abandoned it, *but he was not a man to be proud of.*"\*

We have no accounts from the Roman writers to quote with regard to Richborough except that it is again and again spoken of as a port and harbour, and I will therefore merely mention (what is conceded by every author who has written on the subject) that hereabouts was a harbour. In an article on "*Rutupiæ*," read at the Canterbury Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, 1896, this question is discussed. The author (Mr. H. Sharpe) thinks that the harbour is yet to be looked for. However this may be, I drew attention to what seemed to be a harbour in the island of Richborough in my Paper on the *Castrum* in 1865.

Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine, relates that it was at Richborough where our father Augustine landed. As he

\* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XIII., p. 97.

stepped out of the ship he happened to stand upon a certain stone, and the stone took the impression of his foot as if it had been clay. In consequence of this event the stone was taken and honourably placed inside the saint's chapel there; and every year, on the day of his burial, crowds of people gathered there for devotion, and, in the hope of recovering health, said, "We will worship in the place where his feet stood." A different version of this event is given by Thomas Sprott many years previously. He also mentions the *landing* as at Richborough, but as the extract from Sprott is not considered authentic by some of our antiquaries, I will not press the point; it is clear, however, that there was a landing-place here near to, if not within, the Castle. In relation to the mention by Thorne of a chapel here, and the tradition of St. Augustine's cross, we have some very interesting and confirmative evidence in an extract from the will of one Sir John Saunder, prebendary of Wingham, parson of Dymchurch, and vicar of Ash, in a document dated A.D. 1509, which runs thus: "Item I bequeath to the chappel of Richborough one portuys printed, with a mass book which was Sir Thomas' the old priest's. Item to the use of the said chapel 20<sup>s</sup> to make them a new window in the body of the church."\* And still more important to our inquiry is the account given by Leland of his visit to Richborough, in which occurs the following: "Withyn the castel is a lytle parochie church of S. Augustine, and an heremitage. I had antiquities of the heremite, the which is an industrious man. Not far fro' the heremitage is a cave wher men have sowt and digged for treasure. I saw yt by candel withyn, and there were conys. Yt was so straitte that I had no mynd to creepe far yn."

Mr. Roach Smith, in his account of Richborough, supposed that he had found the foundations of this church near the brow of the hill, on the east side of the Castrum. Such an important fact did not escape my observation, in consequence of which, while excavating in 1865, I dug down and examined this supposed vestige of a church, but found no confirmation of Mr. Roach Smith's theory, and what he had

\* Thorne Col., 1759.

mistaken for the walls of the chapel turned out to be merely a road foundation.\*

I should not omit to mention Mr. Gleig's excavation in 1826, particulars of which I have in manuscript. A cave was found in the sand of the hill on the east, facing the platform, which it was supposed might be the cave mentioned by Leland; it turned out, however, to have been nothing but a smuggler's cave, which terminated in some rabbit-burrows. This excavation, however, revealed the fact that perpendicular masonry existed under the platform, and this led to Mr. Rolfe's further excavations. Mr. Gleig figured and described some wedge-shaped blocks of masonry leading down from the eastern edge of the platform; he also dug down, hoping to find the bottom of this perpendicular masonry below the platform, but without success.

Having exhausted the facts relating to the platform and cross, I may be expected to give my own theory respecting them. I may observe, however, that it is much easier to say what they were not, than what they were, intended for, more especially in the absence of any documentary evidences relating to them, and in ignorance of the position of the Castrum with respect to the sea at that remote period. We have reason to believe that the hill on which the Castrum is built descended gradually to the sea-level on the east, as it does on the north.

Mr. Boys records that "in digging to lay the foundations of Richborough sluice, the workmen, after penetrating what was once the muddy bed of the river that runs close by in a more contracted channel than formerly, came to a regular sandy sea-shore that had been covered with silt, on which lay broken and entire shells, sea-weeds, the purse of the thornback, a small shoe with a metal fibula in it, and some small human bones." He also records that at the foot of the bank, about 40 rods to the north of the Castrum, a building was discovered which had the appearance of a wharf or landing-place. Our recent excavations also shewed that the remains of Roman relics were met with on this side, buried at a much greater depth than elsewhere, and a quantity

\* See my report, p. 12, *op. cit.*

of burnt wheat and a piece of burnt rope was also found, shewing that in all probability some enemy had burnt a store of corn, and probably also the shipping that lay there.\*

As Richborough has so often been described as a port, we may be sure that a Roman harbour existed near, and what had the appearance of such a harbour I described as lying to the west of the Richborough Hill, facing Fleet.

In Mr. Boys's plan of the *Castrum* he figures a return wall on the east side which reached nearly to the centre of the platform, and, when he wrote, the foot of the hill had not been disturbed, as it was afterwards in making the South-Eastern Railway. This return wall was evidently at a lower level than the rest of the *Castrum*, and the part restored in his plan was in all probability built on the slope of the hill on this side. In Stukeley's drawing of the Castle, taken in 1722, he plainly indicates the hill sloping down to this return wall, and the river Stour running beneath the wall. This also is made to terminate just *opposite* the platform. Any one acquainted with the windings of the river, and the banks cast up from time to time to prevent the flooding of the marsh land, will perceive at a glance that the channel has been bent more and more towards the south-east of the Castle Hill, and the undermining action of the river has caused the bank here to be cut away, leaving a nearly perpendicular face to the cliff, and this is most manifest towards the south-east angle of the walls, which have fallen down and been entirely removed.

It will be remembered that all who have written on the *Castrum* of Richborough allow that it was designed especially to resist a sudden and unexpected attack from an enemy by sea. The Saxon pirates were the dreaded invaders, and from the "*Notitia*," written probably at the beginning of the fifth century, the second legion, surnamed *Augusta*, was stationed here, and destined to defend this point from the attack of the Saxons. Indeed, although the station at Richborough had for many years previously been occupied by the Romans, it is most probable it was at this time the present walls were erected;

\* See my report, *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XVIII., p. 8.

and it seems evident from their construction that they were *not* intended to withstand a regular siege, but that a small force within the walls might repel for a time a larger force without. Richborough was then an island, and if not at all times closely surrounded by water, it was absolutely necessary to secure from the invaders the Roman fleet stationed here.

The return wall figured by Mr. Boys probably had entirely shut out the eastern side of the *Castrum* except by a *gate* or entrance into a harbour that was placed just opposite this side of the platform, and would then correspond with the *Decuman* gateway on the west. And if the walls on the east side were built on the slope of the ground next the sea, a harbour or opening would have been just the place where they might secure their ships from the enemy by drawing them up here; indeed, it might have been a dockyard as well, and protected in a Roman way, as we protect our harbours now, by defensive works. Such a theory would necessitate some great work to enable the defenders to secure their fleet. It was necessary for carrying out this plan that some engines should be erected on the top of this hill, capable of drawing up the ships, perhaps quite out of the water, and shutting the gates that guarded the approach to them.

I will now ask you to consider if the platform was not likely to have been constructed for such a purpose.

Archimedes, a famous geometrician of Syracuse, is said to have remarked that he could move the earth if he had a sufficient fulcrum. And we read in Plutarch's *Lives* that Hiero, full of wonder, begged to be convinced by some evidence of the truth of his proposition, requesting him to move some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which request, Archimedes caused one of the King's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and her usual loading; then he placed himself at a "distance, and with the aid of his machine (which consisted of a variety of ropes and pulleys) he drew her to him in as gentle a manner as if she had been under sail." And when Marcellus, the Roman general, attacked and besieged Syracuse, Archimedes had erected on the side towards the sea vast machines, putting forth over the walls huge beams, with necessary tackle,



which, striking with prodigious force the enemy's galleys, sank them at once. Without, however, placing full reliance on these fabulous tales, we must allow that the Romans were well acquainted with the use of defensive machinery of great power; and in the construction of the walls of Richborough we find holes in the walls passing into the bastions evidently intended for some engines of warfare.

In general we find the present method adopted to draw up ships from the water is by means of capstan and pulleys, and to do this the pivot of the capstan on the pulley must be fixed to a secure fulcrum. The platform will, I believe, supply the necessary fulcrum, and it will be found placed in the exact position where such appliances would be used. With regard to its dimensions, I here give them drawn accurately to scale, and the Castrum also as restored to its original shape and size.

If Mr. Boys's plan can be relied upon, the distance of the platform from the return wall on the east would be about 38 yards, but I should from the Ordnance Map make it more, as it was at least 100 feet from the present edge of the bank; the distance by the latter to the river is now 80 yards. There would be room in either case to bring up the Roman ships within. In a tracing I took from the Tithe Map of the parish of Ash, the bank just opposite the platform is not so broad as it is either to the right or left, as if it had at some time been cut into at this point, and there is a space here of marsh  $2\frac{1}{2}$  chains in width from the river (or 55 yards). All this is now altered by the South-Eastern Railway, which cuts through this marsh, and also cuts back the bank at the south-east corner of the Castrum.

Taking a sectional view of the platform, it will give us a length of 144 feet 5 feet deep, and under this 124 feet 22 feet deep on the eastern side. The holes made through the upper platform are 10 feet equidistant from each end, and into these holes had been built wooden posts. The depth of the masonry altogether would be 27 feet.

Notes of the excavation at the bottom of the hill made by Mr. Gleig and others in 1826 are unfortunately very brief, or they might have revealed more of the state of the ground

at that time ; but inasmuch as they have never been published, I give some extracts from them given me by my uncle, the late E. F. S. Reade of Sandwich. The mouth of the cave was nearly concealed by the brushwood on the sandy bank, and inside it was 5 feet 3 inches in height ; it was dug in the sand of the hill, and it terminated 13 feet from the opening, but the excavation was continued in the direction of a fox-burrow, which ultimately led to the north-east angle of the platform, or rather under the platform. The perpendicular height of the hill from the bottom of the cave to the surface of the ground is given as 24 feet 6 inches, and from the cross to the edge of the cliff 126 feet 6 inches. It was here at the north-eastern edge of the platform that a *sloping terrace* with small flint pebbles was met with at about 12 feet 7 inches from the angle, and about 6 inches below the surface of the platform, and tended downward in the direction indicated in the plan, where it was 2 feet 4 inches below the surface. It seems from this description that the hill did slope downward gradually, and was paved with pebble, or else it was a natural formation. This pebbly slope of the hill favours my theory that the Romans had machinery on the platform to draw up weights to the top, or at any rate far enough to be within the walls of the Castrum. Considering it probable that some very large capstan was erected in the centre of the platform, it would require a very considerable depth in which to place the foot of the structure, and of such a firm consistency that it would not give way under any weight. At Ramsgate the capstan that draws up the vessels on the slips has an iron spindle sunk in very compact granite masonry, with cog-wheels moving a second spindle some 7 feet or more below. The corner posts also on the platform might serve as attachments to pulleys connected with the capstan.

I do not think this theory of mine is quite unsupported by the facts of the case. The cross on the platform has, however, still to be accounted for. When I read my Paper on Richborough at the Congress of the Archæological Association I had no idea that any doubt could have been cast on the Roman workmanship of these structures ; but now that Mr. Micklethwaite has brought forward instances of

similar material being of Saxon date, we may stop to inquire if such could have been the case here. In the account of the landing of St. Augustine given in Thomas Sprott's Chronicle, we are told that "King Ethelbert came unto his palace or castle of Rupichester or Richborough, and the King sitting under the cliff or rock whereon the castle is built, commanded Augustine with his followers to be brought before him," etc.

Now whether this account is to be regarded as spurious, and more importance be attached to Thorne's statement, it seems that both place the landing in Richborough, and most probably the place where the missionaries landed, was at this spot, just under the Castle walls. Tradition also places St. Augustine's landing here, and says that a church was built to commemorate the event, and pilgrims flocked from all parts to it. That this church stood on the cross, or in some way hid it from view, in Leland's time, is very evident. He gave a minute description of the *Castrum*, and speaks of the church and hermitage, but makes no mention of the cross. The hermitage must, I think, have been *on* some part of the *ruined church*, or the walls surrounding it. The cave is not mentioned as the abode of the hermit, and the cave mentioned could not have been the cave in the sand-pit explored by Mr. Gleig; no one would have sought to dig for treasure there. But the excavation we found under the platform was evidently where some one had with infinite pains at some remote period endeavoured to penetrate the masonry surrounding the cross. They tried at the top first; and the evidence of their attempt was manifest when we uncovered the platform. Such an attempt can only be accounted for on the supposition that the hidden treasure was to be found within the masonry.

What was the hermitage mentioned by Leland? I find very few historical accounts of hermitages in Kent, but in every case they have been connected with ecclesiastical buildings; for instance, Hasted mentions a hermitage at Canterbury—at St. Mary's, Northgate—under the *choir* or chancel, with an open space or loophole in the wall fashioned like a cross. Another is mentioned near St. Andrew's, where in 1553 a cross stood.

With regard to the church theory of the cross, it has been objected that no builder would have chosen to place a church on such a foundation. Well, if a cross only had in the first place been built to commemorate the landing of St. Augustine, I think nothing was more likely. In the Paper I read before the Archæological Institute I imagined the cross to have been built by the Romans before the advent of St. Augustine, and to have represented an older Christianity. The church within the walls of Silchester has been claimed by Mr. Micklethwaite as a church built in the time of the Roman occupation; and he gives other instances of small churches somewhat after the same pattern, built, as he says, under the *Italian influence*. I do not intend, however, to dispute in this Paper his dictum, although I think some of his arguments are open to question. I cannot see why the cross at Richborough may not have had a small church or chapel erected upon it. Probably the cross only had been at first constructed, and on the broad east and west portions was built the church mentioned by Leland.

At St. Pancras at Canterbury we find a nave 40 feet long and 28 feet wide, with *portico* or porch on the north and south. The cross is 47 feet in length and 22 feet in width. According to Thorne, crowds of pilgrims visited this spot annually, and it was probably at this time that the little church was built. That the chapel, the stone with the footprints, etc., existed at least in the later Middle Ages is beyond dispute. In regard to the touching or landing of St. Augustine and his followers at Richborough, it is but fair to say that Goscelin, the earliest biographer of St. Augustine, is silent about it, though he was not at all critical or particular in his heaping up of things likely or unlikely concerning the saint. On the other hand, any introduction of a story of a Richborough landing was virtually impossible after the first century of English Christianity; the two Canterbury monasteries of Christ Church and St. Augustine's were too jealously watchful over one another's doings for that. For Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine, to have proclaimed, unless compelled to do so, that the glory of the great landing belonged to Richborough—a dependency of the rival community—is

altogether incredible. We must not forget that Thorne is an unwilling witness, and must respect his testimony the more.

The walls marked F on my plan, which surround the cross, were evidently, as I explained, a later erection, and may have been designed to protect the cross held in such veneration. Both in the character of the mortar, the broken tile, and squared flint—these are unique among the buildings at present found at Richborough. From structural particulars I conclude—

1. That the Richborough platform is Roman.
2. That a cross was erected probably by the Saxons.
3. That in Norman times or later the cross and chapel were enclosed by walls.

We know that in later Saxon times Richborough as a town had ceased to exist; no large population now remained. It was difficult of access from the mainland; Ash, Sandwich, and Wingham had become the church centres. The small church remaining here (a dependency of Ash) had continued to be used by the people of the hamlet, and in Leland's time was probably hastening into decay. But we know that in early Saxon times a considerable population did exist, as is evident from the number of Saxon coins that have been found, as recorded in Mr. Roach Smith's *History of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*. It is probable also that the great military Roman road leading to Dover and Canterbury, which converges at each end, and may have been artificially constructed and kept up by the Romans, had decayed, and become nearly impassable in later times.

Having now set forth at considerable length my reasons for objecting to the prevailing Pharos theory of the platform and buildings upon it, and substituted my own theories for the formation of the platform, the cross, and the chapel, I would suggest that further exploration should be directed towards testing the truth of this hypothesis. Very little, if anything, has been done to prove Mr. Boys's idea that return walls were built on the east side, below the hill, or what had been the former state of this side of the Castrum. I may observe that all the soil excavated from beneath the platform by Mr. Rolfe and our Society has been shot over

the brow of the hill or bank, raising the ground and rendering it more precipitous. The particulars given on the plan of Mr. Gleig's excavation will suggest also some further excavation near the eastern edges of the platform. My theory would necessitate there having been originally some hole in the masonry under the cross, into which some large spindle of a capstan had been sunk ; but I have no preconceived notions that will not yield to a better interpretation of the facts.