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Professor HUGHES and Mr T. D. ATKINSON gave some account of the remains of a Roman House, lately discovered at Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire. Mr Atkinson exhibited a plan of the foundations which had been laid bare, and suggested their probable use. Professor Hughes explained the bearing which this discovery has on our knowledge of the Devil's Ditch, and of the occupation of the neighbourhood by the Romans.

MONDAY, *January 23rd*, 1893.

Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

Professor HUGHES made the following communication:

ON THE CASTLE HILL, CAMBRIDGE[1].

Natural Features.

A short sketch of the natural features of the site and its geology may be of use at the beginning of this enquiry, as many apparent difficulties are explained away at once by reference to the subsoil and underlying strata. The Castle and all the earthworks immediately about it were constructed on a natural promontory which forms the end of a terrace running by Girton, the Observatory, the Grove, and abuts on the river at its bend near Magdalene College. This promontory (see section, fig. 2) has the Gault at its base, a stiff impervious clay, here about 125 feet in thickness, and, therefore, extending far

[1] See also *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* May 26, 1884; *Reporter*, 3 June 1884, p. 808; *Cambridge Review*, Vol. VI, 20 May 1885, p. 322. The probable extent of the Castle has been laid down on the plan (fig. 1), based on the Ordnance Survey (10·56 feet=1 inch), which has been drawn to illustrate this paper. Modern streets and houses are indicated by red lines. I will take this opportunity of thanking Mr Gibson, Governor of Her Majesty's Prison, for his unfailing courtesy on all occasions, and for the facilities for exploration with which he has favoured me.

below the river level. Above this comes the basement-bed of the Chalk, in which the phosphate nodules have been so largely dug in the neighbourhood of Cambridge. This was exposed during the excavations behind Clare Terrace, as the new brick houses above St Giles's Church are called. Above the

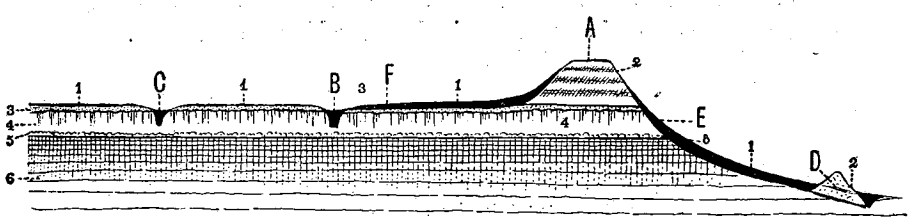

FIG. 2. Section N.E. and S.W. through the Burh. Length of section, 380 yards.

1. Talus and later made earth.
2. Earlier made earth of mound and rampart.
3. Pleistocene gravel.
4. Chalk.
5. Phosphate bed at base of Chalk.
6. Gault.
A. The mound.
B First fosse of Burh.
C. Second fosse of Burh.
D. Bank in Magdalene College grounds.
E. Position of tunnel where solid chalk was pierced after passing through made earth.
F. Position of excavation for new house, see p. 175.

phosphate bed a solid mass of Chalk Marl forms the chief part of the promontory, covered only by an irregular bed of sand and gravel, and a still more irregular layer of made earth. Besides this, the steep slopes have crumbled down, and a mixed talus has gathered on the flank, and accumulated along the base, of the hill. This varies according to the strata that happened to be most exposed at any particular place and time in the long period during which the process of degradation has been going on. Thus we see that if the steep slope were scarped, and the material thrown together in a heap, the mound so formed would consist of clay, chalk, sand, gravel, and humus, in irregular layers; and, if we were to dig into the body of the hill through the talus, we should touch solid gault at the base, and chalk in the upper part of the slope, while near the top we should find irregular patches and pockets of sand and gravel, or of made earth.

The Mound.

At the end of this promontory there is a mound, rising from the level of the gravel-terrace on the side next the prison, but on the side next the river rising in one slope from the level of the Master's Lodge, Magdalene College. If we approach this mound from the side next the prison, we regard as belonging to it only the part which rises above the original natural surface of the promontory. In excavating for the new house at the north-east corner of the prison (fig. 2, F), the earth which forms the secondary slope up to the mound was seen to rest upon rusty sand and gravel; and this bed of sandy gravel was seen also at the same level under the mound itself in an excavation into the steep slope behind Clare Terrace. This is the Pleistocene gravel that occurs all over the terrace, consisting sometimes of a fine sand, sometimes of gravel, sometimes composed so largely of the underlying marl as to be useless for economic purposes. All below this is chalk and gault. But, if we approach the mound from the side next Magdalene College, where the bottom of the slope is at a much lower level, the base of what we should, from that point of view, regard as the mound, consists of these solid beds, and it is only the upper half that corresponds to the mound as seen from the prison. So that if the Fellows of Magdalene College really ran a tunnel from their side through the talus that hangs on the slope into the lower part of the mound, as rumour says they did, they found of course undisturbed strata when they got a little way in (fig. 2, E).

In enquiring whether the mound is natural or artificial we have to consider only that part of it which rises above the level of the ground on which the prison stands. The idea that it was a natural feature seems to have arisen from the occurrence of so much clean chalk in the mound itself; but this is easily explained on the supposition that the chalk which crops out at the end of the promontory was cut away to form a steeper scarp, and that the material was thrown up on top to form a mound, and was probably pounded down to make it compact,

and capable of bearing a heavy superstructure. Whether or not that was the exact way in which it was formed, undisturbed chalk cannot in this district naturally occur above Pleistocene gravel, and, explain the origin of the mound as we will, it must be artificial.

The Ramparts.

From this mound, strongly scarped on the south and east, earthworks expand to the north-west (see plan, fig. 1). At the north-east corner a bastion still remains, and at the south corner there is room for a symmetrical development near Bell's Court. Along the north-east side of the prison a strong earthwork carries us to another bastion, which Cromwell has the credit of throwing up or modifying. The upper part of this, however, seems to be composed of surface-soil of all ages down to quite late times, and I am inclined to think that some of it may have been wheeled out during comparatively recent excavations within the walls.

A fosse starts from this north-east corner and runs south-west for a short distance, when it dies away in the gardens. This may be "the valley beyond the Castle Hill," one of the places where it is recorded that permission was given to shoot rubbish in 1575, or it may have been filled at the beginning of this century[1]. That would account for its being levelled, for it does not appear that there was any extension of the town in that direction to call for such a labour.

The ground beyond this earthwork on the north-east has been so extensively dug over for brick-clay and phosphate nodules, that it is impossible now to trace any of the ancient features.

The Castle is usually drawn as bounded on the S.W. by Castle Street. The form of the ground would suggest a search for its outer works further to the south-west, at the back of Shelly Row, the houses of which stand on a considerable bank; while somewhere just beyond this a deep ditch may have run

[1] See below, p. 208.

along the depression which passes through Gloucester Terrace, and runs N.W. of the bastion known as Cromwell's; and it is probable that a fosse was carried along the south-west side of the works, at any rate as far as the steep scarp of the mound. Here, however, as in the case of the street in front of the Shire Hall, we must be careful not to infer too much from the existing form of the ground without making allowance for the levelling of the ramparts, the alteration of the roadway at various later dates, and the easing of the gradient by cutting away the brow of the hill.

Outside all of these there are still traces of other earthworks. A deep fosse and vallum run in front of Story's Almshouses, and turning past their S.W. gable form a conspicuous feature as far as the Haymarket. The lie of the ground would suggest that this earthwork must have originally included S. Peter's Church; and, making another corner just outside the Churchyard, have crossed Castle Street between the end of Northampton Street and S. Giles's new Church. Further, on the assumption that the terrace in Magdalene College grounds was the continuation of it, it must have been returned to the bastion at the E. corner. Along the N.E. side of the Castle it must have nearly coincided with the existing earthworks. The only pieces of this work remaining are therefore the corner by Story's Almshouses, and the bank in Magdalene College grounds; but even these two have so little connection with one another that it has been suggested that the banks near the School of Pythagoras may have belonged to the same system. There was probably more to be seen in Stukeley's time, and writing in or about 1746 he says:

"I have, in company with Mr Roger Gale, trac'd out the vestiges of that city [the *Roman* city *Granta*], without any difficulty; being an oblong square, which was wall'd about and ditch'd, the *Roman* road which comes in a strait line from *Huntington* hither, runs thro' the midst of it, and so in a strait line thro' the town, by *Christ's* college and *Emanuel*, to *Gogmagog* hills, where it passes by *Bartlow* and *Haveril*, into *Essex*, probably to *Colchester*...In the garden of *Pythagoras's* school, south and west of that building, the trace of the ditch of the *Roman Granta* may easily be discovered, and the turn or angle of it, to which the angle of that building

corresponds. Then the west side of the ditch runs on the outside of the late Mr *Ketil's* house, and turns quite on the outside of the town, on the north; so round the outside of the castle, through *Magdalen* college close, which is the south side of it. The terrace walk in that close, is the *vallum* wherein the *Roman* wall stood. Then it runs by the south side of S. *Giles'* church yard, to the garden of *Pythagoras's* school. The longest side of this city from east to west was 2500 *Roman* feet, the shortest side from north to south was 2000, so that the road cuts it in the middle[1]."

Stukeley has evidently not distinguished the moat and fish-ponds of that medieval dwelling-house from the outer earth-works of the Castle Hill.

Objects found.

We may safely infer that such a site as that on which Cambridge Castle stood was occupied from the very earliest times. Around Cambridge we have abundant traces of palaeolithic man. Forms of implement intermediate between palaeolithic and neolithic occur in this flint-producing country under and along the borders of the Fens. Men of the Bronze Age buried their dead on the hills around. Some ancient race, who they were nobody knows, threw up a succession of great dykes across the open ground between the woodlands and the fenlands at intervals all the way from Pampisford to Newmarket. The Romans advanced and took possession, and lived in security along both banks of the Granta; and at this date, as far as regards the Castle Hill, our evidence from *remains* begins. I am not aware that any objects which could be referred to a pre-Roman date have been found within the area now occupied by the town; but that negative evidence is worth very little when applied to pre-Roman times. Dr Mason[2] thought that some of the works on the Castle Hill might be British, especially the mound, "though the latter has been usually supposed to be Danish." He suggested that the castle was on the site of the prætorium of the Roman station[3].

[1] *Palaeographia Britannica*, by Wm. Stukeley. Number II. 4to., Stamford, 1746, p. 36.

[2] For an account of Dr Charles Mason, see *Architectural History*, etc., Willis and Clark, ii. 674—677.

[3] Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 130.

The tradition of a British town called Caer Grawnt is recorded. But there were several important seats of learning in Wales in the early middle ages in which geographical information was probably collected, systematised, and reconciled, so that we must not lay much stress on a point of this kind; and Caer Grawnt, like Rhydychan the Ford of the river Ock, may be only one of that numerous class of words which we may refer to a pedantic source.

There certainly is no British camp here such as we see commonly on the hills of the south and west of England, nor, if we may from the existing earthworks draw any conclusion as to the original form, are we justified in inferring that there was a Roman camp here. But there may well have been a post-Roman town, the outline of which was approximately rectangular, though not as symmetrical as a Roman camp. According to Mr Clark there is no evidence that the Romanized Britons constructed any new defensive works, or even repaired those left by the Romans[1].

Nor does it appear probable that Roman camps would be common in this neighbourhood. The legionaries defeated the natives in a few sanguinary engagements, and there was an end of it. Then came the introduction of Roman municipal and domestic life; all along both sides of the river we find remains, not of camps, not of cemeteries only, but of household rubbish. Along the rising ground between Trumpington and Chaucer Road; through Cambridge, under the Arts' School, under Trinity Hall, under the Union, by the Station; through Barnwell, Horningsea, Clayhithe, and so on. On the other side of the river they are numerous at Grantchester, along the higher ground between Grantchester and the Barton Road, in the cemetery behind St John's College, all over the Grove, the Castle Hill, Chesterton, and here and there at intervals right out into the Fens by Willingham and Cottenham[2]. The people who lived on these farms were not all Roman soldiers, and if

[1] *Medieval Military Architecture in England.* By G. T. Clark, i. 12.

[2] See the specimens from these localities which I have placed in the Archaeological Museum.

they had been they would not have been all Italians. They were the Romanized British, and carried on the Roman municipal system and Roman crafts till they were driven away or merged with the Saxon or other early settlers. The mixed race which was the result of all these movements afterwards contested the possession of East Anglia with the Danes. It is probable that we separate the Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans from one another by too hard a line, and that more careful observations will teach us that extermination of previous occupiers and destruction of their objects of domestic use were the exception rather than the rule.

Having more than once carried on excavations with General Pitt-Rivers, and having thus had opportunities of learning the value of his methods, I must quote some passages from the magnificent volumes which he has recently printed, and of which, thanks to his favour and liberality, I am the happy possessor.

Of the importance of fragments of pottery to an archæologist he speaks as follows:

"Tedious as it may appear to some, to dwell on the discovery of odds and ends, that have no doubt been thrown away by their owners as rubbish ...yet it is on the study of such trivial details that archæology is mainly dependent for determining the date of earthworks, because the chance of finding objects of rarity in the body of a rampart is very remote....It will probably strike future archæologists as remarkable, that we should have arrived at the state of knowledge we now possess about ancient works of high art and yet have paid so little attention to such questions as...what kind and quality of pottery was in use at different periods....If the forms and quality of these common things at different periods can be determined, they form reliable, and constantly recurring, evidence of the age of the works with which they afterwards become associated. Next to coins fragments of pottery afford the most reliable of all evidence...and when the kilns are discovered, the distribution of their products will be a means of tracing the trade routes....In my judgement, a fragment of pottery, if it throws light on the history of our own country and people, is of more interest to the scientific collector of evidence in England, than even a work of art and merit that is associated only with races that we are remotely connected with[1]."

[1] Pitt-Rivers: *Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke*, vol. iii. pp. ix—30. (Privately printed.)

In another place he emphasises the impossibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to the history of earthworks without systematic excavations in the following words:

"We shall then hear less, probably, of the date of fortified places which though called camps, are in reality permanent fortifications, being judged by their external appearance. There are distinctions, no doubt, which may be drawn between the general outline of camps, as between Roman, British, and Norman, for example, but as a rule, the art of castrametation has been very much the same in all ages, early ages more particularly, and the same necessities in the Art of War have led to the construction of like defences. I have been greatly deceived at times by the external appearance of earthworks, as, for example, in the case of Cæsar's Camp, near Folkestone, named after Cæsar, in the days of our greatest ignorance of the subject, supposed to be British at a more advanced period of our knowledge, and since found to be entirely Norman, by sections cut through the ramparts in several places, in all of which Norman pottery and objects were found, and scarcely anything British. Also in the case of the Danes' Dyke at Flamborough, assumed to be Danish by popular tradition, but proved by a section cut through the rampart to be much earlier[1]."

When systematic explorations cannot be carried on, or can be conducted on a very limited scale only, the next best thing to do is to watch such excavations as are made for various economic purposes, and record the observations made. With a view to this I have collected together such scattered notices as I have come across of discoveries of interest on or near the Castle Hill, and have added such observations as I have been able to make myself.

Objects of Roman workmanship, such as coins, urns, and fragments of pottery, on the Castle Hill or in its immediate neighbourhood, are recorded by the Rev. Wm. Stukeley (1687–1765), Dr Charles Mason (1718–1770), Richard Gough (1735–1809), James Essex (1722–1784), and the local antiquary, John Bowtell (1753–1813), who has preserved detailed descriptions of many of them[2].

[1] Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.* p. xi.

[2] For a full account of these discoveries see Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 130; Professor Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, 1883 (Camb. Ant. Soc. Octavo Publications, No. XX.), pp. 3—8; Cooper, *Annals*, i. 5, 6. Bowtell's MSS. are in the library of Downing College.

A good deal of Roman pottery was found during the excavations for clay along the north-east side of the hill. There were obviously many interments of Roman, or Romano-British, age, on that area. A new house was recently erected between the Prison and the Mound. The soil had evidently been gathered from an area full of Roman remains, and heaped up to form the gradual slope which now leads to the foot of the mound (fig. 2, F.). There were numerous fragments of pottery, bits of bronze and iron, and scattered fragments of the bones of man and other animals. Besides the mass of household refuse and the earth from disturbed graves, there appeared to have been interments of later date in this made ground—and some so deep that the skeletons lay in the sand below. I was not able to make out that any of these burials were earlier than the slope up to the mound. The pottery consisted of ordinary Roman or Romano-British ollas and other urns, and medieval ware down to at least the 15th century; but I was not able to distinguish different periods represented in the different layers of the soil.

Some years ago, when the large well within the prison had to be re-excavated, I was allowed to go down and examine the section as far as I could through the timbered shoring. I found fragments of Roman pottery in made earth 12 feet below the present surface of the ground. In fact the whole of this ground, as far as we can learn anything about it, seems to have been deeply trenched. Old ditches have been filled, and new systems of defence constructed, but it seems clear that there were Roman fragments in the soil which filled these old ditches and was heaped up to form the existing mound and earth works.

The Burh.

Let us now consider the probable history of the mound. It is not sepulchral, because, if the object had been merely to raise a tumulus, the earth would have been taken from the most convenient adjoining area, but we know from the material of which it is composed that it was procured from the end of the

hill when it was scarped, and from the fosse on the north-west of it. It is therefore a mound of defence. But all such mounds, as far as can be ascertained, are of medieval date. The mounds in Wales are not British, but Welsh. They are the substructures on which the wooden forts, and stronger residences of chieftains, were raised. Viollet-Le-Duc describes them in his story of the evolution of a fortress[1]. Turning to our highest authority on military architecture we read:

"The works thrown up in England in the 9th and 10th centuries are seldom if ever rectangular, nor are they governed to any great extent by the characters of the ground. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope, from 12 to even 50 or 60 feet in height. This mound, Motte, or Burh, the *mota* of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch...Though usually artificial these mounds are not always so...Some are natural hills, some partly so. At Sherborne and Hedingham the ground is a natural platform scarped by art. At other places...the natural platform.....has been scarped and a mound thrown up upon it[2]."

This exactly describes our Cambridge mound. I have explained that it is not natural, and shown reasons for believing that it cannot have been sepulchral. It stands on the edge of a natural platform, scarped to give greater strength to the position. Now if we have regard to the history of this part of England in early medieval times, we shall see how probable it is that the age and origin suggested by an examination of the mound itself and its surroundings is correct. The legionaries were withdrawn A.D. 411. Roman municipal government, mode of life, arts, and manufactures, were still carried on. Northmen began to arrive some 30 or 40 years later, and settled where they could. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes came in the 5th century; the Danes in the 8th century; but it was in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries that the Danes were the terror of England, and that was the time when it would be likely that the pre-Danish English would construct fortresses, in which they could hold out and protect their valuables whenever

[1] *Annals of a Fortress.* By E. Viollet-Le-Duc. Translated by Benj. Bucknall. 8vo. Lond. 1875.

[2] *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, by G. T. Clark, i. 36.

there was an incursion of the enemy. It was not a Danish stronghold, for they, when they left their ships, made camps tending to the circular form, or fortified headlands by segmental lines of bank and ditch[1].

In 870 the Danes ravaged the county and the adjacent parts of England, if we may believe tradition; and they are further said to have destroyed the town of Cambridge. This destruction, however, must have been incomplete, or easily repaired, for in 875 three Danish kings are said to have come to Cambridge with a vast army which continued there for a year; and in 921 a Danish army was again quartered here. In 1010 the Danes again burnt the town, probably in revenge for the active part taken by the men of Cambridgeshire in resisting their incursions[2].

From these accounts we gather: (1) that Cambridge was a place of some importance and strength; (2) that its destruction did not leave it uninhabitable for long. It is therefore extremely probable that the Cambridge which was attacked, taken, and destroyed, and then retaken and restored, was the wooden castle and its surrounding buildings and palisades, within which a considerable number of troops—what perhaps would be called a large army in those days—might be lodged, even for a whole year.

With regard to the surroundings of the Burh I again quote Mr Clark:

"Connected with the mound is usually a base court or enclosure, sometimes circular, more commonly oval, or horse-shoe shaped, but, if of the age of the mound, always more or less rounded. This enclosure had also its bank and ditch on its outward faces, its rear resting on the ditch of the mound, and the area was often further strengthened by a bank along the crest of the scarp of the ditch. Now and then...there is an additional but slighter bank placed outside the outer ditch, i.e. on the crest of the counter-scarp....Where the base court is of moderate area...its platform is often slightly elevated by the addition of a part of the contents of the ditch, which is rarely the case in British camps...Where the mound stands on the edge of a natural steep, the ditch is there discontinued...The base court is

[1] *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, i. 14.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, i. 13, 14; and the authorities there quoted.

usually two or three times the area of the mound, and sometimes...much more...Often there was on the outside of the court and applied to it...a second enclosure, also with its bank and ditch, frequently of larger area than the main court, though not so strongly defended...There are several cases in which the mound is placed within a rectangular enclosure, which has given rise to a notion that the whole was Roman. Tamworth is such a case, and there fortunately the mound is known historically to have been the work of Æthelflaed [1]."

He mentions other cases in which he considers that the mounds do stand in Roman camps, and seems to have accepted the evidence adduced in favour of there having been a Roman camp on the Castle Hill, for he says that at Cambridge and elsewhere: "English mounds and base-courts are placed within Roman enclosures which either are or were walled." This last remark leads me to think that he had not himself examined the evidence on the ground.

We may now perhaps hazard a conjecture as to the position of the earthworks enclosing the courts and fort of the Burh (see diagram, fig. 3). The wings expanding to the north-west on either side of the mound may not be very different from the original structures. If we carry the south-west earthwork further, say to nearly opposite Bell's Court, and cut off the mound by a straight or slightly curved fosse from the south corner to opposite the bastion nearly due north of the mound (almost exactly along the line of the ditch to the existence of which Mr Gibson bears testimony), we get a base line on which to construct a semicircular court, the far boundary of which should run somewhere through the Prison, and, perhaps, as more ground was taken in, might enclose all the space up to the depression running through Gloucester Terrace. The bastions and straight rampart on the north-east of the Prison are all of later date.

Thus it is most probable that the position was fortified in some part of those troublous times when the earlier invaders, who had conquered the Romanised British, and held this district, were in their turn attacked by new-comers from the

[1] *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, i. pp. 17, 18.

continent; but when or by whom the Burh was constructed there does not seem to be at present any evidence to show. The parts to be referred to this period have of course been much disguised by the modifications necessary to adapt them

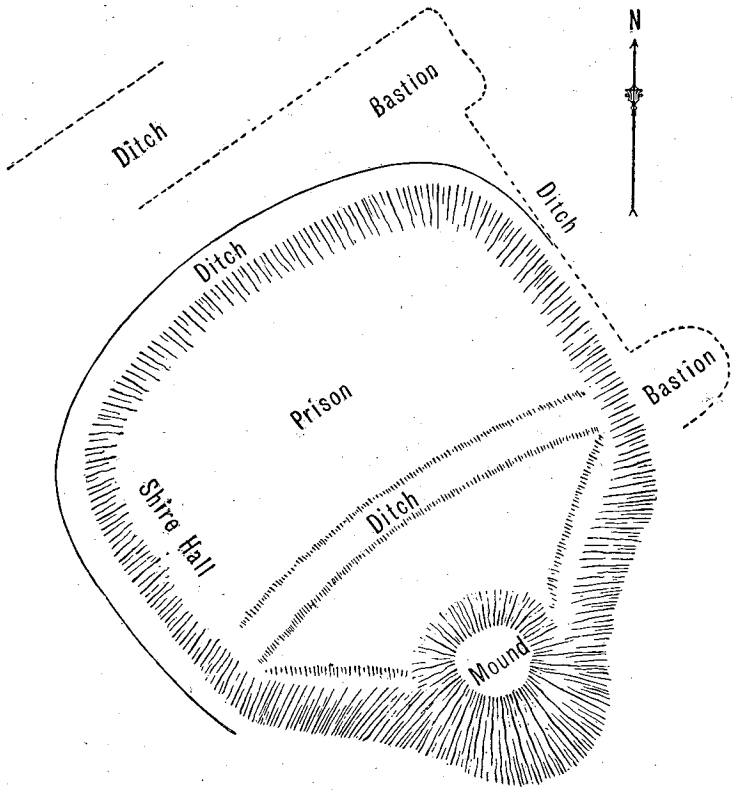

Fig. 3. Plan of Burh.

to the requirements of a Norman Castle. But there is still the mound sharply scarped on the south and east, and on the north side of it there was within the memory of man a hollow running on the south-east side of the prison across the promontory on which it stands, and in all probability indicating the position of the fosse which must have protected the mound on that, the

otherwise most accessible, side[1]. The outline of the outer court of the Burh partly determined the limits of the first great court of the Norman Castle, which probably extended up to the depression running through Gloucester Terrace, and was further enlarged by the levelling forward of the south corner near Bell's Court.

A very strong argument against there having been any mound here in Roman or pre-Roman times is afforded by the absence of relics of Roman date under the house called Castlebrae, built by that keen collector, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, our late secretary, who would certainly have taken care to note the occurrence of any objects of interest which might have been found in digging the foundations.

Such remains might have been expected there at the bottom of the slope of a hill which we know was occupied by the Romans, and which is still covered with their remains. But, if this slope was cut back when the hill was scarped in early medieval times, it is clear that the whole of the soil and subsoil on the site of the house was then carried away, and the relics of Roman date which it contained should be sought in the earth of the Mound, and of the medieval embankment. This line of reasoning will be better understood by reference to the subjoined outline sketch (fig. 4). In this sketch the dotted

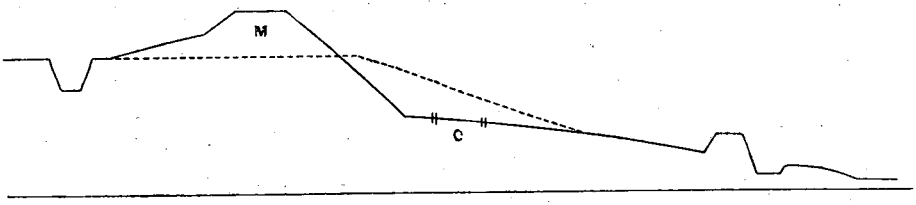

FIG. 4. Section of the Castle Hill from N. to S.
M. The Mound or Castle Hill. C. Foundations of Castlebrae.
..... Probable original surface.

line represents the surface in Roman times, and the hard line the surface when the Burh had been constructed; C is the position of Mr Lewis' house. From this area all the ground was cut away and thrown up to form the mound (M), so that the

[1] See Bowtell's description of this fosse, given below, p. 198.

site of his house was not at the surface till long after Roman times.

I do not now go into the question of the probable alteration in the course of the river in Magdalene College grounds.

The argument from negative evidence does not apply in the case of medieval remains. Whether or not it is because so many of the vessels and other objects of every-day use were made of perishable material, such as leathern 'black jacks,' wooden platters, horn cups &c., it is a fact that very few household relics of any kind are found round old castles or early moated houses, and it is astonishing how few scientific observations have been recorded respecting the bones and shells of the animals used for food. Perhaps this may be largely due to the fact that attention has usually been directed to the acquisition of objects of interest, rather than to evidence bearing upon the history of the place.

Mr Bowtell has preserved a plan dated 1785, here reproduced (fig. 5), together with some valuable notes on the condition of the boundary ditches of the castle at the beginning of this century.

The plan is thus described[1]:

The ground-plot of the old Shire-hall is marked within dotted lines: it contained two courts; that of B was used in time of the assizes for the purpose of *common law*; the other at C was for *nisi prius*.

This was a timber fabric, erected upon a slender foundation of brick, and was taken down in the year 1747, when a more convenient and substantial building was completed at the south end of the market-hill.

The mutilated bastion at G was wholly destroyed in the year 1811. At D there appeared some remains of a very ancient foundation near to the edge of the Roman fosse, apparently one of the gateways of the Roman camp; the stone thereof, being very large, and set in strong cementing mortar, rendered it difficult to remove.

E, the barracks.

F, the remains of a tower belonging to the old castle.

The notes are as follows:

The encampment here, whether it be pronounced *British* or *Roman*, like most other ancient posts or strongholds, was fortified by a stanch vallum and deep fosse, nearly a mile in circumference, and embraced a

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 134.

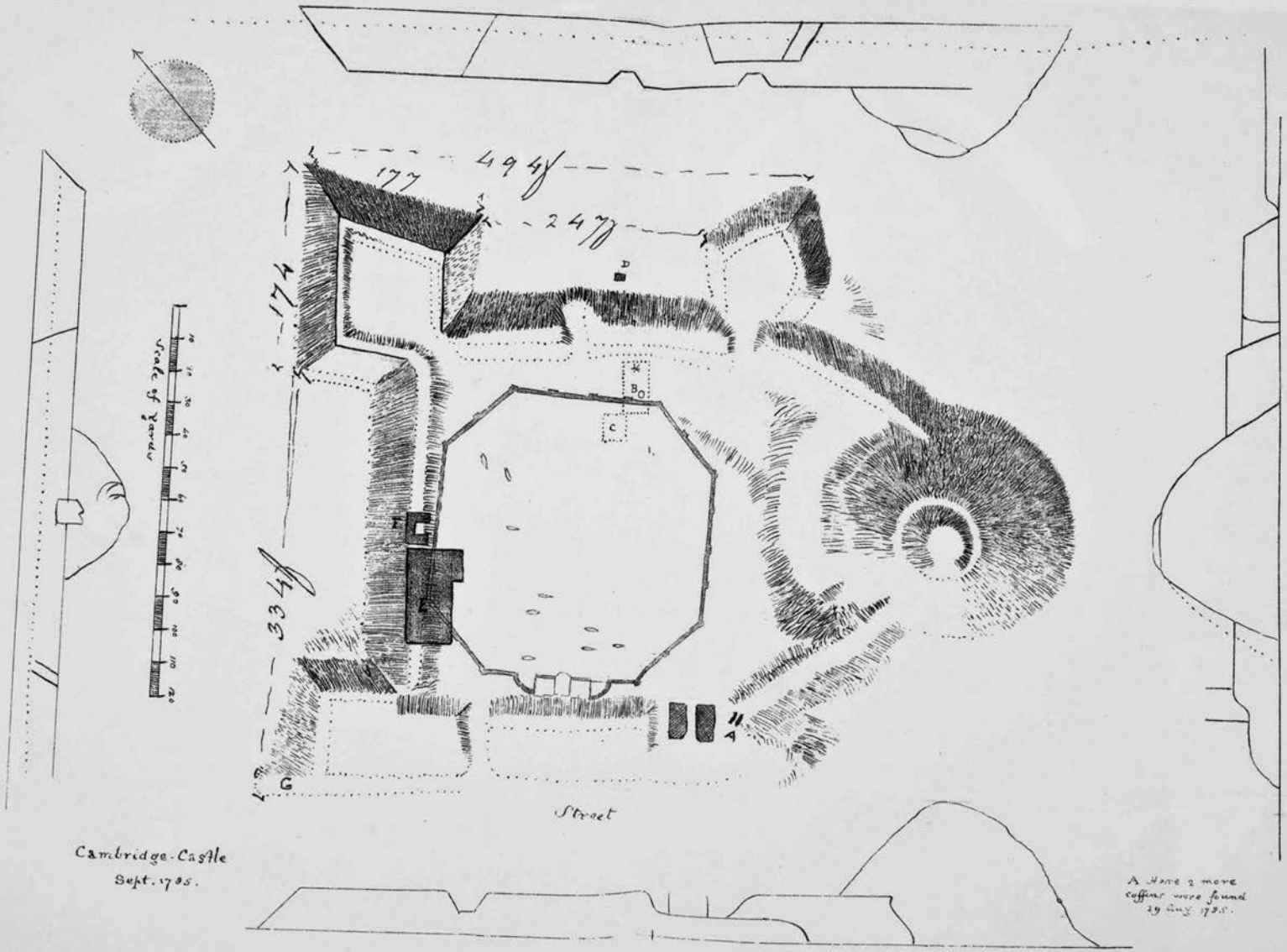

Fig. 5. PLAN of CAMBRIDGE CASTLE in 1785 From MSS. BOWTELL.

portion of four parishes, viz. All Saints, St Peter's, St Giles, and Chesterton.

In 1802, by digging across a slip of land now called "Blackmoor-Piece," through which this ditch ran, it appeared to have been from 10 to 12 feet deep, and 39 feet broad; both sides having a *talus* or slope. Blackmoor-Piece is a slip of land skirting the east side of the Roman station, and was broken up in the year 1802, for making bricks to build the new prison; for which purpose bricks were first moulded there June 4th that year[1].

The fosse also was strengthened by a plentiful supply of water from several vicinal springs which flowed into the adjacent river: one of these springs (now called *Drake's*) near the north-west angle of the fortress, still furnishes the neighbourhood with water for domestic purposes.

On the interior edge of this fosse stood a very ancient wall, some remains thereof were discovered in March 1804 when "improvements"! were making thereabouts by destroying a part of the vallum towards the N.W. end; which wall abutted eastwardly on the great road, near to the turnpike-gate leading to Huntingdon, and westwardly at a little distance from *Drake's spring*.

The materials in the foundation of this wall consisted of flinty pebbles, fragments of Roman bricks and ragstone, so firmly cemented that prodigious labour, with the help of pickaxes, etc. was required to separate them: a part of the wall was consequently left undisturbed, and the fosse-way which accompanied it was filled up with earth from the mutilated ramparts of the Castle-yard, raised in the time of *Cromwell's* usurpation.

Digging also about the middle of the east side of the Roman camp, there appeared the foundation of an ancient stone building, supposed to be the remains of the *Decuman gate*.

Directly opposite, or middle of the west side of this camp, a part of the vallum was cut away, thereon to lay the foundation of the *Lancastrian* free-school which was there erected in the year 1810; at a short distance from the north end thereof a similar foundation was discovered, and conjectured to have been part of another gate belonging to the Roman Station: much of the stone *agger*, or *bank* that encompassed this fortress, still lies concealed in the ground[2].

Unless it be contended that we have in these bits of masonry the remains of a Roman walled town, they must be referred to the outer works of the Norman castle, for we cannot assign them to any intermediate age. Mr Clark says:

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 96. The original fosse was probably deeper and narrower. Part of this area was again dug over for phosphate nodules at a much more recent date.

[2] Ibid. pp. 98, 99.

That there existed in England, at the Conquest, no castles in masonry of English work it may be too much to assert; but it may safely be said that, save a fragment of wall at Corfe, no military masonry decidedly older than that event has as yet been discovered[1].

The Norman Castle.

Then came the Norman Conquest, and we learn that William, on his return from the reduction of York in 1068, erected a castle at Cambridge. Many houses had sprung up around the old fortress, and it is recorded in Domesday that twenty-seven were pulled down to make room for the larger fortifications now constructed. When Domesday was written, in 1086, there were 49 ruinous houses in Cambridge out of a total of 373, distributed among 9 of the 10 wards into which the town was then divided[2]. It is not clear where the destroyed houses were situated. Whether the outer earthworks enclosed a town which grew up under the protection of the Burh, or whether the mound was thrown up at a later time within the entrenchments of a pre-existing town, I have no evidence to offer.

The curved ramparts of the pre-Norman fortress were now levelled, and the ditches filled. The mound with its timber fort was at first preserved, but soon the wooden structure was replaced by stone, and a "shell keep" frowned over the town below. A tower was erected at the east corner, and from it defensive works were carried in a straight line to another tower at the north corner, from which they returned south-west with a deep fosse outside on the north-west. What and where the south-west front of the original Norman castle was must now be only a matter of conjecture. The gatehouse, which was preserved down to the present century, stood on the north-east side of Castle Street, but it does not follow that that was the most prominent part of the fortifications. Indeed it is almost certain that there must have been a barbican, and there

[1] *Medieval Military Architecture*, ut supra, i. 37.

[2] At the end of the account of the first ward (prima custodia) these words occur: Hec eadem una custodia pro duabus computabatur tempore regis Edwardi sed pro castro sunt destructe .xxvii. domus.

were probably at least two lines of defence beyond it. It is not at all clear that the portion of Castle Street which curves to the north-west from near Bell's Court to the cross roads by the Wheat Sheaf Inn is not much newer than the straight part which runs from the bridge, and that St Peter's Street and Shelly Row are not older than Castle Street.

Before proceeding further I will quote Fuller's[1] account of what the Conqueror did. After mentioning the resistance offered by the Monks of Ely, he proceeds:

To the town of Cambridge he retired, and there for a season reposed himself, half dead with sorrow, that his design against the aforesaid monks took no effect. At what time he found in the town of Cambridge 387 houses, 18[2] whereof he caused then to be plucked down, to make room for the erecting of a Castle, which he there *re-edified*, that it might be a check-bit to curb this country, which otherwise was so hardmouthed to be ruled. This castle, here built by him, was strong for situation, stately for structure, large for extent, and pleasant for prospect; having in it, amongst other rooms, a most magnificent hall; the stones and timber whereof were afterwards begged by the Master and Fellows of King's Hall[3], of King Henry the fourth, towards the building of their chapel. At this day the Castle may seem to have run out of the Gatehouse, which only is standing and employed for a prison: so that what was first intended to restrain rebels without it, is now only used to confine felons within it. There is still extant also an artificial high hill deeply entrenched about, steep in the ascent but level at the top, which endureth still in defiance of the teeth of time; as the most greedy glutton must leave those bones, not for manners, but necessity, which are too hard for him to devour.

It would seem probable from Fuller's using the word *re*-edified that he was aware that some fort had existed here before the Norman castle. He says nothing of the mound having been converted into a 'shell keep,' though the bird's-eye view given with the edition quoted would suggest that it was.

A castle like that of Cambridge is sure to have been modi-

[1] *History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 2.

[2] The figures given by Fuller differ from those in Domesday.

[3] Dr Caius, *Hist. Cant. Acad.* ii. 117.: The story is, however, a mistake, for the hall in question was formally granted by Henry VI. to King's College in 1441 (*Arch. Hist.* i. 323), as Caius himself states in a subsequent passage, quoted below (p. 196).

fied as time went on, when repairs, restorations, and extensions were carried out; and it may help some who will hereafter watch the excavations made in that part of Cambridge, to collect together all the notices that have any bearing upon the structure. In this, as in all the historical part of my paper, I am much indebted to that most careful and accurate work, Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*.

The Castle at Cambridge was a royal castle, and sometimes the king's residence on the occasion of royal visits. Soon, however, the monastic establishment at Barnwell furnished better accommodation, just as in later times the Colleges became the recipients of royal favour, and provided lodging for the sovereign.

In 1088, Roger de Montgomery, who supported the pretensions of Robert Duke of Normandy against William Rufus, destroyed the town of Cambridge with fire and sword[1]. The Castle is not mentioned, but it could hardly have escaped the general ruin.

After this event more than a century elapses before we find any further mention of the Castle; and with the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189) the principal castle-building period of English history may be said to close. We do not know what befel this castle in the interval, but it reappears in 1189, when Richard I. gave the custody of it to his Chancellor and favourite, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely[2].

In the third year of the reign of King John (1201—2) the sheriff of Cambridgeshire charges £4. 15*s*. 2*d*. for repairs to the Castle; and in 1204 (27 November) he is commanded by the King "to repair the houses and gate of his castle of Cambridge[3]." From this mention of "houses" in connexion with

[1] Cooper's *Annals*, i. 20. Dr Caius, the principal authority for Montgomery's raid, says (*Hist. Cantab. Acad.* i. 42): "nulla re relicta incolumi quæ ferro aut igne deuastari poterat."

[2] Cooper, *ut supra*, p. 29.

[3] Ibid. i. 33. The words are: "Precipimus tibi quod reparari facias domos et portam castelli nostri Cantebrigie, et id quod in eis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum posueris computabitur ad scaccarium." Rot. Claus. ed. Hardy, p. 15.

the Castle it would appear that there was accommodation for a considerable number of persons within its precincts.

In 1205 mention is made of the King's warren. This warren was made by King John[1]. It extended north-west of the Castle, and for some distance along the Huntingdon road on the south, and the river on the north.

In 1208 John entrusted the custody of the Castle to Fulk the son of Theobald for 7 years; but in 1212 he was ordered to deliver it up to William Earl of Sarum. In 1214 the king sent special envoys to the constable of Cambridge "on matters relating to the king's castles and possessions." In 1215 or 1216 the king was at Cambridge, but he did not lodge in the Castle, for when Edward the First stayed there in 1293 it was remarked that no king had ever lodged there within the memory of man[2]. In September of the same year John was again at Cambridge, and on his departure left the Castle in the custody of Fawkes de Breauté—"a rude heathenish baron that cared neither for God, man or the devil"—from whom it was presently taken by the confederated Barons, who made the garrison, consisting of twenty men only, prisoners[3].

[1] Rot. Hundred. ii. 407. Dicunt quod dominus Rex habet warennum pertinentem ad Castellum Cantebrigie in manu sua quod warennum Rex Johannes primo precepit et incipit ad Castellum Cantebrigie et extendit per regalem viam Huntingdon usque Serebrige et de Serebrige usque Westwyche brige et de Westwyche brige per viam de Bompton usque Belasisse et de Belasisse usque ad magnam ripam et sic revertit per illam ripam usque Squasselode et de Squasselode per magnam ripam usque ad pontem Cantebrigie.

[2] *Barnwell Cartulary*, MSS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 3061, fol. 87. Eodem die scilicet die cene [26 March, 1293] hora nona, recessit dominus rex Eadwardus a Castello Cantebrigie in quo hospitabatur per duas noctes et totidem dies. A tempore quo non extat memoria nunquam prius Rex ibidem hospitabatur.

[3] For these events in the reign of John see Cooper, *ut supra*, pp. 34—36. The capture of the castle is thus described: Matth. Paris (Rolls Series) ii. 664. "Per idem tempus quædam pars baronum...deprædati sunt provinciam de Cantebruge totam et munitionem illam ceperunt atque viginti servientes, quos in ea invenerant, vinculis constrixerunt et secum abduxerunt."

In 1267 (7 April) Henry III., accompanied by his brother the King of Almaine, came to Cambridge with a large army. As it is specially mentioned that the King of Almaine lodged at Barnwell Priory, it may be assumed that the king lodged at the Castle. It was on this occasion that he took measures for fortifying the town, that is, according to tradition, the town on the right bank of the river, by causing the ditch to be made which was thenceforth known as the King's Ditch[1].

In the Inquisitions of 1278 it is stated that the castle belongs to the king, and to be in the custody of the sheriff. One messuage and three pieces of land are specified as held of the fee of the castle, at rents payable to the sheriff, amounting together to 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum[2]. In 1299, when Edward I. married Margaret, sister to the king of France, he assigned to her in dower (among other possessions) the castle and town of Cambridge[3].

In 1307 (19 December), Edward II. directed the keeper of the king's castle of Cambridge (among other officers entrusted with similar duties),

> "to safely and securely keep and defend the said castle, so that no damage nor danger happen to the same; the king, who intends shortly to set out for parts beyond the sea, desiring that the castles of his kingdom should be diligently and safely guarded and defended for the greater security and tranquillity of his people[4]."

In 1308 (6 April) a similar order is issued[5]. In 1310 (5 March) the sheriff is ordered "to repair the king's houses within the castle of Cambridge[6]"; in 1312 (28 January) "to provision the castle with victuals without delay, and cause it to be safely guarded[7]"; in 1317 (1 November) "to put 30 men in

[1] *Barnwell Cartulary*, ut supra, fol. 45*b*. Rex...venit cum magno exercitu ad villam Cantebrigie, et ibi hospitabatur. Rex uero Alemannie Ricardus scilicet frater Regis hospitabatur in Prioratu de Bernewelle. Rex uero fecit edificare portas et facere fossatas in circuitu ville cum magna diligencia nec permisit operarios diebus festivis ab opere incepto cessare.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, i. 59.

[3] Ibid. 69.

[4] Close Roll, 1 Edward II.

[5] Ibid. 1 Edward II.

[6] Ibid. 3 Edward II.

[7] Ibid. 5 Edward II.

the castle of Cambridge, for the defence thereof[1]"; and in 1321 (29 December) to furnish it with victuals and other necessaries[2].

Edward III. appears to have been in Cambridge 27 September, 1328; but his place of lodging has not been recorded[3]. In 1367 (20 February), he commissioned certain specified persons to inquire into the numerous dilapidations of the walls, towers, houses, and other buildings in his castle of Cambridge, who was to blame for them, and how they could be repaired[4]. This language implies that there were extensive barracks, or soldiers' quarters of some kind, included within the castle walls.

Though Cambridge castle was technically a royal castle, as we have seen, it had hardly, so far, been a royal residence. An occasional visit of the king seems, however, to have been contemplated, for in 1352–53 we find an estate at Litlington held by the service of holding the king's stirrup, whenever he should mount his palfrey at Cambridge castle[5].

When Richard II. came to Cambridge in 1388 he lodged at Barnwell Priory, where a parliament is said to have been held[6].

In or about 1401 Henry IV. issued a commission concerning the free warren belonging to the castle of Cambridge in Chesterton, Milton, Histon, Cottenham, Girton, Landbeach, and Waterbeach[7].

Henry VI. is said to have laid the first stone of the gateway of the old court of King's College 2 April, 1441. On this occasion he certainly did not occupy the castle, for he had

[1] Close Roll, 5 Edward II.

[2] Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, ed. 1769, i. 383, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 69.

[3] Cooper, *ut supra*, 83.

[4] Rot. Pat. 41 Edward III. MSS. Baker, xxv. 59. Quia in castro nostro de Cantebr' ut in muris, turellis, domibus, et aliis edificiis quamplures sunt defectus, nos, volentes de statu castri predicti per vos plenius certiorari, assignamus vos ad supervidendum castrum predictum, et defectus in eodem...

[5] Lyson's *Cambridgeshire*, 231. Rot. Pat. 26 Edw. III. p. 2.

[6] Fuller, ed. Prickett and Wright, 119.

[7] Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. Cooper, *Annals*, i. 146.

already granted to the Rector and Scholars of his intended college (14 February, 1441), by way of assistance in building, "the old hall and a chamber next to it in the castle of Cambridge, then in a state of ruin and wholly unroofed[1]." From this time forward therefore the castle ceases to be a royal residence, except in name; and it will not be necessary to recount the subsequent visits to Cambridge of either Henry VI., or his successors. He and they stayed at King's Hall, King's College, or Queens' College. Leave to use the castle as a quarry is stated by Dr Caius (writing in or about 1573) to have been first granted by Edward III. to King's Hall. Then, after mentioning the above grant by Henry VI., he relates how Mary Tudor made a similar grant to Sir John Huddleston, for the building of his house at Sawston[2]. Lastly, Bowtell records that

> More of the materials were probably employed in part of Great St Mary's Church, as it seemeth by an entry in that church-book, under the year 1557, where a charge is made for bringing a quantity of ragstone from the castle to that church[3].

William Harrison, in his account of the two Universities which was published in 1577, says:

> castels also they have both, and in my judgment is harde to be sayde, whither of them woulde be the stronger if both were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of buylding and situation of grounde, sith Oxforde castell standeth low, and is not so apparant in sight[4].

If our castle was in 1577 a more imposing structure than

[1] *Arch. Hist.* i. 321, 323; ii. 450, for the story told by Dr Caius that this hall was granted by Henry IV. to King's Hall.

[2] *Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. 8. Castrum est ruinosum magnaque ex parte vetustate consumptum...et aliqua etiam ex parte ad ædificationem collegiorum et priuatarum ædium generosorum largitione principum imminutum. Nam et Edw. 3. ad ædificationem Aulæ suæ regiæ...et Henricus sextus ad constructionem Collegii sui Regalis, et Regina Maria ad priuatas ædes reficiendas Iohan. Huddlestoni de Sauston militis aurati, inter alios plurimum imminuerunt, ablato quo construebatur extimè lapide quadrato, et intimè abrupto.

[3] MS. ii. 108.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 350.

the noble Norman keep of Oxford, the buildings which had been used as quarries must have been the towers and curtain-walls, such as are shown on Braunius' plan[1]; and, perhaps, a stone wall along the outer fosse.

In the account of the visit of Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, to England in 1592, we find the following description of our castle:

> The following morning, the 29th of August, his Highness inspected... the old ruined and decayed palace or castle, which lies upon an eminence, or small mount, in a large open tract of country, outside the town; it has the appearance of having been in former times a very strong place of defence, but now it is only used for keeping prisoners in some of the vaults[2].

In August, 1642, Cromwell "seized the magazine in the castle[3]," an expression of which the meaning is doubtful. A few months later (in 1643) the town was fortified. The materials provided for rebuilding Clare Hall were confiscated, and made use of at the castle[4], where additional works were erected, about fifteen houses being pulled down to make way for them[5]. On July 12, 1643, the governor of the castle reported to the Parliament: "our town and castle are now very strongly fortified, being encompassed with breastworks and bulwarks[6]."

Bowtell, whose plan of the castle is dated 1785, and who had therefore the good fortune to examine the ruins before any serious alteration had taken place in them, has left the following account of the works added in 1643[7]:

> Here Oliver was employed in improving the Norman fortification by raising ramparts, and adding thereto three strong, though irregular, bastions, on the verge of the Norman ditch.
>
> The height of these ramparts, as measured in the year 1802, from the bottom of the fosse, in a diagonal direction, was full sixteen yards.
>
> The diameter of them, as measured on the base line from the start of the rise on both sides, was 70 feet.

[1] See below, p. 210.

[2] *England as seen by Foreigners:* ed. W. B. Rye, 4to. Lond. 1865, p. 43.

[3] *Commons Journals*, ii. 720, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 329.

[4] *Architectural History*, i. 100.

[5] Cooper, *ut supra*, 340, 341.

[6] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 135.

[7] Ibid. ii. 126.

Their perpendicular height, from the level of the surface on which they were raised, was 17 feet 6 inches.

The whole of these earthworks had acquired great solidity, by means of strong courses of retentive gault and firm white clay, alternately laid in a chevronal position for the purpose of bracing them.

The south side of this intrenchment was strengthened by the great hill, above mentioned; on the north side thereof came a part of the Norman trench that surrounded the castle, and measured 16 feet in depth, beneath the surface of the castle-yard.

The remains of this ditch, on the south side of the works, formed an oblong cavity, about 120 yards in circuit; the centre of the bottom was for several ages furnished with a Gallows for the execution of criminals, on which account it was denominated the "Gallows-hole," and retained that name till the month of July, 1802, when it was filled up with the earth that was removed on sinking the castle-yard, previously to the building of a new prison for the county.

In Buck's view of the castle (fig. 7) the "gallows-hole" is fringed by a course of willow trees, and the gallows is shown in a plan of the town by Speed, A.D. 1610.

The brick buildings, on the north side of the intrenchment, which were erected in the year 1643 as Barracks for the soldiers, were afterwards occupied, partly as a Bridewell for petty offenders; and partly as a habitation for the keeper of the Castle, till the year 1806, when a new prison was finished, with a convenient residence for the use of the governour.

Such vigorous exertions were employed on this fortification that it was found to be in great forwardness in the beginning of April, 1643[1].

Two years later, in April, 1645, we read of "the train of artillery at Cambridge," and orders are given that the committee of the associated counties "take into their consideration the maintenance of the castle[2]." These intentions, however, if serious, were soon abandoned, for in 1647 (3 July) the House of Commons concurred with the House of Lords in voting "that the new Works raised about the Town and Castle of Cambridge sithence the Beginning of these late Troubles be slighted, and reduced to the same condition they were in before the War[3]." This was done so effectually that when a French gentleman, M. Jorevin de Rochefort, visited Cambridge in or shortly before 1672, he remarked that "here are no fortifications, nor is it

[1] *Certaine Informations*, etc., No. 35.

[2] *Commons Journals*, iv. 98, quoted by Cooper, *ut supra*, iii. 385

[3] *Commons Journals*, v. 243.

enclosed by walls. One sees only, on that side through which I arrived, a castle somewhat elevated, having in the center a large dungeon commanding all its environs[1]."

The gaol in the Castle.

It will appear from the following extracts that the gaol was a separate building in connection with the castle, and in that fact we shall find the explanation of the facility with which prisoners broke out or were rescued from prison, and the small damage done on the occasion of such forcible action. We shall also understand why the *castle* was still spoken of in connection with the custody of prisoners long after we read of the fortifications being dismantled, and the materials used for building-purposes.

The Castle was unquestionably used as a prison in the time of Edward II., for we find letters patent issued by him 3 June, 1317, in which he grants to the University during his pleasure that if a layman inflict a grievous hurt on a clerk, or a clerk on a layman, the offender should be immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Castle[2]. Further, 6 August, 1323, he directs the constable of the castle to keep the prisoners in the castle in safe and sure custody[3].

In 1337 the burgesses complained to Edward III. that the power of imprisoning laymen in the castle, given to the University by the above letters patent, was repugnant to the grant that burgesses should not be impleaded out of the borough, the castle being without the liberty of the town[4]. This petition is important, as shewing that the ancient town of Cambridge was on the right bank of the river, and had not grown round the castle. It is however clear that there was a part of the town on the left bank, for "the Ward beyond the Bridge" is mentioned. This is probably identical with the district elsewhere called

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 555.

[2] Rot. Pat. 10 Edw. II. p. 2, "statim capiatur, et in castro nostro Cantebr' imprisonetur."

[3] Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 40. d, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 80.

[4] Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 90.

"parcelle," which appears to have been situated near the castle[1].

On the Wednesday after Midlent Sunday, 1339—40, Edward III. created William, Marquis of Juliers, Earl of Cambridge, and granted to him the castle and the reversion of the town, saving to the king the gaol and the escheats pertaining to the castle and town[2]. From this time we hear of the castle as a prison rather than as a fortress, though it would appear from the next extract that the gaol was a distinct building at the gate of the castle.

On 15 December, 1341, Edward III. commanded the above earl of Cambridge to deliver up the gaol to the sheriff of the county, and to permit the said sheriff to have free ingress to and egress from the said gaol at the gate of the castle[3].

In 1359 (24 September) the sheriff of Nottingham is required to remove Sir John de Molyns, knight, to the castle of Cambridge, there to be confined with Egida his wife, under the custody of the constable of the said castle. One would be inclined to think that compulsory residence within the castle walls in order to keep them out of mischief, and not confinement in the gaol by way of punishment, was all that was imposed on prisoners of this class[4].

In a charter granted to the University by Richard II., 13 December, 1383, it is provided that the Chancellor and his successors or their vicegerents, may imprison all persons convicted before them in the castle of Cambridge, or elsewhere in the town at their discretion; and that the Sheriff of the county or the keeper of the castle, and the mayor and bailiffs

[1] Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 93, quoting a valuation of moveable property in the town made 1340.

[2] Ibid. i. 92.

[3] Rot. Claus. 15 Edw. III. p. 3, m. 6. MSS. Baker xxv. 47. Vobis mandamus quod...Warrino de Bassingbourn...gaolam...liberari faciatis, et ipsum liberum ingressum et egressum ad eandem...habere, et quendam de suis pro quo respondere voluerit ad Portam eiusdem castri pro salva custodia Prison' ne exinde evadant ponere et illuc ea de causa morari absque impedimento aliquo permittatis.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, i. 105.

of the town, should be bound to receive, keep, and deliver, all such transgressors, at the command of the Chancellor and his successors or their vicegerents[1].

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. the castle does not appear to have been a healthy residence, for the sudden death of a number of magistrates and others was attributed to their having attended the assizes in it:

"In thys yere (1521), at the Assise kept at the Castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices and al the gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke such an infeccion, whether it were of the savor of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that manye gentlemen, as Sir Ihon Cut, Sir Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof dyed, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sick and narrowly escaped with their lives[2]."

The Assizes held at the Castle, 18 March, 1540, are remarkable for the trial of a scholar of S. John's College for the murder of one of the burgesses, but there is no mention on this occasion of any malarious infection[3].

In the reign of Edward VI. the castle was used as an ordinary prison. In 1547 the proctors carried their prisoners thither, where they left them in custody, when the mayor would not allow them to be committed to the Tolbooth, by which perhaps the Town gaol is meant, which had been, it was contended, granted to the burgesses in the reign of Henry III.[4] In the same way, it is not quite clear which prison is referred to in the Treasurer's accounts for 1549, in which there is a charge for "mendinge of the prison after the prisoners brake out." It could not have been very difficult to do this, as the expense was only xij d. for repairing the grate and the lock. With a view perhaps to the intimidation of evil-doers, they carried out, repaired, and restored the gallows at the same time, whence it is probable that the prison at the castle is referred to[5].

[1] Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 127.
[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 632, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i. 305.
[3] Cooper, *ut supra*, i. 398.
[4] Ibid. ii. 3.
[5] Ibid. ii. 43, 44.

In 1614 a Senior Fellow of Trinity College was committed to the castle for clipping coin[1]; and in 1615 certain Jesuits or priests, who were not allowed to pass through Cambridge, lodged there for one night[2].

In 1633 the castle was granted in fee farm to Henry Brown and John Cliffe, in trust, as it seems, for the Justices of the Peace for the county[3]. After the Restoration the castle was again used as a prison, and Francis Holdcroft, M.A., once Fellow of Clare Hall, a nonconformist preacher, was imprisoned there between 1663 and 1672[4].

In 1802 the first stone of a new county gaol was laid in the Castle-yard[5]; and under the year 1842 we read:

> A new and handsome Shire House within the precincts of the Castle was completed this year, and opened on the 21st of October, when the General Quarter Sessions for the County were held there. The Architects were Messrs Wyatt and Brandon. To the great regret of the lovers of antiquity, the spacious and massive Gatehouse, the sole relic of the Castle, was removed to make way for this Shire House[6].

The Outer Earthworks.

The question of the age of the earthworks on the Castle Hill involves the necessity of weighing the evidence from the surrounding area, the direction of the roads, and the occurrence of Roman remains, and is further complicated by the fact that the earthworks themselves are of very different age, and that the ground has been repeatedly modified with a view to building. We may however feel pretty sure that the earthworks of which any remains still exist may be referred (1) to the Burh, viz. the mound and the curved banks flanking it; (2) to the Norman Castle, viz. the straight ramparts and the bases of the two towers on the north-east side on which Cromwell probably threw up his bastions. There remain (3) the corner of the great agger and fosse by Story's Almshouses, and the terrace in Magdalene College garden. These are the doubtful works

[1] Cooper, *ut supra*, iii. 72.
[2] Ibid. iii. 84.
[3] Ibid. iii. 257.
[4] Ibid. iii. 511.
[5] Ibid. iv. 474.
[6] Ibid. iv. 657.

which have been by some referred to the Romans. This determination has been founded chiefly on the occurrence of such large quantities of Roman remains on the area included within these banks, on the convergence of Roman roads on the site, and on the identification of Camboritum with Cambridge. As pointed out already the character of the Roman remains is in no ways different from that in a score of other places in the neighbourhood, where they occur in as large quantities, and are not associated with any earthworks of any kind. The convergence of Roman roads is mere conjecture. I have elsewhere shewn[1] that the so-called Roman road by Wandlebury is only one of the East Anglian dykes, although it is highly probable that it was used in Roman and later times as a convenient track, just as the Romans built behind the shelter of the Devil's Ditch near Reach. Moreover, it points straight for the top of the hill above Cherry Hinton where there are numerous Roman remains.

When a deep trench was cut from the Huntingdon road across the Grove, a clean section was exposed down to the undisturbed subsoil, but there was no trace of a made road, and during some recent excavations under the road itself near the Wheat Sheaf Inn the ancient fosse appears to have been found, running across the road, and full of black earth with bones, &c. It is clear therefore that the road cannot always have run where it is now, and that we cannot infer from it that there was a great highway running through the middle of the ancient town. The bridge would determine the other end of the road. A Roman road may have run along here, but, as these Roman roads were not paved, there was very little to ensure permanence of direction. Bowtell notices that "some remains of a very ancient trackway, supposed to be British, leading from the north-east angle of this fortress, towards Grantchester, were lately visible[2]"; but the north-east corner was not a likely point of departure for Grantchester. On the north and east also there is an idea that the raised line of the

[1] *Cambridge Review*, Vol. VI. 1885, p. 292.
[2] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 13.

Roman road can be traced. I accompanied the officers of the Ordnance Survey when they were surveying part of that area, and the difficulty was, not so much to find a raised bank running north, as to choose among the numerous raised banks the one that lent itself best to the hypothesis of a Roman road. All that district was unenclosed down to the early part of the present century, and the old system of agriculture has left long ridges, which can still be clearly traced, crossing the modern hedges, ditches, and roads. Some of these I take it have given rise to the story of a Roman road still visible in that direction.

The attempt to find a site for Camboritum has further helped to strengthen the view that there was a Roman camp, or fortified town here, but Cam and Cambridge are now known to be quite modern words, and with such place-names as Comberton and Grantchester and Chesterton close by, the determination of our Roman sites must be received with caution.

It is not at all clear that the bank in Magdalene College garden ever did join up with the work by Story's Almshouses. It is now quite cut off from everything else, and whether or not it was ever more than a first line of defence to guard the bridge we cannot now see, nor what became of it at either end. We must remember too that it may have been modified when the area adjoining the river was occupied by the Benedictine Monks[1], and afterwards by Magdalene College. Indeed it is difficult not to believe that when the earthwork was included in the grounds it was prolonged a little to the north in order to increase the length of the terrace.

Summary.

There is no evidence of a British camp, or even of any British settlement, nor are the outer earthworks those of a Roman camp. The supposed convergence of the Roman roads on Cambridge is founded almost entirely on the identification of our long straight roads with Roman roads, and, as there is no reason why our roads should run otherwise than straight in a flat unenclosed country, that argument is not worth much.

[1] *Architectural History*, ut supra, i. xlix; ii. 359–361.

There is abundant proof that the site was occupied by Romans, or Romano-British, and probably continuously from that period to the present day. Similar settlements occur all over this part of England, but rarely are there any earthworks connected with them. In the long troublous period from the 5th century to the 8th, after the withdrawal of the Roman army, there may have been a small town here, and some earthworks may have been thrown up then, but of this there is no proof. About the 9th century the burh was constructed, consisting of a mound and two or more curvilinear earthworks in front on the area of the existing prison. Under the protection of this there was a town. This is another possible period to which we may assign the outer earthworks. Then the Norman castle was built, and we know from history that there was a town here, for many houses were destroyed to clear the site for the works then constructed. This seems the most probable period to which we can assign the outer ramparts which are still visible. The walls of which Bowtell records the discovery in the course of excavations made in or about 1802, connect these ramparts with the Norman castle. The north-east flanking earthworks, which were straight, and not curved like those of the Burh, were prolonged to the north-west, and carried across to the south-west, the corner being still seen by Story's Almshouses. In the other direction the ramparts were carried down to the river, and probably involved a strong position at the head of the bridge when that had been built.

Then follows the usual story of a second-rate fortress. It was given to one lord after another; it stood no great siege; it was modified, strengthened in time of danger, repaired, or allowed to go to decay. Its principal use was as a prison—and soon we find a gaol, mentioned as something separate from the castle, but *at the castle gate*. The castle itself then appears to have been allowed to go to ruin. From time to time portions of the materials were given away or sold, and at last the old gateway was pulled down, and the Shire Hall built on its site.

All we dig up fits in with this story. Coins, pottery, and other objects, tell us of the Roman occupation. Fragments of this

pottery in the earthworks tell us of subsequent trenching over the ground full of Roman waste. The Burh tells its own story, and the Norman Castle has but just disappeared. Skeletons of Romans, and urns with Roman ashes, were broken into here, or covered up deeper there. The soldier who fell in defence of the fort would have found a grave within the walls. The political agitator, or the brave opponent of abused power, would be darkly done away with, and placed underground at night, and the criminal on whom justice had been executed would be buried within the walls. It is not easy to work out from the objects that turn up from time to time the history of 2000 years on such a site.

The outer Bailey and the Great Bridge.

On the area included within the outer Bailey of the Castle there were two churches: S. Peter's, which, if the material was not taken from the Norman Castle, would seem to be of Norman date; and All Saints, of which very little is known. It is represented (fig. 6) in the bird's-eye view given in Fuller as

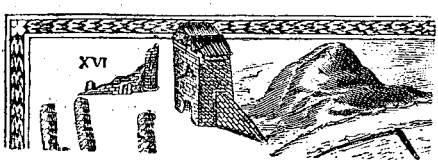

Fig. 6. The Castle and its surroundings, from the plan of Cambridge dated 1634, published with Fuller's History.

XVI. Ruinæ Eccl. Omnium Sanctorum ad Castrum.

running across the position of the existing street. A portion of the nave is shewn, having a small round-arch doorway on the south side, and a tower at the east end with a double loop-hole window above the level of the remaining wall of the nave. It is described as *Ruinæ Ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum ad Castrum.* Mr Hall, who now occupies the large garden between the Huntingdon road and Shelly Row (fig. 1), and therefore on the area adjoining the site of this church, informs me that

there is a great depth of made soil there, and that when he has occasion to dig to any considerable depth he generally finds human bones, but no traces of walls. It therefore seems probable that his garden is in the old churchyard, and that this was open ground within the precincts of the Castle, and never built over till the church was erected there.

The history of the Great Bridge is closely connected with that of the Castle. It seems to have been regarded as under the special protection of the Crown, and the question is whether that was because it was part of the king's highway, or because it was an essential part of the defensive system in connection with the Castle. It must have been a wooden bridge, from its requiring such frequent repair and renovation from ordinary decay and wear and tear, no mention being made of its wilful destruction in time of war. Some ancient piles which were found in the bed of the stream in 1754 were referred to the Romans, but this view seems to have been supported only by the finding of Roman remains in the bank of the river close by, an argument, as we have seen, of little value, because Roman remains have been turned up all along both sides of the river for miles above and below.

The Castle in ruins.

In conclusion I will gather together the various passages in which Bowtell describes the remains of the castle, as they stood in his time. In illustration of these I reproduce Buck's view, dated 1730 (fig. 7).

After mentioning the hall of the castle, Bowtell says:

> This hall took up the whole of the second story of the principal gateway, the roof of which gateway is arched with stone. The entrance to it was on the south side, by means of an ancient stone staircase, something like that to the keep of Connisborough castle in Yorkshire, and which is shewn in a view by Buck in the year 1731.
>
> At the head of this staircase was a doorway with a circular head of plain mouldings, on a spand of three yards four inches and a half: it was taken down with the staircase in the year 1809:..[1].

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 105.

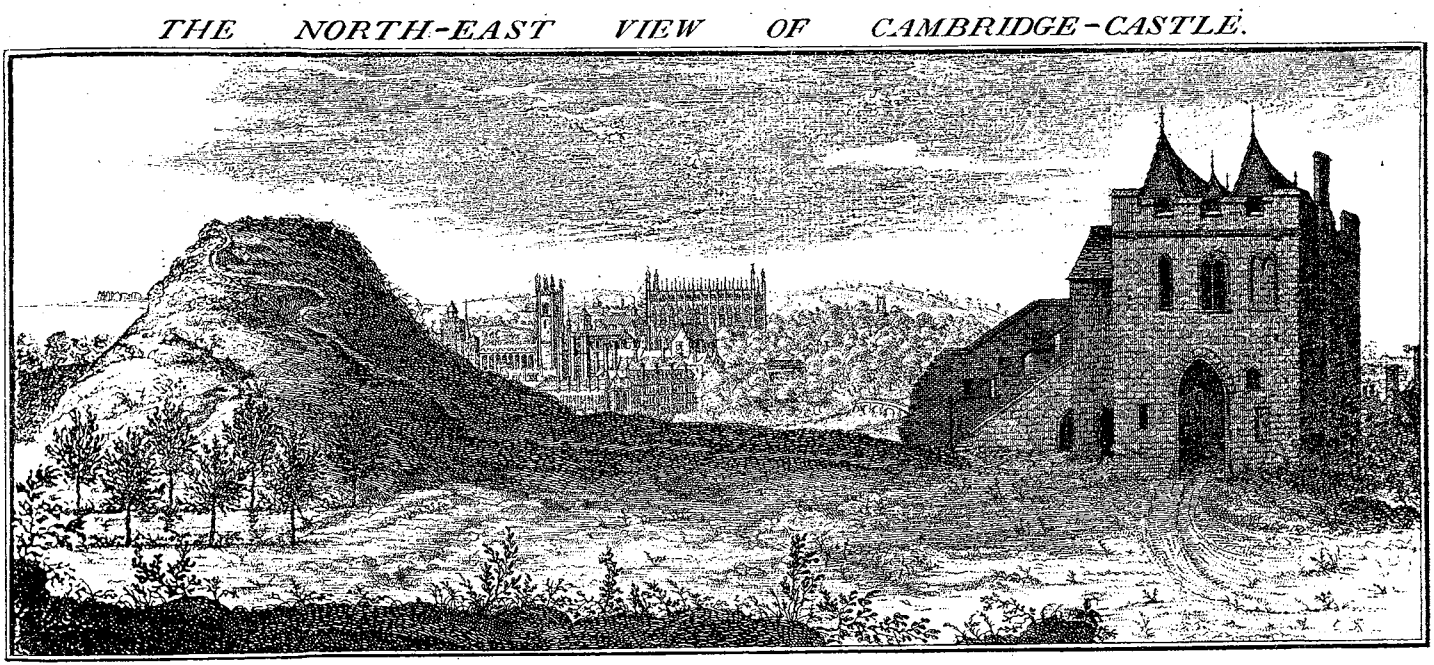

FIG. 7. Reproduction, on a reduced scale, of Buck's view of the Castle, dated 1730.

The manner in which the old castle was constructed appeared in a fragment of the north-east tower that was standing in the year 1807, being then 31 feet square, and 30 feet high, when great labour was required to demolish it. The extreme (*sic*) thick walls were composed of rag, clunch, and other stone firmly cemented....

In this fragment there were to be seen regular courses of large flagstones which served as *foundations* to the several strata of cemented materials, similar to the *Roman* method, and appeared to be much older, and 3 feet deeper in the ground, than the other works here which are ascribed to the time of the Conqueror...

Part of the western gateway, now standing in a mutilated state, exhibits the features of architecture coeval with the reign of King Edward II.

The height of the front of this portal, from the ground to the top of the battlements, is 42 feet 3 inches; and it stands eastward of the line of the high street at the distance of[1]

* * * *

Much of the stone occupied in the walls of the castle was of a calcareous nature, from quarries in Northamptonshire: three different kinds were dug out of the ruins in the castle-yard.

1. The common rag, of a grey complexion;
2. A stone of a ruddy colour, which, when reduced to small pieces, partakes of a friable nature, abounding with pellicles of the ova of fishes, and small testaceous bodies, with numerous micæ of silvery talc, mingled with anomiæ of various species.
3. Another kind of stone of a whitish colour, and of a more firm texture, with various shells incorporated; such as is found also in the walls of other ancient buildings in Cambridge[2].

* * * *

The western gateway...was fortified by double gates and a strong portcullis; the groove in which it moved still remains, and is 5 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ wide. A north-east view of this gateway was engraved by Buck in 1730, and another in 1772 for Grose's Antiquities[3].

Bowtell further relates the discovery of numerous stone coffins and gravestones, all near the entrance gateway, and adds:

A great many other skeletons of late interment were dug up in all parts of the castle-yard from two to four feet deep, without the appearance

[1] The line is left unfinished in the MS.
[2] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 106, 107.
[3] Ibid. p. 109.

of any coffin; some lying with their faces downwards, and most of them with their heads towards the north[1].

* * * *

The visible decay of the castle, and the frequent escape of prisoners from thence, at length enduced the magistrates of the county to erect an entire new gaol, the plan of which being struck within the lines of the republican encampment, the mutilation, if not the total destruction of that fortification became inevitable.

* * * *

Preparatory to the erection of the said gaol in the castle-yard a prodigious quantity of the soil was cut away in 1802; as it also was afterwards occasionally continued to be done for many years. Some of the ramparts were thrown into the adjacent deep fosse out of which, from the nature of the earth, it is evident they had been principally taken. This vast removal of earth was occasioned by the contract requiring the foundation to be laid 3 feet deep.

The ground was accordingly examined, and found to have been much excavated by the sinking of wells and cellars in the tenements which formerly stood thereabouts; but afterwards filled up partly with the spoils of the old castle mingled with the rudera of houses destroyed there in the year 1643: it was determined to sink the whole of the castle-yard from four to ten feet.

In performing that work it appeared that the soil was a natural elevation, gradually rising from the circumjacent fields to the summit on which the gateway of the old castle still doth stand; and where the natural gravelly stratum lies within three feet of the vegetable surface.

On paring off this portion of the soil, there were discovered many bones of divers animals; tusks of boars, legs of cocks, and horns of stags, apparently of ancient interment. To these may be added a great number of stone-bullets, together with spoils of more modern times, such as shoes of horses, bits of harness, and currycombs in form of those peculiar to the reign of King Charles I. Tobacco-pipes of fine white clay, coeval with the introduction of the tobacco-plant into England about the year 1583, and others of subsequent times, down to the reign of King Charles I., were mingled with the martial spoils in this multifarious domain.

Among the *vestigia* of higher antiquity were fragments of Roman bricks found scattered along the edge of the fosse where the wall had anciently stood; but only one, completely whole, came into my possession; and that is of red earth, 16 inches long, by 12 inches at one end, and $11\frac{3}{4}$ at

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 162. The lids of several of these coffins, found in 1810, were figured by the Rev. T. Kerrich in *Archæologia*, XVII. 228. His paper is dated 29 March, 1813.

the other: the thickness also is not less irregular, being from $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch, to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

* * * *

To these may be added several fragments of green and blue glass... together with a variety of *amphoræ* made for the purpose of serving up wine to guests; some with two ears and handles, some with one, and others without any. Here also were found many querns, with several lacrymatories, and a celt or spear-head, one foot in length...This lay about the middle of the castle-yard, at the depth of four feet. An *armilla* or bracelet of brass, encircling two small bones of the arm...evidently of a female adult, was found on the east side of the ancient fosse. The urns afford a great variety of clays, in colour and shape as well as in decorations. Some of the coarser kind have only zigzag scratches, others have fluted ornaments....Amongst innumerable fragments of urns and other rarities are many beautiful specimens moulded of fine red earth, some of which, from the figures and ornaments upon them, become interesting.

In every part of this station, where the ground has been explored, Roman pottery of different kinds of earth has appeared in abundance; some urns quite entire, but most of them broken, and the pieces deranged, which shows the soil to have been disturbed in former times. There were, indeed, some occurrences of the fragments lying several yards asunder, but being applied to each other were found to belong to one and the same vessel[1].

* * * *

During the time of making havock of the soil, above described, hopes were indulged of being able to trace out the ground-plan of the old castle. This, by daily attending the site, was attempted, and marked as far as it could be ascertained from unequivocal remains of the subterraneous foundation; but, owing to the partial depredations of former times, the ichnography could be but imperfectly traced[2].

Views of the Castle.

The castle is figured at the top of the plan of Cambridge signed Ric. Lyne, 1574, which was engraved for Dr Caius' history. This figure is a conventional representation of a fortress, with a gate of entrance, a keep, a square tower, a wall connecting them together, and the tops of two smaller towers indicated behind the former. Above it is written the word "Castell."

[1] MSS. Bowtell, ii. 165—170.
[2] Ibid. p. 193.

A much more ambitious view of the castle occurs at the left-hand corner of the plan of Cambridge, published in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, at Cologne, between 1572 and 1606, by George Braun, or Braunius. This view shews a stately quadrangle with gate of entrance, keep, and towers. Above is the word "Castell." It has been shewn in the *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Vol. I. p. xcix.) that this plan is, in reality, a close copy of the one by Lyne. Both are bird's-eye views. In the former the spectator is supposed to be standing at the south end of the town, in the latter on the west side. The buildings are therefore slightly altered to suit the new point of view, north sides being given to them. For instance, King's College Chapel appears as the south side of an imaginary quadrangle. The castle has been modified in a similar way. The gate, keep, and tower shewn by Lyne reappear; but their arrangement has been changed, and they are now disposed round a quadrangle, with the addition of a second square tower, and some other structures which look like barracks.

This view was accepted in the last century as a serious representation of a building that had once existed; and it reappears in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1776, much improved and ornamented, and with the addition of a ground-plan, as *Plan and View of Cambridge Castle from an Ancient Drawing formerly belonging to General Armstrong, supposed to be Drawn about the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

The gateway and mound are figured by Buck (1730) in the view here reproduced (fig. 7); by Harraden in his *Cantabrigia Depicta* (1809); and by Ackermann in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1814), a view by Westall, which shews the gate-house, the hill, and the new gaol, finished 1810; the gateway only by Grose, a drawing said by him to have been executed in 1769; and by Cooper, *Memorials*, as it appeared in 1840, just before it was destroyed.